

2013

Dooley's Ferry: The Archaeology of a Civilian Community in Wartime

Carl Gilbert Drexler
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [African History Commons](#), [History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Drexler, Carl Gilbert, "Dooley's Ferry: The Archaeology of a Civilian Community in Wartime" (2013). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539623627. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-6qr8-x040>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

Dooley's Ferry: The Archaeology of a Civilian Community in Wartime

Carl Gilbert Drexler

Spring, Texas

**Bachelor of Arts, Grinnell College, 2002
Master of Arts, University of Nebraska, 2004**

**A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

Department of Anthropology

**The College of William and Mary
August 2013**

COMPLIANCE PAGE

Research approved by

Protection of Human Subjects Committee

Protocol number(s): PHSC-2012-09-11-8111-fhsmit

PHSC-2011-08-08-7431-fhsmit

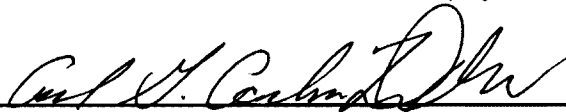
Date(s) of approval: 9/23/2012

9/18/2011

APPROVAL PAGE

This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy



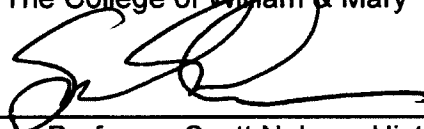
Carl Gilbert Carlson-Drexler

Approved by the Committee, May 2013



Committee Chair

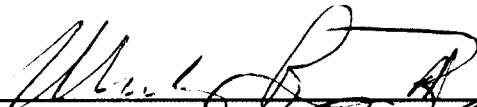
Associate Professor Frederick Smith, Anthropology
The College of William & Mary



Legum Professor Scott Nelson, History
The College of William & Mary



Dittman Professor Grey Gundaker, Anthropology
The College of William & Mary



Research Professor Marley Brown III, Anthropology
The College of William & Mary



Research Assistant Professor Jamie Brandon, Anthropology
University of Arkansas



Associate Professor Matthew Liebmann, Anthropology
Harvard University

ABSTRACT

Warfare and conflict are familiar topics to anthropologists, but it is only recently that anthropological archaeologists moved to create a discrete specialization, known as Conflict Archaeology. Practitioners now actively pursue research in a number of different areas, such as battlefields, fortifications, and troop encampments. These advances throw into sharp relief areas that need greater focus. This dissertation addresses one of these shortcomings by focusing on the home front by studying Dooley's Ferry, a hamlet that once lay on the banks of the Red River, in southwest Arkansas. Before the American Civil War, it was a node in the commodity chains that bound the British Atlantic World together through the production and exchange of cotton for finished goods from the United Kingdom and northeast United States.

The war drastically altered the community in different ways. The site lost community members to military service, displacement, and emancipation. Those who remained were forced to find new ways to cope with the deprivation brought about by the collapse of antebellum trade networks that supplied them with food and finished goods. The residents also faced increasingly complex and ambiguous relationships to government and the Confederate Army.

For four years, the College of William & Mary and the Arkansas Archeological Survey investigated the archaeology of Dooley's Ferry using multiple excavation and remote sensing techniques. The results characterized the distribution of historic residences at the site, established their temporal affiliations, and allowed archaeologists to draw start to understand how we may study the home front archaeology and add substantially to an under-studied aspect of Arkansas's past.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	vi
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
introduction	1
Chapter 1. Atlantic Arkansas	30
Chapter 2. Living and Laboring in the Great Bend	53
Chapter 3. The Archaeology of Antebellum Dooley's Ferry	94
Chapter 4. Dooleys Ferry on the Front Line	129
Chapter 5. "Battles Aplenty at Home"	149
Chapter 6. Civilians and Confederates at Dooley's Ferry	194
Chapter 7. Fortifying Dooley's Ferry	216
Chapter 8. Emancipation and Enslavement	237
Chapter 9. Reconstructing Dooley's Ferry	252
Chapter 10. Ghosts of the Atlantic World	269
References	275
Appendix 1: The Past and Present of Conflict Archaeology	306
Curriculum Vita	333

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want and need to offer my deepest and most sincere thanks to Dr. Jamie Brandon, Station Archaeologist for the Arkansas Archeological Survey's research station at Southern Arkansas University. Jamie got me interested in historical archaeology in Arkansas, has always been a strong supporter and a careful and patient advisor, mentor, and friend. His encouragements brought me to southern Arkansas to do this project, and his experience helped me hone my field and lab skills. I gained much of my expertise in archaeology under his tutelage, and no amount of thanks will suffice to express my gratitude.

Jamie also served on my dissertation committee, along with Frederick Smith, Scott R. Nelson, and Grey Gundaker of the College of William & Mary, and Matt Liebmann, of Harvard University. I learned many important things from each of these fine people, and their critical eye and encouraging support guided me through this project.

Two people in particular, whose passion for and knowledge of southwest Arkansas history were guiding lights throughout my research. Keenan Williams, of Hope, and Peggy Lloyd, of the Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, in Washington, gave freely of their time and insight, and without their contributions, this work would never be as complete as it is.

Bud Martin and Patrick Martin were extremely accommodating and helpful, and granted us access to their land at Dooley's Ferry, upon which virtually all of this research took place. Bud also shared liberally his knowledge of the history of the area, and provided insight on historic land use and the layout of Locus 4.

The fieldwork phase of this project involved literally dozens of people from all walks of life and from all corners of Arkansas, as well as some Texans who made the trip out to the site. Many of these folks were members of the Arkansas Archeological Society; others were students from the University of Arkansas and Southern Arkansas University. Their names are below, but there are some I would like to single out for particular thanks.

Anthony Clay Newton, of Magnolia, took part in the shovel testing, geophysical surveys, mapping, and excavation phases of the project, and supervised volunteers during most of the 2012 excavations. He also taught me a lot about the area and was a good friend throughout my time in southern Arkansas (so far). David Markus, of the University of Florida, co-directed the 2010 University of Arkansas Field School that explored Locus 7. John Samuelsen, of the University of Arkansas and the Arkansas Archeological Survey's Computer Services Program collected the majority of the gradiometer data used in this dissertation, and Tim Mulvihill, Arkansas Archeological Survey Station Archaeologist for the University of Arkansas-Fort Smith created a high-resolution topographic map of the bulk of Trench Segment A.

Dig volunteers not already mentioned include Ernest Turner, James Weatherington, Stephanie McDaniel, Debbie Derrick, Luke Morris, Jason Walbaum, Ashley Applebee, Teka McGlothlin, Logan Smith, Holly Howard,

Stephanie Kiilsgaard, David M. Alvirez, Dawn Novak, Bob Campbell, Addison Ochs, Kelly Schell, Karen Saunders, Allen Plunk, Diana Moxley, Don Bragg, Hope Bragg, Kenny Bragg, Gary Walker, Ed Black, Shelby Linck, Don Hall, Dylan Powell, Jim Rees, Vernon Perry, Carolyn Kiilsgaard, John Mowdy, Bob Haworth, Spencer Tharp, Lydia Rees, Scott Ackridge, Kelsey Greer, Jasmin Chavez, Ross McDaniel, Donna Stotts, Jeremy Shaver, and Phil Maynard. Other folks participated in or supported the project in some way or another, and I would like to acknowledge them here. They are Benji and Glendon Bobo of Hempstead County, Nakia Nelson, of El Dorado, Josh Williams and Billy Nations of Washington, Reverend Beverly Watkins of Sherwood, Meeks Etchieson of the U.S. Forest Service, David Jeane of Spring Hill, Louisiana, and Michael Hargrave and Chris White of the U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center.

I would also like to thank Douglas Scott, formerly of the National Park Service's Midwest Archeological Center. After overseeing my master's research at Pea Ridge, Doug has remained a close friend and someone who has offered insightful critiques and suggestions in the decade that we have known each other. His collegiality has been a great source of confidence and he has been a strong role model.

My parents, Christopher and Bette Drexler, of Spring, Texas, have put nearly 34 years' worth of work into this project. From raising me with an interest in history and encouraging scholarly pursuits and careful work, they equipped me with the tools to truly shape and fashion this document. Much of what came to form in this document is a direct outgrowth of their influence and loving support.

My deepest thanks, of course, go to Kjärstin Carlson-Drexler, who has shared in the dissertation process, a journey that has covered nine years and three states. In addition to vital moral and emotional support, she assisted with almost all phases of fieldwork, artifact processing, and data analysis. The myriad ways in which she helped see this project through to completion exceeds my descriptive abilities.

This Ph.D. is dedicated to my father, Christopher W. Drexler, and grandfather,
Robert V. Drexler

LIST OF TABLES

1. Artifacts Recovered from Shovel Testing, 2008	101
2. Artifacts Recovered from Locus 7, 2010	113
3. Artifacts Recovered from Locus 8, 2012	119
4. Artifacts Recovered from Locus 9 (Excluding Feature 1)	121
5. Artifacts Recovered from Feature 1, October-November 2012	123
6. Artifacts Recovered from Locus 4, 2008 Shovel Testing	157
7. Artifacts Recovered from Locus 4, 2012	167
8. Artifacts Recovered from Locus 10	266
9. Artifacts Recovered from Locus 11	267

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Location of Dooley's Ferry	17
2. Dooley's Ferry	18
3. View of the Red River Valley at Dooley's Ferry (Locus 4), 2012	19
4. Excerpt of 1900 GLO Map Showing Notation for "Great Indian Mound and Pond"	31
5. Excerpt from Austin's Mapa Original de Texas	32
6. Excerpt of Thomas G. Bradford's Map of Texas (1839)	43
7. Half Real Coin Recovered at Washington, AR	45
8. Cotton Fields Stretching into the Distance in Front of the Wynn-Price House, Garland City	52
9. Cotton Factor Advertisement Printed in the Washington Telegraph, January 15, 1862	60
10. Project Area	96
11. Shovel Test Locations, 2008	100
12. Gradiometry Data from Dooley's Ferry, 2010-2012	103
13. Map of Anomaly Loci, Dooley's Ferry	105
14. Locus 3, Old Lafayette County Side of the Red River	106
15. Loci on the East Side of Red River	109
16. Flat Glass Dates for Locus 7	111
17. Excerpt of Venable's 1864 Map Showing Dooley's Ferry	115
18. Loci Identified in 2010	116
19. Flat Glass Dates for Locus 8	118
20. Decorated Ceramics Recovered from Locus 8, 2012	119

21. Volunteers Excavating Locus 9, October 2012	120
22. Hand-Painted and Transfer-Printed Ceramics Recovered from Locus 9	122
23. Feature 1, November 2012	124
24. Fragments of a Wiler & Co. Bottle, Test Unit 11, October/November 2012	125
25. Camp Douglas Register of Prisoners, Showing Samuel Carlock's Name	135
26. Venable's Map of Dooley's Ferry and Environs, 1864	145
27. National Archives Copy of Venable Map	146
28. Location of Loci 4 and 13	150
29. USGS Quadrangle Map of Dooley's Ferry Showing Non-Union of Section Lines, 1975	154
30. General Land Office Resurvey Map of Dooley's Ferry, 1900	155
31. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Map of Dooley's Ferry, 1886	156
32. Plot of Gradiometer Data at Locus 4 (2012)	158
33. Anomaly Interpretation, Locus 4 (2012)	158
34. Excavation Units (Yellow) at Locus 4, 2012	160
35. Top of 1850s Cistern, Locus 4 (2012)	161
36. Flat Glass Dates for Locus 4 (n=632)	163
37. Conducting a Tour of Locus 4 for Visitors and Staff from Historic Washington State Park	166
38. Sections of Confederate Trenches at Dooley's Ferry, 2008-2012	218
39. Excerpt of Venable's Map of Dooley's Ferry, Showing Ferry Crossing and Earthworks (Highlighted)	219

40. Section D (2010)	220
41. Common Hill Baptist Church Building, 2007	248
42. Headstone of C.J.H. Betts, Spring Hill	260
43. Location of Loci 10 and 11	264
44. Wynn-Price House, Garland City (ca. 1845)	273

Introduction

I made my first visit to Dooley's Ferry one hot August day in 2007. Trying to recover from the shock of having a previous dissertation project collapse at the last possible moment earlier that summer, I had spent the past few months casting around the Virginia Peninsula, looking for something that piqued my curiosity. During one of several anguished phone calls with my friend and mentor, Dr. Jamie Brandon, he suggested that I fly out to Arkansas and check out some of the historic sites there that awaited an archaeologist's attention. I had cut my archaeological teeth in Arkansas years before, digging at Van Winkle's Mill, Butterfield Station, Pea Ridge, and Cross Bottoms, all in the Ozarks, so the state was very familiar.

We had already looked at fortifications at Tate's Bluff, near Camden, and the battlefields at Poison Spring, Marks Mills, and Jenkins Ferry, which were all interesting but perhaps a bit too large for a dissertation project. The Camden Expedition, of which the three battlefields were a part, is notorious for the brutality of the fighting and post-battle massacres on both sides, and I didn't want to kick over that can of worms for this project. The history of mutual racial atrocities (Christ 2003) of Poison Spring and Jenkins's Ferry, the lack of clarity on the battle footprints, and the logistics of such a multi-sited and complex project made it too large for a dissertation.

We stopped first at a small cemetery, one of the few breaks from the houses and fields of the area. Perched atop a bluff overlooking the river valley, the Dooley Hill Cemetery is on the margins of what was once the Dooley's Ferry community (occasionally known as Fay, Arkansas). This cemetery, like so many small cemeteries in the area, is on a quiet stretch of road, attracting few visitors. A few of the

headstones indicate membership in fraternal organizations such as the Order of the Eastern Star, and there is at least one World War II veteran's headstone. The remains buried there belong to members of the Common Hill Baptist Church, an African-American congregation, whose former house of worship, probably built in the 1940s, sits on the site, slowly sinking into a mass of encroaching underbrush. Unlike the other cemeteries of southwest Arkansas, though, a jagged ditch bisects this one, cutting in between the graves at right angles, just along the crest of the hill.

The ditch is what remains of a line of Confederate entrenchments, dug hastily at the close of the Civil War. What was once a site of control and preparation for violent conflict is now a peaceful resting place for beloved members of the Common Hill congregation. The juxtaposition of peace and violence, white (Confederate) and African American, were striking to me. The connection of a relict landscape and an active, modern one (the graveyard continues to receive new internments) bridges the gap between past and present, and ties the Civil War history of the site to the residents of southwest Arkansas today.

I share the conceit of most historians and archaeologists working and living in Arkansas that the state suffers a horrible misrepresentation when conceived of as a backwater. It is a refrain and protestation repeated frequently in scholarship on the state (Blevins 2009; Blevins 2002; Brandon 2004; West 1998). Arkansas is rather, a nexus. East meets west, north meets south and both of them meet the Midwest. Upland and lowland converge, progressives and conservatives vie for seats in Little Rock, and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (a rural, integrated labor union) cropped up in the same delta region that witnessed the bloody suppression of black unions in one of the

nation's worst race riots, at Elaine, in 1919 (Johnson 2000; Moneyhon 1997; Stockley 2009).

Dooley's Ferry, a community clustered around a crossing on the Red River in southwest Arkansas, in an area known as the Great Bend, seemed to evoke some of that complexity and ambiguity, and was, like the state itself, a nexus point.

We, as a nation, are currently commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, a difficult task given the nature of the conflict. Though there has never been a particular drought of Civil War scholarship, these years have seen an uptick in public presentations and commemorations, publications, and new media devoted to the war. Where, amidst this cacophony of work does this fit? Why talk about Dooley's Ferry, a place that saw no fighting, as an important element of the war? What does this bring to the story of the Civil War in Arkansas?

To lift a line from Carolyn Nordstrom (1997), this is a different kind of war story. While historical archaeologists are well on the way to study the front lines of a war, the home front awaits further exploration. I fundamentally believe that we cannot consider our approach to the archaeological study of warfare and conflict as being whole and complete until we better understand, archaeologically and historically, the lives of the families left behind as well as do those of the warfighters (a neologism popular in today's military to encompass soldiers, sailors, and their peers). To recoup the humanity of all those enmeshed in the process of war-making, we must attend to the entirety of society. It is also, in my estimation, simply good, thorough science.

Dooley's Ferry is an excellent place to conduct such an analysis. One of the earliest of American communities in southwest Arkansas, it was a vital node in the

economic and social networks that tied together the people of the region, facilitating production, promoting the formation of neighborly bonds, and connecting Arkansans to the wider world (Chapter 1). It lies in the area that was the first great cotton boom in Arkansas, and part of the spread of cotton-farming households across the Mississippi River at the start of the 19th century (McNeilly 2000).

The people of Dooley's Ferry worked, oversaw, or owned farms both large and small, some working for themselves, others compelled to work for others. American agriculture in Arkansas, from the first breaking of the sod, involved the enslaved (Taylor 2000). A precious few farmers also ran grist or saw mills, the acme of industrialization in the antebellum rural South (Bolton 1998).

The society that grew up around this production split along lines of race, class, and gender. Those divisions were drawn and maintained through various means, some of them internal, others (the overtly violent) external. Both internal and external forms of boundary maintenance were cultural phenomena born in the colonial Southeast and carried west as Southerners overspread first the Deep South states of Mississippi and Alabama, then to the Old Southwest region, comprising Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas (Brown 1975; Cash 1991).

The years before the war saw an influx of newcomers, as Arkansas's population received immigrants, largely from elsewhere in the South. Though largely Southern in origin, when the war came, Arkansans were not eager to leave the union. Internal divisions based on geography and philosophy defeated the first secession bid. Delta planters, eager to defend slavery against all comers, backed secession, while small farmers of the Ozark and Ouachita Mountains, fearful of losing political clout,

opposed it. Only after President Lincoln called for volunteers did a vote succeed, though not without opposition (DeBlack 2003a).

As we shall see, the white residents of Dooley's Ferry enthusiastically supported the war. While we don't know their specific thoughts on secession, most of the able-bodied men left for the front in the first months of the war (Chapter 4). Like other Southerners, who signed up with great eagerness and excitement at the war's onset, service was a matter of honor, duty, and thrill (McPherson 1994:9–12). Most of them came home, while an unfortunate few did not.

While they were at the front, their families had to endure four years of short rations, empty store shelves, worry for loved ones, and demands from hungry soldiers quartered in their neighborhoods. African Americans faced many of those same privations, plus the fear of Confederates requisitioning them for army labor, or their owners selling them to cover debts that racked up during the conflict, and the venting of white frustrations against them. The resulting rends in the social fabric provided some avenues to escape, and the admission of African Americans to the U.S. Army offered not just freedom to refugees but enfranchisement, too. Maintaining law and order became a Sisyphean task, one that both local and national authorities struggled with, experiencing both failure and success, particularly during the latter half of the war (Chapter 5).

Cut off from outside supply, the Trans-Mississippi Department (Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and the Indian and Arizona Territories) endured a war wholly different from that which burned across the eastern states (Chapter 5) (Escott 2006; Kerby 1991). The earthworks that ring the crossing and cut across the river valley to

this day index the attempts by the Confederate government, at the close of the war, to both defend against Federal threat and to maintain control over a society coming apart at the seams (see Chapter 7, below).

Moneyhon (1993) described how the war tore communities in southwest Arkansas asunder. By 1863, unionism (or, at least, anti-Confederatism) was rampant, with bands of anti-Confederates fighting pitched battles against home guard units. The Confederacy responded with martial law, executing scores of people in a move to hammer a lid back on the pressure cooker that the region had become. Civilian morale collapsed, and the common cause shared amongst whites gained no more traction amongst the working class, who no longer saw the conflict as being for their betterment.

The archaeological research detailed in this dissertation focuses on Dooley's Ferry and the way that the people who lived there endured, engaged in, and resisted the conditions brought about by the war. In finding a sizeable footprint for antebellum and wartime Dooley's Ferry, this archaeological research goes beyond a simple report. Arkansas has a plethora of documented Civil War-related sites, the vast majority of which are dedicated to memorializing battles and fortifications. There are few places in the state where we have both the preserved space and documentation (historical and archaeological) to focus on the war on the home front. Dooley's Ferry, both the civilian community and the associated earthworks, can be one of these places. Historian Pierre Nora (1989) refers to such sites as *les lieux de mémoire*, places where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself," and are points on the landscape where we can pin these different kinds of war stories.

Dooley's Ferry survived the war, though scathed (as this dissertation will lay out), and even grew slightly in the postwar years, adding a few stores, a post office, and a dusting of oil wells (Chapter 9). It remained one of the main crossings on the Red River until the 1930s, when the state built a road bridge across the river at Fulton, twelve miles upstream. No longer forced to pay the ferryman, travelers took the bridge, which fundamentally altered the way locals move around southwest Arkansas, and changed perceptions of which towns were hubs, and which were backwaters. Dooley's Ferry passed from the former category to the latter. While some of this later period of the place's history appears here, I will only focus significantly on the recovery of the community during the Reconstruction Era. The rest will remain a story for another time and place. I hope this dissertation communicates the potential for more research on Dooley's Ferry and southwest Arkansas in general. Historians Mary Beth Turner and Keenan Williams capture some of this potential, and their work was one of the major guiding influences during the development of this project.

Dooley's Ferry, today, is a bucolic pastoral landscape. Landowners, such as the Martins and Collinses, run cattle, gather pecans, bale hay, and occasionally grow sorghum on lands that once were once cotton fields. Hay has been particularly valuable in the drought-stricken years of this dissertation research. Highway 82 and Interstate 30, the two main roads through the area, ran thick with flatbeds carrying hay bales to sell to desperate ranchers in Texas, where the drought of 2011 was the third worst on record. Agricultural production for export has, therefore, been one of the ongoing legacies of the area surrounding Dooley's Ferry. While the crops change, and

the modes of production have shifted over the past 200 years, the productive focus of the region remains the same.

This dissertation summarizes five years' worth of historical and archaeological research at the site. Done in conjunction with the Arkansas Archeological Survey (ARAS) and Arkansas Archeological Society (AAS), this work benefited from the time and effort of 51 people who volunteered to come out to Dooley's Ferry and aid in every phase of the fieldwork, and dozens more who assisted with the interpretation and writing process. Their names are in the Acknowledgements section, above, but I want to mention them here to emphasize that this document is a recordation of the work of many. I will not deny my own role in organizing and conducting the research, but this project gained immeasurably by the forest of people who took an interest and contributed in the field, laboratory, and interpretation.

This throng used a range of field, laboratory, and archival research techniques, to locate numerous structures at the site of the old ferry crossing. Through historical and artifact analysis, we were able to assess each for occupational time period and probable function. We also mapped the extensive system of trenches that guarded the site, no mean feat given the terrain and thick vegetation covering much of the earthworks. Through these archaeological efforts twinned with historical research, we know a little about the people who lived there, their relationships with the wider world, and how they negotiated the difficult period of the American Civil War.

Battle Front Archaeology

This work is, first and foremost, a study in conflict archaeology (CA). It ties in with anthropology's long history of research into warfare and fighting, though in a

way that I feel is rather new. As a subset of the wider four-field approach to anthropology, archaeology (historical or prehistoric) has dealt with warfare in different ways. Prehistorians have focused on communities in conflict much more effectively than have historical archaeologists. LeBlanc (1999), Milner et al (1991), and Arkush and Allen (2006), among many others, have looked at how warfare affects settlement patterns, subsistence practices, art and iconography, and virtually every other aspect of a community's life. Their work invariably deals with longer time scales than historical archaeologists studying conflict, and there has yet to be a strong case study dealing with an individual in the vein of Potter and Owsley's (2000) research on Irish Brigade soldiers from the Battle of Antietam.

Historical archaeologists also have a long history of studying warfare and conflict. Indeed, one of the pioneers of the field in North America, J.C. Harrington, wrote of "emergency work at sites of nineteenth-century frontier settlements and *army posts* which are endangered by construction or flooding incident to water control projects" as one of the few areas of applied historical archaeology extant at the time of his writing (Harrington 1955:1122, emphasis added). Though Harrington does not reference specific works, his mention shows that for as long as there has been historical archaeology, there has been historical archaeology of conflict.

Much of the early work in this area focused on fortifications. These were easily findable through traditional archaeological fieldwork methods and were excavatable in ways analogous to residential or other civilian sites. They also tended to be well-documented in the historic record by the men who garrisoned them, either through official bookkeeping and correspondence, or through letters and diaries. Since troops

generally occupied forts for some length of time, historical and archaeological signatures for the sites were identifiable and substantial, built up through accretion. Less-frequently studied were battlefields and campsites, both of which were considered too ephemeral to be dealt with in a scientific, systematic excavation (Scott and McFeaters 2011). Almost every specialist in conflict archaeology has, in some publication, bemoaned Hume's assertion that "little can usefully be said about battlefield sites. If one side had time to dig in, we may be left with the remains of fortifications...; if not, the site will have little to distinguish it, except perhaps some graves and a scatter of hardware that can best be salvaged by using a metal detector" (Hume 1969:188). Such a condemnation from one of the greats of that era of historical archaeology set up a perception that we have been trying to topple for years.

Conflict archaeologists, starting with the Little Bighorn project of the 1980s (Fox 1993; Scott and Fox 1987; Scott et al. 1989), have now rendered Hume's words moot. We have been recovering substantial and significant (at times revolutionary) findings about battlefields from late nineteenth-century South Africa (Pollard 2001) to ancient Greece (Lee 2001). Others took up the task of developing methods for studying military camps, which have emphasized the social aspects of camp life, treating them as mobile cities as much as they were collectivities of soldiers (Geier et al. 2006). Fortifications remain of interest (Starbuck 1999; Starbuck 2002) as well. This elaboration of the field has come about in the past 25 years, and continues to grow and develop along many different lines (Scott and McFeaters 2011).

Home Front Archaeology

Amidst this fluorescence of research on conflict themes, one major aspect of warfare, in my view, still awaits close study; civilians. Granted, there has been a substantial number of reports on civilians' houses and other sites in the conflict archaeology literature (Geier 1994; Manning-Sterling 2000). Almost all of these, though, are included in the literature because they were on a battlefield or related in some other way to a specific period of violence, such as use of the site as a hospital.

Many of these projects are the result of federally-mandated archaeology on National Park lands, such as Manning-Sterling's (2000) work at Antietam National Battlefield or similar research at Manassas National Battlefield Park (Galke 2000; Martin Siebert and Parsons 2000). For many, the concept of a conflict site necessarily entails some clear association with a battle or some other instance of violence. The two landmark volumes on Civil War archaeology, Geier and Winter's (1994) *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War* and Geier and Potter's (2000) *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, contain numerous chapters focusing on civilians, but only Koons's (2000) research on African Americans in the Shenandoah makes no fundamental tie to a battlefield, camp, or major fortification. This makes conflict archaeology really a gloss for military sites archaeology, a term originally preferred amongst many members of the research community, but one that places primacy on the military footprint at a site¹.

While Dooley's Ferry has fortifications dating to the Civil War, the earthworks stem from the latest phases of the conflict, and thus the clearest imprints of the military do not typify the bulk of the wartime experience for the inhabitants of

¹ For a longer exposition of this history and state of conflict archaeology, see Appendix 1

Dooley's Ferry. By framing this project as, first and foremost, a conflict site, I hope to challenge some of the epistemological boundaries of the field and open up new areas for research, primarily home front research. Focusing on civilians and civilians sites located at great distance from the battlefield yields several advantages to conflict archaeology.

First, there is a conception amongst our peers that conflict archaeologists are, as individuals, jingoistic and militaristic, engaged in the field more out of a love for things war-related than from scientific, scholarly curiosity. To this could be added perceptions of prolonged pubescence or covering for martial inadequacies (few, if any of us, served in the military). Also, we garner a reputation as being an area populated overwhelmingly by men (which many are, a situation which is particularly anomalous given that women earned 59% of the PhDs in anthropology in 1995 (Givens and Jablonski 2000)). While there has been no systematic study of these characterizations of the field, I can attest to having encountered these perceptions repeatedly at professional conferences and in discussions with peers. Though the work of numerous women in this area, such as Natalie Swanepoel, Kim McBride, and Allison Young would argue against this caricature, it is still a stereotype that I believe we must confront. Gilchrist (2003) raised concern over the inclusion of women in conflict archaeology, and points to Dressler (1999) and Sherman (1996) as examples of scholarship on gender applied to the analysis of images of warfare, playing up the potential for problematizing gender in conflict, a study area demanding both men's and women's voices.

Similarly, historical archaeology in general is currently grappling with ways to increase minority voices within its publications, conferences, and administration (Agbe-Davies 2012). One of the pitfalls of researching American battlefields is that these are almost always engagements fought by whites against either whites or, in the case of Mexican War, Texas Revolution, Spanish-Cuban-American War, Seminole War, Indian Wars, and World War II Pacific Theatre battlefields, non-whites. The triumphalist history of these conflicts leaves little for other ethnic groups to find valor in. Opening up conflict archaeology to look at communities and societies in conflict, and how warfare impacts civilians, be they on the front lines or at home, creates an opening in the field for minority voices that would help in a generally-commendable move towards inclusiveness, but also serve as a means to identify culturally-based points of interpretation that would make for fascinating research. My earlier dissertation project, referenced above, was to focus on the San Juan Hill battlefield outside of Santiago de Cuba, Oriente Province, Cuba. Due to the site's location, I and the other two American archaeologists, both white, who were to work on the project, had the opportunity to work with Cuban historians, who challenged many of our preconceived notions about the war, and shared how their perception of the conflict was radically different from the White Man's Burden-laced historical narrative of that conflict shared by Americans (Pérez 1998).

In addition to these social motivations, there are solid epistemological reasons for expanding home front studies within conflict archaeology. These issues have more to do with the way we approach the topic and doing good science. I offer these observations based on a comparison of historical scholarship on, in particular, the

Civil War, and current publications in conflict archaeology. Many gaps exist, and we need to start filling some of these in.

For instance, historians have been very active in exploring the ways in which gender roles both shaped and were shaped by daily life on the home front during wartime (Faust 1996; Nelson and Sheriff 2007; Williams 2005), there has been no parallel movement in archaeology. As it is with gender, so go race, and class; we lag in both areas. I mention these categories specifically, as they are areas of research very common to historical archaeologists (Delle et al. 2000), and offer points where we can build off existing work, with the added factor of wartime, to bring new, fresh insight into conflict studies in general, not just conflict archaeology.

Making these additions is one of the most important reasons to pursue the home front as an area of research within conflict archaeology. It is the only way to capture the totality of the implications of conflict within a community. Of course the battles and campaigns of a war are central to any war story; that will never change for either popular or academic studies. However, one cannot look only at soldier experiences and neglect those of the soldiers' families, noncombatants, conscientious objectors, slaves barred from military service, the aged, the young, and all the other sectors of society whose lives are affected by the state of warfare. Wars are never fought in a vacuum; our studies of them should not be either.

It is also an opportunity to thwart a possible outcome of the fluorescence within Conflict Archeology. To set Hume on his head, we now are at a point where we are certainly not at risk for having too little to do on conflict sites. We run the risk, though, of swinging too far the other way, and creating intellectual separation from

peers. A singular focus on the military will inevitably separate us from co-practitioners who either lack interest in military themes (other historical archaeologists) or who don't deal with situations where the military is isolable from the rest of society (prehistorians). This would be deleterious to the above-stated need to make the field more inclusive.

But, one might ask, why do we need to have those bridges? There are both scientific and practical reasons for this. Scientifically, we need cross-fertilization with other fields to keep a vigorous theoretical discourse alive in the field. At present, the most audacious of efforts yet attempted is the Bloody Meadows project, which, while ambitious, lacks rigor. Some conflict archaeologists, particularly in North America, are flatly hostile to the pursuit of theoretical insight that would move us beyond particularistic description of sites and provide anything about conflict that would have utility to our institutional peers, rendering the field of little service outside of the realm of local history. Granted, support for local history initiatives is a necessary end in archaeology (McGimsey 1972), but it cannot be the only end.

One signal that we are moving in this direction is the widespread adoption of "conflict archaeology" as a covering term. Historical archaeologists tried out "military archeology," "military sites archaeology," "the archaeology of trauma," and several other terms that revolve around the military and brief episodes of fighting, and found each inadequate to cover the research practitioners were bringing to the table. Cultural anthropologists used the more wide-ranging concepts of "conflict," which was chosen for the recently-minted *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* and appears to be the default term for conflict archaeologists (Bleed and Scott 2011; Scott and McFeaters 2011).

The upshot of this is that we need to grow conflict archaeology to the point where conflict archaeology means more than military sites. Wars, regardless of whether they are raging today in Syria or Afghanistan, or past conflicts reaching back into antiquity, involve more than just soldiers or those civilians caught between the firing lines. Communities and people go to war. People on the home front support or oppose them, fund them, fuel them, and fight them. To grasp the fullness of conflict, we must reach all sectors of society in our analysis. We cannot do this without working in an understanding of the home front, the battlefield, and the ties that bind them together.

The Dooley's Ferry Project

The place I chose to study for this dissertation, Dooley's Ferry, lies in southwest Arkansas (Figure 1). It is an area that few are intimately familiar with, so I will open with a basic orientation to southwest Arkansas and the Dooley's Ferry neighborhood. Dooley's Ferry sits on an oxbow lake, known to locals as Jones Lake and, much less euphoniously, to the U.S. Geological Survey as the "1916 Cutoff Lake." As the latter name suggests, the lake was in fact the main channel of the Red River, and locals called it "Dooley Bend," up until the 1910s.

Dooley's Ferry, occasionally known by the name of "Fay," lies in a region known as the Great Bend. This is in reference to the Red River, which above the Great Bend forms the border between Texas and Oklahoma. Below the Great Bend, the Red flows south in Louisiana, passing Shreveport, Natchitoches, and Alexandria before flowing into the Mississippi River near Simmesport.

As will be covered extensively in Chapter 1, the Red River was the artery that pumped life into the early American settlements along the Great Bend. In an age before railroad development and when road construction was, to be generous, slipshod, rivers provided the main means of communication and trade between coastal communities and inland settlements, such as Dooley's Ferry. Those links would shape many aspects of life in the antebellum era.

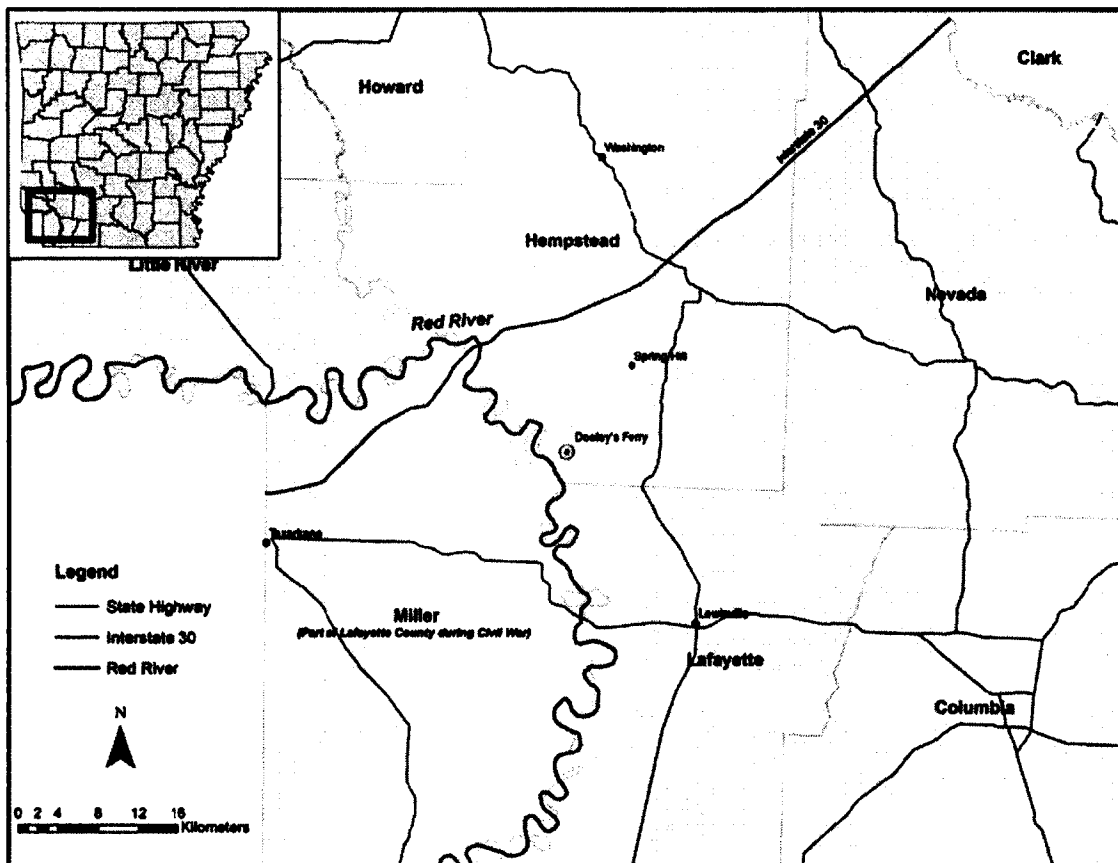


Figure 1: Location of Dooley's Ferry

Dooley's Ferry, as presented here, consists of two sites, the civilian community as identified to date, and the Confederate earthworks lining the bluffs overlooking them. The civilian community consists of the core of the settlement, and an area on the opposite bank of the old Red River channel where the old ferry road appears as a distinct depression. The Confederate entrenchments exist as three segments, anchored

on Red Lake on their northern end, and the remains of Clear Lake to the South. These two areas constitute two archaeological sites. The civilian area is 3HE12 and the Confederate entrenchments are 3HE39. Mark Christ, of the Arkansas Heritage Preservation Program, oversaw the nomination of the latter portion to the National Register of Historic Places. It was listed in 2004 as property number 04001031 (National Register of Historic Places 2013).

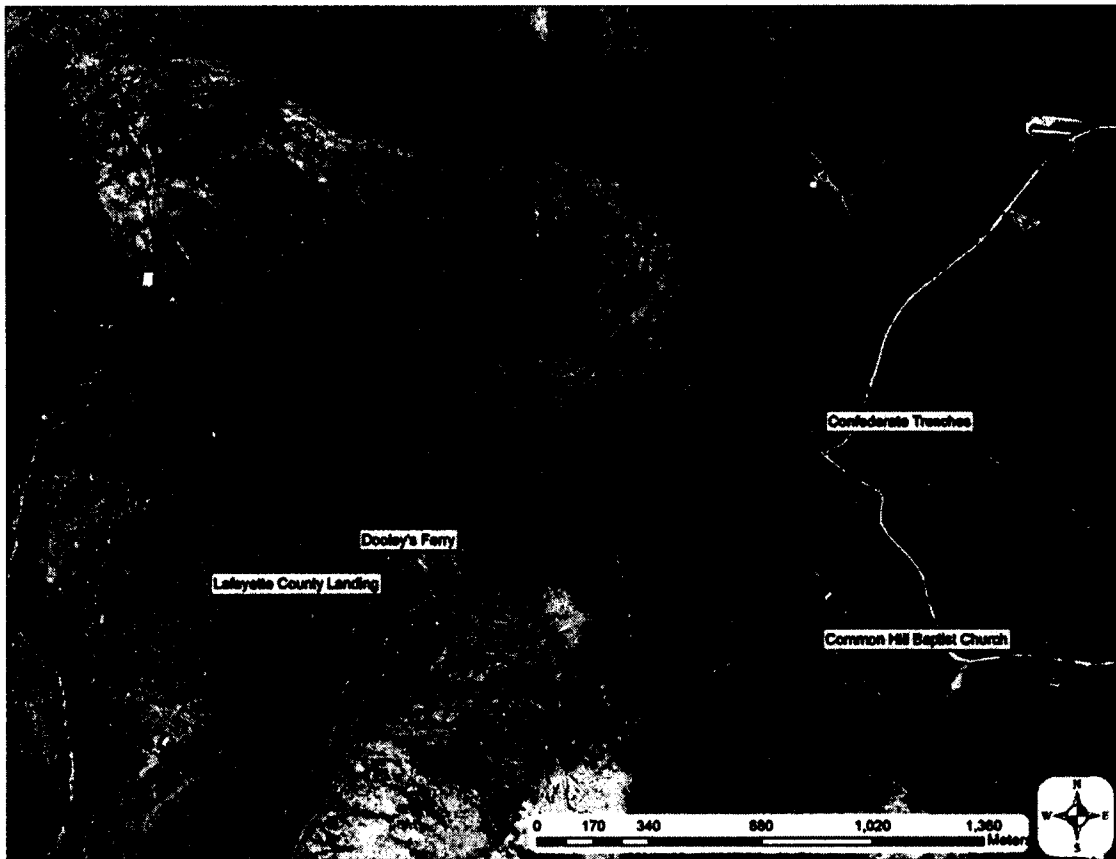


Figure 2: Dooley's Ferry

Visitors to the site today encounter an open pastoral landscape dotted with pecan orchards, wood lines, cattle, and farm equipment. New chicken houses signal the influx of the latest agricultural pursuit, poultry-raising for Pilgrim's Pride or Tyson. The area, once frequently flooded, has only inundated once since the 1960s, when the Bureau of Reclamation dams on the Red and Little Rivers brought the fickle

waters of the Red under some measure of control. Pickup trucks fly back and forth down Hempstead County Road 7, carrying various landowners to and from their houses in the uplands near the fields. Others come to fish in the oxbow lakes or in Bois D'Arc Creek, or hunt deer, fowl, and razorbacks. Though not heavily peopled, the area is by no means quiet or sleepy.



Figure 3: View of the Red River Valley at Dooley's Ferry (Locus 4), 2012

The agricultural bustle of the modern day does not capture that of the site's earlier American history. The rich alluvial soils of the Red River Valley were an early draw to American settlers, and were similarly attractive to Native American communities and European colonists from France and Spain (Chapter 1). For much of its history, Dooley's Ferry had more residents than landowners, the reverse of the situation we see today.

With such a long succession of peoples living at or near the site, and being unable to address all periods within the contexts of this dissertation, I need to set some

temporal boundaries for this project only. The archaeological work recovered material culture covering a vast sweep of time, and identified historic structures that, while instructive, do not speak to the larger project of studying a community in wartime. These other components of the site await full explication in other venues.

Given a stated interest in studying the home front during the Civil War, clearly the war years of 1861-1865 must fall within the ambit of this study. In keeping with Arlo Guthrie's quip that "you can't have a light without a dark to stick it in," it will be necessary to include the development of American settlement of the Great Bend and Dooley's Ferry specifically, in order to have a frame the changes and strains of the war. The seeds of the war lay in the economy and social order brought to the Great Bend with the first peregrinations of Americans to the area in the early 19th century.

After the war, Arkansas's economy remained focused on agricultural production, and, to a degree, the social order returned to a state as close to antebellum years as the changes afforded by emancipation would allow. The process of rebuilding a society broken apart by war, and the negotiations required to do so are fundamental to the war's story, so I'm including the Reconstruction Era as well. We mark the end of Reconstruction in Arkansas with the election of Augustus H. Garland, a Democrat and former Confederate congressman, to the governorship in 1874. The succeeding decades brought the imposition of legal segregation, economic changes brought by railroads, and a host of other social, economic, and political changes (DeBlack 2003a; Graves 1990; Moneyhon 1997). Though these changes grade into being more than happen at a rush, and setting an end point is neither straightforward nor necessarily meaningful, I will follow historians' convention here.

Studying Communities in Historical Archaeology

Wanting to study the community of Dooley's Ferry in wartime requires the application of some units and concepts that are becoming well-learned in historical archaeology, but entail the appreciation of some nuance. One such concept is "community," an oft-used but seldom-defined term in archaeological research.

The earliest archaeologists to use the term simply meant a spatially-bounded area, often defining the boundaries of that area themselves, paying little to no regard for whether those boundaries would have meaning to the people whose material remains were being studied. Conrad Arensberg (1961) was one of the first anthropologists to break from this trend, opting instead to look at communities as social entities. To Arensberg, communities were the minimal social unit required to reproduce culture. Some of the archaeologists to focus on community, such as Geismar (1982), continue to use Arensberg's definition.

Barnes (2011) notes that most definitions used by archaeologists emphasize co-residence of inhabitants who share cultural characteristics, a definition drawn from George Murdock (1949), though she criticizes most of those uses as treating the shared culture as being a "natural and synonymous with the site," rather than the result of contestation and negotiation across various lines of social cleavage. Barnes also notes that communities are not necessarily harmonious social entities. Differences in class, race, gender, religion, and age all could create discord, and individuals did not always work towards integration and cohesion (Barnes 2011).

Barnes's approach, emphasizing negotiation across social boundaries within a given spatial field, offers a useful framework for modeling Dooley's Ferry society. Though we lack the oral history Barnes used in her study, we can infer and deduce something of the spatial boundedness of Dooley's Ferry from maps, and examine social cleavages using the existing literature on rural antebellum life. Race, class, and gender not only structured Dooley's Ferry society, it helped define the pattern of settlement throughout the region. Elite whites, many of the landowners at Dooley's Ferry, lived in Spring Hill, six miles north of the community, where they joined the same churches, were educated in the same schools, and to appear to have associated primarily with each other.

The power relations between these various communities and community sectors were, of course, neither neutral nor equal. The negotiations required to instill and maintain those relations took many forms, the most visible of which were violent. Violence of various forms characterized the maintenance of social hierarchies in the antebellum world, and was a primary means for the re-imposition of hierarchies and definition of new realities in the years after the war (Williamson 1986).

The war brought another dimension to Dooley's Ferry community, the Confederate military. Though military service and proficiency was a staple of antebellum Southern culture and lore, the war brought home the realities of service to civilians and soldiers alike, creating complex relationships (Escott 2006) almost always contested and, at times, very heatedly so (Williams 2005). Not only were troops stationed in or close to communities composed of outsiders, the process of military service included an acculturation process that, while predicated on white

antebellum culture, contained its own codes about duty and mission, and served to create social distance between soldiers and civilians (Escott 2006:76). That distance would become a necessity during the war, as soldiers (particularly in the Trans-Mississippi) would have to compel much of their subsistence from loyal farmers.

Military camps, though not seen as such by Arensberg, are often treated as such by archaeologists. Most of the contributors to Geier et al. (2006) focus on how camps were crucibles for new social organizations that stressed unit cohesion and developed unique cultures that was reproduced within the ranks through drill and discipline. Wiley (1978) wrote that “under the supervision of old-timers’... West Point ideas of discipline were adopted in the Southern armies... The volunteer had become a soldier.”

The Confederate military, which came to have a more direct presence at Dooley’s Ferry as the war dragged on, was an ingressive addition to the community amongst the others at the ferry crossing. As with relationships across barriers of race, class, and gender, the civilian/military divide would be a negotiated one typified by a mixture of support and conflict.

Fieldwork Methodology

This community model serves as a structure for understanding Dooley’s Ferry, one that must be fleshed out with data of various kinds. As with any historical archaeological study, historical research on period documents provide much of that detail, and is combined with material evidence, derived from archaeological fieldwork for interpreting the war experience at the site.

By convention, such research is frequently compiled into a document that follows a set pattern, discussing the historical, geographic, and archaeological background before introducing the fieldwork done and the analyses completed before winding up with a discussion of the results of the fieldwork. I organized this document differently. I have opted for a template that more closely integrates historical and archaeological data, telling the story of Dooley's Ferry by seeding the document with equal and alternating parts of each data source. I believe this approach is more interesting and a better vehicle for conveying the realities confronting the people of Dooley's Ferry during wartime. The situations we seek to relay to the public are never so clean and straightforward as the standard dissertation format would suggest, and I hope to convey some of that messiness and ambiguity through the (occasionally challenging) interdigitation of historical and archaeological evidence. Though each kind of data has its own spatial and temporal registers, I have tried to merge them effectively here.

I do not believe that this format renders systematic, scientific work impossible. The archaeological fieldwork driving the narrative of this dissertation was carefully planned and conducted, and soundly researched. We used a number of approaches (historic cartographic analysis, shovel testing, and geophysical remote sensing) well-suited to the types of sites we were looking for, and adhered to the Arkansas Archeological Survey's long-established field and lab recordation techniques throughout.

That strong and ample base of fieldwork makes possible the more integrated approach to interpretation presented here. I do believe that it thwarts a false sense of

finality and certitude created by a more report-like format. We know, frankly, rather little about the historical archaeology of southwest Arkansas, and in future some of the gaps and lacunae that will remain at the end of this dissertation will gradually be filled in. For now, though, they must endure.

Interpretive Methodology

Finally, drawing together different lines of evidence and formulation an interpretation of their meaning and correlation requires a unifying logical base. Historically, archaeologists have done this in a very intuitive, unstated fashion. Recent work by Robert Preucel, Webb Keane, and others provides a language for rendering these logical connections explicit. Peircian semiotics is an emerging tool of social analysis grounded on the writings of Charles Sanders Peirce. Archaeologists (e.g. Meskell 2005) have used Peircian semiotics (as opposed to Saussurean semiology) as an approach to connecting the signs (icons, indexes, and symbols) encoded in both material culture and historical documents to cultural meaning. This logic (an underpinning to theoretical approaches) has grown in popularity amongst archaeologists in recent years (Preucel 2006; Preucel and Bauer 2001), though its complexity and novelty can be daunting to approach.

Unlike the earlier semiology of Ferdinand de Saussure, Peircian semiotics offers a robust means for connecting objects to human thoughts and meanings (Keane 2003:413) and provides archaeologists with a clear, thought-out means for linking artifacts to past meanings and present interpretations. While I acknowledge Keane's (2003) emphasis on the importance of ontological difference in the construction of semiotic ideologies, and that the passage of time can create difference as surely as can

location, I have chosen to not problematize differences in semiotic ideology between southern Arkansas in the 19th century and the same locale in the 21st. A systematic exploration of any such gulf would be of immense benefit to the field, though it is a task that exceeds my skills and energies.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation will advance through three different chronological sections. First will be the antebellum period at Dooley's Ferry, focusing on the immigration of Americans to the site and the establishment of the ferry proper. I focus particularly on the social and economic structures that typified the communities of the ferry landing. The analysis of historic cartography that helps us understand the extension of those structures will be presented along with an initial discussion of the geophysical surveys and excavations conducted during the course of this research.

Second, the onset of the Civil War and the different ways in which the conflict sunk home at Dooley's Ferry will be covered in detail, along with an analysis of the Civil War-period archaeology of the site, focusing on wartime artifacts and the elaborate system of trenches constructed at the site.

Finally, the latter years of the 19th century, when the white portion of the community tried to re-form its bonds and re-consolidate its place in the world, while the newly-emancipated African American population tried to make a new place in the world, forged new places for themselves in the world. As we shade into the 1870s and 1880s, Arkansas's place in the world changed, along with the lives of its people. The Atlantic orientation of the economy shifted, sparking new economies, creating new opportunities, and presenting the populace with new problems.

The closing chapter focuses on the ghosts of the war years and the culture that gave rise to it continue to glide through Arkansas's valleys and hills. Some of these are tangible, from decaying cotton gins to a few antebellum mansions sprinkled across the Red River valley to an outdoor museum focused on preserving and interpreting 19th century Arkansas for the Natural State's history buffs, schoolchildren, and tourists. Other legacies are social, and not something one should buy a t-shirt to commemorate.

Conclusion

There is a difference between violence and conflict. Conflict is commonly (but not invariably) violent. Violence, when committed by groups against other groups, rises to the level of conflict, though it can, quite obviously, occur between individuals. As W.J. Cash (1991) and other writers of Southern culture have repeatedly emphasized, violence was a central part of Southern life. The bellicosity of southern whites fed their eagerness for war and gave them great confidence in their abilities to defeat Northerners. When this did not bear out, and both sides settled in for a long war, southern society had to adapt to the situation and try to endure the conflict. Southerners, as a group, succeeded on some fronts, and failed on others.

Under the exigencies of the conflict, how did people respond? How did those responses, affect the lives of loved ones, the bonds of community, and the war effort in general? The answers that residents of Dooley's Ferry offer, through historical and archaeological research, offer are the substance of this dissertation.

Section 1: From Union to Disunion (1804-1860)

To grasp the enormity and intensity of the upheaval and rupture of the war requires some explanation of the shape of life and society around Dooley's Ferry in the years preceding the war. The chronicle of the war years is but a few lines in the greater volume of human habitation in the Great Bend, the documentation and communication of which has been the province of historians, writers, archaeologists, anthropologists, and many dedicated others. While the research conducted for this dissertation recovered historical and archaeological materials dating from the Archaic Period (9,500-650 BC) to the middle of the 20th century, focus here remains on the peri-Civil War years of 1850-1875. This section opens the narrative on Dooley's Ferry by covering the run-up to the war itself, which will be the focus of Section II.

The chapters in this section form a proscenium for the drama of the war. Global, regional, and local dynamics structure the narrative as surely as do long, medium, and short-term historical processes, and I have endeavored to construct this section as a progressive focusing-in on Dooley's Ferry in the antebellum period. I use the Atlantic World concept here to tap into a large canon of writings and concepts that help emphasize the connectivity between 19th-century Arkansas and the wider world. It also has close ties to the work of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) and his World-Systems Theory (WST) and Fernand Braudel's (1995) tripartite time scale, which have been strong influences on my research since my studies at the University of Nebraska.

This section begins with a brief description of the pre-Louisiana Purchase settlement of the area, followed by the influx of American settlement from the east. The development of a cotton-based, slavery-fueled economy, driven by connections to the Atlantic World, during the opening decades of the 19th century follows. The steady growth and cementing of that economy and the ways of life it generated endured until after the war, though the seeds of new growth were planted during the conflict.

Orser (2012) encourages archaeologists to “ponder and accept the reasons for selecting the frames of analysis [they choose], and they must appreciate the role that frame selection plays in interpretation.” I endeavor to do that throughout the following paragraphs, and would state here that the selection of a primarily civilian site for a study in conflict archaeology immediately invokes questions and perspectives not commonly found in studies of predominantly military sites.

Chapter 1. Atlantic Arkansas

The American settlers who flooded southwest Arkansas after the Louisiana Purchase were far from the first immigrants to the region, as there have been people living along the Red River for millennia. This dissertation only examines the final few centuries of this culture history, leaving much to be done in coming years. The pre-19th century occupation of the region is an expansive topic, and the curious are pointed to recent research on the Caddo, particularly Tim Perttula and Chester Walker's (2012) recent volume on the subject for more in-depth coverage.

This chapter will paint, with the broadest of brushes, the years and peoples that preceded the center of the dissertation's focus. From there, we move into an overview of American immigration that washed across Arkansas in the decades following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. I heavily emphasize the importance of commercial networks in facilitating and encouraging that migration, and the way in which those networks relied on the geographic and riverine resources of the area.

The First Immigrants

The earliest known evidence for human occupation of the Great Bend region comes from the Montgomery site, in northwest Louisiana, that contained a clear Paleo-Indian component. From that point, a succession of cultural groups have inhabited the area (Schambach and Early 1982). Most recently, the Fourche Maline culture coalesced in the vicinity between 1,000 and 500 B.C., remaining in southwest Arkansas until the emergence of Caddo groups around 800-900 A.D (Schambach 1982). The Caddo established a number of large mound groups up and down the Great

Bend, including the Crenshaw Mound group opposite Dooley's Ferry on the Red River, and Battle Mound, to its south. The 1900 General Land Office map of Dooley's Ferry bears a notation for a "Great Indian Mound" north of the site. Based on the drawing, it appears to be a mound and adjoining borrow pit (Figure 4). According to Bud Martin (personal communication, 2010), this mound washed into the river one day around 1950-1960.

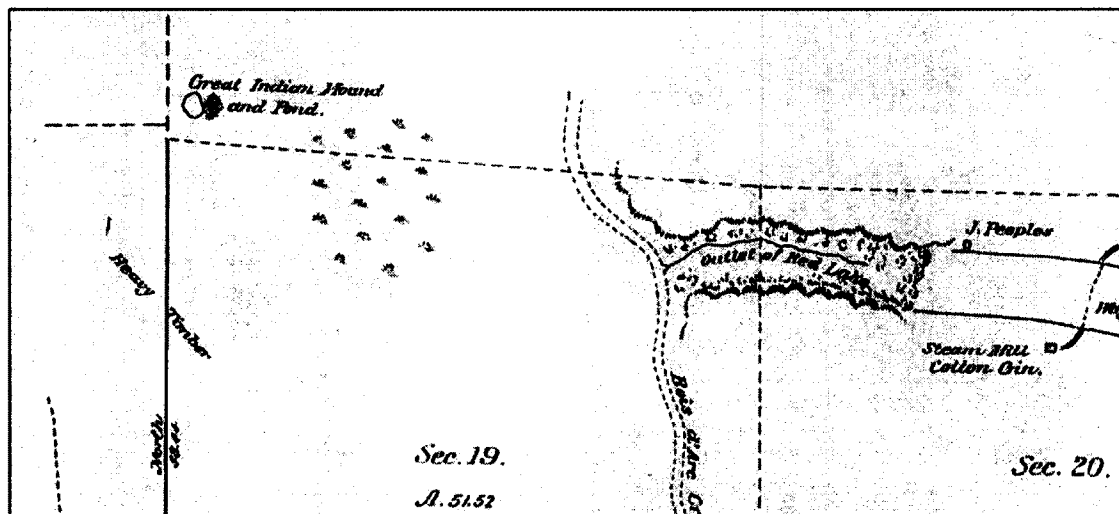


Figure 4: Excerpt of 1900 GLO Map Showing Notation for "Great Indian Mound and Pond"

The Caddo people, at contact with Europeans, consisted of three major branches, the Natchitoches, Hasinai, and Kadohadacho. Of these loosely-amalgamated bands of agriculturalists, it was the Kadohadacho that occupied the Great Bend region in Arkansas (La Vere 1998)

The influx of disease and a series of fights with the Osage, who roamed the uplands to the north of the Great Bend, encouraged the Kadohadacho to quit the Great Bend at the close of the 18th century. They settled around Tso'to (Caddo) Lake, outside of Marshall, Texas, near to another branch of the Caddo, the Hasinai (Carter 1995). The Freeman-Custis Expedition, which ascended the Red River in 1806,

recorded visits to these recently-abandoned Kadohadacho villages (Flores 2002), with Dehahuit, a Caddo chief, guiding them and advising them on the proximity of Spanish scouts (Carter 1995).

The margins of Stephen F. Austin's *Mapa Original de Tejas* (Figure 5), prepared for presentation to Mexican President Anastasio Bustamente show a number of historic Native American communities along the Red River. In addition to immigrant villages at Washington and Long Prairie (downstream from Dooley's Ferry), the map shows communities of several different tribes, including the Caddo (by this time south of the Red River on what is presumably Caddo Lake), Shawnee, Quapaw, and Delaware.

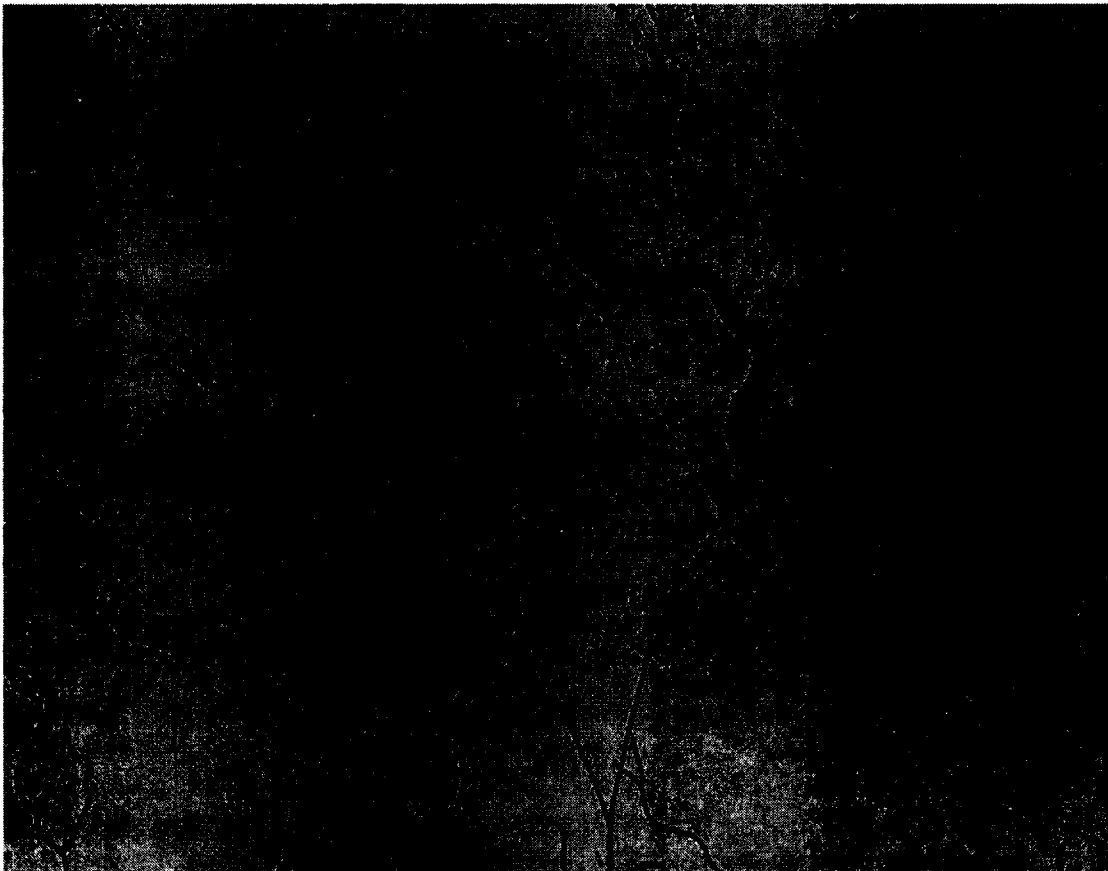


Figure 5: Excerpt from Austin's *Mapa Original de Tejas*

Previous Excavations

The Caddo component of the site has drawn the bulk of the archaeological work at Dooley's Ferry prior to this project. Unlike many sites, Dooley's Ferry has a long history of archaeological research, reaching as far back as the early 20th century. The first to dig at the site was the dig crew employed by Clarence Bloomfield Moore, of Philadelphia, when they visited the site in 1912 (Moore 1912). As he did for other rivers in the South, Moore ascended the Red River in the fall and winter of that year, stopping whenever he spied Native American mounds from the deck of his steamer, the *Prophet*. He and his diggers would dig into the site, recovering some artifacts and skeletons, which Moore used as the basis for a series of wonderfully illustrated and described books on the sites of the river systems he explored (Stoltman 1973:130–131).

Admittedly, Moore didn't think much of Dooley's Ferry. Rather, he didn't think much of the mound, known now as Red Lake Mound, which stands at the site to this day. Red Lake Mound, at the time, showed signs of recent excavation by other parties, and Moore found little in the vestiges of the work of these other diggers and in his own excavations that piqued his interest. He laconically ended his description of the site with "the investigation was not pressed" (Moore 1912:620). Thus ends the long paragraph Moore devoted to Red Lake Mound. Moore lavished ink on other sites in the area, such as the Foster Site and Battle Mound, south of Dooley's Ferry, and which clearly held his interest much better.

Few, if any, professional archaeologists visited the site in the years between Moore's visit and the advent of the Arkansas Archeological Survey. Harry Lemley, an attorney from Hope, reported receiving a pipe from W.A. Formby in 1940 that he

attributed to Red Lake Mound (Arkansas Archeological Survey Site Files; Hoffman 1999). L.E. Sanders, of Bossier City, Louisiana, reported the site to the University of Arkansas Museum in 1960. Robert Taylor, of the SAU Station of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, filled out a site form on the site in 1970, noting that there had been recent excavations on the top of the mound as part of the construction of a cattle barn. Taylor reported, presumably based on conversations with C.P. Jones, the landowner, and Elmer Thomas, that several skeletons washed out of the mound in the 1927 flood. Taylor conducted a “very hurried” collection that yielded a fragment of human bone and a few projectile points, though Taylor noted that there were many more on site that he did not collect (Arkansas Archeological Survey [ARAS] Site Files).

There were other periods of research dedicated to the trench line guarding the approach to the ferry. To maintain the flow of this narrative, the description of that research has been shifted to Chapter 6, which focuses on the trenches and their relationship to the ferry community. This research provides a base upon which a more involved exploration of the Caddo presence at Dooley’s Ferry could be based. Given the presence of the Crenshaw Mound group (3MI6), almost directly across the river in Miller County, and other major Caddo and Fourche Maline sites in the area, such research would contribute greatly to our knowledge of the prehistory of the Great Bend. At the time of writing, John Samuelson, a graduate student at the University of Arkansas, has been researching the Crenshaw Mounds for his doctoral dissertation, building upon his earlier master’s thesis (Samuelson 2009). Samuelson builds upon earlier work by Frank Schambach, long-time station archaeologist for the Arkansas

Archeological Survey in Magnolia, at that site in 1968 and the 1980s (Cheatham 1983; Schambach 1971).

European Radiations: Spanish Explorers on the Great Bend

The first Europeans to come to southwest Arkansas came from the northeast, in the direction of what are now Little Rock and Arkadelphia. In 1539, Spanish explorers under Hernando De Soto began their exploration of La Florida, a journey that would take these 700 explorers across the South and take four years. Their precise route is much in dispute, though Hudson (1994) and others offer interpretations. Few sites have been found that can be conclusively linked to their journey, though the discovery of Spanish trade goods at Parkin State Archeological Park, in eastern Arkansas, suggests a visit by the Spaniards (Mitchem 1996).

The De Soto chronicles refer to the area around Dooley's Ferry as the territory of Naguatex. The Spaniards crossed the Red River in July of 1542, somewhere in the vicinity of Dooley's Ferry, though the exact spot is not known (Hudson 1994:95–96; Schambach 1993:90–91). Given that Dooley's Ferry was one of the places on the fickle Red River that was fordable at certain times of the year, it ranks among the likely crossing sites.

Atlantic Worlds

Permanent European settlements did not occur until late in the ensuing century, and represent a fundamentally different articulation between Europeans, Native Americans, and the land of North America. Rather than explore, Europeans came to settle, extract, and expand. They founded colonies and forged economic networks

linking them to their European homelands and to Africa. Historians and other scholars promulgated the term “Atlantic World” to describe these economic networks.

Traditionally, the Atlantic World concept applies to analyses of places on the eastern seaboard of the United States, as the ties with Europe were strongest during the colonial period and clearest along coastline, where ports such as Charleston, Norfolk, and Boston received and sent ships to London and other ports of call. While the American Revolution challenged these bonds, they remained unbroken and English, French, and other European goods continued to be traded in the New World well into the 19th century (Benjamin 2009).

Historical archaeologists have mirrored historians’ interest in the Atlantic World, applying it primarily to coastal or Caribbean contexts with very direct connections to overseas trade in the years before the American Revolution (e.g. Goucher 1999). Much profitable scholarship has appeared under this conceptual device, and, rather than challenge it, I seek here to expand it.

I have chosen to use the concept here, as the Great Bend, particularly in the antebellum years, lies at the utter margin of the Atlantic World, though still fundamentally linked to it. Historians do not have a consensus point for the end of the Atlantic World. Indeed, some historians follow Gabaccia (2004) in placing the terminus as late as the 1990s, very different from the Revolutionary cutoff point espoused by Bailyn (2005). Benjamin (2009) offers preconditions for the ending of the Atlantic World, which ends not with collapse but with transcendence into the modern global system we know today. Benjamin suggests the abandonment of enslaved labor, and the turn in America from exportation to internal consumption as key indicators of

the breakup of prior economic networks. For reasons that will become clear later in this dissertation, I follow Benjamin's keystones and put the end of Atlantic Arkansas as beginning in the 1870s, though this is little more than a period that marks the transitioning to a more globalized world, a process of significant duration and whose true termini are not necessarily of fundamental important to the overall historical narrative of the Great Bend region.

The French Atlantic

The first Atlantic connection forged in what would become Arkansas was French. Tied to New Orleans and the rest of the territory of Louisiana by the braided network of rivers that flowed south into the Mississippi River, the lands that would become Arkansas were important fur-yielding territories for France, and a move was made in the late-17th century to open up more trade in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Arnold 1991).

That effort included the establishment of a number of trading posts, the largest and most important in Arkansas being Arkansas Post. Though referred to as Arkansas Post or The Post of Arkansas, it was actually a succession of installations on the lower Arkansas River first founded in 1686 (Arnold 1991). As later European settlers would discover, the Mississippi Delta was a very flood-prone region, necessitating the shifting of the post in search of dry, healthy ground. The French used the various Arkansas Posts and other, smaller, settlements to connect to fur trappers and traders in the southeast (Arnold 1991).

While historical scholarship focuses primarily on Arkansas Post, some French settlements lay closer to Dooley's Ferry. The city of Camden, perched atop a bluff

overlooking the Ouachita River, was founded as *Ecore Fabre* (Fabry's Bluff) by French fur trappers (Arnold 1991). Other towns along the same river, such as Champagnolle and Smackover (a corruption of *chemin couvert* [covered way]), also began life as seventeenth-century French villages (Arnold 2002:46).

Farther west, on the Red River in what is now Oklahoma, Jean-Baptiste Bénard, Sieur de la Harpe established *Fort Saint Louis de Cadodoches*, a trading post designed to both conduct business with the Kadohadacho and to monitor and antagonize Spanish officials in Texas (Wedel 1978). Founded in 1714, the post remained a center for commerce and a garrison community until the end of the 18th century. Though its site is not known at present, Odell (2002) offers a historical overview of the fort and reports on excavations at archaeological sites in Oklahoma whose trade goods suggest linkages to La Harpe and his men.

Arkansas and the British Atlantic

Arkansas came into U.S. possession through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The political boundaries of what we know as the Natural State evolved between 1803 and 1828, largely by a series of negative definitions. It was part of the territory that was not included in Louisiana when the latter became a state in 1812. When Missouri applied for admission in 1819, the remainder counties became the Arkansas Territory. The western boundary was set through a series of treaties with Native American groups that led to the formation of the Indian Territory in 1828. This not-Missouri, not-Louisiana, and not-Oklahoma piece of the Louisiana purchase is now the state of Arkansas (Bolton 1998).

Incorporation with the U.S. meant Arkansas was open to settlement from the east. To an extent not seen with the French or Spanish, Americans came to settle the land and turn it into an agricultural paradise. Their trade networks bound them tightly to Great Britain (see below), and as such, 1803 saw the transitioning of Arkansas from the French Atlantic to the British Atlantic World, a change that would bring profound changes to the area.

As will be detailed in subsequent chapters, the excavations at Dooley's Ferry recovered thousands of pieces of broken ceramic and other materials associable with the Atlantic World. In an area that suffered a severe lack of local production of finished goods, virtually any piece of material culture of sufficient durability to be recovered archaeologically will stand as a sign of the Atlantic World that brought it across the waters. From ceramic factories in the United Kingdom and textile mills and factories in New York and Philadelphia, or even druggists in Louisville; each artifact came import, and its recovery at Dooley's Ferry can be taken as a sign for the historical processes that brought it to Arkansas (Pruecel 2007:250).

Settling the Great Bend

Tracing early settlement in Arkansas is a challenge unto itself. Arkansas, like other public land states, was largely federal land when it became U.S. territory. With the exception of pre-existing French and Spanish land claims, which were honored by the U.S. government, the first governmental record of land transactions would be when a settler bought the land from the government, receiving a patent from the General Land Office in exchange for payment. These patents start the chain of land ownership that connects with modern land tenure, a chain re-constructible through

careful research in county courthouses. However, the patent date often postdates, substantially, the date of actual occupation. Owning land meant the requirement to pay taxes, and, in a situation where there was little competition for land due to small numbers of immigrants and the small number and inaccessibility of General Land Offices in the region, squatting became the rule (McNeilly 2000:23). Though the Public Land System was operational in Arkansas by 1815, it did not start selling land until 1822, and then only from offices in Little Rock and Poke Bayou (Batesville). There was not a land office in southwest Arkansas until 1832, when one opened in Washington (Bolton 1998:15). This was a dozen years after the first settlers arrived in Dooley's Ferry.

Settlers from the east arrived in waves. Among the first pioneers were the early waves of eastern Native Americans, whose original reservations were in Arkansas, not the Indian Territory. The Cherokee's original reservation was established on the Arkansas River, under what is now Lake Dardanelle. When ordered to remove farther west, some refused to comply and instead headed south, settling briefly in the Great Bend. Among these were a band of Cherokee under Duwali, who lived around Dooley's Ferry in the winter of 1819. McCrocklin (1990a) reported on excavations at three sites associated with the Removal period, one Cherokee, one Delaware, and one the Sulphur Fork Factory, a trading post whose business revolved around supplying Native Americans (see "King Cotton," below).

The first Americans to move to the area were predominantly Tennesseans, though wealthy Virginians and South Carolinians, as well as their households were also significantly represented (Meinig 1986:236; Moore 1993). Immigration took off a

generation later, in the 1830s, with immigrants coming from virtually all of the Southern states (Bolton 1998:18).

Among those early families came the family and slaves of Thomas Burdine Dooley. Leaving Wilson County, Tennessee and their circle of friends, which included future president Andrew Jackson, the Dooleys claimed land in the Great Bend as early as 1816, though the date is not certain (McCalman 2003). We can assume that they made the difficult journey up the Red River sometime during the late 1810s, as the first firm date for their presence was the appointment of Thomas Dooley to the post of Hempstead County sheriff, which records the date of his arrival as 1820 (Carter 1953), and the listing of his name in the U.S. Census of that year for Hempstead County. By 1825 he had been named colonel of the 5th Regiment of Arkansas militia, bespeaking his influence and esteem within early Great Bend society (Shinn 1908:72).

The Dooley Family established their farms on a plot of land known as Lost Prairie. Several of the early settlement in the Great Bend contained the word “prairie” in their name, suggesting that open farmland in the Red River Valley, land that required no timber clearance to cultivate, were the first to draw American settlers. The Lost Prairie settlement lay along the south bank of the Red River, and Dooley’s Ferry provided transport for its residents to communities on the north shore (McNeilly 2000). Though no longer a community, the Lost Prairie name remains a locative amongst many locals and some businesses, such as Lost Prairie Pecans, owners of the Greshaw Mounds. Williams (1951:138–139) attributes the name to the loss of the steamboat *Hempstead* there in 1840, when it tried to cut across a flooded field to save time and ran aground, though this story is certainly apocryphal.

The land where Dooley's Ferry was established was on the utter outer margins of the United States. Though the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 settled the borders between Spain and the United States, the south side of the river was effectively foreign country. First Spanish, then Mexican, and finally Texan, it was a liminal spot on the map (Tyson 1981:88). Reflecting this liminality, Thomas Bradford's 1839 map of Texas shows the entirety of Arkansas south of the Red River, and a sizeable portion of northern Louisiana, as part of Red River County, Texas, even though the county boundaries clearly overlap the state borders marked on the map (Figure 6).

As its name suggests, Dooley's Ferry was established by one of the Dooley family, though not Thomas Burdine. The elder Dooley had received a wound in the war of 1812, a wound that would lead to his death in 1829 (McCalman 2003), and was likely not the man who could cope with the strain of operating a ferry. Rather, his son, George, set up the first of the ferryboats, giving the site its current name. Whereas Thomas established himself in early Hempstead County society, his son George became a significant presence in early Lafayette County, on the south side of the Red River (Arkansas Gazette 1833). George would be commissioned the first coroner of Lafayette County, serving from 1830-1833, as justice of the peace in 1833, then as sheriff from 1833 until statehood in 1836 (Carter 1953:838, 862-863).

We do not know the exact date when Dooley's Ferry opened, but it was likely around the time of the establishment of the Lost Prairie settlement in the early 1820s. This is roughly the same period when Spring Hill, Washington, and other early settlements in southwest Arkansas were being established, so communication across the Red was important, and Lost Prairie would likely not have endured long without a

ferry across the Red. Also, it would correspond with the arrival of the Dooley family at Lost Prairie, giving George Dooley an opportunity to found and name the crossing. He lived long enough to bury a wife, son, and brother at Lost Prairie (Arkansas Gazette 1833).

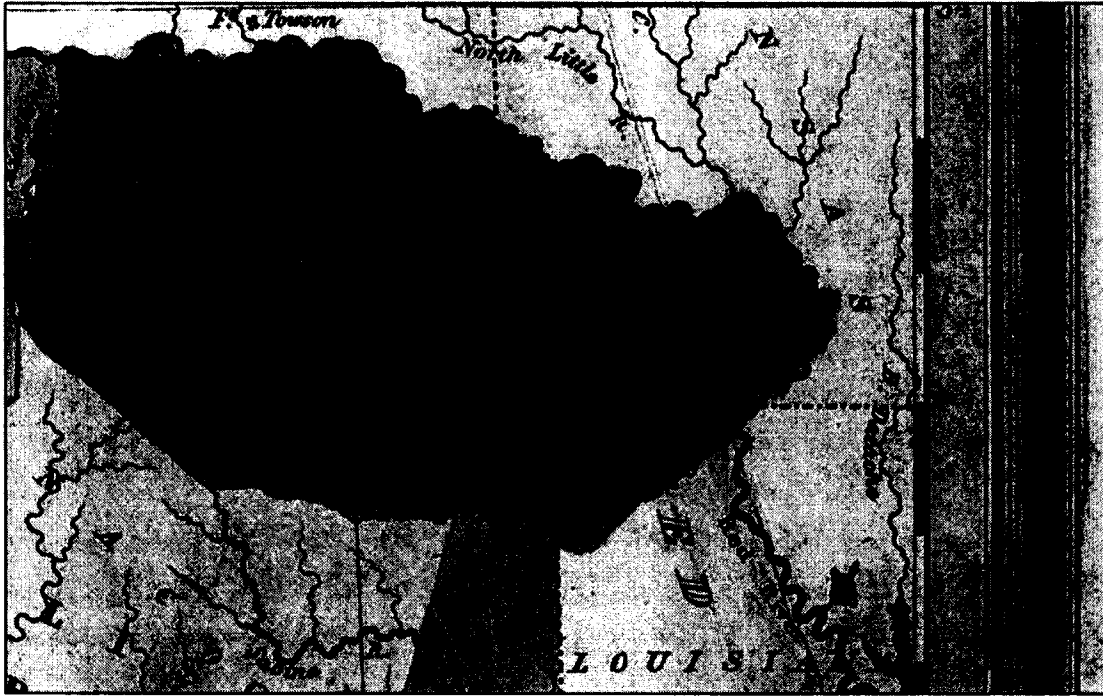


Figure 6: Excerpt of Thomas G. Bradford's Map of Texas (1839)

The first published reference to Dooley's Ferry yet identified comes from 1834. That year, English geologist George Featherstonehaugh traversed the territory (statehood came in 1836), and would sum his experience up in what English scholar Robert Cochran (1989) would describe as the worst "ink-lashing" Arkansas would receive in a century. Like previous explorers Thomas Nuttall and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Featherstonehaugh found much to condemn in early Arkansas society, though unlike the other chroniclers, he offered little comment on any counterbalancing admirable qualities. Featherstonehaugh traveled across eastern Arkansas, passed through Little Rock and thence descended the Southwest Trail to Washington. From

there, he passed some span of time in the home of Richard Prior, an early resident of Spring Hill, who impressed the wandering Brit with possessing a piano, something that the culture-deprived Featherstonehaugh was astounded to see a mere “ten miles from Mexico” (Cochran 1989).

From Spring Hill, Featherstonehaugh set out for Mexico. He made that crossing at Dooley’s Ferry, noting that the ferryman bid him walk his horse quickly from the ferry landing, lest he become mired in the soft ground on the far side (Featherstonehaugh 1844). His relief at exiting Arkansas was palpable, and underscores the above assertion that the far side of the Red River, though firmly established to be American territory was, in practice, outside of the United States. This was a point we tried to drive home during tours of the site for the public. This site was, for the first few years of its existence, the utter end of the United States.

Meinig (1986) emphasized the parallel existence of French, British, Spanish, and Luso Atlantic Worlds. Dooley’s Ferry, under this rubric, was the interface between Spanish and British Atlantics, and though Spanish colonial policy forbade it, exchange of goods and people across the Red River were transitions between these worlds. During recent digs at Historic Washington State Park, in the city’s old commercial district, Arkansas Archeological Society members recovered four Spanish coins (Figure 7). These small silver disks, all minted in the late 18th century, evoke the commerce, licit or otherwise, that flowed back and forth between these two worlds.

Legal documents pertaining to the land surrounding Dooley’s Ferry do not appear until George Dooley patented it in 1837. A land office opened at Washington, a short distance to the north, five years before. This made the registration site a mere 20

miles away, instead of the prior 125 miles over rough to non-existent roads to the land office at Little Rock. As noted above, squatting ruled until the end of the 1830s, and preemption laws gave squatters first claim in land purchases, which offered little incentive to buy once a family was already resident (Bolton 1998; McNeilly 2000)



Figure 7: Half Real Coin Recovered at Washington, AR (Photo by Jamie Brandon)

Two events on the Atlantic Coast spurred movement of peoples into and through the Great Bend region. First, the U.S. government offered veterans of the War of 1812 bounty lands in reward for their service. Those lands, significantly situated in Arkansas and other frontier territories, would benefit from settlers trained to fight and defend themselves, while veterans received compensation for their service. Many former soldiers headed west to claim their land. Others sold their land to speculators, who re-sold to pioneer families who had a little money, but not veteran status (Bolton 1998).

Also, in 1837, a financial panic gripped the eastern seaboard. Thousands lost their savings and businesses while incurring insurmountable debt. Many of these families sought a new start in the west, and both Arkansas and Texas beckoned. Though the latter was still foreign territory, land was freely available, and many thousands responded to the siren song of Texas. Indeed, the fact that it was a foreign country was a catalyst in some cases. Nelson (2012:121) writes that creditors could not reach indebted immigrants in Texas, a luxury many availed themselves of.

So many people headed west, in fact, that the crossings on the various rivers that stood between the east and west became bottlenecks for travelers. Large caravans headed to Texas piled up in the fields around Dooley's Ferry, waiting for the ferryboat to take them across the Red River. Wait times stretched into periods of days, even with the labor of five African Americans being put to the ferry operations (Danley 1986; Turner 1994:13).

Behind the Tennesseans, Virginians, and Carolinians came subsequent waves of settlers from the Deep South states of Alabama and Mississippi. These were scions of families who had been part of an earlier migration to Alabama and Mississippi during one of the first cotton booms. With land in Virginia exhausted by tobacco farming, the opening of new soils in the Deep South drew farmers like moths to a flame. A generation later, their children headed to Arkansas and Texas, seeking the same sort of prosperity and land on the new edge of the frontier. Second and third sons who stood to inherit little sought their own route to prosperity in the howling wilderness of the Natural State.

In Southwest Arkansas, these newcomers fill in the areas previously occupied by more affluent and earlier settlers from the eastern seaboard. They don't appear to have quite the level of wealth or quite the number of slaves as do the earlier arrivals, and constitute the core of a middle class and working class in the region.

These different areas of society came together to produce one of the first true cotton economies in the territory and later state of Arkansas. Today, the delta counties in eastern Arkansas that lie along the Mississippi River are known as the agricultural region, with the southwest region known more for its silviculture (the annual football game between SAU and UA-Monticello is known as the Battle of the Timberlands). 150 years ago, this was not the case. The deltaic parts of Arkansas were, as they are today, full of rich, clayey soils that held water well, meaning that much of that region was a bog impenetrable to travelers, uncultivable to farmers, and beset by clouds of mosquitoes (Bolton 1998:13, 16–17; McNeilly 2000:16). With mosquitoes came malaria, a disease whose transmission was a mystery to antebellum Americans, but which could prostrate an entire town during the summer months, as Sam Williams (Medearis 1979), a printer's devil in Fulton (12 miles from Dooley's Ferry) wrote in his reminiscences of early Arkansas. Agricultural development of the delta waited until the 1850s, when large-scale efforts to dike and drain the swamps made the soils accessible (Medearis 1979).

Southwest Arkansas lies in the western gulf coast plain, a relic seacoast that left a thick layer of sandy soil across the region. This sandy soil allows water to percolate through much better than in other regions, meaning less work was required to set up farming operations in the state, which was particularly advantageous for the

first wave of immigrants, who did not enjoy the connections to markets and the possibility of bringing in more agricultural equipment (Bolton 1998).

This first cotton boom brought families like the Dooleys to southwest Arkansas specifically to set up cotton farms and plantation. The vestiges of this early economy are still visible in places like Garland City, where the massive Wynn-Price House, constructed in 1845, still stands. Even further, dozens of former cotton gins and seed warehouses dot the timberlands outside of the Red River Valley, testimony to the cotton plantation economy that once covered the region.

Rolling on the Red: Trade in Early Southwest Arkansas

That cotton production does little good to the people of the area if they can't transport it somewhere for sale, and early Arkansas did not favor travel. Railroads were not constructed to any significant level before the Civil War began. At war's outset, only sixty-six miles of track had been laid in the state, mostly in a single line extending west out of Memphis (DeBlack 2003a). There had been some interest in developing a line that ran across Arkansas to either Fulton or Dooley's Ferry, and plans were being worked on in the 1850s, but political infighting led to their early demise (Woods 1948). It wouldn't be until the 1870s when the track would run across the state.

Roads were longer in length, but of poor quality. There was only one significant road across the state, running southwest out of St. Louis to Little Rock to Washington. The development of the road, variously known as the Military Road or the Old Southwest Trail, was actually a sticking point in whether or not the territory would move towards statehood. So long as Arkansas remained a territory,

maintenance of the Trail was funded by the federal government (Bolton 1998). Statehood shifted that burden to the people of Arkansas, resulting in taxation and the commissioning and coordination at the county level.

Outside of this one thoroughfare, roads were undeveloped tracks through the wilderness that could quickly become impassable during rainy seasons. Even during the war, roads through places like Moro Bay or Jenkins Ferry could be completely washed out, impeding traffic for days if not weeks (Atkinson 1955). Dooley's Ferry was one of the places where these rough tracks came together, with two roads converging at the crossing and carrying on to Texas on the far shore.

In the absence of reliable roads and rails, rivers would serve as the major thoroughfares of the early Great Bend region. This was true for all of Arkansas, as the rivers of the state, including the Red, Ouachita, Arkansas, St. Francis, and White, were the conduits for settlement and the flow of goods for the first generations of American settlement. The earliest settlements of the state were all located on or in close proximity to either a river or the Southwest Trail. Fort Smith and Little Rock laid on the Arkansas. Camden (*nee Ecore Fabre*) overlooked the Ouachita, Helena girded the Mississippi, and Washington lay athwart the Southwest Trail.

This traffic lay at the mercy of seasonal highs and lows in river levels and made flooding a serious problem. The land nearest the river frequently lay in the hands of wealthy individuals, who sought to establish large plantations along the riverbanks. The high cost of transporting cotton to the river cut into the profit margins of the owners of lands farther in. Those who got land along the river first saved more money and insulated their position (McNeilly 2000). As all of Arkansas's significant rivers

feed into the Mississippi at some point, riverside landowners inevitably looked to New Orleans as a primary market for bringing goods in and sending cotton out.

The Red River was no exception to this. Though choked by the Great Raft from around 1500AD (Lenzer 1978:56–59), people still traded along it and used it as a commercial artery. Once it ran clear, thanks to the efforts of Captain Henry M. Shreve, the namesake of Shreveport, steamboats could travel up to Dooley's Ferry and beyond. Beginning in the 1830s, then, it served as a major avenue of trade for southwest Arkansas, and would remain so until the railroad took over in the 1870s (Sherwood 1944).

Cotton from the Great Bend passed through the “factorage system” en route from field to market. Planters and farmers generally did not sell their produce on the open market. Rather, the grower contracted with one or more cotton “factors” who would oversee the sale. These factors took the crop to market and either sold it or held it until their experience told them that the price was best. After taking their percentage, the factor would send the proceeds of the sale to the planter (Woodman 1990).

Major factors were located in significant port cities, such as Charleston or, salient in the Trans-Mississippi South, New Orleans. Smaller franchises operated in inland river cities such as Memphis or Shreveport, though these frequently formed partnerships with New Orleans factors. The factors also typically oversaw the purchase of goods for the plantations (Woodman 1990).

Roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the country's annual cotton crop went to Northern textile mills, while the rest went to Europe, primarily the textile mills of Great Britain. This export focus tied the United States, and particularly the South, to the British Isles throughout

the 19th century. The focus on cotton production and the labor system it entailed, or was seen to entail, would be the major catalyst for the Civil War.

This puts the development of southwest Arkansas as a cotton economy fully enmeshed in the Atlantic World. Despite its remove from the coast, the Atlantic World reached up the rivers of Arkansas and connected its small towns and plantations to European countries such as the United Kingdom that used colonial nations or former colonies, including the United States, as grounds for developing economies of raw material production, such as cotton, timber, and other materials. In return, those former colonies, including Arkansas, received English finished goods, from ceramics to clothes. This organization of production is essentially the core/periphery dynamics of World Systems Theory (Benjamin 2009; Wallerstein 1974). That Arkansas's wealth was 97% invested in agricultural pursuits at the onset of the war shows the extent to which it was a producer of raw materials for manufacturing elsewhere (Bolton 1998).

Conclusion

Dooley's Ferry is a node in this network, binding together the farms and plantations of the area and offering a point of communication with Shreveport, New Orleans, and points beyond. It facilitated the immigration of settlers to Texas. Some of these folks were "deadbeats" – to borrow a term from Nelson (2012) – running from debts. Others were helping to break Texas off from Mexico, as both Davy Crockett and Sam Houston are said to have passed through Dooley's Ferry to fight in the Texas Revolution (Medearis 1976).

It was a point where people carried cotton to be warehoused for eventual loading onto steamboats bound for New Orleans. It was part of a cotton commodity

chain (Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994) that was one of the foundations of the British Atlantic World. Without that economic chain, there would be little impetus for the development of southwest Arkansas. Without that network, there's no early cotton boom and no subsequent development of markets and regions within the state.



Figure 8: Cotton Fields Stretching into the Distance in Front of the Wynn-Price House, Garland City

Travel to the Red River Valley today, and, depending on the year, the open cotton fields still stretch away to the horizon, and are harvested along much the same cycle of production as was a century ago, though with modern technology (Figure 8).

Though new industries, such as the timber industry that rose in the early 20th century and the oil booms of the 1920s and 2000s now dominate local economic life, the cotton economy that came first left an indelible imprint on the region; in the distribution of its towns and the social and cultural attitudes of its people, for better and worse (Chapter 10). Those connections forged during the first half of the 19th century drove the development of local economic and social life, which are the foci of the following chapters

Chapter 2. Living and Laboring in the Great Bend

The connections of antebellum Arkansas to the Atlantic World drove the economy of the early American settlement of the Great Bend. It was an economy geared towards agricultural production, with cotton serving as the focal cash crop for the region. This orientation towards cotton production dictated the social structure of the region. Like the rest of the South, that system was predicated upon the coerced labor of African Americans (McNeilly 2000:3–4).

The organization of labor inherent in the spread of capitalist production to the region represented a sea change from the preceding occupants. While certainly a stratified society with grades of lineages (Schambach 1993), the preceding groups of Caddoan horticulturalists lacked the rigid and heavily-policed social system that Americans would bring to the Great Bend to grow crops for global trade. This chapter examines how the labor demanded of American immigrants to produce cotton for their Atlantic World connections shaped local society and culture, and how each were maintained throughout the antebellum period.

King Cotton

Different work regimes were in play at Dooley's Ferry down through the years. The Kadohadacho were horticulturalists, and were replaced first by trappers and traders, then by historic Native American tribes from the Southeast that hunted extensively (McCrocklin 1990a), and finally by an emerging agricultural economy focused around cotton production.

To a point not seen in other points of Arkansas at the time, southwest Arkansas became a serious cotton producer as early as the 1820s (Bolton 1998:50; McNeilly 2000:3). Southwest Arkansas did not have the restraints on production that came with eastern Arkansas. The delta counties that would explode with planting in the 1850s were rich in alluvial clays, which held water very well and were, consequently, very boggy. It wasn't possible to farm those areas at first, as rendering the soil arable required the construction of large berms and ditches to drain the soil (Bolton 1998:13).

Southwest Arkansas, on the other hand, had deep sandy soils, augmented in river valleys by more fertile loams and clay loams. Though these soils were less productive than those of the Arkansas Delta, they didn't require substantial effort to start a farm on, and they weren't as pestilent and malarial as the wetter lands farther east (Bolton 1998; McNeilly 2000). They did, however, have to be cleared of the current residents.

Clearing the Fields: Historic Native Americans on the Great Bend

As we shall see throughout this dissertation, race structured much of Arkansas history and culture. Race, of course, means more than a simple dichotomy of black and white. The Great Bend has a history of settlement by Native Americans stretching back millennia. Just across the Red River from Dooley's Ferry lies the Crenshaw Mounds Site, one of the largest known Caddo/Fourche Maline mound groups in the region (Samuelsen 2009:17). Numerous other well-known sites, such as the Foster site (which was one of the bases for local Caddoan ceramic typologies) and the giant Battle Mound, dot the fields of the river valley upstream and down (Moore 1912; Schambach 1982). By the time of sustained European presence in the 17th and 18th

centuries, the region was home to the Kadohadacho, one of the major divisions of the Caddo confederacy (Schambach 1993). Sometime around 1800, prior to American settlement, the Kadohadacho departed the area in favor of lands farther south, around Cypress Creek and Caddo Lake in present-day east Texas (Bolton 1998:68).

This is not to suggest that southwest Arkansas had no indigenous residents, however. The first Cherokee reservations during the Removal period were located in Arkansas, primarily along the Arkansas River, north of the Great Bend. When the signing of a treaty with the U.S. government in 1817 compelled the Cherokee south of the Arkansas to move north, a small faction under the leadership of Duwali (also known variously as “Bowl,” “The Bowl,” “Chief Bowles”) departed, instead, for Lost Prairie. They hoped to make homes of their own choosing. Local whites cut short their way the following year, mounting a raid on Cherokee settlements on Lost Prairie and sending them into Texas (Logan 1997:14).

Four potential Cherokee sites have been documented in southwest Arkansas. McCrocklin (1990a; McCrocklin 1990b) reports on investigation at two of these sites, though all four lie within three miles of Dooley’s Ferry on the southern side of the Red River. He focuses on Tara I (3MI292) and Tara II (3MI297), both of which contained substantial, single-component middens of animal bone, English buttons and ceramics, and pieces of bottle glass. Many of the glass fragments showed signs of stone tool-like processing. Two other sites, Queen’s Plantation #4 (3MI149) and Tara #5 (3MI309), were reported by McCrocklin based on the resemblance of their artifact signatures to Tara I and Tara II. Archaeologist John Riggs re-visited Tara #5 in 2005 and, while he

did not recover additional materials, heard that landowners had recovered “a Spanish coin, trade beads, a pipe and bullets” (ARAS Site Files).

None of these sites contained period farming implements, which McCrocklin took to be evidence of the Cherokee relying on hunting during their stay in the area (McCrocklin 1990a; McCrocklin 1990b). The large numbers of unfired and fired small arms projectiles recovered at all four sites were taken to be both evidence of hunting and the violent end of the settlements.

Historically, McCrocklin used passages from the accounts of the 1806 Freeman-Custis Expedition, a Red River counterpart to Lewis and Clark’s Voyage of Discovery to bolster his claim. Unfortunately, this undercuts his interpretation of the sites being Lost Prairie Cherokee. The site referenced in the Freeman-Custis accounts lies south of present day Garland City, roughly 5-10 miles south of the reported sites. Additionally, the Freeman-Custis Expedition passed through the area 13 years before the arrival of the Lost Prairie Cherokee, under Duwali, in 1819 (Flores 2002). This does not mean that the sites are not historic Native American, however, nor does it mean that they are not Cherokee sites.

The artifacts recovered from Tara I and Tara II do support the conclusion that they are historic Native American and linked to the Removal period. The lack of agricultural implements and evidence for hunting suggest a transitory population, and the trade goods and early 19th century ceramics would be more likely seen on historic Native American sites than immigrant European American ones. This pattern also largely corresponds to three historic Coushatta villages excavated by McCrocklin and others on the Red River just below the Great Bend, for which there was more

historical documentation that helped establish the sites' identities as historic Native American. This artifact pattern been used by Perttula (2011) and others to identify other historic Native American sites in the Great Bend and adjoining areas.

McCrocklin (1990a) mentions a “probable Delaware” site in addition to the aforementioned Cherokee sites, though he never delves deeply into the material record of this site. He does reference an 1819 letter from John Fowler, factor at the Sulphur Fork Factory (also investigated by McCrocklin) which describes Cherokee and Delaware villages facing each other across the Red River. McCrocklin (1985) elsewhere explored Couthatta villages lower on the Red River, in Louisiana, dating to the 1790-1835 period, which contained more elaborate assemblages and were much more conclusively identified.

The mere presence of early-19th century Native American sites in the region is a factor of the drawing of racial lines in early American society. The Cherokee, Choctaw, and other “Civilized Tribes” of the southeast endeavored to culturally assimilate to European Americans, to the point that, at times, only language and family names served as the denotata of their tribal affiliation. Regardless, they were dispossessed of their homelands and forced to move first to the Arkansas Territory, then to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma).

That there were Cherokee and Delaware living in Arkansas in the early 1800s (and that they are not today) is evidence that, regardless of one's physical appearance, the ancestry-based racial categories of the period and cultural context ruled. Those who were not white could not maintain a claim to the land in the face of American

expansion. The rich lands of the Red River region would become the center of cotton production, and they would be owned by whites.

Building a New Economy

The river system that facilitated settlement of southwest Arkansas also served as the primary mode of transportation for goods coming into and out of the region (Moneyhon 2002:25). The alluvial lands bordering Arkansas's rivers were lush and produced lots of agricultural commodities. So much so, that by 1860, roughly 98% of property in Arkansas was bound up in agricultural pursuits. Industrial development suffered under this system, with most areas having at best grist or saw mills and a smattering of cotton gins. Nothing like the industrial development taking place in the northeast at the time occurred in Arkansas before the war (Moneyhon 2002:13).

Cotton farmed in Arkansas went through several stages before becoming a finished product, most of which took place outside the state's borders. Farmers planted cotton seeds in April or May and weeded the growing plants throughout the summer. Bolls began to open in August, which signaled the onset of picking, which lasted through the fall (Dattel 2011:32–33). Picking by hand, slaves (and some poor whites) would loop a long cloth sack over their shoulder, which they filled as they picked their way across the field. Workers picked from sunup to sundown, trying to get the crop in before the weather turned cold. Genovese (1974:321–322) records that sometimes, when a plantation fell behind in its picking, slaves from neighboring plantations would be sent to assist, often working by moonlight. Though additional labor, it was also a chance for slaves to socialize with neighbors, and such instances of shared labor were brief periods of pleasure in the annual work cycle.

Once grown and harvested, the cotton would have to be seeded before it could be baled. Typically, this meant carrying the raw cotton to a gin; though where gins were not available farmers picked the cotton by hand. This was laborious work, often requiring one person's labor for a full day to separate one pound of cotton (Dattel 2011:32). When a gin was available, the cotton would be fed into a hopper above the gin's whirling steel blades, which would separate cotton seeds from the fibers.

After the seeds were removed, fibers would be bound together into a bale, commonly weighing around 500 pounds, and wrapped with burlap, jute, or some other rough sacking material. The bale would then be warehoused until some kind of transport arrived to carry them to the coast (Dattel 2011:33).

At first, farmers simply dumped seeds in some out-of-the-way place near the processing site. There they would decay, unused. After the war, however, various entrepreneurs tried to make the seeds marketable. Amongst the explored possibilities included pressing the seeds to collect their edible oil; giving the world Crisco and a number of other products. Rather than being discarded, seeds would be stored in a specially-equipped barn adjacent to the gin, and eventually shipped to a factory where they would be hulled and pressed for their oil (O'Brien et al. 2005). The Plantation Agriculture Museum outside of Little Rock and Historic Washington State Park, north of Hope, both have gins as part of their historical interpretation, showing visitors how this staple of 19th century Arkansas agriculture was processed.

Places like Dooley's Ferry were points of aggregation for cotton bales from the surrounding neighborhood and warehoused. We know this because a deed of sale struck between William Burton, William Cunningham, and Robert Carrington, in

1838, in which Burton and Cunningham sold the land around the ferry to Carrington, included the following memorandum:

It is hereby distinctly understood by and between the undersigned that Robert Carrington is not to have any benefit resulting from the ferry, known as Dooley's, on the Red River, the present year, nor of the Ware House – but is to have his ferriage account free of charge (Hempstead County Courthouse 1838:155–156).

Before being loaded, however, the cotton would have to be sold. Cotton marketing in antebellum America involved numerous transactions in disparate places. These transactions, and the flow of cotton between them, constituted a commodity chain, linking Arkansas through the Atlantic World to the northeastern United States and the United Kingdom (Gereffi et al. 1994:2).

At the outset, beginning with completed bales of cotton, the producer of the cotton would typically contract with a merchant or cotton factor to sell the cotton. In southwest Arkansas, this meant dealing with one of a number of factories situated in New Orleans (Woodman 1990). These factors would advertise in local papers, such as the *Washington Telegraph* (Figure 9).

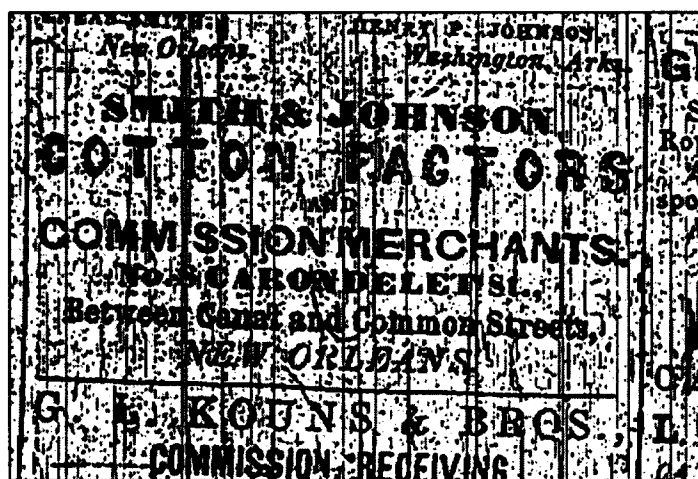


Figure 9: Cotton Factor Advertisement Printed in the *Washington Telegraph*, January 15, 1862

In New Orleans, factors would negotiate sale prices with cotton brokers, who were representatives of mills and banks, frequently based in London or Scotland, or directly with cotton buyers located in southern port cities (Woodman 1990:26–28). Both seller and broker/buyer would inspect the cotton for quality and haggle over a price. If sold to a broker, the cotton would then be loaded onto a ship and sent to the mill. If sold directly to a buyer, the buyer might warehouse the crop until he could command a better price. These buyers, sometimes referred to as speculators, were known to have cotton shipped from one port to the next, looking for the best price. This usually was a matter of shipping from the South to New York and thence to Europe. In fact, this pattern became so regular that, in the 1850s, “in transit” sales were developed. Rather than ship to New York, factors removed samples of the cotton and shipped the bales to England. The samples would be used to check prices in New York, and, if the speculator deemed it worthwhile, could re-direct the sale to New York (Woodman 1990:28)

Factors also acted as purchasing agents, forwarding farming supplies to plantations upon request. Purchases were usually made based on credit extended to the planter, which was usually extended based on the next year’s crop. Such an arrangement benefitted both factor and planter. Planters did not have to oversee purchases directly, and did not have to personally navigate global cotton markets or oversee the details and complexities of international shipping (Woodman 1990:38–39). Factors and buyers, while having to deal with those issues, had the social connections and business experience to make a go of it where an individual farmer or planter would not. They benefitted financially from their position as intermediaries,

and the crop-lien system accorded them influence in the production decisions their clients made annually. Creditors could dictate crop choices, and as cotton was the main cash crop of the South, cotton was the product of choice (Moneyhon 2002:30–32). This system would continue after the war, but the holders of credit would move inland, amongst the planting communities, becoming what is widely known as the “crop-lien system” (Clark 1946:43).

This arrangement, based on Arkansas’s river systems, also meant that the only market for Arkansas products was out of state, as was the only source for finished goods. New Orleans merchants charged high rates to Arkansas farmers for overseeing cotton sales, and were often accused of price gouging in the sales of plantation supplies. These factors helped limit capital accumulation amongst all sectors of Arkansas society, including white elites, causing planned infrastructural developments to flounder due to a lack of investments (Moneyhon 2002:32). This stunting of growth included the failure of antebellum plans to build a railroad from Gaines’s Landing, on the Mississippi River, to Dooley’s Ferry on the Red (Adams 1952:86–87), which would have broken New Orleans’s monopoly on Arkansas produce and likely turned the ferry into a place of much greater economic, social, and political significance.

Other Pursuits

Moneyhon (2002) uses the ratio of corn to cotton grown as an index of the extent to which different counties in Arkansas could be considered enmeshed in a cotton economy. By the time of the war, both Lafayette and Hempstead Counties, comprising the two sides of Dooley’s Ferry, fit Moneyhon’s description. Both

counties were heavily engaged in its production, and had been throughout the antebellum period. Yet, they were not producing only cotton.

In addition to the fruit of the boll, the region produced substantial quantities of corn, wheat, rye, tobacco, oats, wool, peas, beans, butter, cheese, honey, beeswax, rice (in very small amounts) and both Irish and sweet potatoes (U.S. Census Office 1864). Unlike cotton, however, these products were not being grown for international exchange. These were the subsistence crops that served as the bases for local diets. That same schedule, drawn from the 1860 U.S. Census, enumerates the swine kept in each county for meat, cattle used both for farm work and food, and horses and mules, work animals par excellence.

In an area as heavily focused on agricultural production as was Dooley's Ferry, it comes as little surprise that industrial lagged markedly behind other parts of the country. Mills and gins provided the most advanced machinery anywhere in the state before the war, save for a few more advanced facilities in cities such as Little Rock (Moneyhon 2002:33). Grist mills were a vital necessity for producing wheat and cornmeal for local consumption. Sawmills became widespread in the timberland regions of southern Arkansas and the Ozark and Ouachita Mountains, though an export-focused timber industry did not develop significantly until after the war, when the extension of rail lines made it possible to move cut lumber long distances at low rates (Goodspeed Company 1890). Henry Merrell (1991:238–239) migrated to Arkansas in 1856 to establish a mill in the hills of Pike County, using one of the few reliable mill seats on the Little Missouri River. Throughout his autobiography, Merrell

complains frequently of many things, including the ingratitude and rascality of his neighbors, but writes nary a word about a surplus of competition.

Cotton gins were similarly important to the economy. Some plantations owned their own, ginning both their own cotton and that of neighboring farms (for a price). Early gins were hand-cranked, but these were rapidly replaced by larger versions fueled by horsepower. The larger facilities could produce two or three bales per day, often creating lines at the gin house (Dick 1948:252–253). Though Hempstead and Lafayette Counties are today dotted with numerous old cotton gins, many of them defunct, the 1860 Manufacture Schedule attached to the U.S. Census reported only one gin in Hempstead County (U.S. Census Office 1865).

That same year, there were twenty other manufacturers of various stripes operating in Hempstead County, including lumber mills, saddle and wagon manufacturers, cobblers, brick-makers, a furniture maker, and two manufacturers of agricultural implements. None were reported for Lafayette County (U.S. Census Office 1864; U.S. Census Office 1865). It is telling that the industrial development of the two counties bordering Dooley's Ferry was almost wholly dedicated to industries supporting agricultural production, showing little promise of expanding the economy to other frontiers. At war's outset, there was nothing that could be justly called a factory in the whole of southern Arkansas (McKenzie 1965:47).

The Culture of Cotton Production

The economy that grew up in southwest Arkansas in the early 19th century fundamentally shaped the people who engaged with it and made it run. They lived in households and communities that were structured by a number of different factors.

Historical archaeologists traditionally point to race, class, and gender as the major structuring registers of American history (Delle et al. 2000), though teasing out the relationships between these factors is never a simple task. Brandon (2009) sketches the history of archaeologists' grappling with race and class, and emphasizes how the topics covered in this section, following Hartigan (2005), entail identities and dynamics that are unique to the temporal and geographic locale under study. The connections between race, class, and gender drawn here for early-19th century southwest Arkansas are unique to that area, though they may closely resemble other places, particularly the other towns and farmlands across the South from which Arkansans, white and black, immigrated in the early 19th century.

While I would generally agree that race, class, and gender are the primary axes of social organization in the antebellum South, I will suggest that this best holds only true during peacetime. Wartime, as we shall see in Section 2 (below) creates other considerations while simultaneously challenging the manner in which race, class, and gender are marked and maintained. Other registers, such as political affiliation and military membership, take on added significance while residents renegotiated the structures of signification and demarcation that clove society along race, class, and gender.

To clearly understand how these various axes structured Southern society, we need a unit of analysis that lets us see how these distinctions would play out on a day-to-day basis. Historical archaeologists frequently use the household as a convenient point of entry, as do I here. Brandon and Barile (2004) and Pluckhahn (2010) both provide analyses of this concept as an analytical unit. I follow Brandon and Barile's

(2004:8) use of Julia Hendon's (1996) and E.A. Hammel's (1984) statement that households are "the next bigger thing on the social map after an individual." Gereffi et al (1994:12) also point to households as an under-studied but crucial concept for understanding the composition and construction of commodity chains, such as that which tied Dooley's Ferry to a global cotton-producing industry, and for understanding how those chains helped give shape to individual identities across the registers just mentioned.

Households at Dooley's Ferry meant more than the physical structure and more than the nuclear family associated with them. Thinking particularly about the Carlock household, erstwhile residents of Locus 4 (Chapter 5), our understanding must be expansive enough to encompass both the eponymous nuclear family and its non-kin enslaved workers, have sufficient spatial elasticity to encompass both the house and the ferry landing, and reflect the instability of the slave-owning household as a unit when reckoned through time.

Of course, these needs breed the necessity of caveats. Households, as frequently used by archaeologists and historians, reflect the definition of household as used by official documents, such as the U.S. Census (Fox-Genovese 1988:31–32). This definition understood the household to revolve around a household head (typically the white male), with women and children included in the Population Schedule ranged under the heads' name, and African-American household members listed in the accompanying Slave Schedule, again by the name of the owner.

It would not be until after emancipation that African Americans, as a group, show in the Population Schedule under their own names and as comprising their own

households. Combining scholarship on the structure of enslaved families in the antebellum south with either Hammel's definition of a household, or even that of Fox-Genovese (1988:32), who sees them as a social unit that pools resources and labor, opens the door for discussing households as more complex, multivalent concepts than heretofore dealt with in archaeology.

Some archaeologists have begun to break away from the Census-based model of household definition. Anderson (2004) examines "nesting" of households within plantation communities in the Bahamas, wherein household defined for an elite white male could include several plantations that collectively and individually constitute households. Within these two levels, planter and slave households could be isolated, reflecting the multivalency of social bonds and obligations generated by the maintenance of a large, enslaved workforce. Battle (2004) accomplishes something similar, isolating enslaved households within a plantation context.

Both Battle and Anderson look at multivalent or nested households within a single plantation context, where the size of the enslaved population and the barriers to movement were such that households could be easily defined within the plantation's boundaries. Such a model is unlikely to hold for Dooley's Ferry, largely because it is not a plantation site (though there were plantations in the area), and, based on what we know of the structure of slave families and communities in the area suggest that, in such situations, families of enslaved laborers accomplished many tasks that would fit many definitions of a household, yet transcended the boundaries of the homes and plantations that were the site of their enslavement.

Kaye (2007:49), Blassingame (1972:85), and Malone (1992:227–228), among others, mention marriages that transcended plantation and neighborhood boundaries. Though Malone argues that they were not common in Louisiana, due to the difficulty in securing a pass and the danger posed by slave patrols, that these relationships existed suggests a need for an equally elastic household concept.

While Malone contends that disparate households were rare, Hahn (2003:35) suggests that slaveowners “had to yield to demographic realities and pressure from their slaves, and to permit regular social interaction across farms and plantations” that helped to maintain households, both as social units and as a composition of physical sites including houses and garden plots. Members of a family might collectively perform productive functions usually associated with a household – functions such as tending a garden, raising children, or providing emotional and spiritual support – while being dispersed across several plantations or farms. Their comparatively infrequent periods of coresidence (weekly instead of daily) give their households a slower pacing than we generally employ in the application of the household concept, yet their maintenance of these bonds and behaviors provides the functional and perceptual basis that gave the household reality (Hahn 2003:35; Kaye 2007). It may have been a reality only taken seriously by the people who composed these households, but whether whites accorded them any attention is really beside the point.

Galindo (2004:195) offers an example of a physically-disparate household, where different members of Spanish colonial households in south Texas and northern Mexico occupied different parts of the landscape while holding property jointly and working in concert to produce as a single unit. This is similar to the concept of

household that I envision here, though the basis for the dispersion matters greatly. Amongst the ranchos of south Texas, dispersed households were a matter of environmental adaptation and a system worked out through kin networks grounded on cooperation and mutual benefit (Galindo 2004:195). African-American households in the antebellum South, conditioned by slavery, were neither so consensual nor an adaptation to the environment. They were, instead, a social adaptation to the violence of the period and the cultural context in which they arose.

The difficulty with the concept arises from the rarity with which such households might be noted in the historical record (Malone 1992:228), and the difficulty in identifying such an arrangement archaeologically. Having adumbrated this reading of the household concept, where can we take it? I don't know that there is the documentary or material base in hand to advance it any further right now, but I think it important to call attention to this alternative reading of the household concept as a potential area for future research, and also to decenter the Census-like definition of the antebellum household.

Over the following paragraphs, I will try to tease apart how race, class, and gender structured households. Working within the constraints of the available documentary and material base developed through the course of this project, and needing to focus on the spatially-bounded loci at Dooley's Ferry, I employ the more conventional model for households just critiqued, fully acknowledging its limitations and accepting that, in studying these households, we are only catching one set of households that may have incorporated Dooley's Ferry.

Race and Class

Perhaps more than any other factor, race shaped social life in cotton-producing areas. Skin color dictated opportunities, rights, and freedoms (or lack thereof) throughout the antebellum era. Slavery in Arkansas did not begin with American settlement, however. Europeans brought slaves to the region in the colonial era (Taylor 1958:3), though we should remember that the De Soto expedition included 500 Native American brought in chains to serve the Spaniards, who numbered 300 (Schambach 1993). Slavery exploded in scale and importance during the early 19th century, and was increasing in importance in Arkansas at war's outset. Indeed, the increase in the number of enslaved persons in the state was greater between 1850 and 1860 than at any other time in the state's history, driven largely by the opening of marshy delta lands to production in that decade (Bolton 1998; Taylor 1958).

Both Genovese (1974) and Gutman (1977) consider the system of slave labor common throughout the South to be fundamentally a class system, though one where race a priori dictated a person's position within the hierarchy. Though both white and black Arkansans lived in poverty, skin color dictated that poor whites occupied a slightly higher social position than African Americans, a distinction continually enforced by both elite and working-class whites (Du Bois 1995:541). Growing cotton in southwest Arkansas for exchange through the Atlantic World lay at the base of this race/class juncture. Of course, other crops were grown elsewhere in the South, with southern Louisiana, South Carolina, and the Georgia coast turning out sugar cane, rice, and indigo (Meinig 1986:293; Stampp 1956:47).

Regardless of crop, Arkansas slavery was the outgrowth of a centuries-long developmental process that traversed the South and was rooted in the early colonies of

the Mid-Atlantic (Meinig 1986:286–287; Stamp 1956:6). The first African Americans had been brought to North America in bondage in the 1620s, arriving at early English settlements on the Virginia Peninsula (Morgan 1975:295–312). Though initially twinned with white indentured servitude, black slavery persisted into the 18th century, where white servitude did not, creating an association between skin color and slavery that marginalized African Americans economically, socially, and politically (Genovese 1974:31). From the Chesapeake and Carolina coast, slave-based agriculture spread across the eastern seaboard in the 18th century, then expanded into the Deep South states at the dawn of the 19th century before spreading down the Gulf Coast and flanking the rivers into Arkansas and Texas in the 1820s and 1830s (Meinig 1986).

Conveying the scope and variety of ramifications that enslavement held for African Americans working on Red River Valley farms and plantations surrounding Dooley's Ferry is difficult. Drawing on representations of slavery in popular culture, such as the 1977 miniseries *Roots*, we often think first of the beatings administered by overseer or owner; or the breakup of nuclear families through sale or probating estates. Slave memoirs from Hempstead County (Lankford 2003:134–155; Riley 2004:123–158) underscore the cruelty that haunted the residents of the area's plantations and farms. But it's more complex than that, and the outrages of slavery were not isolated to these moments of terror when the slave trader came to carry off a child or husband, or when an overseer broke out the lash.

Looking at slave families and households in historical literature offers a number of avenues towards understanding how race shaped communities such as Dooley's Ferry. Slavery struck at the very definition of family. Based on West African

kinship traditions (Hahn 2003:17), slave families prized ties of obligation and kinship, forming close-knit, extra-lineal communities that emphasized communal decision-making and social life. Malone's (1992) research underscores the importance of family and the various ways in which non-kin within plantation communities could be incorporated into familial structures as a means of maintaining social relationships and combating the instability bred of enslavement. The elasticity of slave family networks allowed for children left alone by the sale or death of a parent to be extended supervision and support (Moneyhon 1999:43). Berlin (2007:55) suggests that the lack of stable and long-standing church congregations or formal ties to the state meant that these family groups were the primary source of group identity for many of the enslaved.

The establishment of slave families and households varied across the South. Though they were not recognized by law, marriages were the foundation of slave families, were taken very seriously, and were events much celebrated within slave neighborhoods (Berlin 2007:55; Gutman 1977:269–270). Marriages tended to be long-lasting, even though sales of one partner or another could break them up (though in some instances slaves remained faithful to a departed spouse for years after the sale)(Blassingame 1972:90–91; Malone 1992:171). Indeed, many former slaves' first task after emancipation was to set out in search of a spouse or child sold off in the years before the war. A fortunate few actually succeeded in finding their loved ones (Foner 2002:82–84).

Choosing a spouse was a difficult process. Owners encouraged slaves to marry within the farm or plantation household, believing that this would anchor the husband

and wife, discouraging either from running away (Berlin 2007:55; Blassingame 1972:90). They were even known to purchase a slave's new spouse from a neighboring farm so as to have both members resident. Children produced by the couple would only tie the parents more closely to the land and the slaveowner. Running away as a family was seen to be more difficult than absconding alone (Gutman 1977:267–269), and parents were unlikely to leave children or spouses to the mercy of the slaveowner. Certainly the access to a spouse afforded by coresidence could be enticing in comparison to the irregularity of association inherent in marrying someone from another farm.

Yet, many slaves objected to this pattern. They knew that, under the slave system, they could not legally defend their family member from the assaults of whites, and any physical resistance could mean death (Genovese 1974:483–486; Moneyhon 1999:43). Parents could not keep children from being beaten, nor could children defend their mothers and fathers. Husbands and wives would have to stand by and bear witness to assaults upon their spouse, unable to intercede. Given the propensity for white men to sexually abuse female slaves, husbands who married within their immediate neighborhood or plantation would have to stand by as their wives were raped (Blassingame 1972:88–89; Fox-Genovese 1988:326; Stampp 1956:354).

In such a situation, defending one's family could be impossible, and the impotence enforced by the slave system could challenge gender, parental, and communal bonds and responsibilities. In the face of these strictures, enslaved communities developed mechanisms for recouping a measure of respectability and honor stripped of them by owners. For instance, enslaved men, though not able to

defend their families could, through extra labor and learning of skilled trades, bring additional food to the table or improve the houses and furnishings of the family's living space. Providing in this manner was a source of respect and dignity as a man within the community; one less prone to challenge from an owner (Genovese 1974:486).

Mothers were fondly remembered for their care and protection, though they controlled very little of a child's upbringing, as the slaveowner orchestrated everything from prenatal care to birthing to nursing of the infants. In addition to performing her daily labor as assigned by the owner, she would have work for her family to do, work that often left her exhausted (Genovese 1974:494–501). Children on large plantations were frequently placed in the care of older women while their mothers were sent back to toil in the fields, yet found ways to keep tabs on the child and aid in their growth and development.

While it may seem curious to write paragraphs stating that “mothers were fondly remembered for their care and protection,” something that we readily associate with mothers in the modern context, or that fathers were accorded respect if they put food on the table, an equally banal statement, we must remember that the historiography of the slave family has not always seen it as a genuine institution. Beginning with E. Franklin Frazier's (1939) *The Negro Family in the United States*, the slave family was seen as an accommodation to the demands of the slave system, and little more. It was the result of the master's desires, not those of the enslaved. Stamp (1956) and Elkins (1959) both adopted this view, which remained dogma until the 1970s, when a new wave of scholars, such as Genovese (1974), Blassingame

(1972), and Gutman (1977), re-evaluated the subject. The more recent scholarship of Malone (1992), Hahn (2003), and Berlin (1998) have built upon and in some ways tempered the work of the scholars in the 1970s (Moneyhon 1999:25–27). The discussion here follows from these later works by emphasizing the close, loving ties that existed within slave families and the various functions that those families provided to their members. As Blassingame (1972:89) emphasized, slave families were a crucial survival mechanism for people caught within the grinder of this labor system.

The closeness of slave families stands in sharp distinction to the rapidity with which such closeness could be broken up. When debts ran high or money ran short, when an owner wanted to generate capital for a new purchase, or when an owner thought that his chattel were becoming unruly, he or she could simply sell members off. Some of these sales were within the neighborhood, as Friedlander (1985) noted for slave sales at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations, South Carolina, in the 18th century. In other instances, long-distance sales removed family members to places where they could not be reached by the loved ones left behind, often resulting in permanent break-ups of households. Moreover, there were no legal protections for slave marriages, largely due to the interference such safeguards would have on the profitability of slave-based agriculture (Genovese 1974:52–53). Moneyhon (1999:41–42) found that, in Arkansas, slave families were less stable than those in Deep South states to the east, largely as a result of a greater proportion being held on small farms, which were more prone to boom-and-bust economic cycles that could compel them to sell off slaves, thus breaking up families, to meet financial crises.

While they lasted, the support that an enslaved African-American received from family and household members was a paramount means of coping with and adapting to the demands of enslaved labor. Families provided relief from the physical violence meted out by slaveowner or overseer, boosted self-esteem, consoled individuals when they were hurt or coping with the loss of loved ones, and offered the loving affirmation of peers (Blassingame 1972:90–94).

Blassingame also points out how important slave households were for children, as they provided a place where children could learn the rudiments of surviving the labor system they were born into, provide them with religion, morals, and instruction other than that which the slaveowner would provide, and also provided a source of approval other than the master (Blassingame 1972:94). This accorded African Americans alternative interpretations to the forms of religious and moral instruction used by owners to maintain order. French sociologist Michel de Certeau (2002) pointed out that such alternative readings by subjugated individuals caught within such totalizing systems are powerful tools for mentally subverting authority and regaining some measure of intellectual emancipation, self-respect, and moral superiority on the part of the oppressed.

Against this communal emphasis, the individualism of slavery stands in sharp contrast. Within the legal and economic structures of slave labor, the only relationship that bore any merit was that connecting the slaveowner to an individual slave (Hahn 2003). As an isolated piece of property, the slave could be sold without regard to the social networks she or he was tied into. As a piece of property, an enslaved African-

American was alienable, both from the owner-slave relationship, and alienable from the community and family of which he or she was a part.

The day-to-day life that enslaved African Americans lived depended greatly on the organization of labor at their place of enslavement, which in the 19th century tended to fluctuate with the size of the establishment. Small farms, usually owned by middling or lower-class whites and, occasionally, free blacks, tended to work differently from plantations (Bolton 1999:8–9). Historians and archaeologists have used a number of different methods for differentiating small farms from plantations, including the acreage of an establishment, but the majority use the number of slaves held on a particular farm. Many consider farms with fewer than twenty slaves as being small farms, while plantations had more than that number. Arkansas was home to both ends of the spectrum. Numerous small farmers had one or two slaves; while the plantation districts along the Red and Mississippi Rivers saw some large plantations flourish in the years before the war (Moneyhon 1999). The largest was Sunnyside plantation, in Chicot County on the Mississippi River, with 543 slaves working 12,000 acres of Arkansas Delta land (Gatewood 1991:11).

Small-scale farmers, those who owned fewer than twenty slaves, tended to be resident on the lands being worked, often living under the same roof as the enslaved workforce. With only a few people working the land, the owner and slaves would frequently have to work together to accomplish the tasks required of running the farm. If the owner made enough money and bought enough people, he could remove himself from fieldwork, though only a few rose so high. As both white and black residents of these smaller farms worked shoulder-to-shoulder, social bonds between them tended

to be tighter (Bolton 1999). Note that I am not saying that they were necessarily emotionally more closely bonded to one another, as familiarity did not always engender affection. Indeed, the inability to maintain separate spaces could be an unpleasant aspect of the master-slave relationship for both sides of the equation (Genovese 1974).

These small farms were less-likely to be producing only one crop for export. With small resources and limited productive capability, small farmers had to produce more of their own subsistence, and had neither the inputs (land, equipment) nor the staffing to grow, pick, and bale large quantities of cotton. This meant that small farms were more diverse producers instead of being cotton monocroppers. They had to produce subsistence as well as cash crops.

This diversification mean that small farms tended to offer greater variety in work, alleviating the boredom and monotony experienced on plantations. From working in the fields to helping tend garden patches, to mending fences or, in the case of Locus 4 (below), operating the ferry, small holdings offered workers more variety and a more rounded farming experience. Of course, the paternalistic nature of slavery meant that the enslaved could neither choose which of these various tasks they were to work on day-to-day, nor could they work elsewhere from their owner, should they have so desired (Genovese 1974:9).

True plantations, those with twenty slaves or more, tended to focus on cash crop production exclusively, usually cotton, with some subsistence crops grown alongside. Their acreage was much larger, and it was common for the productive acres to be scattered widely within the plantation, or to have a single white owner's land

dispersed across several counties, with work crews being shifted back and forth as needed. Establishments such as these could consist of several distinct farms, each with a local overseer, with the production of all organized by the overall landowner in a flagship plantation.

On these plantations, African Americans tended to live in discrete quarters, separate from whites, and were often subjected to work organized in gangs, emphasizing repetition of the same task, either from sunup to sundown, or on a task system, wherein a worker could have free time in the evening once he or she finished a set amount of work. Those work gangs would often include both women and men, with children being minded by a few designated (and often, older) women in a specific place on the plantation, away from their parents.

Plantations, as they were geared towards mass production of cotton, offered monotonous and back-breaking work. Cotton picking could last for months, involving towing long canvas sacks up and down rows, removing cotton fibers from the bolls by hand, stooping from sunup to sundown in the intense late summer heat. The one silver lining to plantations came in living arrangements (Bolton 1999). Large enslaved workforces were not lodged within the main house on a plantation. Typically, a few house servants would live either in an outbuilding nearby the main house, or in a small room or closet within it, and the field workers would be housed in a distinct quarter, generally near to but spatially distinct from the whites' lived space. These quarters allowed for much greater freedom of association during off hours than would be experienced on small farms, and were places where families could flourish, true slave communities could develop.

At Dooley's Ferry, we know Locus 4, the ferryman's house, was a site of enslavement. The 1860 U.S. Census lists three African Americans as slaves to Samuel Carlock, ferryman, farmer, and head of the household ensconced at Locus 4 (U.S. Census Office 1860). Their lives would likely have mirrored those of fellow slaves held on small holdings. Across the river lay the sprawling plantation of C.M. Hervey, resident of Spring Hill. Hervey had 40 enslaved workers there, and an additional 12, probably house servants, in Spring Hill, making him one of the larger slaveowners in the area.

Yeoman white families, those who owned small farms and keeping either no or only a few slaves, tended to start young. Husbands and wives typically wed in their late teens, and started producing children soon thereafter, and family sized tended to run large. Children offered labor that was not typically paid and that would be emotionally bonded to the landowner, contributing to the wealth and health of the household. As families grew, older children could help in the child-rearing duties entailed by younger children, which would both ease the burden on the parents and help train the older children to be parents, themselves.

Money was perpetually tight for these farmers, who had to use next year's crop to secure debts owed to stores, local planters, and banks. Ensuring a good harvest required long hours of backbreaking work, which could be rendered moot by a hail storm, flood, drought, and plagues of insects, fire, or any of a host of other concerns. Fortunately, the boll weevil had yet to arrive.

For both white and black Arkansans, parties provided relief from the arduous labor conditions and brought people together from across neighborhoods. Antebellum

Southerners loved barbeques, picnics, religious meetings, and a host of other forms of get-togethers. For the enslaved, these often took place on Sunday, the one day of the week when owners, by tradition, did not make them work. For whites, dates could range more widely. Everybody marked the arrival of Christmas with celebrations that included special food and drink, and frequently the exchange of some kind of gift. Labor during these break times frequently brought cash payments to slaves, which many carefully saved towards purchasing their own or a family member's freedom.

Cashin (1990:56) writes that antebellum planter families typically had a nuclear core, but the addition of aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents. Social life and daily activities both revolved around these extended family units, which could encompass multiple households, sometimes spread across great distance. Extended visits between family members, lasting weeks or, as with the case of children, up to a year, built very strong ties between extended family members, and much socializing, child-rearing, marriage, and public activity were conducted along these blood lines (Cashin 1990:57–66). Of course, the ability to maintain such elastic familial bonds was fueled by the financial resources of their position within society.

Though slavery was the norm, not all blacks in antebellum America were enslaved. There were several thousand free blacks in the South, though their liberties were carefully circumscribed. There were several hundred free blacks in Arkansas in the decades before the war, though they lived under very close scrutiny (Taylor 1958). To be permitted residence in the state, they had to have document proving their emancipated state on hand and present them upon demand. A bond of \$500 had to be submitted to the local court. Failure to make such a deposit could result in the subject

being fined, whipped, or hired out (effectively rendered a slave) until the debt to the county was settled (Bolton 1999:14).

Between statehood in 1836 and the late 1850s, the climate towards free blacks in Arkansas cooled significantly. There were few places where free blacks could find a home. Higgins (2004) relates the travails of one such family, that of Peter Caulder, who settled in the mountain counties of the Ozarks. Caulder was one of the earliest American settlers in Arkansas, helping to establish Fort Smith as a soldier in the U.S. Army in the 1810s and 1820s. After his military service, he farmed in Newton County, in the Ozarks near the Missouri border, until just before the war.

By the late 1850s, white sentiment towards free blacks turned toxic, as whites feared that free blacks would, at the very least, tacitly encourage slaves to run away by serving as living examples of African Americans who were not held in bondage. At worst, free blacks (so the fear went) would be active agents of emancipation, aiding those who sought liberty in the north. As a result, Arkansas simply outlawed free blacks. In 1858, Arkansas passed a law forcing free African Americans to choose between vacating the state forthwith or voluntarily enslave themselves to a white citizen of their choosing. Not surprisingly, most of the free blacks in the state left, including Peter Caulder and his family, though the difficulty in enforcing the law led to its repeal the following year (Higgins 2004).

Despite the law's repeal, it would appear that at the time of the war, there were no free blacks living in either Hempstead or Lafayette Counties. Census records do not report anyone of African-American heritage in the Population Schedules. There had been free blacks living there in the past. In the 1830s, Dolly Pennington, a free woman

of color, lived in Washington, Hempstead County, where she worked as a cook and waitress at a local tavern. She saved enough by her labors to purchase her daughter in 1834, Nancy, whom she manumitted five years later. Like Peter Caulder, Dolly and Nancy vacated the state in 1858 in the face of the newly-inked ban on free persons of color (Peggy Lloyd, personal communication, 2013).

Gender

As mentioned before, gender, race, and class all interdigitate; and puzzling out which one trumps the other is a delicate exercise. We now turn to gender as a category. Gender codes separated work and social behavior amongst whites much more than among African Americans, particularly among the middle and upper classes. From the 1840s on, whites – particularly among the middle and upper classes – divided the world into very distinct private and public spheres. The private sphere roughly equates with the household, and was the domain of the woman. Men, on the other hand, dominated in the public sphere, the world of business and politics carried on outside of the home. Women were not expected to have a voice in the outside world, and were restricted from voting. They frequently found themselves unable to conduct business or legal proceedings without a male relation through whom to work, and almost invariably lost parental rights in the rare cases of divorce. Numerous documents encountered during this research referred to a man “et ux,” meaning “and wife.” The wife’s name was rarely ever recorded, even if the property being adjudicated was hers or the transaction was based on her associations or holdings.

These restrictions came with protections, at least for white women. These protections were not extended to African-American women. While subject to the

confinements of what constituted “women’s work,” and subject to and creating gendered roles within enslaved communities, the system of white supremacy under which they lived accorded no enduring recognition of their womanhood. African-American women received none of the concerns or considerations accorded to white women by white men, and were frequently treated as the simple objects of their lusts and curiosity. Du Bois found this de-feminizing of black women to be the one aspect of slavery that he could never forgive.

Given that most opportunities for women’s work outside of the home in antebellum America were in factories, particularly, in the northeast, it should come as no surprise that women were not heavily employed off the farm in the South (Massey 1994:11). A few Southern women found work outside of the farm, significantly as shopkeepers or other tasks that did not involve hard manual labor, which was stereotypically the province of males.

For Southern white men, gender codes focused strongly on militarism and bellicosity. Escott (2006:2) summarizes the work of numerous historians by noting that “the South’s distinctive character was its devotion to a strong military tradition.” Southerners provided a disproportionate number of troops to fight in the Mexican War, counted several antebellum Secretaries of War among their number, and were a large part of the intellectual movement known as the “Military Enlightenment” of the 1830s and 1840s (Escott 2006). Service in the local militia was considered essential for white males aspiring to climb the social ladder in local society, and militia musters and drills became as much social events as preparations for combat. For Southern whites, “the military was an ultimate expression of manhood” (Thomas 1989:342).

Militias, widespread before the war, exploded in popularity after John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia in 1859, as Southerners sought to prepare for the feared invasion of Northern Republicans (Nelson and Sheriff 2007:46)

Militias provided the basis for many early volunteer units, and offered a populace of men who were at least familiar with the expectations of military service, if not its realities. The extent to which that training translated into battlefield success is debatable, but it at the very least bred the belief in Southern military superiority (Escholt 2006:3). They would find that the mechanization of warfare brought about during the war cared little for the élan of the men on the battlefield and cut down forward and stalwart in equal numbers.

Of course, these distinctions were maintained to the point that one's financial situation allowed for one to engage in such fissioning of familial worlds. This is where gender and class come together. Amongst working class whites, who did not have the luxury of exempting one half of the household from labor in the fields, women worked alongside men, both parties working together to bring in a crop (McNeilly 2000:100). The idea of women dominating only the domestic sphere while men went out in public was a luxury many could not afford. In some ways, poverty was less confining than affluence, at least for women. Fox-Genovese (1988:288) observed that women on smallholdings tended to have less conscribed social positions and more expansive roles in managing affairs, directing production, and controlling household consumption and market activity than did their fellow women on larger farms, who were trained from childhood for other pursuits.

For African Americans, gender conditioned the labor that people were assigned to do, though African-American men and women on small farms worked in the fields along with their owners (Stamp 1956:34–35). These roles broke down to some extent on large plantations. Women and men worked in mixed-gender gangs on large holdings, graded based on their physical stamina and strength. Young men and women after their childbearing years but not yet old constituted the “first gang” or “main gang” that did the heaviest work. Older children and child-bearing females formed the “second gang” or “hoe gang,” while young children being introduced to labor, the elderly, and women nursing infants formed the “trash gang,” of whom the least labor was expected (Hahn 2003:20).

Gender differentiation really divided the skilled tasks, such as driving wagons, servicing machinery, or operating equipment in gins and mills, which were preferentially allocated to men (Hahn 2003:20). Women, conversely, were used as laundresses, cooks, and other tasks considered appropriate to women. Annual events, such as corn-shucking or hog-killing, which frequently took on a carnival-like aspect, were also highly-gendered labor practices, with men performing the laborious tasks, relegating women to the role of spectators (Genovese 1974:318–320).

Policing the Lines that Divide

Rural southern society in the antebellum era was a highly-structured system of classifications kept in place through both internal self-regulation and external imposition, which frequently involved violence. Order and stability were highly valued, and when achieved, were considered by those at the top rungs of society to be evidence of a harmonious, healthy community (Brown 1975). As we shall see, that

harmony and health could only be seen with the bird's eye view. For enslaved African Americans and poor and middling whites, people situated at the frog's level (Wright 1978 borrows this concept from Nietzsche), living in the rural South brought a mixture of violences, some structural and others active, some used by them and others used against them, which helped shape their worldview, limited opportunities, and could place their very wellbeing into jeopardy.

From its very early history, the region had some form of police service. Both Thomas and George Dooley served as sheriffs in the region in the late 1820s and early 1830s (Goodspeed Company 1890). Sheriffs, in that period, were mostly reactive civil servants, sent out after a crime was committed in hopes that they might apprehend a perpetrator, not a policeman walking a beat in hopes of deterring crime. Sheriffs also served as tax collectors and court officers, performing much of the leg work for local government. Still, their enforcement capabilities made them the chief arbiters of legal violence within these frontier communities.

American law-enforcement was rooted in the colonial era and largely derived from English legal codes brought over the water with the earliest colonists. Over time, distinct legal traditions arose in North America, with English law serving as the root for United States legal codes. Colonists adapted their legal codes to their new cultural contexts. Walker (1980) lists emphasis on Biblical authority, fewer capital offenses, and the greater use of vigilantism (a result of the life on the thinly-populated and under-regulated frontier) as distinctly American alterations to European, largely British, legal codes.

Areas such as Louisiana, that operated under another colonizer's laws before annexation had to endure the tribulations of conforming to new American legal systems. Such transitions were of particular interest to African Americans, as different colonizers legislated slavery differently. For example, in Louisiana, slaves lived under the France's *Code Noir*, issued in 1724. The Black Code, as it translates, consisted of protections and penalties, and had numerous avenues for emancipation (Taylor 1958:14–17). Life under succeeding American legal systems did not offer as many protections or possibilities for freedom (Berlin 2007).

Colonial legal systems maintained religious, economic, familial, and racial order (Walker 1980), though extra-legal violence (vigilantism) was common and popular. Indeed, this tendency towards violent imposition of a set moral and social order endured long after the war in the form of anti-Reconstruction groups like the Ku Klux Klan and in the rash of lynchings, bombings, and arsons leveled against African Americans and “miscreant” whites both (Hartman and Ingenthron 1988:3–9). Though it is less common today, the Klan is known to still be active in the area, with a cross burning occurring in nearby Fouke in August of 2005 (Associated Press 2007).

There are a few references to violence occurring in the Dooley's Ferry area in the 19th century. In 1831, a man identified only as “Crandell” stabbed a man named Gardiner to death while Gardiner worked on a farm in Lost Prairie, just across the Red River from Dooley's Ferry. The crime, rooted in some unfortunate aspect of the men's previous acquaintance, appeared in papers as far away as Baltimore, Charleston, and New London, Connecticut. There is no evidence that Crandell was pursued, as he

escaped into Mexico “immediately after committing the outrage” Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advisor 1831).

Vigilantism does appear in a few newspaper accounts associated with Dooley’s Ferry. In 1875, a man named Jones was accused of murdering W.J. Murphy in Fulton, upstream from the crossing. Many of the townspeople of Fulton turned out to chase down Jones, tracking him to Dooley’s Ferry, where he attempted to cross the Red River. Jones did not go easily, shooting and killing one of his pursuers, a Mr. Tillar, during his escape attempt. Jones never made it across the river, being shot to death in the water (New Orleans Times 1875).

Moving beyond the imposition of law and order, violence was also used to maintain social hierarchies. The widespread employment of the lash, stocks, ball and chain, and other forms of physical punishment on plantations and farms helped maintain the social hierarchy, keeping African Americans subservient to whites through brute force (Stamp 1956:172–177; Taylor 1958:204–206). Demonstrating the power to subject another to pain without retribution was a powerful symbol of the hierarchy at work, for both the victim of the abuse and any other slave who might witness the incident (Nordstrom 2004:62–63). Sallie Crane, enslaved in Hempstead County, recalls numerous beatings with cowhides and birch sprouts, which tended to leave splinters in her skin that had to be softened with soapy water before removal. “They jus’ whipped me ‘cause they could, ‘cause they had the privilege” she told a Works Progress Administration recorder, “it wasn’t nothin’ I done; they just whipped me” (Lankford 2003:136–137). Other forms of torture, from sexual assault to

execution, were sanctioned by convention if not by law when committed against the enslaved.

Tracing specific instances or patterns of such violence in antebellum America is difficult, particularly in instances where we lack memoirs written by former slaves. Slave accounts suggest that while individual owners were more or less eager to employ beatings and torture against their chattel, it was rare to find a slaveowner who would not resort to physical correction (Genovese 1974:64). Legal documents or newspapers of the period were unlikely to record this violence unless it became markedly more extreme than the norm, as in cases where a person was beaten to death or given a remarkable number of lashes by an owner.

There are reports of instances of more extreme violence. Oral histories from the Great Bend tell of the assault and mass-murder of a number of African Americans during the antebellum period. The identities and number of victims are lost to history, as are the names of the murderers, though Lee (2011). The stories tie back to one of the oxbow lakes along the Red River in the vicinity of Dooley's Ferry. One day in 1849, a young woman named Mariah, who once lived at Dooley's Ferry, witnessed a group of men leading a number of slaves in shackles to the water. The white men sexually assaulted the women and children before executing them, then forced the male slaves into the water, where they were either shot or forced to drown. Mariah watched from a nearby bush, unable to move. When safe, she fled home and told her owner, Richard Burton, of the event. Burton, fearing for Mariah's well-being and at odds with some of the local landowners, carried his household south to Bossier Parish, Louisiana, where he became an innkeeper (Lee 2011:44–46). Mariah handed the

account of the incident down to her children, Chloe and Tisby, who kept the narrative alive, handing it down through the family until descendant Ann Lee, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, recently published the account.

As stated above, such horrific episodes of violence are hard to verify through the historical record, and, in this case, the oral history only recently recorded is our chief evidence for its occurrence. Discussions with several experts on local history did not produce additional information, though the supposed site of the incident, known as Spirit Lake, has been suggested to derive its name from the souls of the people murdered there in the 1840s (Anonymous, personal communication, 2012).

While slave systems allowed owners the latitude to deploy violence against recalcitrant African Americans, they were not the only people sanctioned to use violence against the enslaved in antebellum America. Many communities formed slave patrols, consisting of members of the community who would guard roads at night, looking for African-American slaves traveling between farms without a pass (Lovett 1995:306). Numerous instances exist of slave patrols meting out physical punishment against those who were unfortunate enough to be caught by them (Wyatt-Brown 1983:378–379).

This model of organized violence did not just apply to African Americans. At the outbreak of the war, vigilance committees, consisting of civilians and modeled on slave patrols, roamed throughout southern Arkansas, seeking not just slaves without passes but also any white person who might be a unionist headed north. Alfred E. Mathews, an Ohioan working in Texas when the war broke out, walked home through Louisiana and Arkansas in the opening months of the war. He reported that bands of

“regulators” patrolled the woods around Lewisville, just south of Dooley’s Ferry (Figure 1), searching for unionists and abolitionists. Just prior to his passing through, these regulators had fallen upon three men who were out looking for lost cattle, but had gotten lost and could not provide a satisfactory explanation for being where they were discovered. The regulators killed all three men (Mathews 1861:20–21). Mathews, bound for the north, was understandably concerned for his safety while passing through the area. His route likely took him within 10 miles of Dooley’s Ferry.

Labor and the Formation of Dooley’s Ferry

In Chapter 1, I laid out the connections between the Great Bend region and the Atlantic World. Those connections had everything to do with the economy and society that came to govern the American period at the ferry crossing, the subject of this chapter. While archaeologists, historians, and others posit a range of relationships between economy and society, many historical archaeologists follow the work of Delle, Mrozowski, and Paynter (2000) as well as Hall and Silliman (2006) in placing economic arrangements as among the most important determinants of social organization and historical forces.

Much of life in early American Arkansas flows from the international capitalist links of the Atlantic World; links that focused around the production of agricultural goods for export, partially to mills in the northeastern United States but primarily for English establishments. Though those economic arrangements did not require enslaved workers, it certainly profited by them, and the 1850s was a decade of increasing profitability for slavery in Arkansas (Taylor 1958). Houston’s (2008:65) study of Hempstead County (including Dooley’s Ferry) slaveholding found that

slavery in 1860 was profitable on the order of a 10.4% return on investment, a margin that was increasing with time, up from 7.6% in 1850. From settlement to war, the neighborhood surrounding Dooley's Ferry was geared towards the production of cotton as a raw material to be distributed throughout the Atlantic World, to the exclusion of all other pursuits (Houston 2008:70–71).

We know from documents that the area in and surround Dooley's Ferry was replete with farms and plantations housing and working hundreds of enslaved African Americans and producing significant quantities of cotton. The area was an active and thriving rural community, albeit one highly structured along lines of race, class, and gender. But what, really, did the community look like? What were the physical dispositions of its buildings and its people, and what more can we learn of the quotidian details of the lives of the people who once lived there? Though they were not celebrated in the ways that the residents of Washington are today, they lived their lives as part of the regional culture(s) and were integral to the functioning of the overall economic system that brought Arkansas its wealth.

To answer that question, and to begin to weave the fabric of the community as a basis against which we might reflect the effects of the coming and progress of the Civil War, we turned to archaeological fieldwork. Over the course of five years (2008-2013), several different institutions collaborated to identify numerous structures and recover thousands of artifacts that let us begin to answer some of these questions.

Chapter 3. The Archaeology of Antebellum Dooley's Ferry

To this point, I have focused on the world into which Dooley's Ferry grew. The foregoing pages set the scene for the changes in social and economic structure that the inhabitants of Dooley's Ferry encountered during the Civil War years. Numerous archaeologists, both professional and avocational, have worked to identify and excavate several parts of the landscape surrounding the ferry crossing during the course of this fieldwork. The result offers us an understanding of the antebellum disposition of the community's working and living spaces and provides a material record of the lives lived along the Red River over the course of the past several centuries. This allows us to properly conceive of the changes in the landscape and to understand the shape of the community that endured the war. It also provides a framework to understand the changes in the structure in the community and the built environment that occurred during the war.

Such a long project that encompasses so many phases is difficult to synthesize with historical data in meaningful fashion. I have elected the following format. This chapter will introduce the major efforts in geophysical prospection, shovel test survey, and open-block excavation that provided the frame for the archaeological analyses present throughout this dissertation. Additionally, this chapter highlights the portions of the excavation that identified antebellum or wartime features and contexts as a means of establishing the footprint of the Dooley's Ferry community at the outbreak of the war.

Other elements of the archaeological research that are significant portions of this project, but are more aptly discussed in other sections, will only be briefly referenced here. Primary among this group are the excavations at the ferryman's house (Locus 4) and the mapping and interpretation of the Civil War earthworks on the lands surrounding the ferry community, discussed in (Chapter 5), below.

The Archaeological Project

Over the course of the past five years, with the support of the College of William & Mary, the Arkansas Archeological Survey, and the U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center, a team of archaeologists has worked to answer a number of questions about the archaeological record of Dooley's Ferry and sought to understand what insight archaeological research can throw on the antebellum and Civil War periods for southwest Arkansas. This research has taken a landscape approach to the old ferry crossing site, emphasizing test excavations on numerous loci of activity rather than extensive excavations of a single site. This approach has necessitated the use of several technologies that facilitate spatially-extensive survey, and yielded results that tell us much about how the community of Dooley's Ferry looked in the mid-19th century, and how it connected with the wider Atlantic World. This research progressed in several stages, building on the advice and expertise of many scholars who contributed time and insight to the project.

Exploratory and Mapping (2007)

This project began in 2007, following the afore-mentioned collapse of a previous project in Cuba. Of the sites Jamie Brandon showed me during my first visit to southwest Arkansas, Dooley's Ferry most engaged my attention and curiosity.

Though I had worked on several battlefield projects, including National Park Service surveys of Pea Ridge, Wilson's Creek, and the Little Bighorn, I was looking for a project that would help to round out conflict archaeology as a whole by focusing on civilians and civil-military interactions during wartime. Tate's Bluff, while a beautiful set of fortifications, did not provide that opportunity, whereas Dooley's Ferry did.

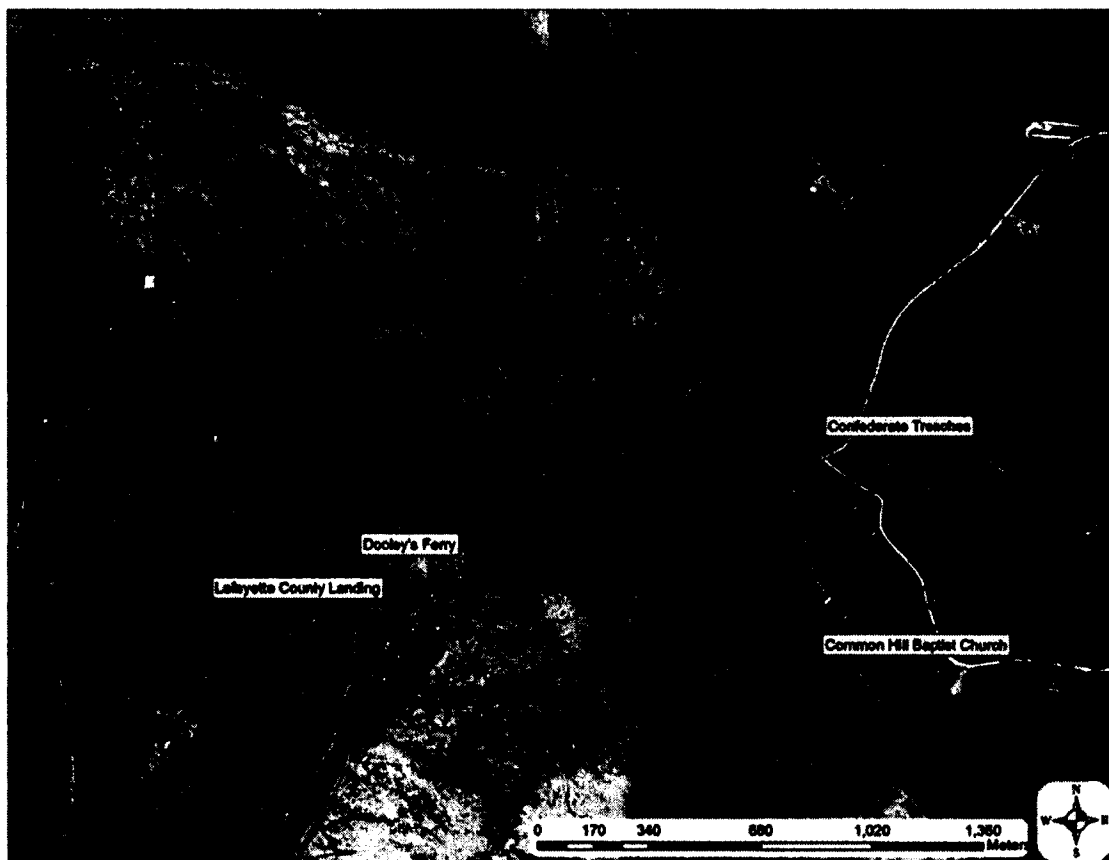


Figure 10: Project Area

Trench Mapping (2007 and 2012)

The first field phase of the project consisted of a trip during December of 2007 to map the bulk of the trenches on the bluffs surrounding the old community. These included the stretch cutting through the Common Hill Baptist Church graveyard and the adjoining section across the road. The timing of this work was fortuitous, as the

latter portion had been clear-cut recently, and is, at the time of this writing, thick in young, tall trees, and mapping would be impossible.

The last segment of trenches, on the hill adjoining Red Lake, lie in heavy timber, making them virtually impossible to map with surveying equipment. Additionally, the forest covering the trenches was largely coniferous, and therefore hostile to global positioning system (GPS) data acquisition. These were left for a later date. In 2012, just prior to the Arkansas Archeological Society's annual Training Program dig, we received notification that the landowner had sold the timber rights to the area including this final section of trenches, and that the land had been logged, leaving it in open, bare earth. I availed myself of the opportunity to map the final section with a GPS unit. During the aforementioned Training Program dig, Mr. Tim Mulvihill, of the Arkansas Archeological Survey's research station at the University of Arkansas at Fort Smith, began a high-density map of the final trench section.

Mapping the trenches started one facet of the interpretive aspect of this research, as we had to conclude who built them, when, and with what considerations in mind. The result of this aspect of the work is summed up in Chapter 7, and shows how such positions can assume multiple meaning in troubled times, and how, by the end of the Civil War, the people and government's relationships had become ambiguous under the strains of deprivation.

Shovel Testing (2008)

The next year saw the inception of subsurface investigations of the civilian community lodged behind those earthworks. Lying immediately adjacent to the Red River, a watercourse known for frequent and significant floods, we needed to be sure

that there were intact and reachable archaeological deposits there (Pearson 1982). The Red River has occupied its current meander belt for only about the past 200 years, and in that time has frequently changed course. Portions of the channel have wandered up to 2,000 feet in as little as twenty years (Albertson et al. 1996:25). Floods could either have scoured away the remains of the old community or buried them under feet of alluvium. Either case would have made further study at the site fruitless. This kind of activity in the area around Dooley's Ferry led Albertson et al. (1996:25) to write that "the modern meander belt is not likely to contain prehistoric sites," though the survival of Red Lake Mound indicates this assessment is likely invalid for the area immediately surrounding Dooley's Ferry.

Human activity has also greatly remodeled the landscape of rural Arkansas. Land-leveling was and is a common agricultural practice that can either strip archaeological sites from the landscape or bury them in newly-imported fill; either of which conditions could render the archaeological record at the site inaccessible. This practice was a particular concern for archaeologists working in agricultural regions in the Arkansas Delta (McGimsey and Davis 1968).

Between natural and cultural disturbances to the site, I was more concerned the former. Excavations at the Cedar Grove site (3LA27), nearby in Lafayette County, in the 1980s had to contend with 2m of alluvial silt laid down by the 1927 flood (Boudreaux 1999; Martin et al. 1987; Rose 1983; Rose 1985; Schambach et al. 1982; Trubowitz 1984; Trubowitz et al. 1984). If Dooley's Ferry had been similarly impacted by those or any of the numerous floods that rolled through the area, archaeological techniques would not have reached the desired deposits.

In August of 2008, I and two members of the Arkansas Archeological Survey excavated 33 shovel tests in the areas adjacent to the 1916 Cutoff Lake, the wartime channel of the Red River (Figure 11). Rather than work on a traditional 10, 15, or 20m grid, we opted to use a metal detector to guide the placement of shovel tests to maximize the number of recovered artifacts while minimizing time and energy expended, a necessity given the sweltering conditions of an Arkansas August. Connor and Scott (1998) highlight the utility of the metal detector as a guide to rapid survey of a large area looking for isolated or ephemeral structures. Given the close correspondence between what Connor and Scott advocated, using Hardesty (1997) as an example, we felt this approach was well-suited to assessing the archaeological potential of Dooley's Ferry.

The shovel testing recovered 559 artifacts from both the north and south sides of Hempstead County Road 7 in the core of what we felt would have been the community of Dooley's Ferry. These included everything from pull-tabs from modern soda containers to prehistoric materials of various kinds, suggesting traces of the full sweep of the site's occupation were on site and accessible.

Additionally, artifacts consistent with the Civil War era were recovered, including ceramics and vessel glass. The lack of scouring or burying seemed a fortuitous aspect of the site's preservation. Given that the site sits adjacent to an oxbow lake, and at least two other oxbows (Red Lake and Clear Lake) border the site, we know that Dooley's Ferry sits in an area that has seen significant geomorphological change in the recent centuries. The fact that the 2008 shovel test survey indicated that we would be able to reach 19th century deposits without difficulty, and the presence of

the very intact Red Lake Mound mean that the area was not extensively remodeled as was Cedar Grove. Not only was this an auspicious sign for later research, it highlights the variability in site formation processes that occur within the Red River Valley.

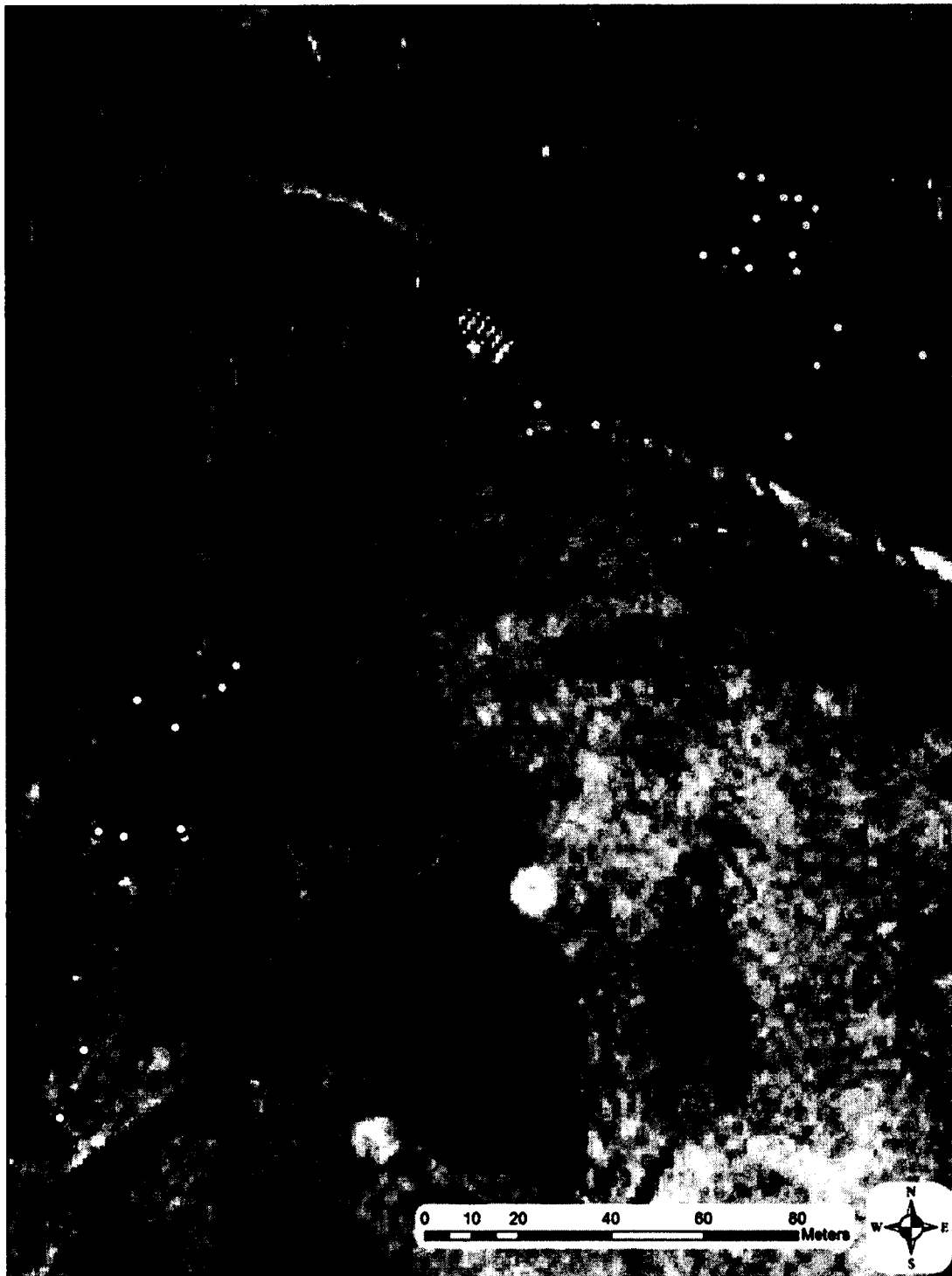


Figure 11: Shovel Test Locations, 2008

Table 1: Artifacts Recovered from Shovel Testing, 2008

Group	Description	Count	
Architectural	Bolt	1	
	Brick	11	
	Cement	9	
	Flat Glass	60	
	Nails, Nail Fragments	150	
Household	Wood	5	
	Earthenware	3	
	Electrical	1	
	Glass, Vessel, Circus	1	
	Glass, Vessel, Milk	4	
	Mason jar lid	2	
	Metal, Pull Tab	1	
	Other	9	
	Pearlware	3	
	Porcelain	1	
	Stoneware	5	
	Stove Part	2	
	Vessel glass (Amber)	12	
	Vessel glass (Aqua)	9	
	Vessel glass (Blue [Cobalt])	2	
	Vessel glass (Colorless [Melted])	2	
	Vessel glass (Colorless [Solarized])	7	
	Vessel glass (Colorless)	106	
	Vessel glass (Green)	5	
	Whiteware	20	
	Wire	4	
	Personal	Ammunition, Cartridge Casing	2
		Ammunition, Projectile	1
Button		1	
Grommet		1	
Harmonica Plate		1	
Pencil Lead		2	
Thimble		1	
Industrial		Fence Staple	4
	Hoe Blade	1	
Other	Other	42	
Faunal	Bone	11	
	Shell	5	
Prehistoric	Various	52	
Total		559	

Consultation

The recovery of prehistoric materials in the shovel test survey and the proximity of Red Lake Mound told us that there was an undeniable Caddo component to the site, and a check of the site files at the Arkansas Archeological Survey indicated

that there were numerous Caddo and pre-Caddo (Fourche Maline) sites known to be in the area. As the focus was on the 19th and 20th centuries at Dooley's Ferry, it was important to me to strive to leave the Caddo material untouched. Prior to launching any significant excavations at the site, I contacted the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) for the Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma, and told him about the project, what we were hoping to do, and discussed and concerns he might have.

The outcome of the discussion was an agreement that we would halt any excavation when it became clear that we had left the historic phase of the site and entered prehistoric deposits. While plowing and other activities would likely create some mixing of deposits, those that showed a preponderance of prehistoric materials were not to be excavated further. Several of the excavation units were halted on these grounds, one of which appeared to contain the top of a prehistoric Caddo midden.

This was by no means a highly formalized process, but the THPO seemed satisfied so long as we persisted in our desire to leave Caddo materials untouched, which I believe we fulfilled throughout the project.

Geophysical Surveys

Knowing that it would be profitable to excavate the site, we needed to know where to dig. To guide those excavations, staff from the Survey's Computer Services Program and SAU Research Station laid out a network of 40 geophysical grids in the middle of what we believed to be the community's footprint, and collected gradiometer, ground-penetrating radar, and electrical resistivity data from those grids. Of these, the gradiometer data proved to be of most utility. Rapid collection and

straightforward processing techniques, coupled with its sensitivity to buried metallic artifacts make gradiometry well suited to surveying historic sites (Kvamme 2006).

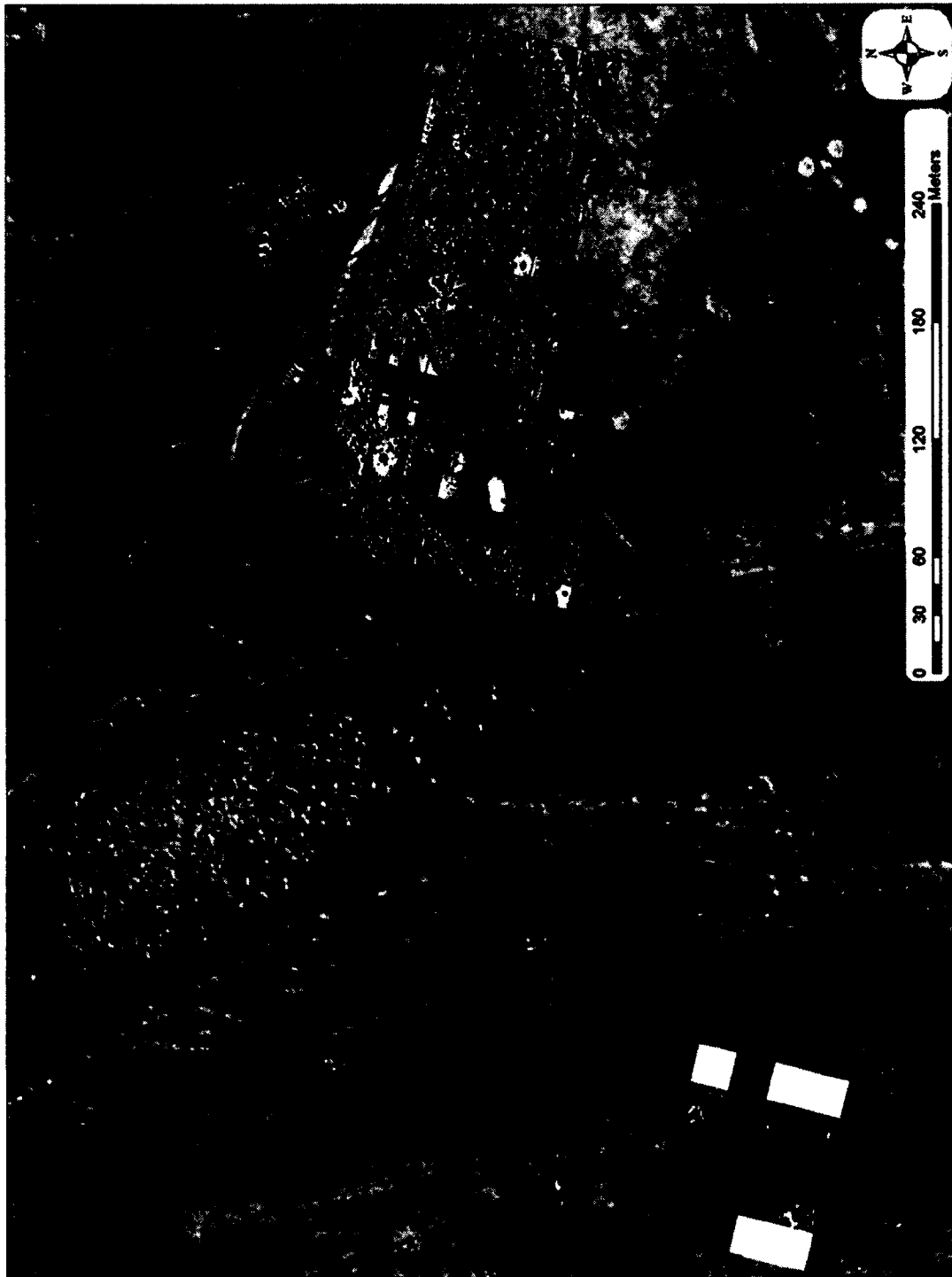


Figure 12: Gradiometry Data from Dooley's Ferry, 2010-2012

The results of that survey showed multiple scatters of metallic anomalies suggestive of historic sites (Figure 12), as well as the possible presence of Caddo houses, which we did not investigate further pursuant to our agreement with the Caddo. The geophysical results would provide the basis for all subsequent excavations at Dooley's Ferry.

Our initial stock of data doubled with a second collection of gradiometer data in February and March of 2012. Located across the oxbow lake and on the other side of the old Fulton Road, this survey identified yet more potential historic structures.

Finally, in October of 2012, Mr. John Samuelsen (ARAS-CSP) collected a further 37 grids of gradiometer data at Dooley's Ferry, filling in between the areas collected in February of that year and providing locations for more possible historic structures. I assigned loci numbers to different scatters of anomalies (Figure 13). Subsequent excavations explored many (though not all) of these loci.

These repeated rounds of geophysical prospection told archaeologists a number of important things about the research potential of Dooley's Ferry. First, the west side of the Red River (Loci 3 and 4), where we had placed a number of geophysical grids in hopes of catching a glimpse of any structure that may have been a Lafayette County landing for Dooley's Ferry, and could have been its own draw for settlement, did not appear to hold much potential for finding a historic site. Geophysical grids collected there showed some probably erosional features and a few scattered artifacts along what appeared to be a historic road bed leading away from the river, but nothing that resembled a structure and little that could not be explained by observed surface metal

or anomalies induced by the exigencies of collecting data along the broken ground of the area (Figure 14).

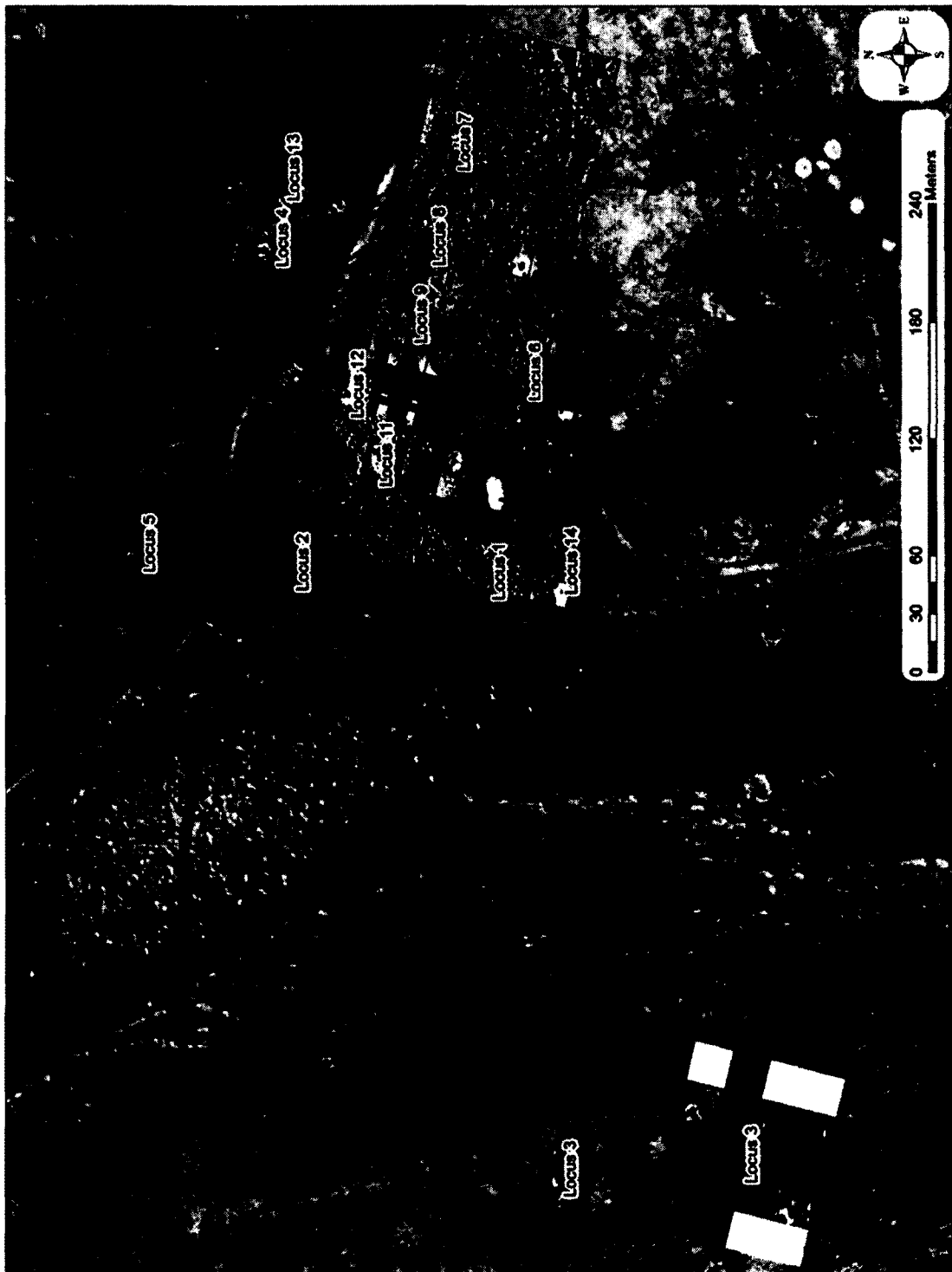


Figure 13: Map of Anomaly Loci, Dooley's Ferry

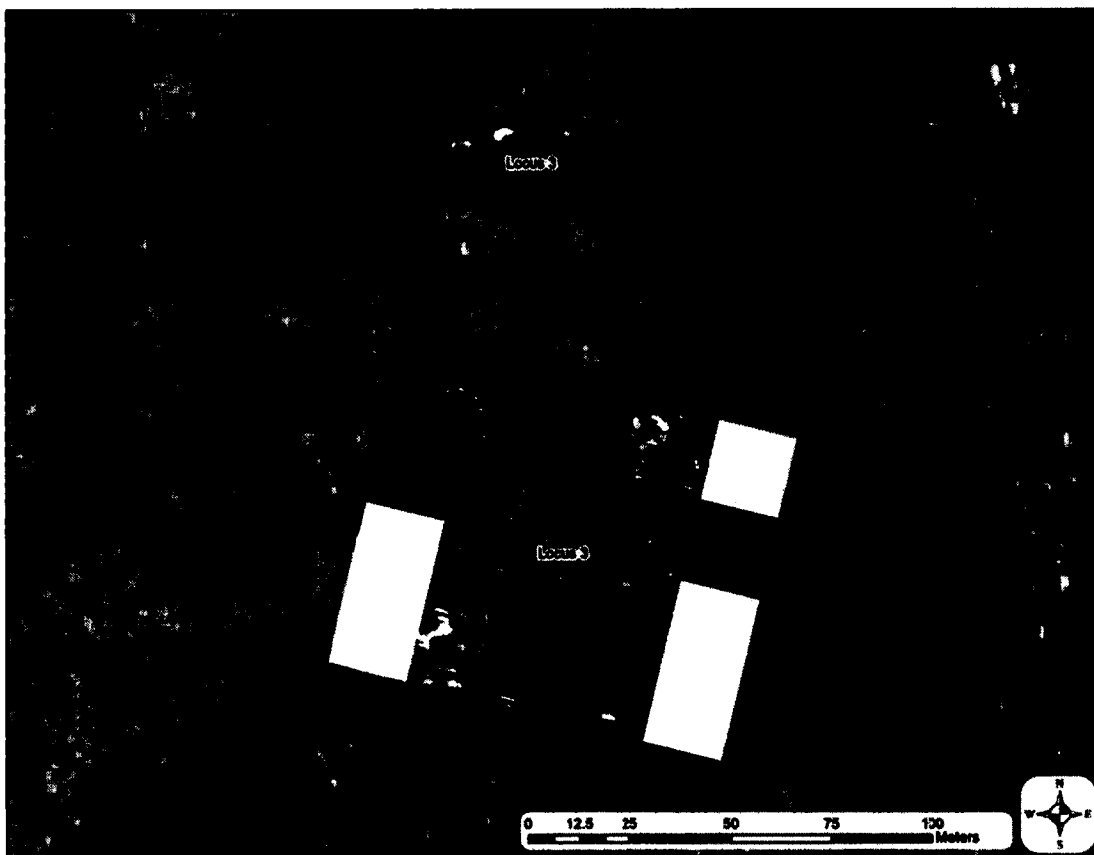


Figure 14: Locus 3, Old Lafayette County Side of the Red River

After we collected this data, an employee of the landowners brought a scatter of artifacts located west-northwest of this survey area, around where one of their watering troughs lay. Cattle coming for a drink had churned the area fairly extensively, bringing glass and ceramic artifacts to the surface. As this happened after we returned the gradiometer to Fayetteville, the area was instead shovel-tested in conjunction with the 2012 Training Program of the Arkansas Archeological Society. Six students from the Program's site survey class excavated 33 shovel tests, finding a small assemblage of historic material dating primarily to the first half of the 20th century. This was more than likely the remains of a sharecropper's cabin, which, while an understudied aspect of Southern historical archaeology, is not something that I will be focusing on in this work.

The old Hempstead County (east) side of what was the Red River was much more archeologically complex, and will serve as the focus for the following discussion. The east side of the Red River² is where all maps indicate settlement was heaviest, where settlers headed west paused to wait for the ferryman, and where the Confederates built their entrenchments. The east side of the river was the much more active of the two.

Indeed, the gradiometer data bore this out. The 2010 and 2012 data show an assortment of anomaly scatters that were likely to correspond to historic sites (Figure 13). These loci appeared to align towards Hempstead County Road 7, the old Dooley's Ferry – Fulton Road, or the riverfront road that extends south from the ferry landing. Given that the road alignment appears to have changed little over the centuries, this spatial relationship strengthened our understanding of them as historic sites.

Not all showed great promise, however. Locus 2 and Locus 5, situated very close to the Red River, were apparently bereft of any significant metallic signature. These loci were surveyed in early 2012, after the 2010 survey that identified Loci 7-9. Given the cacophony of anomalies in the early survey, the barrenness of these areas was confusing; to the point of requiring us to check that the gradiometer had been properly calibrated. When John Samuelson surveyed the intervening area in the fall of 2012, it became apparent that the low land where Loci 2 and 5 lie has been remodeled by flood scouring, which carried away any historic occupation information. Pearson

² The Red River currently lies approximately one mile from the site, though I have chosen to write about the area as though the Red still flowed on its old course. What is now known as either Jones Lake or (per the U.S. Geological Survey) the 1916 Cutoff Lake was the Red River during the period under study, and, for that reason and convenience, I will treat it as though it were still the river.

(1982:15) notes this kind of scouring is common in the Red River Valley within its meander belt during periods of extreme high water.

The remaining areas (Locus 1 and 6-14) each presented opportunities to archaeologically identify the footprint of settlement at Dooley's Ferry. To this point, though, we did not have actual archaeological information. We had geophysical data suggesting the presence of archaeological deposits, but data anomalies are nothing more than that. To determine what each of these loci represented, they had to be tested through excavation. As Hargrave (2006:269) observed, excavation is "the key that unlocks the information content of the geophysical map."

With such an expansive area covered, and with so many potential sites located, it became clear that testing each would be beyond the ambit of this dissertation project. Of the possibilities for excavation, those closest to Hempstead County Road 7, located in the 2010 geophysical survey (Loci 7-9) were selected for primary attention, and supplemented by digs at Locus 4 and other loci in 2012. Locus 1, 12, and 14 were not tested during the project, largely because their proximity to the road heading south through the site suggested or to modern activity areas suggested the potential for large amounts of modern debris to overlie antebellum deposits, and the practicalities of digging suggested focusing on other areas first would find less disturbance.



Figure 15: Loci on the East Side of Red River

Excavations

In all, we completed five different excavation sessions. In the summer of 2010, we tested the largest anomaly scatter identified that winter (Locus 7) using students

from the University of Arkansas's field school, which split personnel between Dooley's Ferry and Historic Washington State Park. In the spring of 2012, the SAU Station hosted a ten day-long session at the old store/ferryman's house site (Locus 4) and a scatter of anomalies to the east (Locus 13), the former of which we re-visited in a long weekend dig in September of that year. Other long-weekend digs in October and November tested Loci 8, 9, 10, and 11, giving us a good feel for the disposition of archaeological deposits and their basic chronology and function, which differed radically between each site.

Locus 7

The 2010 excavations with the University of Arkansas focused on the largest scatter of anomalies identified in the February, 2010, geophysical survey, Locus 7. Over the course of two weeks, we excavated three 2x2m units, each to a depth of 30 (Test Unit 1 and 3) or 40 (Test Unit 2) centimeters, working in 10cm levels.

Artifacts from Locus 7 indicate the structure was a 19th century building, likely a frame structure, with glass windows. This last actually allows archaeologists to estimate a construction date for the structure. Window glass has gotten thicker through the years, and several archaeologists have developed algorithms to calculate, based on a flat glass fragment's thickness, the approximate date of its manufacture. Given an adequate sample size, these dates can point to construction episodes at a given site. Weiland (2009) evaluated these different approaches, finding that those developed by Moir (1987), Schoen (1990), and Roenke (1978) were the most reliable. Of these, I use Moir's approach, given that it was developed and tested on sites in north Texas, and therefore near Dooley's Ferry, and the strictures placed on data collection and

processing were the least restrictive, which was important given that several of the loci excavated here produced small samples of flat glass fragments. It is also the algorithm of choice for recent research by the Arkansas Archeological Survey at the Royston House in Historic Washington State Park and Van Winkle's Mill, in northwest Arkansas (Brandon et al. 2000:41).

Though only 48 flat glass fragments were recovered at Locus 7, this is well above the 30 fragments that Moir suggests is the minimum sample size for a construction date analysis. Thickness measurements suggest a construction date for the structure around 1871. While this date is postbellum, a histogram of the calculated dates shows clear sets of both antebellum and postbellum dates (Figure 15). While it is tempting to suggest that these sets represent an initial antebellum construction with a postbellum repair or reconstruction period, I don't think we have a large enough sample to state that definitively.

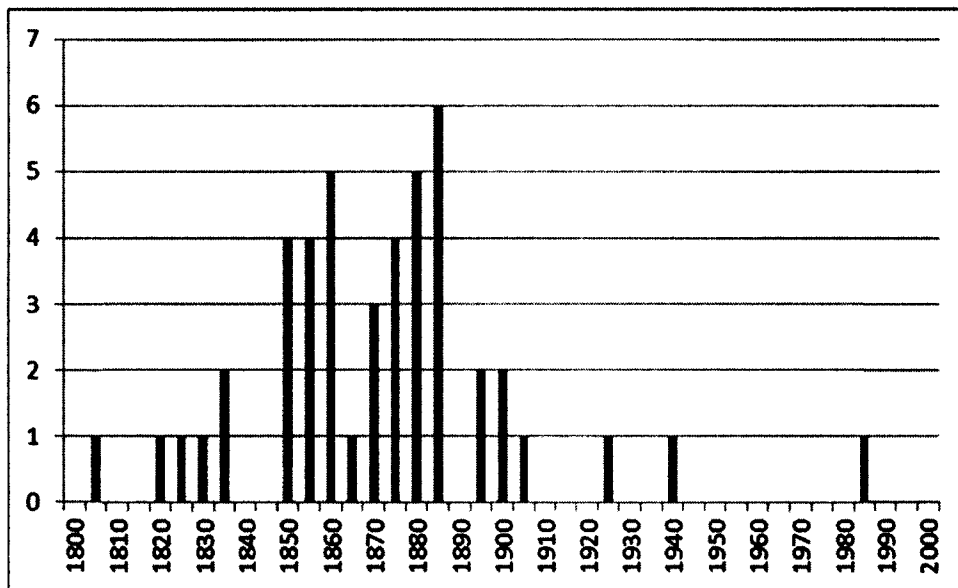


Figure 16: Flat Glass Dates for Locus 7

Most nails were fragmentary (n=191), but all were cut nails. No twentieth-century wire nails were recovered, suggesting the building was not remodeled in recent years, and therefore was not used in the 20th century. Ten complete nails, all cut, ranging in pennyweights from 5d-30d suggest that the building was a frame structure (30d nails for holding large beams together) clad with boards held in place by smaller pennyweights. A few brick fragments and one piece of dressed sandstone could have been part of piers supporting the building. There was no evidence for a substantial foundation for the structure.

The field school excavations recovered 592 artifacts in total (Table 2). In addition to the architectural materials already discussed, numerous household items were recovered, primarily glass and ceramics, along with a few buttons one piece of ammunition, and other artifacts, to which I will return shortly.

In all, the ceramics were exceedingly plain, unlike what we will see with the other antebellum loci excavated during the dissertation fieldwork. Of the 67 ceramic fragments recovered, only two bore any decoration. These two included a rim sherd with a thin brown hand-painted line running along its edge, and a small piece of porcelain, probably a teacup, that bore evidence of once having a thin gilt line on it. There were no hand-painted or transfer-printed wares.

Glass fragments were largely green, amber, and colorless body fragments, with few carrying diagnostics that would be associated with machine-made bottles of the 20th century. We recovered one bottle finish, which sported a hand-tooled lip; yet further evidence for this locus being a 19th century context.

Table 2: Artifacts Recovered from Locus 7, 2010

Group	Description	Count	
Architecture	Brick	5	
	Flat Glass	48	
	Cut Nail, 5d	1	
	Cut Nail, 6d	1	
	Cut Nail, 7d	2	
	Cut Nail, 8d	1	
	Cut Nail, 9d	2	
	Cut Nail, 12d	1	
	Cut Nail, 16d	1	
	Cut Nail, 30d	1	
	Cut Nail Fragments	191	
Household	Dressed Sandstone	1	
	Porcelain	3	
	Porcelain, Decorated	1	
	Stoneware, Albany Slip	11	
	Stoneware, Salt-Glazed	2	
	Stoneware, Unglazed	5	
	Whiteware	44	
	Whiteware, Decorated	1	
	Vessel glass, Amber	42	
	Vessel glass, Aqua	7	
	Vessel glass finish, Aqua (Hand-tooled)	1	
	Vessel glass, Colorless (Burned)	17	
	Vessel glass, Colorless (Solarized)	23	
	Vessel glass, Colorless (Inkwell)	2	
	Vessel glass, Colorless	115	
	Vessel glass, Green	18	
	Vessel glass, Milk	2	
	Flora/Fauna	Bone	2
		Personal	Button, Porcelain (4-hole)
	Button, Glass (2-hole)		1
Ammunition, Projectile	1		
Button, Metal (Overall)	1		
Flat Slate	9		
Pencil Core	1		
Other	Other	26	
Total		592	

What truly sets Locus 7 apart from the other loci investigated in this project are the artifacts associated with writing and instruction. In all, twelve artifacts (9 pieces of writing slate, 1 pencil fragment, and 2 pieces of an inkwell) were recovered. While these have all been recovered on other sites, this is a higher percentage than seen elsewhere. Survey excavations at the Royston House in Historic Washington State Park recovered seven writing-related artifacts out of an assemblage of 2,549, or 0.3%

of the total. Locus 4, across the road from Locus 7, had two pencil fragments and one flat slate fragment in almost 12,000 artifacts. Though the writing-related artifacts recovered at Locus 7 are only 2% of the total, this is still a much higher proportion than at the other sites.

I believe this and other aspects of the site point to Locus 7 being not a residence but a church. Churches in the 19th century south were more than just houses of worship. They were used as community gathering places, venues for celebrations and festivals, and, significantly, schoolhouses. Students used pieces of flat slate for many of their lessons, and children's flat slates have been recovered in archaeological excavations at the Sanders House in Historic Washington. The 1860 census lists the two Carlock boys, Marcus and Thomas, as being "at school," and the local church would be a prime candidate for doubling as a schoolhouse. Additionally, wartime writers mention attending masonic meetings at Dooley's Ferry, some of which included up to 50 members (Pinnell 1999:139). So large a crowd would not fit within a house.

The 1864 Venable map of Dooley's Ferry shows a church along the road running through Dooley's Ferry (see the building topped with a cross in Figure 17). Confederate Surgeon William McPheeters (2002:299) mentions taking a fishing trip to Red Lake, an oxbow just north of Dooley's Ferry (visible in Figure 17) on May 6, 1865. After catching a substantial number of fish, he and his traveling companion "adjourned to a church nearby" to clean and prepare their fish for lunch.



Figure 17: Excerpt of Venable's 1864 Map Showing Dooley's Ferry

Additionally, Locus 7 is much larger than the other loci. The scatter of anomalies that constitute Locus 7 measure almost 40m across, and likely extend fully to the road, a spread of approximately 55m. This would be a building of 130 x 180 feet, a sizeable structure for the region at the time, and much larger than the other loci located during this project. As is clear in Figure 18 (below), Locus 7 is much larger than Locus 8 and Locus 9, both of which appeared to be (after excavation) residential structures.

Finally, outside of the writing-related artifacts, Locus 7 contained very few personal items, much fewer than at other contexts at Dooley's Ferry or at the Royston House. Three buttons and a piece of ammunition were all the other personal debris left on site. The bullet could be unrelated to the structure, and the buttons could have been lost during any number of public functions.

The large number of vessel glass and plain ceramics recovered at Locus 7 may be related to picnicking at the local church. Antebellum southerners were well known

for their love of social gatherings including drills, barbeques, and fairs. When I remarked on the extreme plainness of the ceramics to one of our volunteers, she remarked “Of course! You wouldn’t take the good plates to a church picnic!”

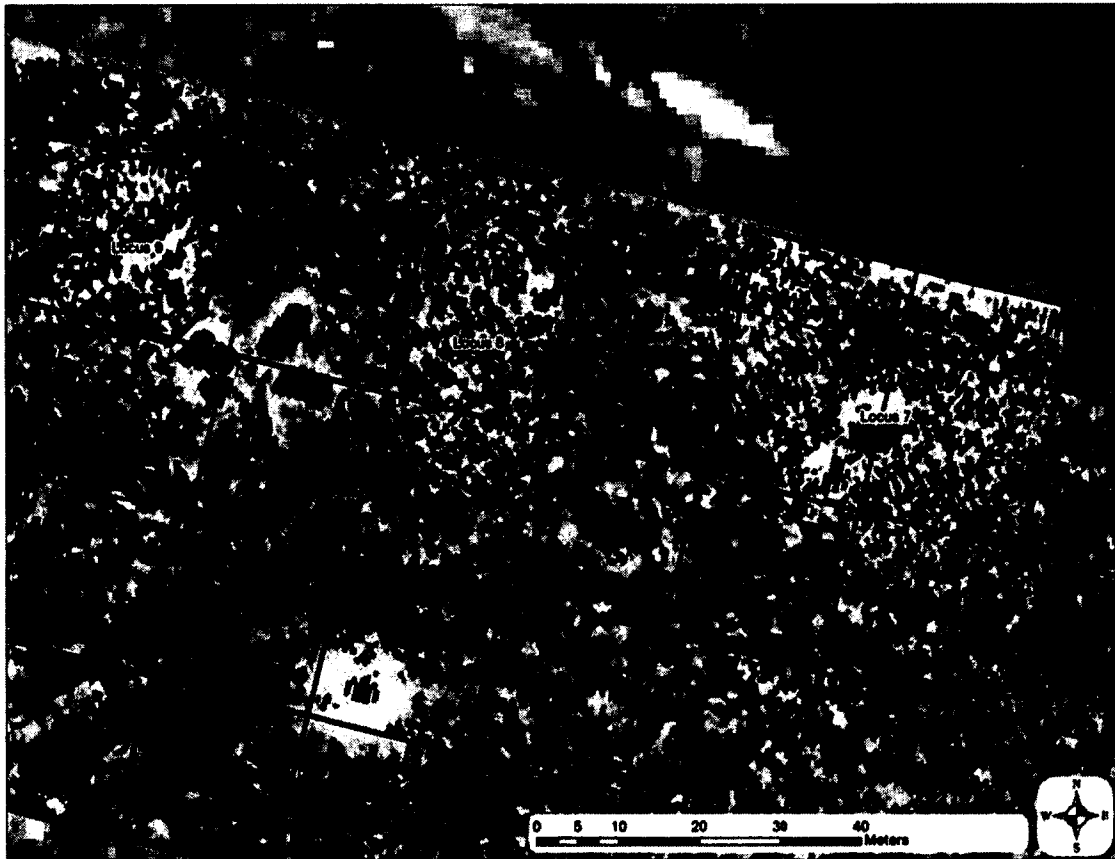


Figure 18: Loci Identified in 2010

While we do not know what denomination operated the church, a recent inquiry on a genealogical message board made referenced a couple, Reverend Reginald Heber Murphy and Ms. Eliza G. Simmons, who a family member believes married at an Episcopal Church at Dooley’s Ferry in November of 1862.

Locus 8

Facing the road and approximately 100ft west of Locus 7 lay Locus 8, a scatter of historic anomalies measuring around 60x100ft. Testing the area leads to the

conclusion that Locus 8 was a historic structure, likely dating to the time around the Civil War or just after, though whether it was a house, store, or some other sort of structure remains a question.

Locus 8 was the last area tested during this project. In November of 2012, we dug one 2x2m test unit into the center of the locus to recover sufficient data to estimate its age. We did not test it extensively enough to make a conclusion regarding its use. As with the other test units in this portion of the field, deposits were not deep, ending at around 20cm below the ground surface. At that depth, we encountered the hard-packed clays that in the other test units signaled the onset of sterile alluvial deposits.

That one test unit (TU 2012-459-16) produced 566 artifacts, half of which were nail or nail fragments (Table 3). The majority (86%) were cut nails, suggesting the locus was a 19th century structure. As with Locus 7, the recovery of large and small pennyweight nails suggests a frame building. I estimated a construction date of 1875 based on flat glass thicknesses, though the data show a number of antebellum dates, suggesting a prewar component to the site (Figure 19). This assessment should be taken with a grain of salt, as the small number of flat glass fragments (n=22) does not provide a large enough sample size to allow us to consider this date to be statistically valid.

As with Locus 7, ceramics were mostly plain, though we did recover five fragments of brown transfer-printed whiteware. They appear in Figure 20 along with one piece of the underside of a whiteware vessel showing a portion of a printed maker's mark. Two of these fragments, both rim sherds found in different levels of the

excavation, share a saw-tooth-and-leaf design. This design appears in several different loci around Dooley's Ferry, and I will return to them later.

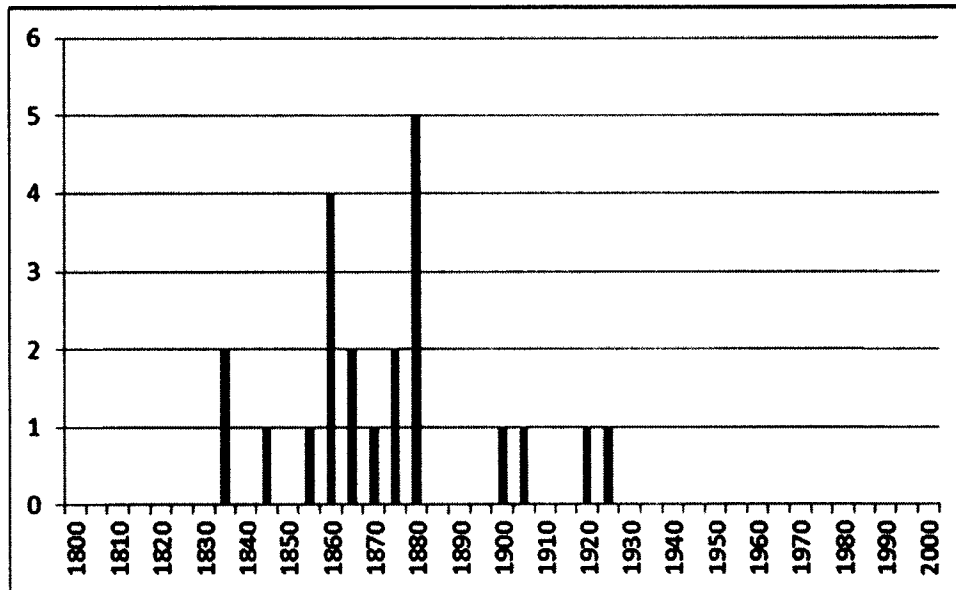


Figure 19: Flat Glass Dates for Locus 8

Vessel glass fragments from Locus 8 included the usual suite of amber and colorless fragments, some of the latter being burned and other solarized, along with two pieces of cobalt-blue glass. Two of the colorless fragments were bottle finishes, both of which had hand-tooled lips, which again points to a 19th century date for the occupation of this locus.

Two pieces of ammunition and a plow tooth probably stem from subsequent years, as locals hunted and farmed the area extensively through the years. Though the excavations at Locus 8 were quite limited, I believe we have a Civil War to postbellum structure, likely a residence, near the road with a midden in its back yard. Years of cultivation since its abandonment have spread the artifact scatter somewhat, accounting for its size (mentioned above).

Table 3: Artifacts Recovered from Locus 8, 2012

Category	Description	Count	
Architecture	Flat glass	22	
	Cut Nail, 5d	1	
	Cut Nail, 7d	3	
	Cut Nail, 8d	2	
	Cut Nail, 10d	2	
	Cut Nail, 16d	2	
	Cut Nail, Fragment	285	
	Wire Nail, Fragment	46	
	Household	Porcelain, Undecorated	1
		Stoneware, Albany slipware	2
Stoneware, Salt-glazed		2	
Whiteware		30	
Whiteware, Transfer-print		5	
Vessel Glass, Amber		20	
Vessel Glass, Cobalt Blue		2	
Vessel Glass, Colorless		114	
Vessel Glass, Colorless (Burned)		6	
Vessel Glass, Colorless (Solarized)		5	
Personal	Cartridge Case, .38	1	
	Cartridge Case, .22	1	
Industrial	Plow Tooth	1	
Other	Miscellaneous	4	
Total		566	



Figure 20: Decorated Ceramics Recovered from Locus 8, 2012

Locus 9

This area, like Loci 7 and 8, appears to be an antebellum site, though more extensive excavations lead me to interpret it clearly as a residence. Locus 7 was likely a church, and we don't know what Locus 8 really was, but this is much more consistent with a residence. Whereas Locus 7 had few personal items, and Locus 8 had only three, all of which were almost surely deposited after the site had fallen into disuse, had a more varied assemblage of artifacts and items, such as a fragment of knife blade, which suggested occupation and activity.

Locus 9 was the focus of our October 2012 four-day excavation session (Figure 21). We excavated three test units (TUs 2012-458-9, 2012-458-10, and 2012-458-11), each to 30cm below surface. Like Locus 8, these were shallow units rich in artifacts, and once again appeared to be a 19th-century building.

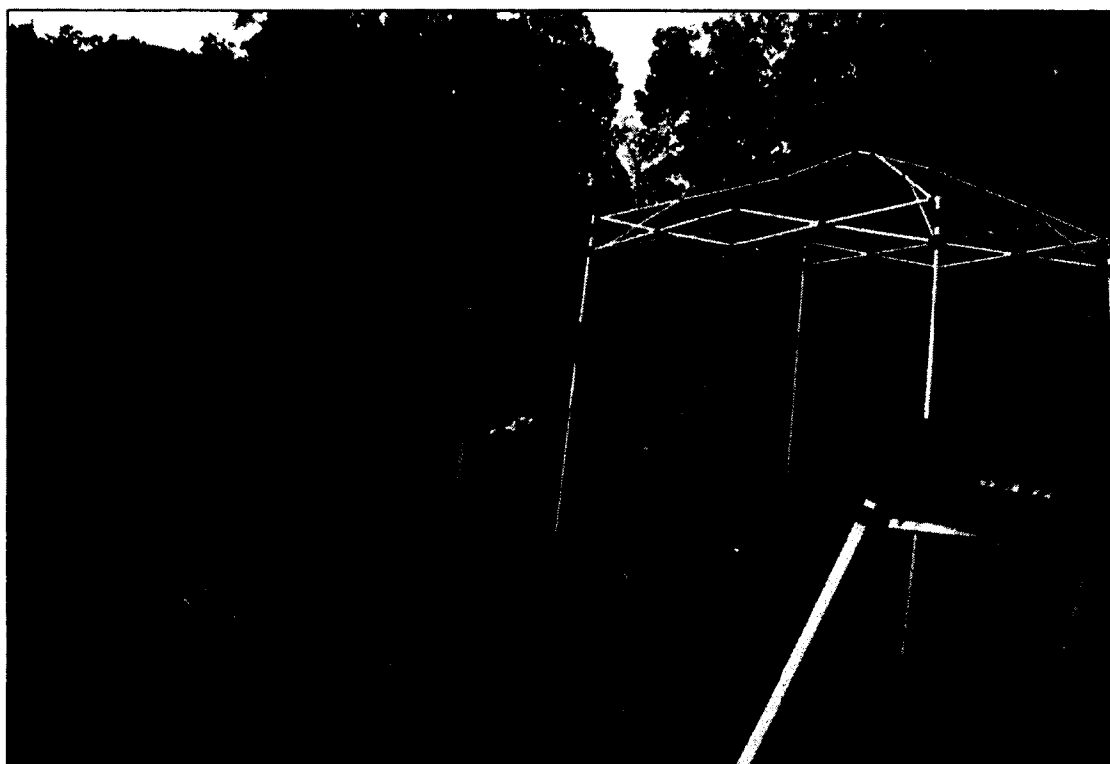


Figure 21: Volunteers Excavating Locus 9, October 2012

The excavations recovered 369 artifacts (Table 4), not counting those from Feature 1 (see below), which raised the overall total from this locus to 745. Amongst those found outside of the feature, over half (n=190) were nails or nail fragments. Of these, all were cut nails. The complete lack of wire nails, combined with a complete lack of 20th century glass and ceramics suggests a 19th-century date for the site, and the recovery of hand-painted whiteware fragments (Figure 22) suggests an early-to-mid 19th century component to the site.

Table 4: Artifacts Recovered from Locus 9 (Excluding Feature 1)

Category	Description	Count
Architecture	Brick Fragment	1
	Flat Glass	17
	Cut Nail, 7d	1
	Cut Nail, 8d	1
	Cut Nail, Fragment	182
	Mortar Fragment	6
	Stoneware, Albany	
Household	slipped	1
	Stoneware, Salt-glazed	5
	Stoneware, slipped	1
	Whiteware, Transfer-print (purple)	2
	Whiteware, Transfer-print (brown)	4
	Whiteware	38
	Vessel glass, amber	15
	Vessel glass, Colorless	69
	Vessel glass, Green	2
	Floral/Faunal	Bone
Personal	.32 bullet	1
	.0 Buckshot	1
	Knife Fragment	1
	Stove Park	1
	Flat Slate	2
	Kettle Fragment	1
Industrial	Plow Part	1
Other	Miscellaneous	15
Total		369

The flat glass date for the structure was 1861. As with Locus 8, the sample size for flat glass fragments for Locus 9 (n=18) was too small to place much stock in the date, though it points in the general direction of an antebellum structure. Taken with

the just-mentioned absence of wire nails and the presence of early 19th century ceramics suggest that the flat glass dates are not errant.



Figure 22: Hand-Painted and Transfer-Printed Ceramics Recovered from Locus 9

Ask any archaeologist, and they will have a story that begins with “Of course, on the last day of the dig we found...” This is one of those stories, as we identified the only feature (besides the cistern at Locus 4, which was not excavated) of the digs that serve this dissertation on the last day of the October dig. Consequently, we laid in some plastic and back-filled on top of it to keep the Martins’ cattle from falling into it, and came back to it during the first day of the November dig.

Feature 1 sits in the grid-southern end of Test Unit 2012-458-11. It appeared to be a collapsed cellar, full of stones and animal bone. The stones may have been old piers for the building, pushed in when the cellar was backfilled, perhaps to clear the site for agriculture. Burying the stones in an old cellar would have been an easy means to keep them out of the range of plow blades, which they would have damaged. Two large stove parts lay on the margin of the cellar.

The bone assemblage (n=125) appears to be dominated by large fragments of bovine leg bones mixed with smaller pig bones. When completely excavated, the portion of Feature 1 that lay in the test unit was 40cm deep, and roughly rectangular (Figure 23). The excavated portion was only a corner of the feature. In future, I would like to excavate more of Feature 1, but time ran out for the dissertation phase of the research program.

Table 5: Artifacts Recovered from Feature 1, October-November 2012

Category	Description	Count
Architecture	Flat Glass	1
	Cut Nail, 2d	2
	Cut Nail, 3d	1
	Cut Nail, 5d	1
	Cut Nail, 6d	3
	Cut Nail, 8d	2
	Cut Nail, 10d	4
	Cut Nail, 12d	4
	Cut Nail, Fragment	165
Household	Stoneware, Salt-glazed	1
	Whiteware	10
	Vessel glass, Amber	5
	Vessel glass, Colorless	15
	Stove Part	2
	Can Fragment	24
	Key	1
Floral/Faunal	Bone	125
	Strap Iron	3
Personal	Button, Bone (4-hole)	1
	Button, Iron	1
	Flat Slate	1
Other	Miscellaneous	4
Total		367

In addition to the large faunal assemblage recovered from Feature 1 were a host of nails and small groups of ceramics and glass (Table 5). Like the rest of Locus 9, Feature 1 contained 19th century artifacts, adding weight to the dating of the locus in general.

The assemblage suggests a residence, as there are eating and drinking vessels, parts of a stove, and other household-related materials present. This was the one context on site where we recovered large amounts of animal bone, which could either

be due to good preservation conditions (buried deep enough to avoid plow disturbance), or that the cellar was used as a trash pit before being filled. Indeed, both of these could be true.

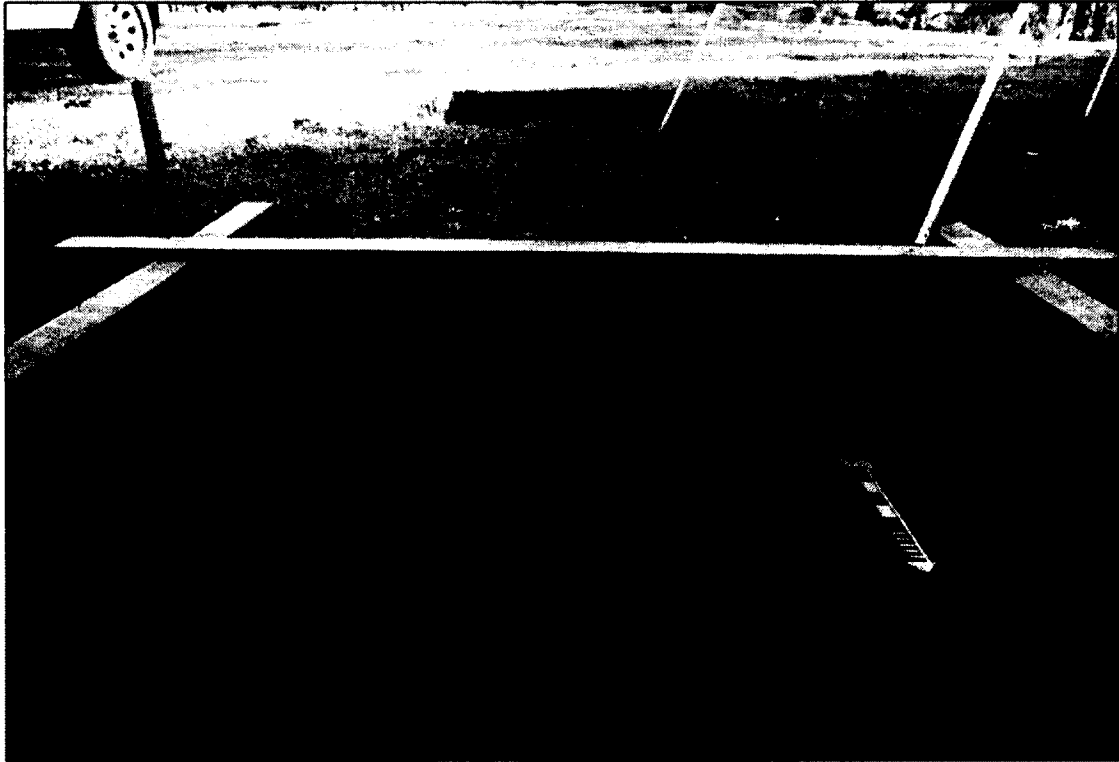


Figure 23: Feature 1, November 2012

One of the few concretely datable sets of artifacts recovered at Dooley's Ferry is a set of four fragments of a panel bottle recovered from Locus 9. Found Feature 1, these fragments refit to form the side of a bottle for Mother's Worm Syrup, manufactured by Edward Wilder & Company, druggists from Louisville, Kentucky (Fike 1987:228). The syrup was a vermifuge, used to ease the effects of intestinal worms. Mother's Worm Syrup was specifically marketed to mothers for use on children, claiming to lack the nauseating effects of other liquid vermifuges and the "poisonous effects" of worm candy (New Orleans Commercial Bulletin 1870).

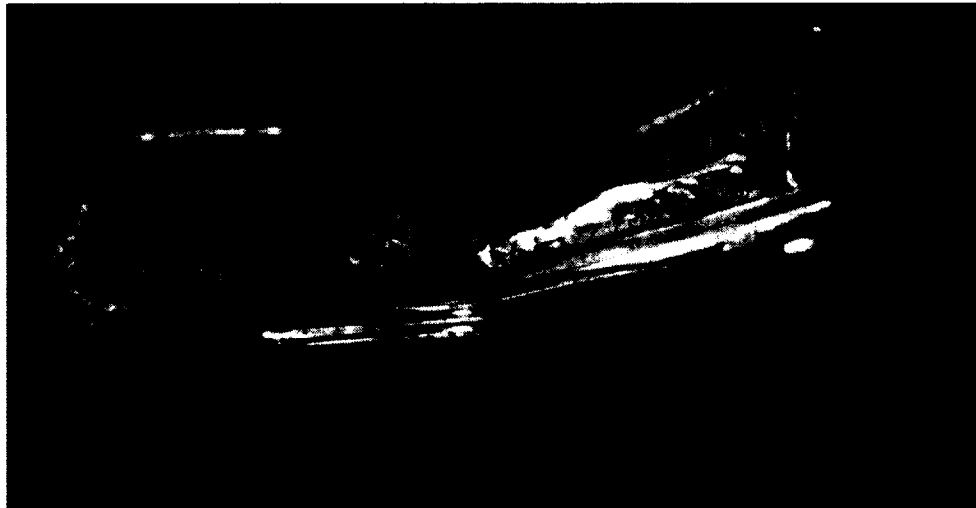


Figure 24: Fragments of a Wiler & Co. Bottle, Test Unit 11, October/November 2012

Though Clark (1964) points to Louisville as becoming a major exporter of goods after the war, when the railroads reached out across the South, such bottles went out of production only a year after Hope was founded as a railroad town, so it is much more likely that this was a bottle brought up the Red from New Orleans. Though patent medicines are notorious for their inability to deliver on their promised effects and their high alcohol content, resulting in widespread abuse by consumers, we should entertain the high likelihood that this bottle was purchased for its intended purpose. The purchaser was trying to dose her (if we accept 19th century positions on the roles of mothers and fathers, and heed the marketing of the bottle) children, who were enduring attacks of intestinal worms, which could produce diarrhea, weight loss, intense discomfort, and a host of other conditions, any of which it would be painful for a parent to watch a child suffer through. In these four broken glass fragments, we see an index of parenting (likely mothering) decisions, and an index for the presence of children in association at Locus 9. Given the existence of a number of folk remedies for the same condition, purchasing a patent medicine indicated someone with means opting for a scientific cure over a folk one (Burnett 2012).

One final aspect of Feature 1 noted in the field and apparent in Table 5 that bears mentioning is the high rate of annealing amongst the nail assemblage. Annealing is the result of exposing iron to very high heat, typically from a fire. This renders them resistant to oxidation, meaning they do not rust and are easily identifiable in the lab. Roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the nails from Locus 9 were significantly annealed. Taken with the other data recovered from the unit, we can infer that the structure that once stood at Locus 9 was burned around the time its remains were pushed into locus's former cellar. This could mean that the residents of Dooley's Ferry burned a defunct structure and pushed the remains into the old cellar as fill, or it could mean that the building burned down while still occupied, and the remains were pushed into the cellar as a way of disposing of the remains of the calamity.

To The Brink of War

Over the course of five years' worth of fieldwork, we have identified four places on the landscape of Dooley's Ferry that were likely part of the antebellum built environment. These include three houses (Loci 4 [Chapter 5], 8, and 9) and a church (Locus 7) that sheltered community members and provided a public space to meet, worship, and celebrate. The community members that populated these structures, some of whom we can identify, were fully enmeshed in the economic, social, and cultural systems that tied the Great Bend to the rest of the South and the greater Atlantic World. Those ties would help carry Arkansas out of the Union in 1861, and the strains placed on the region by that choice would shake Dooley's Ferry profoundly, altering the community in numerous ways, many of which remain legible on the landscape.

Section 2: The War Years

The preceding chapters bring us to the war, and the following pages detail the range of effects and changes that the war brought to Dooley's Ferry. This section is organized as follows. First (in Chapter 4), I review the military service of three men from Dooley's Ferry known to be Confederate soldiers. All experienced different fates. The families they left behind at the crossing serve as the focus for Chapter 5. The interface between military and civilian, both at Dooley's Ferry and in southwest Arkansas more generally, is the subject of Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 details the planning and construction of the trenches that ringed Dooley's Ferry in 1865.

The point of organizing the section this way is not to privilege the war stories of the men in uniform above those of the people who endured the war on the home front. We have certainly seen no lack of historical scholarship on battles, campaigns, soldiers, and generals. Indeed, Shea's coverage of the year of 1862 in *Rugged and Sublime: The Civil War in Arkansas* is wholly focused on the actions of men in uniform, with no reference whatsoever to civilian lives during that period. I lead with the military experiences of Dooley's Ferry residents because their departure for the front was one of the first major changes brought to the site by the conflict.

Chapter 4 covers the wartime experience of the men from Dooley's Ferry, focusing on Samuel Carlock, the ferryman, and his neighbors, brothers Cicero and Garrett Bates. These men all served in different units, fought in different battles, and met different fates. Just as relevant to our understanding of the war in Arkansas are the tales of men who did not serve, men such as C.M. Hervey and John Munday, and how their non-service came to pass and factored into the course of events as they played

out in the Great Bend. Finally, I will also touch on our inability to either rule out or establish the history of military service of African Americans from Dooley's Ferry.

Following this, Chapter 5 looks at the war on the home front at Dooley's Ferry, and how the people there met and endured the various stresses and strains brought by the war. It is a rare look at the home front in the Trans-Mississippi region (those parts of the Confederacy west of the Mississippi River), and, even rarer, a study of life on the home front in Confederate Arkansas, a very under-studied area of scholarship. Chapter 5 also details our excavations at Locus 4, the ferryman's house, and the public archaeology that took place there.

In Chapter 5, I present the history of connections between the Confederate Army and Dooley's Ferry. As a fixture in the antebellum transportation network, it comes as no surprise that Dooley's Ferry was an important part of the military logistical networks that helped keep Confederate forces in the field. While always important, Dooley's Ferry became crucial to the maintenance of Confederate forces during their stay in the area between the ferry and Spring Hill, in early 1864.

Finally, 0 covers the most legible remnant of Confederate presence at Dooley's Ferry, the late-war construction of a large network of entrenchments that effectively sealed off Dooley's Ferry, giving the Confederate army governance of all approaches to the crossing. While never tested in battle, these trenches were ready to be used to defend Texas once Arkansas had become ungovernable by the Confederate government, and stand as a memory of the destruction of Confederate Arkansas at the end of the war, and presage the changes to life and landscape that were ushered in by the Reconstruction Era, which is the subject of Section 3.

Chapter 4. Dooleys Ferry on the Front Line

Though Arkansas was a Southern state and seceded soon after the firing on Fort Sumter, we should not assume that it was a land of fire eating secessionists in the vein of South Carolina. Secession and the start of the war brought out mixed reactions across Arkansas and created divisions that endured throughout the conflict. Indeed, the political allegiance of Arkansans became a defining factor of the Civil War experience in many places, particularly the Ozarks, where Unionist and Secessionist factions pursued each other with bloody intentions throughout the war years and later (Barnes 1993; Barnes 2001).

Even at the outset, the state lacked unanimity. Arkansas's first secession convention, held before Fort Sumter, resulted in a vote to remain in the Union. It was only after the firing on Fort Sumter and the subsequent call for volunteers to put down the rebellion that shifted the balance. Identifying with other Southerners, electors held a second vote, this time carrying Arkansas to the Confederacy (DeBlack 2003a:27–28). Even then, despite the urgings of many of those present, the vote was not unanimous. Isaac Murphy, who would become the first reconstruction governor of Arkansas, refused to change his vote against secession (Smith 1979:33–35), a move supported by Martha Trapnall, a prominent member of Little Rock society. A woman and unable to speak on the floor of the convention, she threw her bouquet of flowers at Murphy's feet, symbolizing her support of his position (Moneyhon 1994a:8).

Arkansans with Unionist proclivities did not all relinquish them upon secession, either as Unionist organizations operated across all parts of the state

throughout the war. The earliest formed almost overnight, dedicated to resisting Confederate service and supporting Union aims (Worley 1958). These were particularly common amongst the mountain counties, where slavery was less common and farmers tended to see secession as a move towards cementing planters' political power at their expense. Secessionists broke up the most notable of these, The Peace Society, and marched the Unionists to Little Rock, offering them a choice between military service for the Confederacy and imprisonment. Most took the former option (Worley 1958).

Elsewhere in the state, Unionism (or at least anti-Confederatism) grew during the course of the war, as citizens realized that the war would not be short and that different classes endured different levels of suffering brought about by the conflict. Moneyhon's (2000) history of disloyalty and class-consciousness in southern Arkansas during the war underscores how the image of a solid South, united in opposition to the Union, fails to capture the spirit of the times in the region, which includes Dooley's Ferry. Moneyhon tells a story wherein the latter years of the war saw home guard units of secessionists pursuing and fighting organized bands of anti-Confederates or Unionists, many of whom were men who had served the Confederacy on the front line, in pitched battles throughout the southwest portion of the state. Hundreds died in this little-known aspect of the war, but that is not my main reason for bringing up the subject here.

Rather, I mention it to show that service to the Confederacy, particularly dedicated service (as evidenced by repeated reenlistment or service through the duration of the conflict), was not necessarily the hard-and-fast rule for Arkansas.

Thousands flocked to Southern flags at the outbreak of the war, and most whites who went to war marched in these gray and butternut columns. Of these, many men served the Confederacy for the duration. Yet, other whites did not, choosing to stay home to sow and plant, while others actively fought against the Confederacy, either in one of the multitude of “lay out gangs” mentioned by Moneyhon, or in service with a Union unit.

Arkansas fielded 17 units of all branches for the Union war effort (Dyer 1908:37), many of them composed of African Americans from the cotton districts who enlisted in large numbers at Helena and Pine Bluff. While this is not a large number in comparison to other Confederate states, it still indicates that Union service was an option many took, and that service to the Confederacy was not a given.

The Ferryman Goes to War

In southwest Arkansas, a society based on slavery, there was little abolitionist sentiment and much pro-Southern fervor at the outset of the war, at least amongst the white population. The counties girding Dooleys Ferry, Hempstead and Lafayette, sent slaveowners to the secession convention in Little Rock. Though two of these three men were part of an anti-secession faction, all voted for the secession ordinance once it came to a vote following the firing on Fort Sumter and the Union’s call for troops (Arkansas 1861). John Brown, of nearby Camden, wrote in his diary in February that “the river Counties have generally gone for Secession and the uplands against it” (Swepton 2009). Once the war began, Brown’s diary tells of the rapid coalescence of southwest Arkansas white society to support the war effort and to raise companies for the defense of the South.

Recruitment for the Confederate Army started as early in southwest Arkansas as it did anywhere else in the state. The first wave of recruitment formed units for service in the Arkansas State Troops (AST), a militia organization allied to, but not formally enrolled in Confederate service (Piston and Hatcher 2000:12, 15). One of the companies raised for the AST was the Hempstead Rifles, a company of Hempstead County men, who enrolled for 90 days' service to the state. The Rifles, mustered in Washington, consisted of 102 officers and men under the command of Captain John R. Gratiot and Lieutenants Daniel Jones and Benjamin Jett, Jr. They joined the rest of the Arkansas State Troops at Camp Walker, Benton County (northwest Arkansas) prior to the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri, where Gratiot was made colonel of the 3rd Regiment of the AST. The 3rd fought at Wilson's Creek under the command of Brigadier General Nicholas Bartlett ("Bart") Pearce (Piston and Hatcher 2000:275–277).

Amongst the enlisted men marched Samuel G. Carlock, the ferryman, who served as a private (Montgomery 2001:73; Williams 1951:56, though she spells Carlock as "Garlack"). We can interpret Carlock's war record as an indication of his dedication to the South and to the defense of slavery as a social and economic institution. Though many who rushed to arms at the outbreak of the war went to see something grand or be part of history (McPherson 1994), Carlock's war record suggests his engagement with the conflict was ideological and profound. As a slaveowner and native of North Carolina, his links to the root causes of the conflict (slavery and secession) were both immediate and personal.

Carlock marched off with the Hempstead Rifles, and fought with them at the battle of Wilson's Creek, where the unit suffered four of killed and thirteen wounded (Williams 1951:65). Samuel Carlock was one of the casualties. While the nature of his wound is lost to history, his descendant, Marion Pomeroy Carlock, reports that it was severe enough to occasion his being sent home to convalesce (Carlock 1929). On the other hand, Williams (1951:64–65) reprints a letter sent to Washington by James P. Erwin, one Hempstead Rifles, which lists the names of members of the company killed and grievously wounded in the battle. Erwin's letter does Carlock as being among the seriously wounded. Perhaps Carlock was one who was "grazed" but whose injuries "do not deserve the name of wounds" (Williams 1951:65).

The Hempstead Rifles had enlisted for a three month period, so they disbanded after Wilson's Creek, as did most of the other militia units that fought in the early stages of the war. This did not end Mr. Carlock's military service, though. As soon as he had healed, Carlock traveled to Magnolia in October of 1861 and joined another unit, Company E of Johnson's 15th Arkansas Infantry, and returned to the front (Alspaugh 1998:29). He did not join the reorganized Hempstead Rifles, which became Company H of the 17th Arkansas Infantry (Dedmond 2009:56–57).

The 15th moved to Memphis in December of 1861. Most of the regiment marched across southern Arkansas to Gaines's Landing on the Mississippi River, where they boarded a troop ship that carried them up the Father of Waters to Memphis. From there, they were ordered to Fort Heiman, further up the Mississippi, before being ordered to Fort Henry, Tennessee (Willis 1998:109). The 15th was part of the ultimately unsuccessful attempt to defend Fort Henry from Union soldiers under

the command of Ulysses S. Grant. From Fort Henry, they fell back with the rest of the Confederate army to Fort Donelson. They were on hand for the Battle of Fort Donelson on February 16, where Union troops captured a substantial portion of the regiment, included Carlock.

Carlock (1929) mentions an interesting dimension of Carlock's service. Apparently, his older son, Marcus, went with him to the front. Marion Carlock wrote that on the morning of Samuel's capture, his son saw him return from the front lines to tell him to return to the rear. That was the last time he saw his father.

One of the curios minutiae of Arkansas Civil War history is the duplication of regimental numbers. In addition to the 15th Arkansas that Carlock served in, there was a 15th Arkansas organized by Patrick Cleburne in eastern Arkansas, which fought in almost every major Western Theatre battle from Shiloh to Bentonville. There was yet a third 15th Arkansas, this one made from the reorganized elements of the 21st Arkansas, which fought at Pea Ridge, Corinth, and Vicksburg. This multitude of 15th Arkansas regiments confused even a relative of Samuel Carlock, who penned a family history in the 1920s. Marion Pomeroy Carlock reported his great grandfather as being captured at the Battle of Pea Ridge (Carlock 1929:415). While both Pea Ridge and Fort Donelson occurred in early 1862, Samuel Carlock did not participate in the former battle. We know this, because Samuel Carlock was in prison at the time.

After his capture at Fort Donelson, Samuel went with the rest of the 15th Arkansas to the federal prison camp at Camp Douglas, outside of Chicago, Illinois. The rebel soldiers captured at Fort Donelson served as the nucleus of the first prisoners held at the camp. As such, few preparations were made to house them, with

both advantageous and deleterious results (Levy 1994). The lack of physical security over the inmates meant that escape attempts often succeeded, and the existence of a sizeable population of southern sympathizers around Chicago and in downstate Illinois meant that there were havens for escaped Confederates. The ersatz nature of their prison also meant that there were few physical comforts afforded the prisoners, either in the terms of adequate structures or in clothes. Given that many of the soldiers were ill-equipped when sent to the front, and that virtually none of them had ever experienced a harsh Chicago winter before, sickness and death from the cold was quite common (Levy 1994).

The Union army did keep good records, however, and recorded the name, unit, and place of capture (though not the date of their arrival at the prison) of each man brought to Camp Douglas in a register. Those registers are in the National Archives, in Record Group 109, publication M598, along with other records from the Office of the Commissary General of Prisoners (1862). In scanning through them, I found the intake and discharge records for Samuel Carlock. He arrived at Camp Douglas in company with other members of the 15th Arkansas, and appears as the assistant quartermaster in Company E of that regiment (Figure 25).

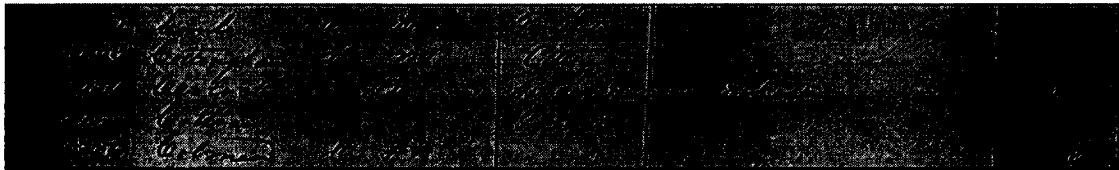


Figure 25: Camp Douglas Register of Prisoners, Showing Samuel Carlock's Name

As was the case for the early stages of the war, Carlock and his fellow inmates were not destined to stay in confinement for the duration of the war. Both sides looked to exchange soldiers, easing the need to feed and house prisoners and freeing

manpower for return to service. Both sides exchanged soldiers, generally on a one-for-one basis amongst enlisted men, on condition that they would not return to ranks until formally paroled, which would come later. The U.S. sought to curtail this practice later in the war to reduce the number of soldiers available to the Confederacy, a move that also placed greater strain on Confederate commissaries tasked with feeding prisoners (Sanders 2005:257–261).

The Union Army put Samuel Carlock, along with the bulk of the rest of Camp Douglas's prison population, up for exchange some seven months after his arrival at the prison. At the end of August, the entirety of the camp's prisoner population boarded trains for the South, leaving behind 918 men who chose to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States and stay in the north (Levy 1994).

Those returning to Confederate lines left between September 3 and 10, climbing into railroad cars in Chicago that took them down the Illinois Central Railroad to Cairo, Illinois. There, they boarded Union troop ships, each crammed with 600 prisoners, and steamed South to Vicksburg, Mississippi (Levy 1994). From there, the ships sailed to Vicksburg under a flag of truce, discharged their passengers, and returned north (Kelly 1989:33; Poe 1967:51–53).

This is where Carlock's story takes an unfortunate turn. Federal prisons during the Civil War were notorious for their insalubrious character. From Elmira, New York to Camp Douglas, fevers burned through the camps, cholera ran rampant, and other diseases took their toll (Sanders 2005:90–98; Kelly 1989:20). At some point, either during confinement or on the tightly-packed troop ship headed down the Mississippi, Corporal Carlock contracted a malady. Given the fact that few of the men from his

company are listed as sick in the morning reports for Camp Douglas (Office of the Commissary General of Prisoners 1862), and that men too sick to travel stayed at Camp Douglas until recovered (Kelly 1989:33), it seems likely that he took sick en route to Vicksburg. Regardless of when he contracted the disease, he succumbed to it aboard the troop ship as it arrived at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on September 12 (Gerdes 2001a).

Samuel's death held great impact for his family. Not only had Julia lost a husband and Marcus and Thomas lost a father, the death of Samuel Carlock meant their removal from Dooley's Ferry. Their land, the ferry license, the house, and their three enslaved workers all went up for sale. The license went to Dr. John Wilder, a neighbor, and Julia and the boys moved to Falcon, one of the nearby towns (Carlock 1929:416). Chapter 5 covers the breaking up Samuel Carlock's estate in more detail, but I want to point out here that military service could challenge community structure beyond the loss of the service member. Not only was the loss of Samuel Carlock to the front a diminution of the number of residents of Dooley's Ferry and a loss of the social interaction and activity that this one member had, his death meant the removal of his entire household (white and black) from the ferry crossing.

The Bates Brothers and the War

Of course, Samuel Carlock was not the only one from the Dooley's Ferry area to leave for the war. Volunteerism, particularly early in the war, was a must for young men in the region. Not only was it a demonstration of loyalty to the fledgling government, it was also a mark of masculinity and honor (Wyatt-Brown 1983:35). Sir Henry Morton Stanley, who would go on to explore the Belgian Congo and

presumably encountered Dr. David Livingstone, lived in Pine Bluff at the outbreak of the war. Though he lacked strong feelings towards slavery, he enlisted after a set of women's undergarments were sent to him in the mail, a signal that he should either don them or a uniform (Stanley 2000:95). We know of at least two other members of the Dooley's Ferry community who answered the call to serve the Confederacy, and thus defend their good names.

These others are the Carlocks' nearest neighbors, the Bates brothers, both of whom volunteered. The brothers, Cicero and Garrett, were born in Mississippi along the Amite River, to a wealthy plantation-owning family (Bates 1962:8). They emigrated to Louisiana in the 1840s, then settled on a farm at Dooley's Ferry just before the war. Cicero, 31 year old farmer and physician in 1860, was the head of household, with his little brother, Garrett, listed amongst his family members (U.S. Census Office 1860).

Cicero joined Company I of the 11th Arkansas Infantry in 1861 (National Park Service 1996). After massing at Little Rock, the unit moved to Fort Pillow, Tennessee, in September, and then marched to New Madrid, Missouri in January of 1862. It was there that the regiment received its arms in February, fully seven months after entering service. It was part of Colonel E.W. Gantt's brigade, garrisoning Fort Thompson, on the outskirts of New Madrid, up until the Battle of Island #10 in April (Polk 1883; Sifakis 1992:90–91). The Confederate commander, Brigadier General William W. Mackall, surrendered his command, including Private Bates and the rest of the 11th Arkansas, on April 8. Major James T. Poe, one of the regimental officers, bitterly recalled the event in his memoirs (Poe 1967), as the 11th surrendered having never been allowed to fire a shot or even to see a Union soldier.

From Island #10, enlisted men were dispatched to Camp Douglas, Illinois, while officers were sent first to Camp Chase, Ohio, then Johnson's Island, near Sandusky (Poe 1967). Though the Camp Douglas prisoner list does not include a Cicero Bates, there is a "Christopher C. Bates" listed amongst the members of Company I, 11th Arkansas Infantry, captured at Island No. 10 on April 8 (Office of the Commissary General of Prisoners 1862). This Bates was a member of the Memphis Artillery, though his grouping with the members of Company I suggests he may have been on detail and was, in actuality, Cicero Bates. There were two artillery companies brigaded with the 11th Arkansas, Captain John W. Stewart's and Capt. John D. Upton's heavy artillery companies (Polk 1883). Bates might have served in either, as Upton's battery, though a Tennessee unit consisted of men from Lafayette and Columbia counties, Arkansas.

Bates stayed five months in prison before receiving an exchange on September 4th. One wonders whether Carlock and Bates, who both spent time in Camp Douglas over the summer of 1862, ever met each other in prison. It certainly seems plausible. Like Samuel Carlock and the rest of the inmate population, Cicero Bates left for Vicksburg and exchange in early September, 1862. He exited the Camp on September 4, boarding a train for Cairo and then a steamboat to Vicksburg, along with thousands of other exchanged Confederate prisoners (Office of the Commissary General of Prisoners 1862). Soon after his exchange, he went home on a sick furlough on December 31, 1862. There is no other record of his service, so he may not have returned to the ranks.

His brother, Garrett G. Bates, also served, though not in the same unit. Garrett joined Company D of the 1st Arkansas Cavalry (Monroe's) in the Spring of 1862, and transferred to the Commissary Department in December of that year (Montgomery 2001:94, 97). He was with the unit at the battles of Cane Hill in November of 1862 and Prairie Grove the next month, and marched in Marmaduke's Missouri expedition the following winter. He also participated in the failed Confederate attempt to take Fayetteville, Arkansas, in April of 1863 (Sifakis 1992).

After this succession of battles, Private Bates made a choice that few had either the proclivity or resources to make. In May of 1863, while the regiment camped at Fort Smith, he hired a substitute named W.M. Melton (Gerdes 2001b). This allowed him to exit service and return to Dooley's Ferry and spent the balance of the war with his family. After fighting in four major actions during the past winter, with his brother at home and possibly ill, Garrett went home. There is no indication that he re-entered service after he left the 1st Cavalry. His timing was impeccable, as General Hindman ended the substitute system in barely a month later (Neal and Kremm 1997:123).

C.M. Hervey and the Privileges of Wealth

The Lafayette County side of the ferry crossing consisted largely of the plantation lands of Charles Monroe Hervey, a wealthy native of Tennessee who owned a large house in Spring Hill, an estate inherited from his father-in-law, Edward B. Fowlkes (Lloyd 2011). Hervey's real estate property in the 1860 U.S. Census was \$90,000, a sum much larger than any of his neighbors. He also owned 52 slaves, 12 in Hempstead County (possibly house servants) and the others in Lafayette County (U.S. Census Office 1860).

There is no record of C.M. Hervey ever serving in the Confederate army. He was only 37 years old, and a number of men from the area were older when they entered service. Confederate draft laws would eventually call all men under the age of 55 to join the armed forces, and Hervey certainly fell within that limit. Lloyd (2011) wrote of Hervey that “he contributed liberally to [the Confederate] cause” through other means, and that, shortly after the war, received a pardon from President Andrew Johnson for his support of the Confederacy.

Hervey was exempt from service under the Confederate conscription laws. Anyone who held title to twenty or more persons was exempt from service on the belief that they must remain at home to manage the plantation and keep blacks in order. Changes to the exemption law in 1862 also exempted plantation overseers, as these men were necessary to help maintain order on large farms. This may explain why there is no service record for John Munday. Mr. Munday appears in the 1860 census between the listings for the Carlock and Bates households, indicating he and his family were Dooley’s Ferry residents (U.S. Census Office 1860). He listed his occupation as “overseer.” He was not the slaveowner, but his position with one or more of the local plantations provided him an exemption from enlisting, as the Confederate government deemed him to be of more value on the home front than the battle front.

Not surprisingly, this exemption for slaveowners and overseers created substantial grumbling amongst enlisted men, who were largely from non-slave-owning or small slave-owning farms, and had to serve. Though military service was still a valorous way to maintain one’s honor, to be compelled to fight was an unwelcome

invasion of civil liberties. For a people fighting to be free of what they saw as tyrannical rule, poor Southern whites regarded conscription laws, along with many of the policies that the Confederate government passed during the war, as being reminiscent of the government they sought to escape. Exemptions were one of the things many people took to be an indicator that the war had become a “rich man’s war, poor man’s fight” (Moneyhon 1993:228).

African-American Service

One possibility that I think we need to entertain, in discussing war service of Dooley’s Ferry residents, is African-American service. Wherever Union armies marched, African Americans flocked to their camps and formations, seeking emancipation and the opportunity to serve the United States. Fort Pulaski and Fort Monroe, two places that were not surrendered to Confederates at the start of the war, were both magnets for self-emancipated African Americans (Quarles 1953:74–79). When Sherman’s army marched through Georgia in 1864, they attracted a large train of African Americans who sought freedom. So many followed, in fact, that the army tried to shed them by cutting the pontoon bridge across Ebenezer Creek after the army passed over but before the refugees could follow suit (Foote 1958:649–650).

The nearest that Union armies came to Dooley’s Ferry was the Camden Expedition of 1864. Launched out of Little Rock in hopes of distracting Confederates from the Red River Campaign ascending Louisiana, the Camden Expedition petered out near its eponymous city (Atkinson 1955; DeBlack 2003b; Johnson 1958). This was still around 60 miles from Dooley’s Ferry. Such a distance through Confederate territory patrolled by home guard units would have been a difficult barrier for anyone

to overcome. Yet, travelling such distances to reach Union lines happened frequently during the war.

We lack documentation for escapism amongst those enslaved along the Great Bend, but we do know that African Americans were willing to travel great distances to reach federal forces. Captain Charles B. Wilder, stationed at Fort Monroe, Virginia, reported to a War Department commission that thousands of African Americans had flocked to the installation, many traveling as far as 200 miles (Berlin and Rowland 1997:31). By comparison, the Union troops at Camden in early 1864 would certainly have been within reach.

We know that African Americans from southwest Arkansas flocked to Steele's troops at Camden, where a sizeable freedmen's camp was established (Stockley 2009:47) and formed a significant part of Steele's train when the federals left for Little Rock. Throughout the South, thousands of men who made the trek entered Union service (Astor 2001; Quarles 1953; Wilson 1890).

Black Arkansans enlisted in large numbers, particularly in the delta counties around Arkansas, and served with distinction at Helena, Wallace's Ferry, and several other significant engagements (Christ 2009; DeBlack 2003a; Williams 1987). Black troops from outside the state, notably the 1st and 2nd Kansas Colored Infantry regiments, served in Arkansas as well (Bailey 1990; Christ 2003; DeBlack 2003b; Rhodes 2005).

Histories of African-American service during the war, such as Wilson (1890) and Quarles (1953), as well as Astor's (2001) *The Right to Fight: A History of African Americans in the Military*, underscore how military service was more than simply an

opportunity to fight against slavery. For ex-slaves, service to the United States was also an important symbol of enfranchisement. Engaging with the United States as citizens was more than simply an issue of voting and having legal recognition. Joining the ranks was an opportunity to defend their government and take a very active role in its defense and suppressing the rebellion. This was a very active form of citizenship.

In the end, I was unable to concretely link anyone from the Dooley's Ferry area to the Union Army, but given the high number of African Americans who were enslaved in that area, and the fact that several thousand blacks made the journey to Union lines, it is a possibility that we should consider, and remember that military service in Arkansas was more than simply white service to the Confederacy.

Material Traces of War Service

There are few material correlates of war service that one would expect to see at a civilian site. Barring the dropped button or piece of uniform hardware, the brief (in archaeological time scales) absence of a member of the community does not have a notable archaeological signature. Of all the facets of this research, the service records of Dooley Ferry residents entailed the least hope of material traces.

While none of the excavated material appear to point to the military service of any resident, there are traces in artifacts dating to that era that bear the marks of the loss of community members to military service. I write here about the two maps of Dooley's Ferry made by Capt. Richard Venable in 1864. Of the two, the one preserved in the Gilmer Map Collection at the University of North Carolina (Figure 26) appears to be the finished copy, as it includes subtle details not present in the version available at the National Archives (Figure 27).

Venable's maps record many things, including tree lines, roads, lake borders, and even the location of various structures. One thing that many period maps do not record, which Venable included in his maps, are the names of landowners for both fields and homesteads. We see names such as Bates, Wilder, Anderson, and Williams, marked on their respective fields and homes.

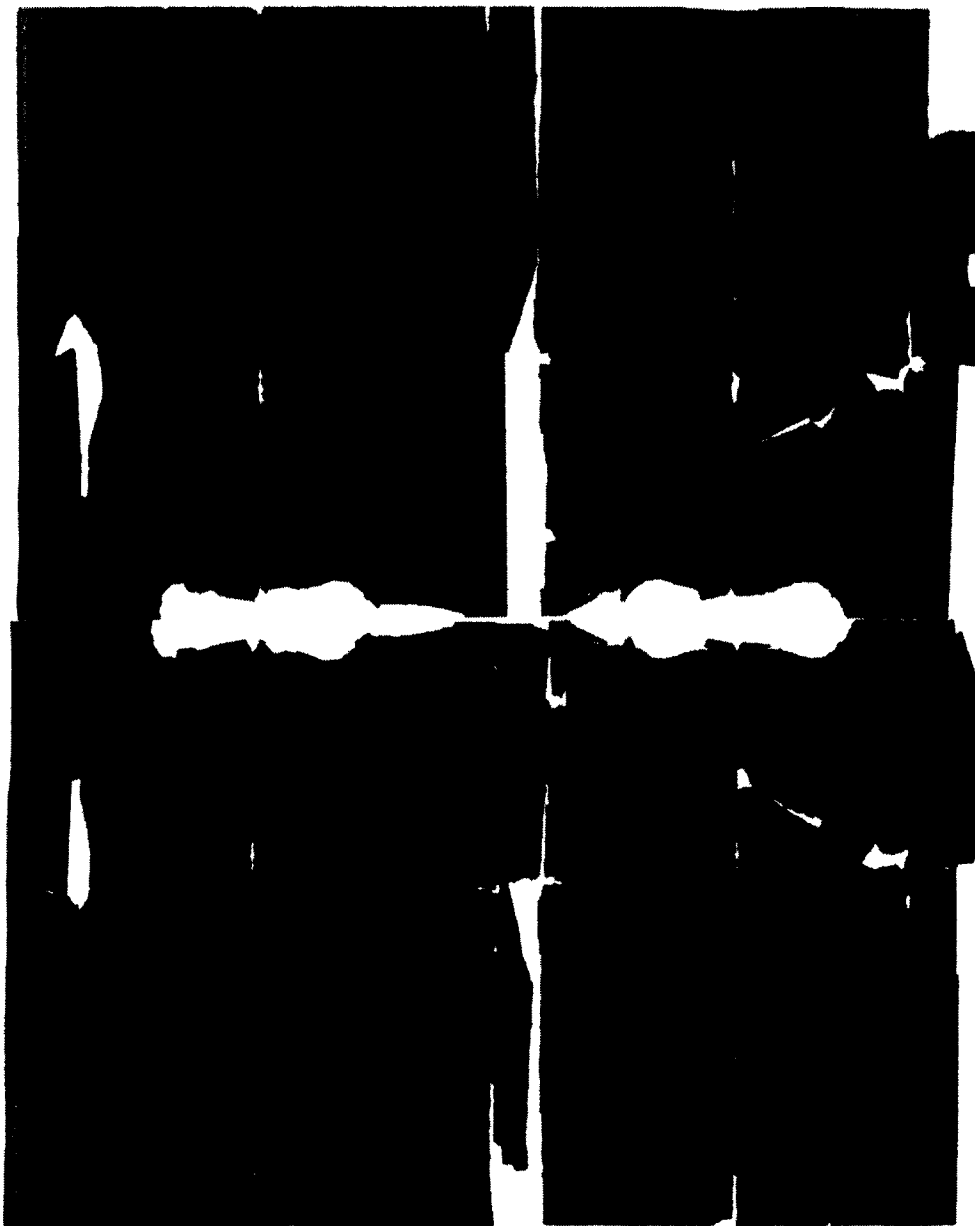


Figure 26: Venable's Map of Dooley's Ferry and Environs, 1864

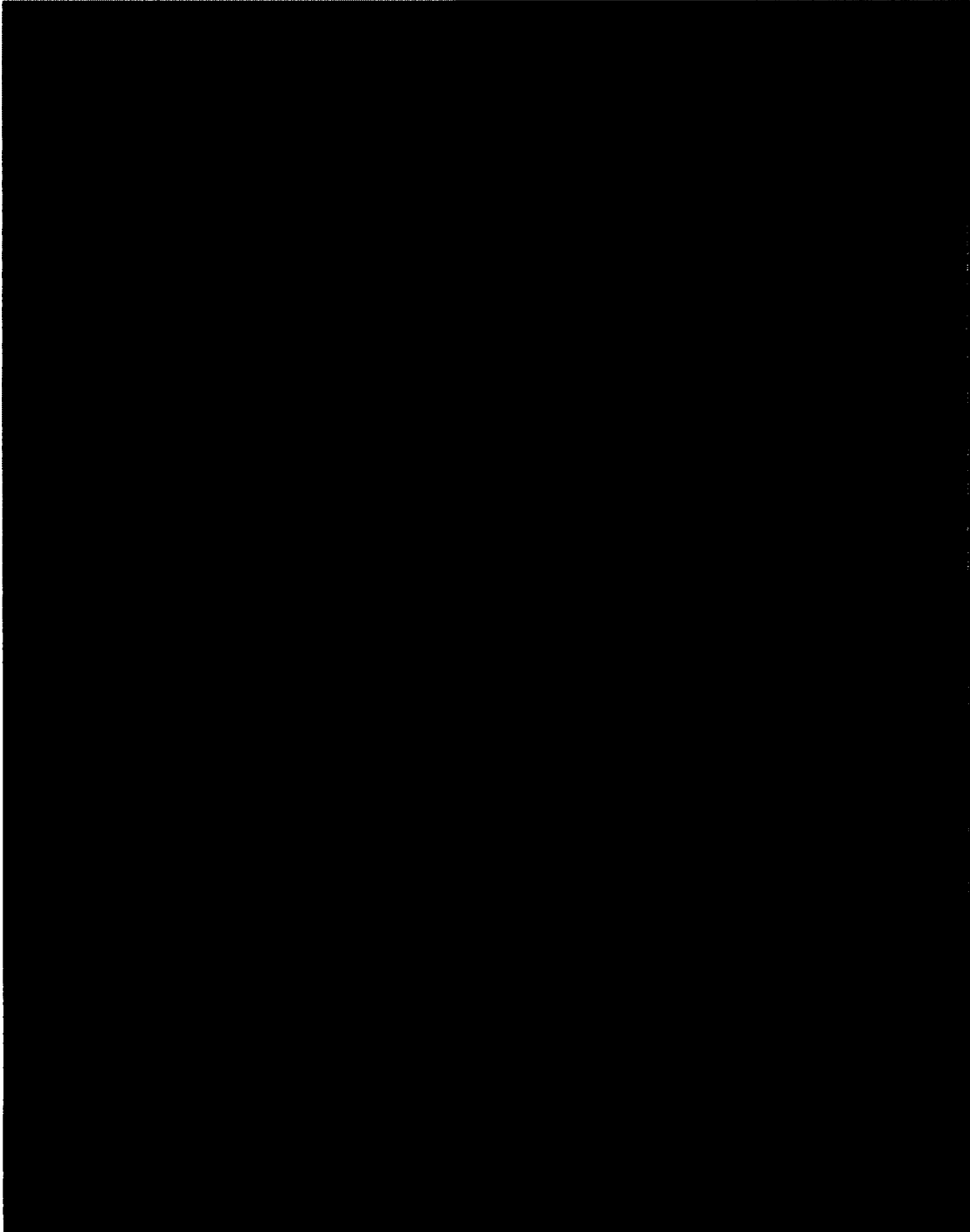


Figure 27: National Archives Copy of Venable Map

We should mark two evidences of military service in to Venable's maps. First, there is no documentation of the Carlock family, who had removed to Falcon by this point in the war. Their erasure from the landscape, owing to the death of Samuel at

Vicksburg, appears in the absence of their name on Venable's map (Figure 39, below). Given that there were several structures near the ferry landing that do not have names associated with them, they could be part of an abandoned farmstead once owned by the Carlocks.

Second, several of the entries reference a woman as head of the household, a break from the norm of antebellum household structure, which almost invariably list a man as head. The heads of these households appear to be in military service and therefore not at home to be contacted and mapped by Venable. The map shows the removal of the men from the neighborhood for service.

Conclusion: The Vacant Chair

What effect did the removal of these men have on the community at Dooley's Ferry? Gender and class roles changed. Women engaged in tasks usually reserved for men, and elites did the work previously reserved for the working classes (Nelson and Sheriff 2007:263). These changes undermined much of the highly-ordered, vigorously-maintained categories and hierarchies put in place during the antebellum era. As we shall see in the following chapter, the war as experienced at places like Dooley's Ferry focused around coming to terms with the new conditions brought about by the loss of men to the front.

We see amongst the inhabitants of Dooley's Ferry a range of reactions to the call to service. Samuel Carlock answered early and often, and paid for his dedication to the Confederate cause with his life. Cicero Bates also served within his abilities, and endured many hardships on that account.

Garrett Bates and C.M. Hervey had much more tenuous relationships to the Confederate Army. Garrett clearly reached a point where he was no longer willing to serve, and purchased his way out of service. He became one of the many men who had exited Confederate service by 1863, and was one of the few who did so via substitution instead of simple desertion. As the initial fervor for war gave way to greater misgivings about its conduct, particularly the way in which the Confederate government in Richmond made the Trans-Mississippi fend for itself, desertion rates rose, as did dissent amongst civilians, particularly in harvest seasons, as men headed home to help their families bring in a crop.

This chapter is a retelling of known white involvement with the Confederate military, and probes some of the possibilities that could have taken place, but still wait for historical or archaeological attention. We can offer conjectures regarding the possibility of black service, but any attempt to concretely identify a black resident of the ferry who might have served runs immediately into the brick wall of anonymity imposed upon African-American members of the Dooley's Ferry community through the deliberate non-recording of their names and family groupings. This underscores the historiographical silence that is an outgrowth of the slave system.

The next three chapters will tease out the wartime experience of the families of soldiers left behind. As we shall soon see, using our excavations at Locus 4, the war came home in very distinct ways.

Chapter 5. “Battles Aplenty at Home”

The military service of southern men created massive upheaval in traditional social and economic roles on the home front. The loss of men from the public sphere called gender categories into question, re-aligned how authority structures operated, and flummoxed the cult of domesticity. This chapter looks at how the demands of wartime and the removal of men from the landscape surrounding Dooley’s Ferry changed social and economic life at the site and how the permanent loss of members such as Samuel Carlock re-fashioned the community as a whole by changing its composition.

We will start this discussion by focusing on the excavations at Locus 4, which was the home of Samuel Carlock, who left Dooley’s Ferry twice to serve the Confederacy, and paid for his dedication with his life, succumbing to disease at Vicksburg, Mississippi (Chapter 4). I will use this site to explore the dimensions of life during the war for his family, both before and after Samuel’s death. For both white and black residents of the Carlock house, the war did mean a constant grind of shortages in food, clothing, and other necessities, and the constant shattering of the social and cultural norms of the antebellum era. This instability would have both negative and positive ramifications for all as the war drew to a close.

Excavating Locus 4: Carlock Residence/Fay Post Office

One of the areas that first drew out attention at Dooley’s Ferry was a place of relatively high ground across Hempstead County Road 7 from Red Lake Mound (Figure 28). We knew from interviewing Mr. A.G. “Bud” Martin, the landowner, that there had been a house there in the 1950s, when he was a boy in the area (Bud Martin,

personal communication, 2008). Mr. Martin remembered the house as being a double pen frame building with a small room built on its porch that served as a store, where he bought sodas, candy bars, and crackers. The building burned in the 1950s in a fire started by a new and “improved” oil lamp (Bud Martin, personal communication, 2012).

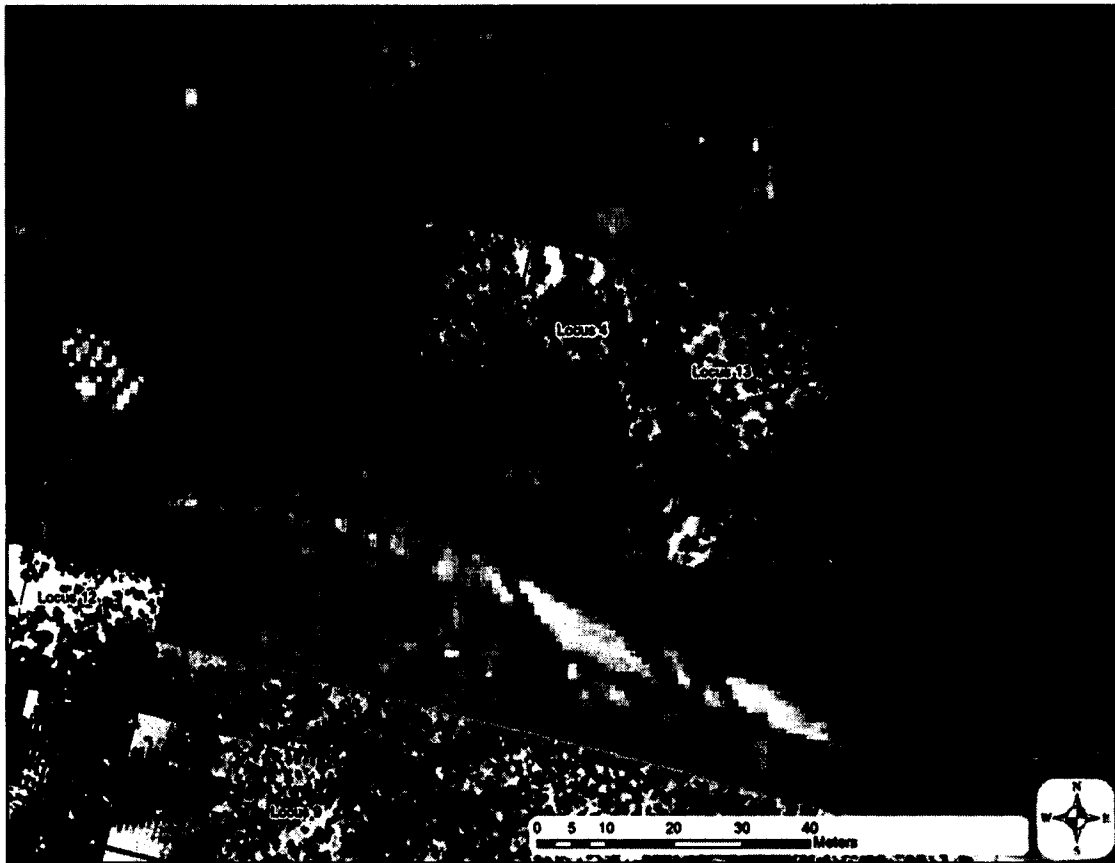


Figure 28: Location of Loci 4 and 13

The site had been in use for some time, as the 1900 GLO map of Dooley’s Ferry (Figure 30) shows a structure in that position marked as the “Fay P.O.,” and the 1886 Corps of Engineers (Figure 31) and 1864 Venable (Figure 17) maps likewise show a structure at that locale. Later maps, such as the USGS Spring Hill quad, show a structure there until the middle of the twentieth century. Other aspects of the locus sparked our interest. For instance, several catalpa trees stand on the site. Catalpas,

native to Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, were a favorite shade tree in the antebellum South, though they are rarely so used today (Cothran 2003:170). This suggested that the area where Mr. Martin remembered a house in the 1950s likely had been the site of a residence for a century or more. During the excavations detailed below, we found numerous bulbs for feral jonquils, a popular ornamental plant common to many Arkansas yards, which offered further botanical evidence for its being a residence. Finally, the area is also one of the higher points in that part of the local landscape, and therefore a likely place for a residence, as any extra elevation in an area so prone to flooding is highly desirable.

This, of course, begged many questions about the site's occupation. Who owned it? When was it first settled? What can we learn about the people who lived there? Generally, historical archaeologists go to land sale records to begin to hash these questions out and to prepare for excavations. Unfortunately, Dooley's Ferry is in an area where a chain of title can be helpful, but not authoritative. The first reason for this is that, if the site was occupied before the 1830s, there would likely be no official record of it, as squatting was the rule in rural Arkansas up until that point (Bolton 1998:61–66).

Second, and a more glaring issue, was that surveys for the area around Dooley's Ferry were incomplete until 1900, and the U.S. Geological Survey quadrangle maps for the area around the crossing remain incomplete to this day. Finally, up until the 1850s, the men who owned the land around Dooley's Ferry didn't live there. They were wealthy men who maintained homes in Spring Hill or some other, more comfortable clime, and rented land to any actual residents.

At the start of the 1850s, Richard Binford, of Spring Hill, owned the land. In 1853, he sold the land to Benjamin Ryburn, who in turn sold it in 1857 to Chauncey J.H. Betts of Spring Hill (Hempstead County Courthouse 1838). These were wealthy men, planters and merchants, from the neighborhood, none of whom resided at the ferry (Medearis 1979:16). At some point between 1857 and 1862, Betts sold the land to Samuel Carlock, who had been holder of the ferry license as early as 1852, suggesting that Carlock had rented the land before purchasing it. We know that Carlock bought the property because it appears listed in his probate inventory filed with Hempstead County on March 11, 1863 (Hempstead County 1862).

The point of ambiguity regarding ownership lies in the legal description of the land associated with the ferry license. Starting in the 1840s, a clearly-delineated area appears in property records as associated with Dooley's Ferry and the right to operate a ferry at that location. It is based on the line separating Sections 20 and 29 of Township 14S, Range 25W, which normally makes reckoning property boundaries straightforward. The full tract description reads:

Commencing at the half mile corner between Sections twenty (20) and twenty nine (29) east and west line thence west in section line five chains and sixty nine (69)[375.74 feet] links to beginning corner, thence west fifteen (15) [990 feet] chains to Bank of Red River thence South 48 degrees East one (1) chain and eleven (11) links thence south 40 degrees east one (1) chain and thirty (30) links thence north seventy seven degrees east eight (8) chains and fifty (50) links, thence north 47 degrees east three (3) chains and nine (9) links to finish at beginning.

“Half mile corners” were posts established by the General Land Office surveyors at a distance of 40 chains (2,640 feet or 804.7 meters) from the measured

section corner. They were only used in the South, but were abandoned “owing to the confusion that was thereby occasioned” (White 1983:761).

The tract, as described, would put Locus 4 athwart the western boundary of the tract, which would argue that Locus 4 was not the Carlock house, as you would not build a house half on and half off your property. However, I believe we should take the legal description with a small grain of salt, given the difficulty that surveyors have had in characterizing the Dooley’s Ferry Area.

We get a sense of the difficulty in establishing location by reading the survey notes compiled by Amherst Barber, a surveyor sent by the GLO to complete the 1825 plat of the area (Barber 1900). Barber was trying to establish the proper section corners, but encountered numerous obstacles in the process and found much errant with preceding surveys, which would have defined the Dooley’s Ferry tract. Impassible bottom lands and dense forests and thick underbrush made even the 1900 survey problematic. Additionally, Barber heavily critiqued the original 1825 survey upon which land descriptions were based, had to sort out a multitude of different surveyors’ tree blazes, and found traditional survey markers either errant or destroyed (Barber 1900). Though he worked to establish accurate corner posts for the area, the current USGS quad map for the area does not attempt to identify the true corner between Sections 19, 20, 29, and 30 (Figure 29). Given the difficulty that government surveyors have had in mapping and defining the precise coordinates of the tract, I think it reasonable to consider their descriptions in a loose fashion. Indeed, the fact that the tract description extends west into the Locus 4 area may even support the

interpretation of the site as the ferryman's residence, as the land would need to encompass the house, which may explain its extension away from the river channel.

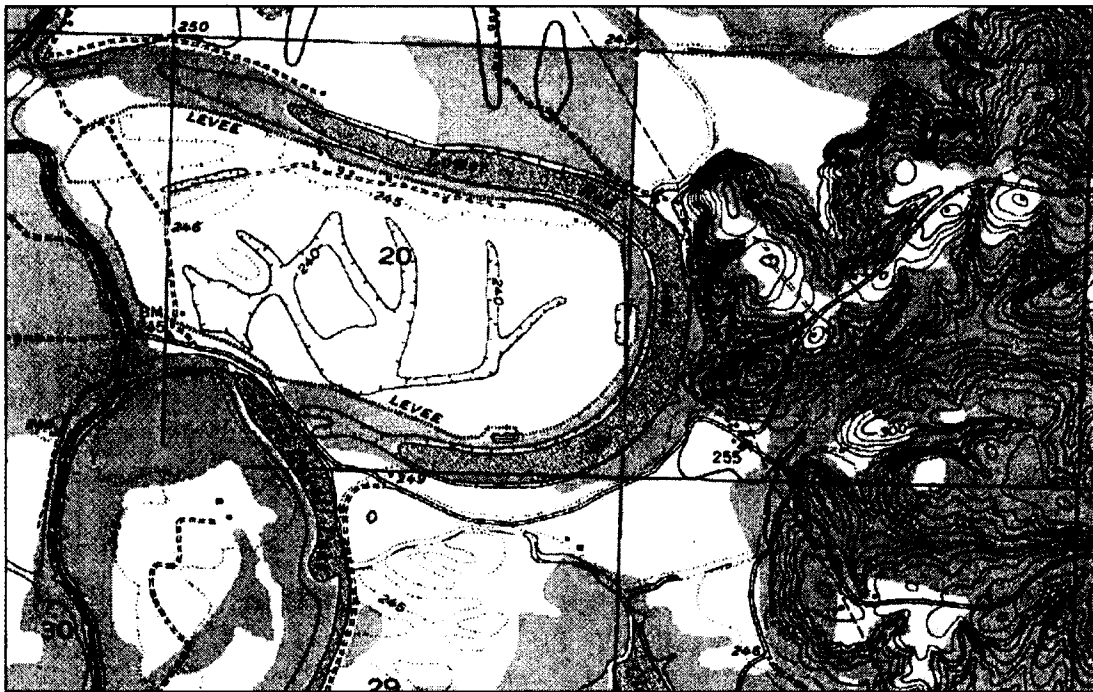


Figure 29: USGS Quadrangle Map of Dooley's Ferry Showing Non-Union of Section Lines, 1975

The structure is one of the few on the 1864 Venable map that does not have a landowner/resident designation marked on it, which strengthens the interpretation of the structure as being the Carlock homestead (Figure 17). As the family is known to have moved to Falcon after the death of Samuel Carlock in 1862 (see below), the structure may well have stood vacant in 1864, when the Venable map was drawn. While occupied, the house at Locus 4 sheltered both the four Carlocks and their three enslaved laborers. Given the presence of the Carlock household (a social entity) within this house (a physical structure), and the inclusion of enslaved laborers within that household, we should not lose site of the fact that the excavations at Locus 4 were of a site of enslaved labor as much as they were of a home.

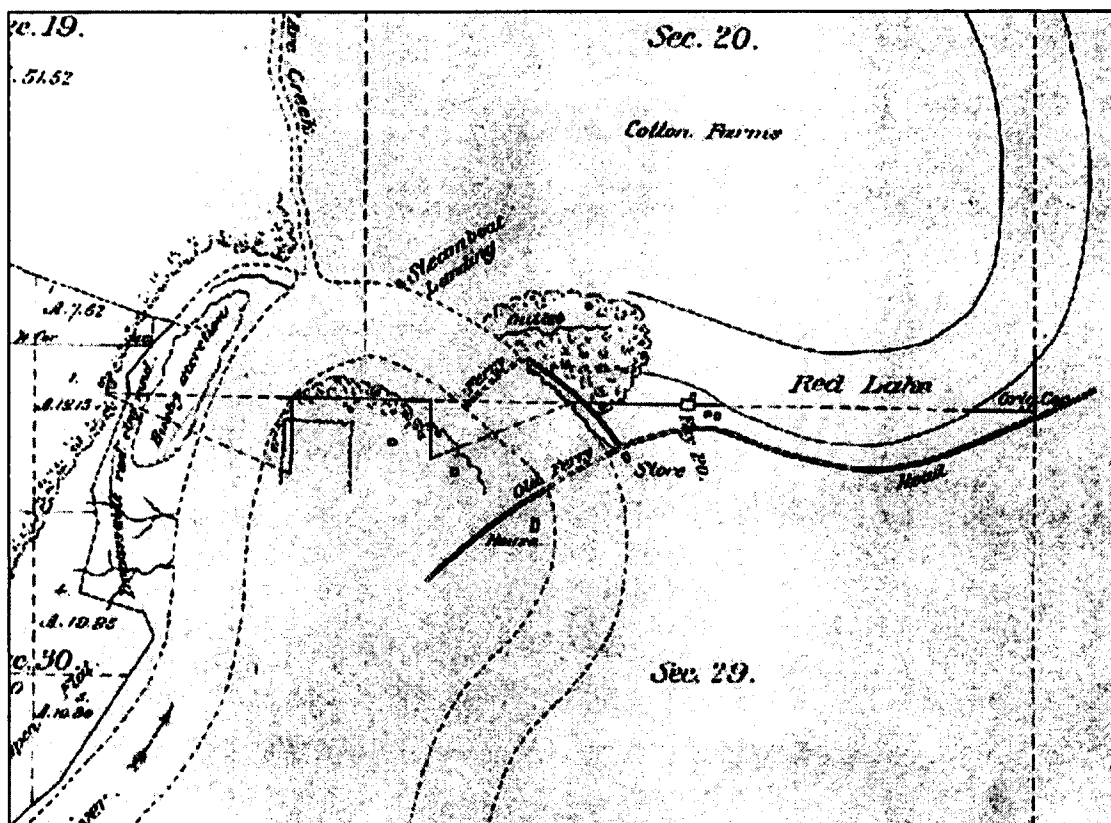


Figure 30: General Land Office Resurvey Map of Dooley's Ferry, 1900

The map produced by Amherst Barber shows the “Fay P.O.”, a store, and two ferry crossings in the vicinity of our excavations. Locus 4 is likely the post office, which was likely the reused and reoccupied former Carlock house. The road alignment closely corresponds with that of Hempstead County Road 7, and the “old ferry” crossing matches with the bank cuts on Jones Lake believed to be the remnants of the ferry road, both on the Hempstead and Lafayette County sides. These all also closely correspond with the road and ferry alignments mapped by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1886 (Figure 31), which shows a more densely-settled and populated community. Amherst Barber made mention in his 1899 survey notes that the area, at that time, was a community of black sharecroppers dispersed across the area’s numerous cotton fields. White residents had largely relocated to other upland areas “on account of fevers that prevail in the hot season” (Barber 1900:13).

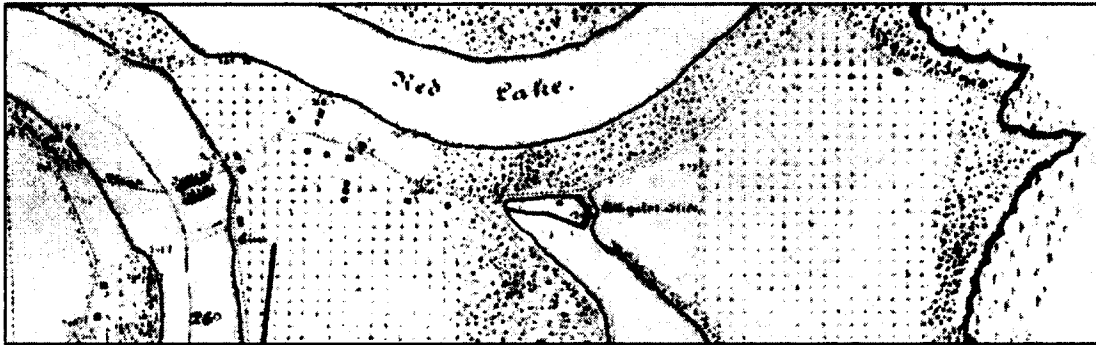


Figure 31: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Map of Dooley's Ferry, 1886

Rectifying these various mappings of Dooley's Ferry to modern cartography does not rule out the identification of Locus 4 as the ferryman's house, and land records support the interpretation. Given its location on a relatively high spot of ground still in hailing distance of the river, I am comfortable with identifying it as the Carlock house site at this point.

Shovel Testing, 2008

The first phase of testing at Locus 4 consisted of a portion of the shovel testing conducted in August of 2008 (Chapter 3). Though the extremely dry and hard-packed soils of the Red River valley objected, we excavated 15 shovel tests (STs 12-26) in Locus 4, recovering 443 artifacts (see Table 6).

The recovered artifacts suggested a residential site with both historic and prehistoric components that had burned at some point in its history, as evidenced by numerous pieces of burned glass recovered during excavation. This was consistent with Mr. Martin's memories of the place. The preponderance of cut nails to wire nails suggested that the building had a substantial 19th century component to it, and the recovery of a piece of blue shell-edged whiteware rim in one of the shovel tests

indicated an early-to-mid 19th century component. Given its location, the site became a strong candidate for being the Carlock house.

Table 6: Artifacts Recovered from Locus 4, 2008 Shovel Testing

Artifact Category	Description	Count
Architecture	Brick	28
	Cement	9
	Nail, Cut	70
	Nail Fragment, Cut	33
	Nail, Wire	34
	Nail Fragment, Wire	3
	Window Glass	58
Household	Ceramic, Porcelain	1
	Ceramic, Stoneware	6
	Ceramic, Whiteware	19
	Glass, Amber	12
	Glass, Aqua	9
	Glass, Blue (Cobalt)	2
	Glass, Colorless	76
	Glass, Yellow	1
	Glass, Green	4
	Glass, Milk	4
	Glass, Rose	1
	Stove Part	2
	Personal	Button, Loop Shank, Nonferrous
Thimble		1
Faunal	Bone	11
	Shell	5
Prehistoric	Ceramic	5
	Lithic	13
Other	Various	35
Total		443

Geophysical Survey, 2012

Given the promise shown in 2008, we decided to return to the area in 2012 and pursue further investigations. In February of 2012, the SAU Station included Locus 4 in the gradiometer survey that built upon the 2010 survey mentioned above (Chapter 3). Station personnel and Society volunteers lay out and collected eight 20x20m grids across Locus 4.

The collected data (Figure 32) showed a number of anomaly scatters inside the survey area that warranted further investigation. These included a large anomaly along the northern edge (marked with a red “A” in Figure 33) and a scatter of anomalies in the center of the grids. A large circular anomaly in the southern edge of the plot is due to the presence of a metal guy wire from a power pole (“B” in the same image).

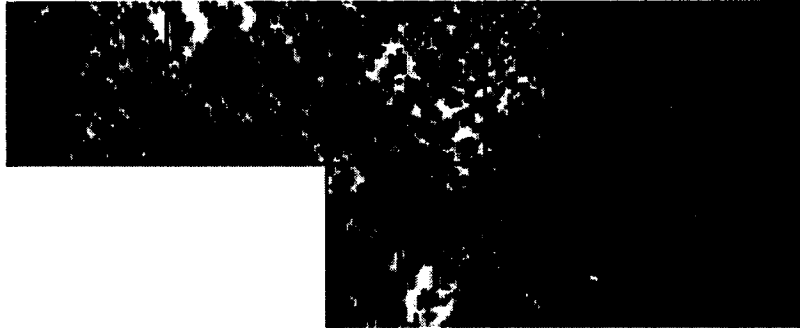


Figure 32: Plot of Gradiometer Data at Locus 4 (2012)



Figure 33: Anomaly Interpretation, Locus 4 (2012)

Given what we know of the Carlock family, the history of Locus 4, and the gradiometer data showing dense scatters of buried metal, we made the determination to focus our first open-block excavations of 2012 at Dooley’s Ferry in Locus 4, testing the large anomaly along its northern edge and the scatter of debris in the center of the plots. This would give us the opportunity to explore the lives of the members of the Carlock household, as well as the succeeding occupants of the structure, archaeologically.

Excavations, 2012

We followed the gradiometer survey up with two excavation sessions. Both of these digs leveraged the Arkansas Archeological Survey's experience in working with volunteer avocational archaeologists, and its close relationship with the Arkansas Archeological Society to bring people out to the site. We also had volunteers from Southern Arkansas University, one of whom made a brief documentary of the dig for her cinema class.

The first dig took place during Southern Arkansas University's spring break in 2012. The Arkansas Archeological Survey oversaw the efforts of twenty-four excavators, from professional archeologists to avocational archaeologists to local volunteers coming in from points as disparate as Magnolia, De Queen, Monticello, and Fayetteville, Arkansas, and Dallas, Texas. Over the course of ten days, we excavated four 2x2m units in what we believed to be the front yard and wall line of the structure (Figure 34). We followed this up with a long weekend dig in September. We had a smaller crew of seven volunteers and Survey personnel, but managed to complete another four units in the area that would have been the back yard of the house. Due to the edge of the lake bank and encroaching vegetation, we had not been able to survey this area with the gradiometer, but given the insight gained from the first dig, this seemed a profitable area to explore.

These excavations recovered 11,946 artifacts (Table 7, below), ranging from the Archaic Period to the mid-20th century. A substantial portion was nails or nail fragments, indicating the building was a frame structure. We recovered a range of pennyweights, representing the very large used for framing a building, and smaller

nails used in affixing clapboards and smaller, finishing details. In total, we recovered 3,499 cut nails and nail fragments and 1,848 wire nails and nail fragments during the excavation. The preponderance of cut nails means this was a 19th century building that was either shored up or possibly reconstructed in the 20th century using more modern wire nails.

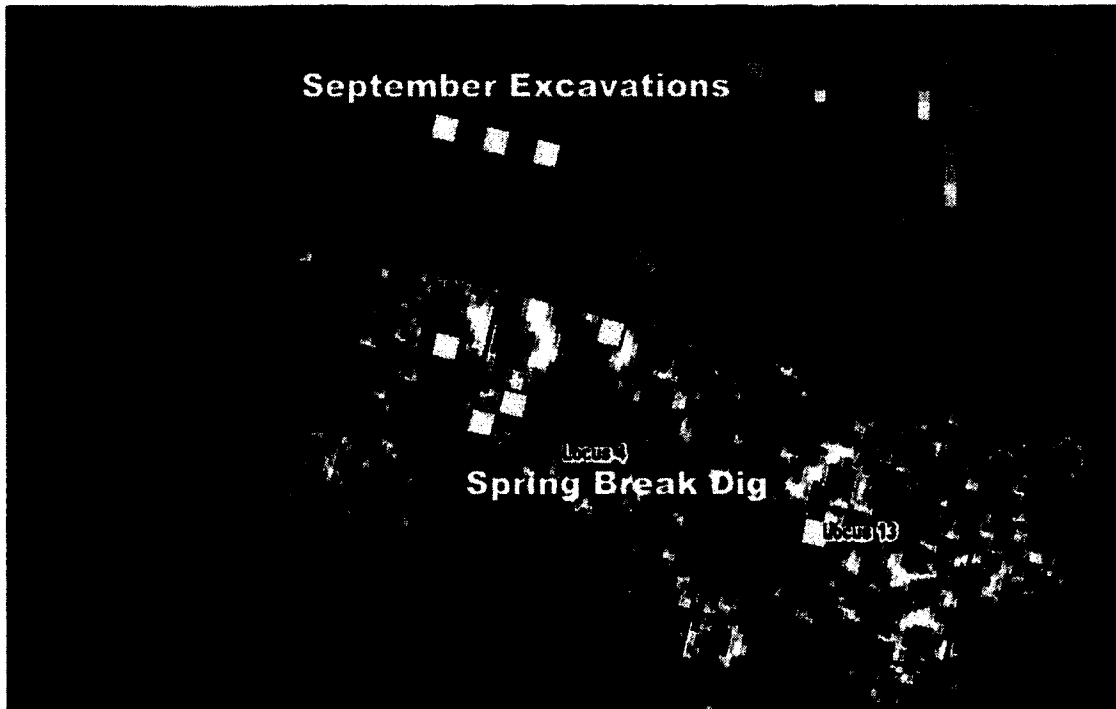


Figure 34: Excavation Units (Yellow) at Locus 4, 2012

There were few architectural features, suggesting that the building sat on piers or stood directly on the ground. A large conglomerate located in the corner of one of the test units could have served as a pier, though the lack of more such piers makes this only a tentative identification. Contemporary structures in east Texas stood on wooden piers, usually around two feet tall. Preferred woods were cypress, post oak, and bois d'arc for their resistance to rot and insects. Both cypress and bois d'arc grow in the area around Dooley's Ferry, and would have been readily at hand for use in a

house (Jordan 1994). Historian Terry Jordan (1994:32) sees the use of such piers as a Southern folkway traceable to the colonial Chesapeake.

The clearest representation of an architectural feature was the top of a cistern that appeared in the floor of Test Unit 3 (Figure 35). Cement-lined and constructed of hand-made bricks, this cistern likely dates to the time before the Civil War. With the railroad coming to the area in the 1870s, which facilitated the importation of manufactured brick, and the opening of the Hope Brick and Tile Works in 1909, the use of handmade bricks suggests an antebellum construction date (Gurcke 1987). Residents added a cement lining later, likely in an effort to make the cistern more water-tight. Other examples of brick cisterns in the state, including examples at Block Six, in Historic Washington State Park, and at Lakeport Plantation, are much larger than this one, suggesting the more modest means of the inhabitants of Locus 4.

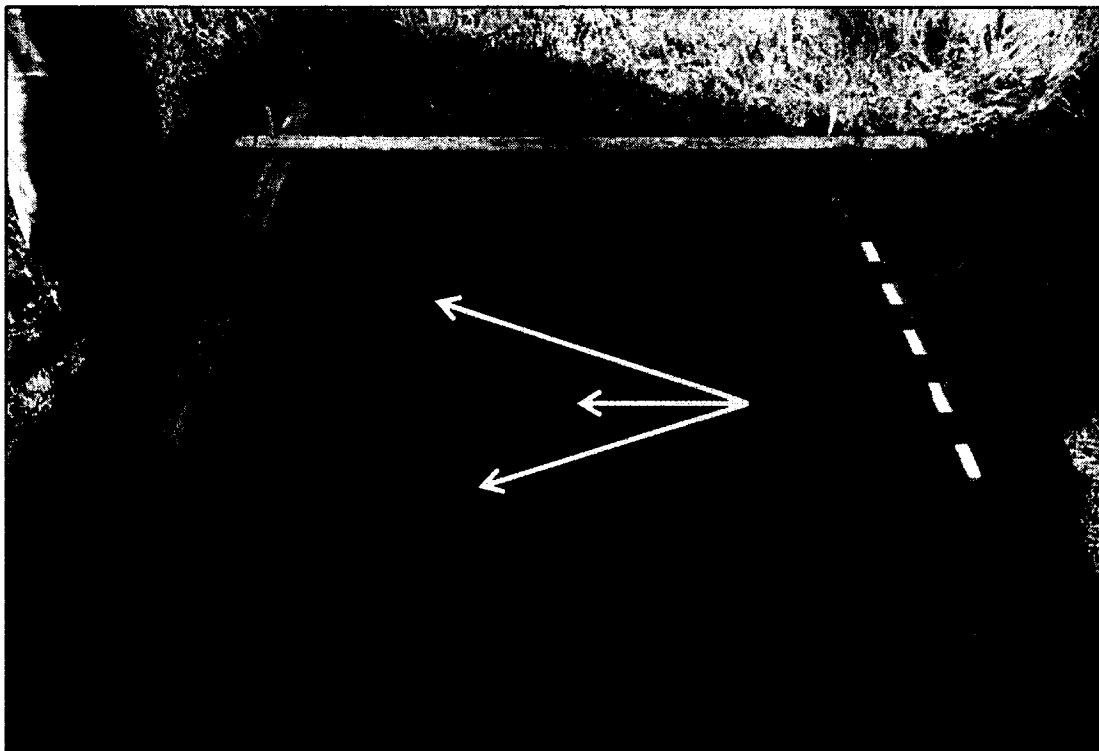


Figure 35: Top of 1850s Cistern, Locus 4 (2012)

We did not excavate the cistern, as faced limitations in time and personnel, though doing so would tell us more about the fill date than the construction date, as a cistern would remain open until it fell into disuse. With a building known to have been present until the 1950s, it is unlikely that a 1850s-1860s cistern would tell us much about the Civil War period.

The cistern does, however, tell us that there was a building in the area we excavated; as such a feature received runoff from the structure's roof, and it was present before the Civil War. This strengthens my interpretation of this being the residence of the Carlock family, as they would have moved to the area in the decade before the war, had the means to arrange for the construction of a cistern (instead of carrying water from the Red River), and would need to have been in proximity to the ferry crossing to be in hauling distance for travelers on the other side of the river.

Flat glass date calculations suggest that the structure was built or at least hung with windows around 1850, and was re-fit with glass frequently through the 1890s, and then less-frequently until the 1950s, when glass dates practically end. This provides another point of correspondence with Mr. Martin's statement that the structure burned in the 1950s. It also provides another line of evidence suggesting that this is the Carlock house. As Samuel Carlock moved to the area in the 1850s, setting up a household with Julia and eventually raising a family, this would correspond with the uptick in glass dates. The graph below (Figure 36) indicates that the building's construction occurred around the time that Mr. Carlock arrived at Dooley's Ferry, and therefore is the house built for his home.

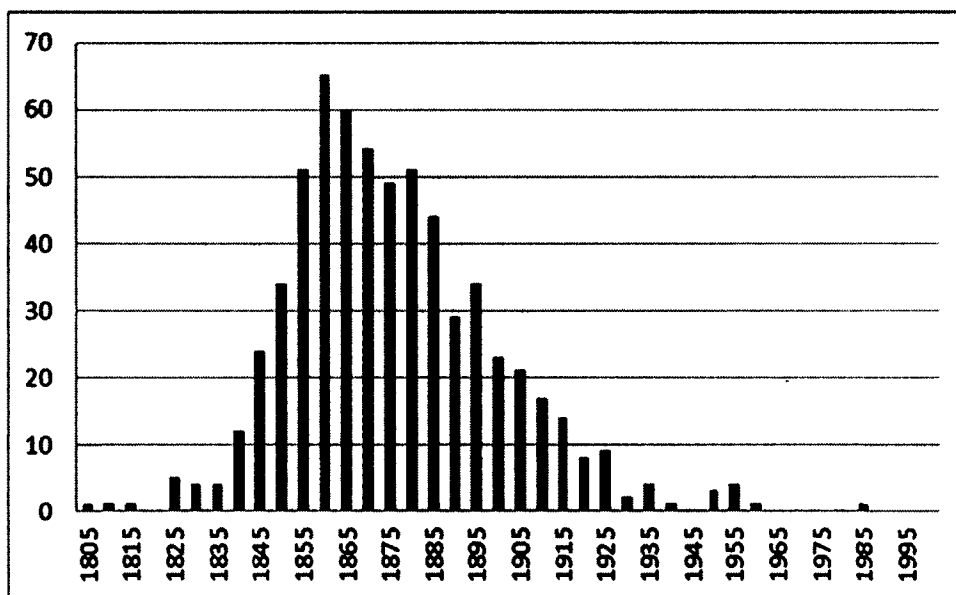


Figure 36: Flat Glass Dates for Locus 4 (n=632)

Ceramics from Locus 4 include everything from hand-painted and shell-edged whitewares and pearlwares to plain, undecorated ceramics in profusion. These cover the full range of historic occupation, from the early 19th century until the middle 20th century. Hundreds of fragments of vessel glass were recovered, covering a range of colors (yellow, cobalt blue, greens, rose, aqua) and colorless varieties. Finishes and bases showed both handmade and machine-made bottles as being present. Bottles marked with origins of New York, Louisville (Kentucky), and places around Arkansas bespeak access to markets and engagement with trade networks based on rail and river transit. The bulk of these fragments were common vessel glass, though fragments decorated with pressed geometric, natural, and figural motifs were likely table settings or inkwells.

In planning this research, I had hopes that a clearly-stratified site would allow us to capture some evidence of the disruption to supply and provisioning occasioned by the want and privation of the Civil War in the material record. Ceramics and glass

would have offered the clearest evidence of this. Unfortunately, stratigraphic integrity necessary to capture such a disruption was lacking at all loci in this project.

Admittedly, finding a sealed context showing clear evidence of a disruption in material culture was a long shot; I freely admit that. However, I felt that part of this project had to involve testing to see if we could recognize such a hiatus in supply archaeologically. Not finding that (yet) at Dooley's Ferry does not necessarily mean that asking such questions is without merit. Cantú Trunzo's (2012) recently-published research on Revolutionary War homesteads in New England suggests that, given the excavation of multiple sites and large sample sizes, some material evidence of deprivation may be recoverable. There, American boycotts of English-produced ceramics resulted in a discernible dip in English ceramic consumption across multiple war-era farmsteads, a phenomenon not immediately clear from the examination of any one farmstead's ceramic assemblage. We should take Cantú Trunzo's findings as spur to test more war-era sites in southwest Arkansas, to see if deprivation, this time imposed by the disruptions caused by the war, produced similar results.

Among the thousands of artifacts were two clay marbles and an iron jack, two of the clearest evidences of children living at the site. Clay marbles were produced in the mid-19th century, lasting until around the time of World War I (Randall 1971). Jacks, patterned on sheep knucklebones, date back millennia, though the six-pointed metal jack is of more recent origin. It is hard to look at these toys and not think of Marcus and Thomas Carlock, who spent their early childhoods at this house. While the historical record is difficult to decipher in terms of later occupants having children on

the site, we know of Marcus and Thomas, and the toys may have been theirs. The recovery of doll parts suggests a little girl occupying the site at some point.

A bone die recovered during the September excavations also indexes the playing of games, though possibly not children. Games of chance were a moral gray area during the antebellum period, culturally shunned but widely enjoyed. When Confederate soldiers went to war, one of the great concerns expressed by their family members was that they would fall into the grip of such diversions (Wiley 1978:36–37). With social sanction against the use of such an item, it would seem more likely that this was the property of an adult.

Locus 4 also contained a substantial quantity of postbellum material, including 20th century glass, wire nails, modern ammunition, and a host of other material deposited during the early 20th century. The later use of the site as an agricultural field, which likely contributed to the mixing of stratigraphy on site, also appears in the recovery of plow blades, horse and mule shoes, fence staples, tractor parts, and spark plugs.

Public Archaeology at Locus 4

One of the great strengths of working under the auspices of the Arkansas Archeological Survey is the public aspect of our work. As the Survey's mission includes a mandate to communicate the information developed through archaeological research to the public, we endeavor to keep Arkansans informed through several different media. Dr. Jamie Brandon and I maintain a Facebook page and Twitter feed for the SAU station, both of us write occasional blog posts on our research, and we work with the Kadohadacho Chapter of the Arkansas Archeological Society to

organize speakers (including ourselves) to detail work going on in the state. This outreach has brought in a number of community members with an interest in archaeology, and has received very positive feedback over the past few years. Working in southwest Arkansas, we have had a good relationship with the staff of Historic Washington State Park and the Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives in Washington, ½ hour north of Dooley’s Ferry. At the end of this excavation, Historic Washington State Park, staff organized a tour for interested community members to come down to Dooley’s Ferry to better understand the relationships binding places like Dooley’s Ferry, Spring Hill, and Washington, and to understand the role of the site during the Civil War. Attendees were fortunate to have Rev. Keenan Williams, an avocational historian from Hope whose family’s roots extend to Dooley’s Ferry, as one of the tour guides on the trip down.



Figure 37: Conducting a Tour of Locus 4 for Visitors and Staff from Historic Washington State Park

Table 7: Artifacts Recovered from Locus 4, 2012

Category	Description	Count	
Architecture	Asphalt	1	
	Brick	128	
	Cement	106	
	Glass, Flat	636	
	Porcelain, Industrial	3	
	Cut Nail	612	
	Cut Nail, Fragment	2883	
	Wire Nail, 10d	748	
	Wire Nail, Fragment	1050	
	Wire	128	
	Other	103	
	Household	Pearlware	6
		Porcelain	14
		Porcelain, Decorated	5
		Stoneware, Albany Slip	11
Stoneware, Glazed		3	
Stoneware, Salt glazed		36	
Stoneware, Slipped		8	
Stoneware, Unglazed		15	
Whiteware		454	
Whiteware, Hand- Painted		16	
Whiteware, Shell- Edged		4	
Whiteware, Transfer print		24	
Canning Jar Lid		14	
Canning Jar Lid Liner		122	
Vessel Glass, Amber		238	
Vessel Glass, Aqua		13	
Vessel Glass, Cobalt Blue		18	
Vessel Glass, Carnival		2	
Vessel Glass, Colorless		3208	
Vessel Glass, Green		38	
Vessel Glass, Milk		36	
Vessel Glass, Rose		7	
Vessel Glass, Yellow		5	
Bucket Handle		1	
Knife		1	
Fork	1		

	Spoon	1
	Lock	1
	Stove Part	4
	Other	170
Faunal	Bone	188
	Shell	3
Personal	Glass Bead, Blue	1
	Cameo Brooch	1
	Clothing Buckle	5
	Button, Bone	5
	Button, Glass	2
	Button, Metal	10
	Suspender Buckle	2
	Shoe Part	46
	Other Clothing	19
	Comb Tine	2
	Pipe, Reed- Stemmed	2
	Watch	1
	Flat Slate	1
	Pencil Core	2
	Clay Marble	2
	Jack	1
	Toy Horse	1
	Die, Bone	1
	Doll Part	3
	Other Toy	1
	Ammunition	92
	Other	26
Transportation	Horse Shoe	1
	Mule Shoe	1
	Wagon Part	5
	Spark Plug	2
	Other	2
Industrial	Plow Blade	1
	Chain	1
	Tractor Part	3
Other	Other	639
Total		11946

I provided a tour of the site, explaining the archaeological process, the purposes of what we were doing, and what more we knew about Locus 4 and Dooley's Ferry in general, based on the excavations of the preceding week. Among the 24 tourists was a reporter from KTXK, the National Public Radio affiliate in Texarkana. This exposure alerted many in the Texarkana area to the digs, and subsequent stories in the *Texarkana Gazette* brought many out to our fall 2012 digs at Dooley's Ferry.

Home Front and Battle Front

The first major change occasioned by the war, the removal of Samuel Carlock, Cicero Bates, and Garrett Bates meant various changes for their families. Looking primarily at the Carlock household, the volunteering of the head of the household, Samuel, meant that Julia had to take over his role as head of the household, managing the place's productive tasks, governing the lives of George, Rebecca, and Margaret, and seeing to the upbringing of Marcus and Thomas.

Throughout the South, the volunteering of much of the white male population, up to 80% by war's end, meant that the home front was almost wholly the province of enslaved African Americans and white women and children. Without the white men around whom antebellum society pivoted, African Americans and white women and children had to renegotiate the race and gender norms of the prewar years if life as they knew it was to endure. For a number of reasons, as we shall explore in this chapter, those norms would not endure, and life as Southerners knew it would change dramatically in the few short years of the war.

Responding to Volunteerism

The first challenge that faced Julia in the weeks and months after Samuel marched off with the Hempstead Rifles was the management of the property (real and human). As a farmer and ferryman (U.S. Census Office 1860), Samuel's business interests were very physically demanding, tasks that Julia would have had some difficulty in accomplishing. It is likely that George would have been delegated this task, had he not already been performing it before the war. The farming lands would have been worked by at least George (when not working the ferry) and Rebecca, with

the likely addition of Margaret (enslaved children were usually introduced to work by this period) and, if necessary, Julia. Marcus and Thomas likely had chores to perform around the house.

There was no guarantee that this transition would go smoothly. As men were the ones who typically oversaw enslaved labor before the war, women had comparatively little experience in running field labor. The trend in gender norms before the war was to put white women in the home, removing them from the day-to-day management and having them focus on household management (Moneyhon 1994a:117). In this, she had to summon a degree of assertiveness uncommon to women the years before the war (Massey 1994:210). Managing enslaved laborers was seen by many white women as one of the most daunting aspects of their wartime experience, and one for which few felt adequately prepared (Faust 1996:53).

This lack of preparation was twofold. First, and perhaps most obvious, antebellum gender norms did not encourage women to be dominating in the way that slave owning required men to be. Indeed, the governance of others, both women and African Americans, was taken to be a hallmark of Southern masculinity, and both women and men expressed concern about women assuming the mantle of power on farms (Faust 1996:54–55). Regardless of what Julia's feelings on assuming Samuel's role were, maintaining the structure of Southern society depended on her doing so. As the very essence of the Confederacy revolved around slavery, and its defense and maintenance depended more on thousands of small instances of authority maintenance than on government-level policy changes, Julia was under pressure to perform (Faust 1996:54).

The other dimension of Julia's new challenge was simply summoning up the knowledge of farm production to perform adequately. Many Southern women who had not worked in the field before the war, and some who did, lacked their husband's agricultural expertise, and had to master many of the nuances of farm production in a short space of time. Moneyhon (1994a:118) records how many women in Arkansas found this very frustrating, and many early-war letters between husbands and wives were full of advice for effective farm management.

This transition in authority offered one of the first cracks in the slave system that African Americans could exploit. While we know few specifics about African-American life in Arkansas during the war (Dougan 1976:115), we do know that, across the South, the assumption of men's roles by women were one opportunity many enslaved workers capitalized on to gain incremental gains in freedom of movement, control of time and labor, and association . Though they remained in bondage, this would have been a time when they could start to recoup some of the control over their lives stripped of them by the antebellum slave system (Moneyhon 1994a:122).

Whites recognized this situation, and were very concerned about it. As men marched to the battle front, the home front was rife with concern and hysteria about possible slave uprisings (Faust 1996:56–62; Moneyhon 1994a:122). Whites allayed their fears by bolstering slave patrols and home guard units to closely monitor African-American populations. Some slaveowners took matters into their own hands and simply asserted additional violence against their bondsmen to keep them in check (Moneyhon 1994a:122).

The negotiation of white authority continued long after the initial period of hysteria died down, and correspondence between husbands and wives throughout the course of the war continued to communicate the anxiety felt by white women over the various aspects of running plantations and farms in the absence of their husbands. Brockett and Vaughan (1867) found that the anxiety over managing farms, and particularly enslaved laborers, was one of the reasons that women's roles returned to their antebellum forms after the war, rather than retain the liberties and opportunities gained during the conflict (Faust 1998).

Julia's did not maintain supervision of George, Rebecca, and Margaret throughout the war. When Samuel died in September of 1862, his estate went to Probate Court in Hempstead County. The process of probating his property wrapped up by March of the following year, and it is here that we last know of the disposition of the Carlock's enslaved workers. With the land and ferry license going up for sale, there was no real productive labor that Julia and the boys could offer that would allow her to maintain her three slaves. Instead, the probate records indicate that the slaves were to be hired out, presumably to another plantation (Hempstead County 1862). Hiring slaves out to a neighboring farm or to work in a town was a common practice during the war, and one that Dougan (1976:115) points to as a mechanism chosen by many Arkansans as a means of alleviating women's anxiety over governing African Americans.

While we can abstract something of the concerns, challenges, and possibilities that would have faced Julia in her attempts to manage house, farm, and ferry from 1861-1863, based on research done elsewhere in the South, Bailey and Sutherland

(2000:263) note that the changes to gender roles and power brokering during the war is one of the crucial, yet understudied aspects of the war in Arkansas.

Creating Scarcity

Beyond simply maintaining order in the household, Julia also faced supplying the house that we meet as Locus 4 with the material needs of a functioning home and farm. In an area that focused its prewar economy on the production of raw materials for exchange through the Atlantic World, maintaining some access to trade networks and having a functioning national economy would be essential for Southern farms.

Even a cursory reading of the history of the Confederate home front will point up the importance of wartime shortages for civilians. From food to durable goods, generally nothing existed in adequate quantities during the war, though as Massey (1994:189) points out, shortages affected different regions in different ways. The kinds and severity of want confronting both soldiers and civilians were a function of geography, economic and social position (Moneyhon 2002:108), and what Massey (ibid) refers to as “lack or presence of ingenuity.” Arkansans would prove to be long on ingenuity, a necessity given the practicalities of the war in the Trans-Mississippi. Massey (1994:189) also pointed out that shortages in material goods would have effects on the cultural, religious, economic, and social lives of the people of the South, and contribute significantly to the unraveling of the social fabric at the end of the war.

Historians pin these shortages on several different factors. Some of these factors were of their own making, while others were unforeseen and unfortunate coincidences. Moneyhon (2002) offers the most economically-oriented reading of wartime shortages in Arkansas. He points specifically to the near-stasis of the

Confederate economy at the outbreak of the war. This situation combined with state policy developments that crippled the state's economy and slowed international trade to a halt. In the first year of the war, the state passed laws shielding the families of service members from debt collection. Soon thereafter, many state courts stopped functioning, meaning that many merchants could not press for debt collection, and many, as a result, refused to extend any more credit, demanding cash instead (Moneyhon 2002:104).

Here we encounter a second problem. Confederate currency was simultaneously worthless and too scarce. Both the Confederate and Arkansas state governments printed money to cover their financial obligations, but those bills and bonds were un-backed, and the currency values dropped precipitously in value by the midpoint of the war (Moneyhon 2002:105). It became so devalued that many Arkansas merchants stopped accepting Confederate money of any kind, which provoked charges of disloyalty from soldiers, legislators, and patriotic civilians. As a result, many merchants did not have the available capital to purchase and stockpile the goods that would become so scarce in the coming years (Moneyhon 2002:105). This lack of reserves meant that as early as 1862, Camden resident John Brown could remark that cotton combs and cards, pins, towels, coffee, tea, opium, quinine, salt, and osnaberg (a cloth used for slave clothing) were no longer available in south Arkansas (Moneyhon 2002:106).

Even though the government officially banned debt collection, debt accumulation continued apace. Prewar debts compounded interest throughout the

conflict, and many Southerners would enter the Reconstruction era under massive debt obligations (Moneyhon 2002:104).

Of course, credit systems were not solely to blame. Transportation was another crucial factor in creating shortages along the Great Bend (Massey 1994:176). Much has been made over the imposition of the federal blockade of Southern ports; and while this became a force to be reckoned with, it existed at the outset of the war more on paper than in actuality, and blockade running was a common and fruitful practice (Kerby 1991).

The U.S. Navy started blockading Southern ports very early in the conflict. While not an impervious shield against commerce, the blockade would eventually severely limit it and necessitated a re-organization of antebellum trading networks (Wise 1991). Where before the war large cargo ships could sail directly from the North or Europe to southern ports, bringing in massive volumes of goods, they now had to sail to intermediary points for transshipment of their goods. Large vessels were too slow and cumbersome to run the blockade. Instead, they would sail to a neutral port, typically Nassau in the Bahamas or Havana, Cuba. Union vessels could not interfere with them on those routes without sparking an international incident. There, the goods would be re-loaded onto smaller, fleetier vessels that would attempt running the blockade into a southern port (Webster 2009). The extra step added time and expense to the process, and blockade running was at best a dicey affair. Not only did federal ships have to be guarded against, but blockade runners often operated at night, attempting to pick their way through shallow, less-frequently patrolled waters, which were inherently more dangerous routes than the usual shipping lanes. Many ran

aground or foundered in the process (Webster 2009). Archaeologists investigated a number of these, including the *Denbigh*, which sunk off of Galveston, Texas, was one such (Arnold et al. 2001).

Regardless of the success rate, wartime shipping was a fraction of its prewar self, which had serious ramifications for people on the home front. For the Great Bend, seated on a tributary of the Mississippi River, the inflow of goods required the maintenance of the port of New Orleans, both to bring goods in and to keep alive the hopes of getting cotton out the antebellum consumers, Northern mills and Europe, to bring in some cash.

But transportation issues included more than simply getting goods into a Gulf Coast port. Indeed, running the blockade may have been the easy part of bringing goods into Confederate Arkansas. The bigger issue that Julia and the rest of her household faced, even from the early stages of the war, was getting goods up from the ports up to Dooley's Ferry. This had not been an issue before the war, as regular and frequent steamboat service connected Dooley's Ferry with New Orleans, Shreveport, and other cities that provided not only links to the outside world but domestically-produced good necessary for keeping house (Daily True Delta 1861).

One of the biggest impediments to Confederate commerce in the Trans-Mississippi was the capture, in May of 1862, of New Orleans. As all of Arkansas's rivers flowed into the Mississippi, which in turned flowed through New Orleans, Federal capture of the South's largest city meant the Union now controlled trade. As Ludwell Johnson's (1958) study of the Red River Campaign of 1864 emphasized, Union control did not mean that all trade ceased. Rather, exchanges of cash for cotton

continued throughout the war, with money acquired in this clandestine exchange going to purchase weapons and ammunition for the Confederacy. Andreas (2013:174) likens these exchanges to the blood diamonds of the recent conflicts in Africa, and has labeled the cotton being trafficked through places like New Orleans “blood cotton.” Kerby (1991:20) notes that even in 1863, six merchantmen entered the port of Sabine Pass, Texas, alone each week. Trade with the rest of the Atlantic World remained a possibility throughout the conflict.

The real transportation issue for the Trans-Mississippi was carrying goods from the coast to the interior. Union and Confederate navies destroyed many steamships early in the war, leading to a dearth of shipping to bring goods in. Furthermore, the most active blockade-running havens in the Trans-Mississippi were not part of the Mississippi River network, and required the shipment of goods overland to get them to Arkansas. These ports, Sabine Pass, Galveston, Matagorda Bay, and Port Aransas, all in Texas, lay on rivers, but those rivers only flowed to the coast, not connecting to each other (Kerby 1991:18).

As Arkansas’s prewar transportation networks focused on rivers, roads were underdeveloped. Kerby (1991:83) wrote “the roads of Arkansas... were little more than supplementary tributaries designed to carry freight to and from convenient riverboat landings.” While this would not be an issue for goods coming up the Red to Dooley’s Ferry, as it lay directly on the river, getting goods to the Red would be a much bigger issue. Unusable river systems and poor roads isolated communities across Arkansas from their traditional sources of supply (Dougan 1976:105).

The following statistic graphically illustrates the localized shortages created by these transportation issues. Texas, which Massey (1994:189) considers to be the part of the Confederacy that suffered the least from shortages during the conflict, could count five head of cattle for every resident of the state, more than enough to supply their needs (Kerby 1991:79). Yet, while the Texas hill country teemed with longhorns, Arkansans starved and Mississippians clamored for beef, and people throughout the South turned to thievery in order to survive. Had transportation systems existed that would have allowed for these beeves to be shipped to where they were needed, thousands across the South would not have faced as many empty plates as they did.

In Small Things Desired

What, specifically, was lacking? I've already mentioned John Brown's complaints about the unavailability of cotton combs and cards, pins, towels, coffee, tea, opium, quinine, salt, and osnaberg, but what other things were in short supply? Various commentators have pointed to specific shortfalls producing much angst and worry, but there are a few that appear repeatedly in memoirs and secondary literature as being crucial inadequacies.

Both civilians and soldiers in the Trans-Mississippi suffered a severe lack of clothing during the war. People made most clothes at home, whether for children, such as Marcus and Thomas, or for soldiers. Most Confederate domestic production (Massey 1994:173), particularly in the Trans-Mississippi, was based on individual women making cloth, knitting socks, and sewing clothes (Kerby 1991:66). Clothing production involved several inputs, virtually all of which were in short supply from an early part of the war.

Cloth, largely imported from northern or English textile mills, quickly became scarce, as did needles. What stocks were on hand or came in through the blockade went preferentially to the Confederate military. Even these were not enough, and numerous chroniclers of Confederate Arkansas remarked on the near-nakedness of the residents and soldiers from as early as 1863 (Dougan 1976:107). In researching this dissertation, one of the items that seemed of remarkable concern to civilians and government officials alike were cotton cards. These turned turn raw cotton into punis, which produced a fiber that a weaver could turn into cloth. As Dougan (1976:107) writes, these were among the most sought-after things in the Trans-Mississippi during the war, as acquiring them would allow a woman to produce enough cloth to cover herself and the members of her household, and hopefully even throw together a shirt, pair of drawers, or other piece of clothing to send to the front.

Other pieces of clothing were in short supply. Shoes, in particular, became a premium item during the war (Dougan 1976:107). Leather was difficult to acquire, for the same reasons that beeves from Texas were difficult to import for food. Camden and Washington were the only places near Dooley's Ferry that had functioning tanneries during the war, but like we saw for cloth, the military got first crack at anything produced (Kerby 1991:65; Massey 1994:175). The biggest producer of shoes, uniforms, and accoutrements during the early part of the war was the Little Rock Penitentiary, though this was lost as a producer once the city fell in the summer of 1863 (Kerby 1991:66).

The lack of clothes and shoes was a source of much want during the winter, when an insufficiency of covering left many cold and shivering. Of course, in

southwest Arkansas, summers brought a host of other problems, notably illness. Malaria was particularly common in the sodden lands of the Red River Valley, as Williams (1979) graphically illustrates for the antebellum era. It was particularly unfortunate, then, that medicines were another item Arkansans had to learn to do without. Residents missed no medicine more intensely than quinine, the anti-malarial medicine of choice in antebellum America (Massey 1994:186–187). In its absence, people throughout the south experimented with alternatives, some of which had some small effect, while many offered little more than hope and a bad aftertaste. Arkansans made most of these at home, based on home remedies, though Arkansas did have one pharmaceutical firm during the war, located in Arkadelphia. Dougan (1976:107) notes that the lack of medicines in some ways was actually beneficial for Arkansas residents. Patent medicines, widely marketed before the war (see the bottle of Mother's Worm Syrup, above), often contained some mixture of alcohol and other ingredients that were rarely of real benefit to the patient. Their removal from circulation may have been a blessing in disguise.

One of the hallmarks of Southern responses to these shortages is the development of substitute goods. Though never as efficacious as the product they sought to replace, they provided some approximation of a needed good that might provide some needed relief for the stressed household. Wood and cloth replaced leather in shoe production, women took to churning out homespun cloth to replace the manufactured cloth from before the war, and they took sheets, rugs, curtains, and other extant pieces of fabric to make clothes, and even turned to making hats from woven grasses (Faust 1996:45–51; Massey 1994:187–188). Other goods required substitutes

as well. People made candles from myrtle berries or prickly pear leaves, crushed fuel oil from cotton seeds (presaging an industry that would develop after the war) as well as peas, sunflowers, and corn (Massey 1994:188).

The Confederate government, at both national (through the military) and state level had some hand in developing industries in Arkansas, though these mostly came in the form of bounties for individuals to start private firms (Kerby 1991:66). This practice, along with the development of government industries such as the Arkadelphia chemical factory and saltworks and the leather and other factories around Camden introduced a revolutionary change to Confederate Arkansas. Amongst a people who were trying to form a country founded on the prerogative of states to manage their own affairs, this orchestration of economic activity from the national government was nothing short of remarkable (Kerby 1991:66).

Though these shortages were a significant source of worry and concern for thousands of Arkansas families and households, including those who lived at Locust 4, Massey (1994:193) suggests that, like the lack of patent medicines, shortages weren't necessarily all bad. She asserts that the exploration of techniques for manufacturing substitutes provided the basis for a spike in industrial development and scientific advancement after the war, as Southerners conducted experiments to find new ways of meeting the needs of modern life.

Mouths to Feed

Perhaps the only deficit more grinding and exhausting than the constant lack of manufactured items was a near-constant food shortage. The same factors that produced material shortages helped to generate food shortages as well, though other

factors became important as well. Given the literally life-and-death nature of questions about food provisioning, it comes as no surprise that the conflict generated by the quest for something to fill the belly pitted neighbors against one another, and created tension between civilians and the soldiers who lived amongst them.

It was strange that an area as focused on agricultural production as was the Dooley's Ferry area could run short of food during the war. With such productive farmland and as many slaves as were on hand to do the work, why did the Confederate home front run so short of food? The answer folds together issues of labor organization, patriotism, individual choice, and community cohesion.

From the very start, Confederate Arkansas faced a food shortage. Before the war, residents imported goods like flour and bacon north, and the advent of hostilities broke those supply networks (Dougan 1976:106). Coffee, produced in the Caribbean and South America, soon became impossible to acquire, and substitutes made of parched corn, chicory, or some other substance, never made up for the genuine article. Prices for what coffee beans were available skyrocketed almost from the very start of the war (Dougan 1976:107; Moneyhon 2002:107).

Another choice beverage became scarce and pricey, but for different reasons. Alcohol soon became a precious commodity, but not because it could not be imported. Rather, beginning in early 1863, the state government banned the production of alcohol for fear that people were using too much of the state's grain supply in its distillation (Dougan 1976:107; Kerby 1991:72). At the same time, the state tried to institute production controls on farmers. Cotton production, as stated above, remained an active business area during the war, and many plantation owners continued to grow

cotton in hopes of getting it sold through the lines, thereby bringing in hard currency. While the operation of these shadow markets (Nordstrom 2004) were crucial to the furtherance of the war in the Trans-Mississippi, excessive cotton production on plantations resulted in cotton rotting on wharves and warehouses throughout the region (Johnson 1958). Every acre devoted to cotton was an acre of food lost.

Indeed, this continued growing of cotton was a source of bitter acrimony between soldiers, largely drawn from the working class white community, and the plantation owners, who, due to Confederate law, were exempt from military service. Soldiers believed there to be an implicit contract between soldier and planter that would ensure that, as the poor went off to fight for the social order that benefited all whites, but particularly planters, the planters would in return grow sufficient food to keep the soldiers' families fed. That this contract was not upheld rankled many, and spurred desertions from the front lines as men came home to help their families lay in crops (Lonn 1998; Williams 2005).

The Confederate government also attempted to control the run-away prices charge for food during the war. Major General Thomas Hindman, commander of the District of Arkansas for much of 1862, declared martial law in Little Rock and issued prices on a range of foods; prices that were widely ignored by the bulk of local merchants (Dougan 1976:97). As happened in Little Rock, government attempts to interfere with food prices were rarely effective. Prices began to skyrocket as early as 1861 (Massey 1994:178). While prices were at the mercy of the factors already mentioned, speculation also had an effect. During the war, some Confederate authorities were caught offering government stock slated to be sold at a fixed price on

black markets to those who had the money to pay (Nelson and Sheriff 2007:268). Authorities in southwest Arkansas were caught siphoning off food slated for distribution to the needs and sending it to Louisiana for sale to planters (Moneyhon 2002:106). Uncontrolled prices made most commodities that actually were available for sale beyond the reach of common Arkansans. Not surprisingly, those who started the war in the worst economic position were to feel its effects most keenly.

Of course, as with material goods, families in southwest Arkansas took steps to find substitutes for their usually-imported foodstuffs. Most families started gardens, or, if they had them before the war, expanded them to increase household production. Civilians pressed everything down to window boxes, normally used to grow ornamentals, into use for household production (Massey 1994:178). Some planters did plant food crops along with cotton, occasionally interspersing rows of different plants within the same field.

No commodity was as precious and as needed as was salt. It was important not only for flavoring food (a necessity if a piece of meat was turning), but also for preserving it (Kerby 1991:68). Curing meat allowed people to keep it over a long period, allowing food storage as a hedge against periodic shortfalls. Without it, they had to eat the meat before it rotted, which could also lead to periods of want. Salt was also needed to set soap, preserve butter and eggs, and prepare hides. Salt was such an important commodity to the war effort that salt workers were exempted from conscription (Lonn 2003).

Salt springs occur naturally throughout southern Arkansas, as place names such as Bayou Sel, Marie Saline, and the Saline River indicate. Producing salt from

these saline waters dates back into antiquity, as archaeological work, such as Early's (1993) excavations at the Hardman site in Clark County, attests. When Hernando De Soto's men crossed Arkansas, searching for a route home, their course was at least partially determined by the availability of salt sources (Schambach 1993).

In southwest Arkansas, the Confederates heavily exploited salt deposits around Arkadelphia (Kerby 1991:68). Workers set up boiling kettles there early in the war, using boilers harvested from derelict steamboats (McKenzie 1965:49) to boil off the water, leaving behind salt that could then be bagged and shipped. The Army got first crack at its produce, allowing the remainder to civilians. Other saltworks, such as those at Lake Bistineau, Louisiana (McKenzie 1965:49–50), or Captain B.H. Kinsworthy's in Sevier County (Buxton 1957:386), also supplied salt to troops and civilians in Arkansas.

Salt was such a precious commodity that, elsewhere in the Confederacy, salt was used as the basis for barter, being exchanged for other commodities such as food or cloth (Massey 1950:185). Writing home to his family in northern Arkansas in August of 1863, Lieutenant William Garner urged his family to “put your salt in a good tight barrel; bury it in the ground, out in the orchard or some safe place” (McBrien and Garner 1943) should Federal soldiers come through. Scarcity and demand created higher prices, which in turn provoked charges of deliberate price inflation for the increasingly-dear commodity (Dougan 1972:18). It was the first commodity in Arkansas to see its price explode, betokening its importance to the people of the region (Moneyhon 2002:107). As a result, in October of 1862 the Confederate government nationalized all saltworks in Arkansas, stipulating that half of

their produce would be provided to the army and half to civilians, the price settling at \$2.50 per bushel, down from \$20 (Huff 1978:149, 158–159).

Of course, as with other commodities, producing salt was one thing, distributing it was another matter. Regardless of the amount of salt produced around in the area, many in southwest Arkansas went without because they could not acquire it or were unwilling to take the risks to travel to its source (Dougan 1976:96–97; Lonn 2003). In a few instances, it was brought to them, as salt was one of the commodities supplied by the Confederate government as relief supplies to soldiers families, particularly in the later stages of the war (Zornow 1955:100).

One of the cruel ironies of the war in Arkansas was the coincidence of the war and several years of terrible crop production. From 1860-1862, harvests were small and hog cholera decimated the state's porcine population (Dougan 1976:106). The state enjoyed a slight improvement in 1863 and 1864, but by the latter year farm labor was in short supply, so that many of the crops grown were not harvested, meaning that the hardest year to find food was 1865 (Dougan 1976:106).

In addition to increasing household production, many Southerners found themselves the beneficiaries of domestic relief organizations created at the county and state level during the war. Southerners and Northerners both developed mechanisms to provide support for the families of invalid or deceased soldiers (Massey 1994:180–181). Hempstead County levied a tax of ½% on property sales to purchase supplies for needy families. These payments could be made in county scrip, state war bonds, national bonds, treasury warrants, or in kind. Products such as sugar, molasses, salt, jean wool, linsey cotton, yarn, leather, and shoes would be taken as payments (Zornow

1955). Cash payments were used to buy a range of commodities that, combined with in-kind payments, would be distributed to beneficiaries. Moneyhon (2002:119) reports that 605 families in Hempstead County received aid through this mechanism during the war, representing roughly 41% of families listed in the prewar census.

The Butler Center for Arkansas Studies in Little Rock archives one of the ledgers for this Hempstead County relief work. Though not for Spring Hill Township, where Dooley's Ferry lies, it offers a glimpse into the kinds of aid provided and the produce that families were most in need of. Covering distributions around Redland Township from May to September 1863, the ledger records the distribution of nearly \$1,400 worth of corn, bacon, salt, flour, and meal. Only a few dozen families received these distributions, which amounted to between \$20 and \$60 each for that five month period. This modest level of support hints at the inadequacy of county-based support systems, in accordance with Zornow's (1955) assessment of relief work in Arkansas.

While primarily motivated by a sense of community obligation, moral imperative, and Christian goodwill, relief had a practical side that should not be overlooked. Ella Lonn (1998), in her analysis of desertion during the war, noted that one of the factors encouraging the development of relief work was its hoped-for effect on desertion rates amongst Confederate soldiers. As many soldiers left the front to come home and help plant or harvest a crop that would ensure the health and happiness of their families, the Confederate government realized that working to ensure families had enough provided would cut down on the number of men absconding from the ranks.

Effects of Shortages

What did these shortages and crises mean for families and households, such as the Carlocks? What kinds of things would the six wartime inhabitants of Locus 4 have faced as a result of these processes? A range of implications presented themselves, the most personal of which were spikes in disease rates (Nelson and Sheriff 2007:264), which visited whites and blacks with equal fury. The wartime correspondence of Trans-Mississippi woman Elizabeth Neblett is full of advices regarding dealing with the flux (diarrhea). Other maladies increased as bodies weakened, winter winds whipped through threadbare clothing, and the lack of even the least efficacious medicines left Southerners exposed (Faust 2008:139).

At Dooley's Ferry, we know of the wartime passing of two of the Carlocks' neighbors. In August of 1862, six year old Mary Jane Bates died at Dooley's Ferry. Her father, Cicero Bates, came home that winter, and, after dealing with the loss of his daughter, had to bury his wife of fifteen years, Susan, early the next year (Bates 1962:83). Of course, people died for numerous reasons during the 19th century, but survival in such a situation is made all the more difficult, and the conditions enumerated in this chapter were at least a contributing factor.

With Samuel at the front, Julia, like many women placed in her position during the conflict, may have had a hard time getting enough for the household. She was fortunate, however, to be the daughter of one of the commissioners overseeing the distributions of relief supplies in Spring Hill Township. If she wanted for aid for herself or the other members of the household, her father, Thomas Reynolds, would not likely have turned her away. Massey (1994:186) also writes that women in Julia's position learned valuable lessons in household economy that stayed with them after

the war, much like survivors of the Great Depression did three score years and ten later.

The home front became a very dangerous place as well. Food shortages spurred criminality, as people stole food and medicine from one another (Massey 1994:182–183). Breakdowns in traditional forms of policing and maintaining order led to general increases in illegal activity, and many women felt constrained from traveling. Some even ceased travelling to church for fear of being overtaken by ruffians (Kerby 1991:88–89). People also rioted for food. We know best about the Richmond Bread Riots of 1863, which Massey (1994:183) points out were also a cover for thefts of other goods lacking in availability, but less-celebrated versions took place in southwest Arkansas.

Indeed, the close of the war saw a bread riot at Dooley's Ferry itself. In May of 1865, Leon Williamson, a Confederate soldier serving with the Commissary Department and stationed at Dooley's Ferry, wrote a letter to his wife. Amongst the other details of the letter, he includes the following passage:

Pet I had more fun yesterday looking at some women than I ever did in one day in my life I must tell you how it happened. There were 35 women armed some with pistols & butcher knives and some with axes and took 9 small wagons and come down to the commissary and demanded the keys in order to go and get rations. The clerk refused to give up the keys and they nothing daunted went to work with their axes to open the door when the keys were delivered to them they went in and took as much flour, meal, bacon, sugar, salt and molasses as they wanted loaded their wagons paraded the streets awhile waved their bonnets pistols knives &c over their heads and hollowed as loud as they could hurrah for Hempstead County and marched off home to the tune of Dixie.

Coming as this does at the close of the war, in the midst of the worst of agricultural years, such an event should not be particularly surprising. Yet, the fact of

its occurrence, and the fact that women would arm themselves and attack an installation of the national government bespeaks the desperation and disillusionment with the war many women (and men) felt in the closing years of the war. That disillusionment was a long time coming, however, and it, along with the shortages detailed in this chapter, is a crucial facet of the story of the war in southwest Arkansas.

Breaking up the Carlock Estate

One final, poignant chapter in the Carlock's wartime presence at Dooley's Ferry must be told. Of those men who left for the front at the start of the war, Samuel Carlock was the one who never came home (Chapter 4). His widow, Julia, became one of thousands of women left with her own grief and that of her sons, and to find a means to provide for them in the coming years. For women throughout the South, waiting for news of a loved one was one of the most anxious, nerve-wracking parts of the conflict (Massey 1994:215). Julia would certainly have known of Samuel's capture at Fort Donelson, but it was not unlikely for her to receive news from him while at Camp Douglas. We do not know when or how Julia learned of Samuel's death at Vicksburg, but we do know that Samuel's estate entered the probate process on October 31, 1862, roughly six weeks after his passing (Hempstead County 1862). Somewhere between September 12 and October 31, Julia learned that Samuel was not coming home. Perhaps Cicero Bates learned of it when we landed at Vicksburg and brought the news home.

The listing of the Carlock property opens tells us something about the social networks and business relations of the Carlock family. Thomas Reynolds, Richard Pryor, and C.J.H. Betts, Carlock's former father-in-law and neighbors, executed his

estate. Probate records show several claims against the estate for small amounts, all but one being for less than \$100. Cicero C. Bates, one of Carlock's neighbors, lodged a claim for \$12.86. The largest claim against the estate came from Benjamin Jett, a merchant in Washington, who claimed \$1,900, a substantial sum, but well within the bounds of the personal estate of \$11,000 claimed by Carlock in the 1860 Census.

A few months after Samuel's death, Thomas F. Reynolds advertised his intentions to obtain an order of sale of the land at Dooley's Ferry and the right to operate the ferry in the February 18, 1863 edition of the *Washington Telegraph*. This is one of the final acts in the conclusion of Samuel Carlock's affairs.

As the property was broken up and the land sold, Julia and the boys moved to Falcon, Arkansas. Falcon was one of the nearest towns to Dooley's Ferry, other than Spring Hill, and there was a shoe factory there during the war, owned by A.J. Dunn (McKenzie 1965:57). Perhaps Julia had friends there to stay with, or went to work in the factory to support the boys. Massey (1994:200), in writing about displaced women (many of them war widows) in the Confederacy, faced daunting challenges. At first, they might be concerned with finding a balanced diet for the family, but soon would be happy so long as they had food of any sort on the table. They would find innumerable substitutes for goods either unavailable or too expensive, often requiring them to tend a garden to supply extra food.

The afore-mentioned support systems provided by the state and Hempstead County to support the families of invalid or deceased soldiers may also have provided some support. In Spring Hill Township, one of the three men tasked with overseeing the distribution of relief supplies to such families was Thomas Reynolds, Julia's

father. If Julia needed assistance with food, clothing, salt, or any of the other goods distributed by the county, it is unlikely that her father would have denied her request.

The Carlocks' remained in Falcon through the end of the war. Marcus, by then around twelve years old, served as a courier for the Confederate army in east Texas (Carlock 1929:416). Julia remarried, and she and her new husband, William F. Pitts, were then living in Gilmer, Texas, with Marcus and Thomas, both of whom kept the Carlock surname in 1870 (U.S. Census Office 1870). William Pitts suffered a stroke in 1897, which left him paralyzed until his death the following year (Dallas Morning News 1898). Julia, who passed away in 1899, Marcus, who followed her in 1931, and Thomas all lay buried in the Winnsboro City Cemetery. Marcus, later in his life, was an attorney, politician, and fixture of Wood County society. His house, built in 1903, is a Texas Historic Landmark and a bed-and-breakfast, known as Oaklea Mansion (<http://www.oakleamansion.com>). His descendant, Marcus Dewitt Carlock IV, serves nearby Titus County as a sergeant in the Sherriff's Office (Marcus Carlock IV, personal communication 2012).

The Carlock probate records also sheds the only real glimmer of light we have on the identities of the African-American portion of the Carlock household. Amongst the property broken up were listed three people claimed as chattel by the Carlock family. They were George, aged 45, Rebecca, 35, and Margaret, 12. This is the same number as appears under Samuel Carlock's name in the 1860 U.S. Slave Schedule, and may represent the same individuals, though the ages of George and Rebecca vary from those nameless individuals listed in the Slave Schedule. Of course, as Ward's (2008) oral history of enslaved African Americans during the war, slaveowners were

not known for being diligent reporters of the ages and birthdays of their slaves, and both records could refer to the same people.

It is tempting to suggest that, given the ages and sexes of the three enslaved people, that they may have constituted a small family. Of course, slave families frequently transcended the boundaries of the farms and plantations on which the slaves labored (Chapter 2; Kaye 2007), and given the large population of slaves in the neighborhood, it is entirely possible that George and Rebecca had spouses or family members elsewhere than the Carlock farm.

One of the ongoing frustrations of this project has been the inability to locate George, Rebecca, and Margaret elsewhere in the historical record. While we have census data, family histories, ferry licenses, probate records, newspaper accounts, and other documents chronicling the lives of the white portion of the Carlock household, these probate records are the only documents known at this time to contain the names of the African-American portion. Since they do not record surnames, it is impossible to find these same individuals after the war. Repeated searches through the late-19th century U.S. Censuses yielded no clear candidates, as a profusion of African-American couples consisting of men named George and women named Rebecca lived throughout the United States. This disparity in documentation is another example in how race conditioned one's life. Being African American meant (and continues to mean) being historically invisible.

Chapter 6. Civilians and Confederates at Dooley's Ferry

Soldiers and civilians had a complex relationship during the Civil War, particularly on the Confederate home front. At war's outset, both soldier and civilian understood there to be common cause between them in bringing about the quick and successful conclusion of the war.

Both sides changed during the war. Soldiers, who marched away to war as representatives of their communities, with strong ties to the cities and counties that fielded them (Piston and Hatcher 2000), found their identities challenged by battle. Enduring the violence and mayhem of a Civil War battlefield produced profound psychological changes in soldiers North and South. From being placed at the bottom rung of the military hierarchy to seeing the way in which men were thrown before cannons in battle to the callous manner in which their mortal remains were handled by burial details (not always from their own side), military service in the war assaulted men's sense of self and dignity as well as their bodies (Mitchell 1997:58–62). These horrors manifested in widely-shared feelings that war made soldiers victims. Yet, such sacrifice was not necessarily too great of a burden to bear.

The payoff for soldiers' suffering was respect from their home communities and assurances that their neighbors would protect their families from both harm and want. So long as civilians remains true to the Cause and worked together to support each other and their soldiers at the front, Confederates and Federals were both willing to put up with the demands of military service (Mitchell 1997:64–68). When this balance began to teeter in the early years of the war, a rift developed between civilians

and soldiers that would have significant consequences for both sides. It would not be the last time that war produced such a divide (Bacevich 2005).

This chapter looks at the factors creating this rift, its implications for soldier and civilian life in southwest Arkansas, and the material manifestations of the juxtaposition of military and civilian worlds at Dooley's Ferry. The contentious and ambiguous relationship linking white Southerners are one of the unappreciated tales of life behind Confederate lines in Arkansas. They also serve as a basis for an argument that I will advance towards the end of the chapter that, in studying civilian communities during wartime, registers such as militarization and political allegiance assume the significance that race, class, and gender enjoy during peacetime.

Civilian Life in Confederate and Union Arkansas

One aspect of this research that I would like to emphasize here is that when studying the Civil War in Arkansas, your geographic point of focus matters significantly. There are numerous books on the war behind Union lines and in the no-man's-lands created between the lines in the Ozarks and the Arkansas Delta during the war. A host of Union and Confederate memoirs (Bailey 1989; Britton 1993; Monks 2003; Springer and Furry 2001) and a growing body of secondary literature (Barnes 2001; Mackey 2004; Porter 1998) chronicle the war in these contested lands. Confederate Arkansas, which by the end of the war was only the southwestern portion of the state, experienced different conditions due to the lack of an outside invader, but perhaps a more convoluted series of attempts to maintain order and provide for the populace.

Whites in the Great Bend met the rush to arms in 1861 with widespread approbation. Much of the military-eligible population signed on in the first year of the war, including Samuel Carlock and the Bates brothers. Women actively encouraged men to serve. Henry Morton Stanley, who would later utter the famous “Dr. Livingston, I presume,” far away in Africa, lived in Cypress Bend, near Pine Bluff when the war broke out. An Englishman who didn’t feel heavily invested in the conflict, Stanley waffled about joining until a local woman mailed him a chemise and petticoat, with the clear implication that he should either don them or a Confederate uniform. Stanley enlisted (Dougan 1976:69).

Women and children did their part to try to keep soldiers’ spirits up, though care packages and letters were hampered by the inefficiencies of the Confederate mail system (Dougan 1976:108–109). The home front produced thousands of socks, shirts, blankets, and other necessities that went to the troops, keeping them clothed and warm. The *Washington Telegraph* ran frequent ads for needed goods and notices of where residents might drop them off for delivery. The October 15th edition even carried separate listing for those who wanted to send goods to whatever soldier needed them (via the Quartermaster’s Department) or to a specific unit (Lt. Col. Reiff’s 1st Arkansas Cavalry). Citizens could bring items for the latter unit to a member of that regiment home on furlough, who served as courier and took them back to the front.

Belief in the justness, morality, and rightness of Southern aims did not die quickly with Southern whites, though their will to support a conflict that placed so

many strains on their society began to ebb early in the war. In its stead grew the seeds of civilian demoralization.

Demoralization amongst Confederate civilians sprang primarily from the surprise that the war was not to be a short one, that Confederate policy consistently favored elites and the military, that Arkansas and the western states were seen as a supply base for the Eastern and Western Theatres (and therefore of slight consequence in their own right), and, perhaps most significantly, shortages of food and material goods.

Empty larders and threadbare clothes were the biggest blow to white morale during the war. Granted, this was largely true throughout the South, but, as Escott (2006:95) wrote, the Trans-Mississippi experienced these shortages to a degree not seen elsewhere in the Confederacy. While the preceding chapter described the fundamentals of these shortages, one factor that needs further exploration is the way in which the presence of the Confederate military exacerbated them.

The same deficiencies in production and transportation that kept civilians short of food kept Confederate commissaries and quartermasters without proper food for their soldiers. Men continually complained about short rations or being fed foods that were either unpalatable or that produced negative effects, such as bread that was so full of bran that it incapacitated whole companies of soldiers (Dougan 1972:18).

Civilians worked to make up for these shortfalls. Newspapers, such as the *Washington Telegraph*, published advertisements from the Confederate Commissary Department requesting items that were in particularly short supply. These ranged from clothing items to food, and included at times things as obscure as pickles, which were

the only vegetable that endured for a long enough period to be of military utility.

Women's reminiscences of the war emphasized their tireless efforts to provide food, clothing, and cheer to the soldiers, either in their immediate vicinity or loved ones far away at the front (United Confederate Veterans of Arkansas 1993). As we saw in the above chapter on the home front, households remained the mainstay of Confederate production in Arkansas throughout the war (Kerby 1991:379).

Still, supplying the army meant not supplying the family, and the constant effort to furnish both the government and the household took a tremendous toll on Southern producers, largely women. Shortages produced war-weariness by 1863, which made many women care more about food, clothing, and housing than military victory (Massey 1994:189). Dips in morale could be crippling to an individual household's production, but demoralization had another aspect to it; it was communicable. When crops ran short or necessities became too scarce, many women wrote their husbands for advice and assistance. Men serving at the front were frequently powerless to aid or to offer advice that would ease the situation, but knowledge of a family's plight could be a severe distraction for a service member (Kerby 1991:280–281; Massey 1994:192). Realizing that their families lacked expected assistance from the community, many men quit the ranks to come home and help plant a crop. Such desertions significantly impacted Confederate fighting capabilities on various fronts throughout the war.

On the other hand, the military played a significant role in creating dissention amongst Arkansas civilians, primarily through proximity and impressment. As stated, the military faced the same issues in procuring food and material goods as did

civilians, yet the military could assert preferential acquisition through the law, backed by (usually tacit) force. Seizing food for military purposes was a common tactic amongst Civil War armies (Nelson and Sheriff 2007:262), though it became almost the sole source of support in the Trans-Mississippi.

When troops arrived at a farm, they typically loaded whatever they were looking for onto wagons and, if the farmer was lucky, issued a receipt for the commandeered goods exchangeable for Confederate currency or bonds. Such authorized impressment was a staple of both sides during the conflict, but Arkansas and the Trans-Mississippi South in general saw a parallel, more chaotic form arise during the war.

As the war progressed, Confederate soldiers began to garner a reputation for appropriating whatever they needed, either legally or through simply thievery. The frequency of theft was a function of the ability of the Confederate army to provide its soldiers with adequate food through the Commissary Department. So long as legal channels were sufficient to meet their needs, Confederate soldiers tended to behave and discipline was maintained (Dougan 1976:106).

Impressments did not stop at food. Wagons were crucial to the Confederate war effort, and often seized by troops (Dougan 1976:106; Kerby 1991:383). Livestock, too, served as draft animals. Confederate demands for these were so great that, by war's end, it was difficult to find healthy mules, horses, and oxen anywhere in the area (Kerby 1991:384–385). One of the only mentions of Cicero Bates in the *Washington Telegraph* is a January, 1865, announcement that two of his horses went missing and he wanted them back. The animals were recovering from participating in

Price's Missouri Raid the preceding fall. Commandeering goods and equipment became so common that, by 1863, "many Arkansans thought of every member of any Texas or Missouri regiment as a bandit in uniform" (Kerby 1991:256). Some Confederate units were so liberal in the application of illegal acquisitions that they only reinforced this perception (Oates 1961:56–57).

One other form of impressment also worried civilians, the impressment of enslaved African Americans. Beginning in early 1863, Confederate authorities sought massive acquisition of the slaves of Confederate sympathizers, primarily for construction projects, such as a massive system of earthworks guarding the Red River below Shreveport (Kerby 1991). This preceded authorization by the Confederate government, though Louisiana proved more obliging in granting permission. The man who sought to expand the practice was John Bankhead Magruder, commanding in Texas. Magruder sought 60,000 slaves from across the Trans-Mississippi to construct a massive line of earthworks on the Texas Gulf Coast (Kerby 1991). He did not have blanket authorization to do this, but his pronouncements of intentions worried many.

Elsewhere, impressing slaves was becoming an increasingly common practice. In Arkansas, Confederate authorities took 500 people from farms for earthwork construction in 1863, and many Arkansas slaveowners feared more waves of this practice were on the horizon. Fears over impressment took many forms. Obviously, there were concerns about authorities commandeering slaves and not returning them, resulting in a loss to the owner. That displacement could come in the form of the slaves running away under perceived laxer discipline of the government overseer, or killing at the hands of a vicious one.

More benevolent concerns factored in as well. Paternalistic concern for the black members of their households made many white slaveowners wary of relinquishing slaves to the government. Strange overseers whose fortunes did not depend on the health and well-being of the slave could be cruel and abusive, and many shuddered at the thought of turning their property to such brutes.

Fear of impressment caused many slaveowners to immigrate to areas farther from the Confederate seats of power. In so doing, they joined an exodus of slaveowners and slaves leaving eastern Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi who headed to northeast Texas during the war. W. W. Heartsill, crossing through Union County, Arkansas, in December of 1863 reported “we find the road crowded with refugees, bound for Texas; with hundreds, and I might truthfully say, thousands of Negroes” (Heartsill 1992:186). So many African Americans went to Texas that some Texans worried about the stability of the social order. Reports on the number of people so displaced vary, though General Magruder, writing during the war, reported 150,000 slaves carried to Texas by late 1864. Among those who moved their slaves to Texas can be counted Peter Marcellus Van Winkle, Ozark timber baron whose sawmill and associated structures were investigated by the Arkansas Archeological Survey and Universities of Texas and Arkansas through the dissertation work of Jamie Brandon (Brandon 2004; Brandon and Davidson 2003; Brandon and Davidson 2005; Brandon et al. 2000).

In addition to these forced migrants, a further 250,000 white refugees hit the roads during the war, searching for safety, family members, or merely a mouthful of food. It should come as no surprise that wartime chroniclers often described the war-

torn areas of the South, including Arkansas, as deserts, bereft of people animals, and forage. While southwest Arkansas never became the dangerous wasteland that the rest of Arkansas did, it did boast a number of internally-displaced people. This would include the Carlocks. Pushed from Dooley's Ferry by the death of Samuel Carlock, they were three amongst the throngs of whites forced from their home communities by the twists and turns of the conflict. George, Rebecca, and Margaret would also fall under this category, though we do not know their fates.

Of course, the Confederate military was not some remorseless pox upon the countryside. It provided some crucial benefits to the civilian population as well. First, much of the production of salt, cloth, and food organized above the household level sprung from direction rooted in the Confederate military. The various departments of the Confederate military bureaucracy put in place by E. Kirby Smith organized and promoted production when counties and even state government proved ineffective at doing so.

Also, and this is particularly glaring in comparison to the limbo that existed between Confederate and Union lines, the Confederate military provided some form of policing power throughout the conflict. Slave patrols, local sheriffs, and the other forms of antebellum policing, save vigilantism, broke down during the conflict. In areas where no military force could claim governance, all manner of depredations visited the civilian population at the hands of armed gangs of ruffians. Only in Confederate Arkansas was some measure of control maintained, though even there soldiers were hard-pressed to reign in violence.

Confederate Troops at Dooley's Ferry

For the first stages of the war, Confederate troops would have been a common site at Dooley's Ferry, as the need to bring soldiers and supplies into Arkansas would have brought them to the crossing, and the shuttling of men on furlough, the sick and wounded, and Union prisoners into Texas would have created flow in the opposite direction as well. Up until the death of Samuel Carlock, the ferryman, likely George, the remaining adult male (and therefore able to perform the laborious task of working the ferryboat), facilitated this traffic.

Such quotidian transit would have been sporadic and ephemeral, in all likelihood. There is nothing in the historical record to indicate a prolonged Confederate occupation of the site in the early war years, and the excavations we conducted at various antebellum sites (Chapter 3 and 4) returned no evidence of Confederate military material culture, suggesting that the buildings were not being occupied during the conflict, either early or late.

The most enduring and intimate form of interaction between civilians and soldiers is the garrisoning of troops within a town or neighborhood. Given the strategic importance of Dooley's Ferry for Confederate forces, garrisoning the town for at least some part of the war makes sense. We have several historical documents that reference Confederate presence in the vicinity of Dooley's Ferry, though none are particularly clear on the proximity of Confederate troops to the civilians at the ferry crossing.

In February of 1864, Brigadier General Thomas Drayton, writing from the headquarters of Lieutenant General Sterling Price's division, camped around Camp

Sumter, north of Dooley's Ferry, detailed additions to the area required by the division's presence. Addressing Lieutenant Colonel J.F. Belton, adjutant to Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby-Smith in Shreveport, Drayton complained that the crossing over the Red River at Dooley's Ferry had only "a single flat-boat, altogether insufficient for transportation our forage" and requested that additional ferry boats be brought down from Fulton or some other place to help increase their ability to bring forage across the river. Drayton also requested one or two small steamers then lingering around Shreveport to help carry provisions to Dooley's Ferry from above and below the ferry landing. Drayton even mentioned that "the saving of hauling over most execrable roads would be immense."

This buildup of transportation facilities at Dooley's Ferry is associated with one of the periods of intense Confederate presence in the area. One of the realities of soldiering in the Trans-Mississippi, and Arkansas in particular, was that the limited ability of the government to provide aid from outside the region. From as early as 1861, Confederate authorities in Arkansas were told by the government in Richmond that they would receive little support from east of the river. Food, weapons, uniforms, and soldiers were in short supply throughout the Confederacy. In fact, Richmond sought these same forms of support from the Trans-Mississippi for service elsewhere. We've already covered the constant shifting of men from west to east, but the Trans-Mississippi needed other forms of support as well. Horses and other livestock, for example, were abundant in Texas, and many went to the eastern theaters.

With little coming in from outside, Confederates in the Trans-Mississippi quickly adopted a pattern of behavior that would place a great onus for supplying the

army on local civilians. In early 1864, Sterling Price's division, camped around Camden, subsisted by cleaning the surrounding countryside of every form of forage. Food, horses, wagons, cloth; anything the soldiers needed they impressed from the civilian populace (Dougan 1976:111). They were so thorough in stripping the area that Camden resident John Brown likened them to a Biblical plague of locusts (Dougan 1976:116). Once they had consumed the resources of an area, they would shift to a new region and restart the process. After Camden, Price's division moved to the vicinity of Dooley's Ferry.

One of the facts of life in Arkansas at the time was that there was no antebellum city greater than Little Rock's 3,700 souls, so Price's men, numbering around 12,000 men dispersed amongst four brigades were easily a larger community than the people of the state knew before the war. Price's division began moving to Camp Sumter, as it would be named, between Dooley's Ferry and Spring Hill, on January 8th, 1864, led by the brigades of Generals Thomas F. Drayton and James Tappan, followed subsequently by Thomas Churchill's and Mosby Parson's brigades (Kerby 1991:237; McPheeters 2002; Pitcock and Gurley 1995:103).

We have two diaries from Price's command cover the Camp Sumter period, those of Captain Eathan Allen Pinnell (1999) of the 8th Missouri Infantry, Company D, and of William McPheeters, General Price's physician (McPheeters 2002). Pinnell's records the movement to the Dooley's Ferry area in his diary. After passing through Spring Hill on the 31st of January, 1864, the men of his unit went into camp four miles from Red River on a "rocky point that was once covered in heavy pine timber" (Pinnell 1999:136). There they went into camp and fitted out their tents with timbered

cabin bases to keep the troops dry and warm. McPheeters arrived later to a camp already completed (McPheeters 2002:103–104).

McPheeters relates two stories about the army's stay at Camp Sumter that prove evocative. First, on February 19, 1864, he reports that two soldiers from Tappan's Brigade were condemned to death for desertion. Authorities placed these men, both Arkansans, in the guardhouse for execution the following morning. Dawn found the guardhouse empty, the two condemned having made good their escape, which McPheeters remarks was an extraordinary occurrence as both men had been shackled when placed in the guardhouse. Their guard, also an Arkansan, was himself arrested, and McPheeters wished him shot in the two deserters' stead (McPheeters 2002:108–109). These "trifling Arkansians," as McPheeters slandered them, had taken a route that many of their fellow soldiers opted for towards the end of the war, heading home rather than wait out a war that was widely believed all but over, and, for the guard, state loyalty trumped national.

The second incident involves a woman from the surrounding community who came into camp to complain that two soldiers had robbed her of all her money and told her to leave the county within two days (McPheeters 2002:109). Apparently, her husband had deserted the army and her neighbors suspected her of having Unionist sentiments, which brought the soldiers to her door. McPheeters remarked "there is no doubt some disloyalty among the people in this neighborhood and the soldiers are determined to make the country too hot for such, still I do not approve of a war on women and children, it is too much like the Federals" (McPheeters 2002:110). This remark shows that, not only was Unionist sentiment a fact of life in the Dooley's Ferry

vicinity in 1864, but that one of the functions Confederate soldiers carried out was the deliberate harassment of those known to hold such sympathies. Soon thereafter, a Unionist preacher was shot to death by the Provost Guard at Spring Hill (McPheeters 2002:114).

Pinnell, like McPheeters, maintained a concise account of his daily business, but there are a few items to pull from his manuscript that have some bearing on Dooley's Ferry. Pinnell was evidently a Mason, and writes about attending Masonic meetings at Dooley's Ferry on February 20th and March 5th, 1864 (Pinnell 1999:141, 142). At the earlier meeting, Pinnell estimates attendance to be around 50 men, a sizeable crowd to be sure, and one that suggests that Locust 7, the church, may have doubled as a Masonic hall. Such a large gathering needed a larger venue than a small cabin.

Captain Pinnell also recounts an incident of outright thievery. While at Camp Sumter, a soldier of the 8th Missouri Infantry received a sentence of six days of hard labor and required to wear a placard emblazoned with the words "sheep thief" in punishment for his purloining of local ovids. Pinnell noted in his diary "depredations of the property of civilians has been too common, and must be checked" (Pinnell 1999:138).

Price's division stayed in the vicinity until March 20, when they were ordered to Camden to prepare to meet Frederick Steele's Union soldiers, who were marching out of Little Rock at the start of the Red River Campaign (Christ 2003; McPheeters 2002:120–127; Pinnell 1999:147). From there, Price would launch an invasion of Missouri in the fall of 1864, hoping to take St. Louis (DeBlack 2003a:124–130).

Price's division, including McPheeters, returned to the Spring Hill area (Pinnell's unit was stationed in Monticello, Arkansas, at this point). McPheeters spent the balance of the war in Spring Hill as a guest of C.M. Hervey, whose plantation lay just on the Lafayette County side of Dooley's Ferry (McPheeters 2002:267).

His first trip, March 24th, 1865, McPheeters travelled to C.M. Hervey's plantation, on the far side of Dooley's Ferry, which he crossed on "a government pontoon bridge" (McPheeters 2002:268). He found Hervey spaying hogs, and together they toured the estate, which McPheeters describes as "a beautiful one, the land very fertile and lies finely" (McPheeters 2002:268). After sharing a meal, McPheeters vaccinated some of the Hervey's African Americans, and bought a shirt and six yards of cloth from "a country woman." The shirt was for his servant, Frank. He paid \$50 for the goods, and considered the price a bargain (McPheeters 2002:268).

McPheeters's second trip, on May 6th, 1865, was a fishing expedition to Dooley's Ferry in company with a large group of Spring Hill residents (McPheeters 2002:298–299). They caught 200 fish before noon, as "the fish [were] biting rapidly" (McPheeters 2002:299). They made their way to the church across the road, where they gutted and scaled the fish and cooked them for their lunch before returning to Spring Hill (McPheeters 2002:299).

The only documents we have that indicate actual garrisoning of soldiers at Dooley's Ferry come from Leon Williams, a soldier in the Confederate Commissary Department, who was at Dooley's Ferry between March and May of 1865, overlapping with the accounts of McPheeters's visits to the area just mentioned. The

two letters are the property of Ms. Nova Draughan, of Houston, Texas, a relative of his. She very kindly made copies available for this project.

The earlier of the two letters, dated March 28th, 1865, and sent to his wife, whom he calls simply “Pet” in both letters. He states that he was with a Captain Littlejohn at that place, and does not know how long he will be there. He confesses to being lonesome, though there are occasional parties that lift his spirits.

The second letter is much more engaging, as it carries the story of the small bread riot mentioned above. It also indicates that Confederate government had closed the crossings of the Red River to civilian traffic to keep people from fleeing the state for Mexico, which Williams, himself, had considered doing. In taking this step, the Confederate government had made the Red River, long the link that connected the area’s population to the outside world, into a wall separating Arkansans and inhibiting movement and trade.

There is one other instance where Confederate troops likely called Dooley’s Ferry home, though we don’t know how precisely they occupied the landscape. Major General Thomas Churchill ordered Brigadier General Alexander Hawthorn’s brigade to construct trenches at Dooley’s Ferry on January 19th, 1865, telling Hawthorn to stay the winter (Gaines 1896). As it turned out, “the winter” lasted four days, for on January 23rd Hawthorn received orders to march to Camp Lee, south of Dooley’s Ferry (Churchill 1896). I believe that, with the order of January 19th directing him to winter his brigade at Dooley’s Ferry, and with the necessity of building earthworks, General Hawthorn camped his men near the site.

I have debated this idea with some local historians, who believe Hawthorn's troops to have stayed in camps closer to Spring Hill, possibly even re-occupying Camp Sumter. Better-drained land and closer proximity to Washington, which would need their help if the federals marched out of Little Rock to give battle would, indeed, have been useful and have made sense from a strategic standpoint. However, this would mean a round-trip march of over ten miles to work, which seems an arduous trek to add to the intense manual labor of digging earthworks. Additionally, when ordered away from Dooley's Ferry, Hawthorn's men did not march north to Washington, but south to Shreveport.

Disloyalty in Southwest Arkansas

As the war ground on into late 1863 and early 1864, the years of deprivation, battlefield frustration, separation from loved ones, and mismanagement by state and national government officials took their toll, and opposition to Confederate authority and to the war in general grew amongst the populace. Moneyhon (1993; 2000) offers the most focused analysis of this period, which emphasizes growing dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war and the growing sentiment that not all Arkansans were benefitting equally from the economic and political opportunities that wartime Arkansas offered.

Desertions from the Confederate army intensified in late 1862, and many men, in order to avoid authorities, banded together into "lay out gangs" sprinkled through southwest Arkansas's hillier districts around Arkadelphia and points west. These gangs harassed Confederate troops and civilians, creating dangerous a dangerous situation that the Confederate army took drastic measures to correct. In February,

1863, General Theophilus Holmes, commander of the District of Arkansas, declared martial law. Using home guard units drawn from the plantation districts under the command of Major James T. Elliott, the Confederate army launched an all-out war against these bands of deserters (Moneyhon 1993:234–235).

Period writers, and Moneyhon himself, refers to these deserters and layout gang members as “Unionists,” though that label may adhere better to Unionist organizations in the Ozarks and eastern Arkansas than in the southwest. Unionists, such as the Williams family of Conway County, in Arkansas’s northern Ozark Mountains, earned the sobriquet by their formal allegiance with Union army troops, with whom they joined in 1862 to fight the staunch secessionist factions within their home county, who remained allied with the South (Barnes 2001).

What we see in southwest Arkansas is a mixture our actual Unionism sprinkled atop a large element of anti-Confederatism. The bulk of white Southerners in the region seemed more interested in ending the war, with or without victory, and opposing the power balances that developed during it, than they were interested in bringing Union rule back to the state. Few, if any of them, were actually fomenting realignment with the United States. Indeed, when an actual Unionist was captured, as was the case with McPheeters’s reporting of a minister caught with copies of one of Lincoln’s proclamations in 1864 (McPheeters 2002:115), it was reported in such a way as to make it seem abnormal in comparison to other “Unionists” apprehended or harassed in the area.

Taking the step toward martial law was a momentous event, and one that had dire consequences for the men of southwest Arkansas seeking shelter in the woods.

While no accurate accounting can be made of the bloody toll of this period, Moneyhon (1993:238) cites reports from Unionists that place the figure in the hundreds.

Such brutality was one instance of a wider pattern of civilian subjugation to military prerogative to take place in the Trans-Mississippi during the war. The free hand most Confederate units enjoyed in terms of crop and equipment impressment was another. Perhaps the strangest development in Confederate governance of the Trans-Mississippi was the creation, in 1863, of the Cotton Bureau.

War did not shut down cotton production in the Trans-Mississippi. A weak blockade and the use of various means, both legal and otherwise, allowed regular cotton trafficking with the North and the United Kingdom throughout the conflict. The volume of cotton traded decreased, which meant that the price jumped markedly.

This was a golden (literally) opportunity for the Confederate commanders in the Trans-Mississippi. Cut off as they were from assistance from Richmond, they had to find indigenous means to bring in money to purchase weapons and ammunition to prolong the fighting. As it did before the war, procuring cash in the Trans-Mississippi meant marketing cotton. To facilitate government purchase of cotton for sale, General Smith authorized the establishment of the Cotton Bureau.

Bureau representatives at first offered set prices for cotton that were around 1/3 of market value (Escott 2006:112). When cotton growers throughout the Trans-Mississippi, and the Texas state government objected, Smith simply shifted the Cotton Bureau to impressment, taking whatever cotton it felt it needed for sale through one of its ports (Escott 2006:112). This was one of the most audacious subversions of

civilian interest and freedom to military necessity of the war, but was surprisingly not the most outlandish act E. Kirby Smith engaged in.

At the very close of the war, General Smith worked to establish diplomatic relationships with France parallel, but separate from those administered by President Jefferson Davis in Richmond (Escott 2006:117–118). This betokens the sweeping power that the Confederate military claimed for itself through the course of the war. Smith was the only real representative of the national government in the Trans-Mississippi, and few state governments effectively challenged the powers he asserted (Escott 2006:101, 108).

This strong, centralized government authority would have been deemed “tyrannical” ten years before (Massey 1994:176). The assertion of the right to execute civilians through the application of martial law, the inability of the government to provide adequate support to civilians, and preferential treatment given to the more affluent members of the community, and the preference and deference accorded by the political elite to the military at the expense of common folk contributed to the disloyalty and dissent chronicled by Moneyhon (1993).

Disloyalty and Class Consciousness

A lot of historians have covered Unionism/anti-Confederatism throughout the South during the Civil War. Sutherland, Inscoe and Kenzer (2001), Degler (1982), Freehling (2001), and Williams (2005) have all devoted significant attention to the subject, albeit from differing angles. Of these, almost all see class as a unifying dimension of South-on-South violence. Barnes’s (2001) study of the Williams clan in the Ozarks makes mention of the fact that the Williams clan were from the poorer

sectors of society, while the men they squared off against tended to be from the plantation districts in the lowland parts of Conway County.

Moneyhon (1993; 2000) titles his article “Disloyalty and Class Consciousness in Southwest Arkansas,” and his analysis recapitulates this interest in the development of class awareness during the war. Escott (2006:78), Freehling (2001:22–23), Bynum (2010:21–24), and a host of others have looked to class, or at least an emerging consciousness that shattered antebellum notions of a society where all whites could rise to affluence.

Nelson and Sherriff (2007:273) make a keen observation that I believe bears repeating. Looking at wartime correspondence sent to government officials in North Carolina, they write that “the cause of their predicament was summed up not as inevitable class struggle but rather as a failure of community morality.” This interpretation, twinned with an awareness of class conscience (the North Carolinians make reference to the “big man’s Negro”), offers much to our understanding of social dynamics during the war. These class divisions were one of the factors that began to tear at communities’ social fabric. As the working class saw their efforts on the battlefield and their suffering on the home front be slighted by elites or overlooked in favor of the military, the stability of Southern communities came into question.

Registers in War Time

One message that I would like to pull out of this discussion is the significance that two registers assume in Civil War Arkansas. Militarism and political affiliation both assume importance not heralded in peace time. The subjugation and persecution of Unionists (those alternatively politically-aligned) was a factor of their political

preference, real or imagined. Whether it be the preacher caught with Lincoln's speeches or the woman chased from the county by soldiers who suspected her of Unionist leanings, it's the political orientation of an individual that affects their standing in society and the way that people behave towards them.

Similarly, whether or not one wears a uniform had significant impact on one's liberties and opportunities. With the civilian sector of Arkansas society subordinated to the military from at least 1863 on, to be in service meant one had access to or preference of food, clothing, durable goods, and a host of other prerogatives not shared by civilians. Moreover, being a soldier granted license to deal with civilians and their property in extremely high-handed fashion, with little likelihood of sanction.

These distinctions were in sharpest definition when military and civilian communities abutted one another, as would have been the case at Dooley's Ferry in early 1864 and then late 1864-early 1865. We have not yet dealt with the most enduring and obvious legacy of the war period, however. In late 1864, Confederate forces would camp at Dooley's Ferry and construct the most indelible, legible referents to the Civil War that one can find in southwest Arkansas outside of a battlefield.

Chapter 7. Fortifying Dooley's Ferry

As covered in the introduction, the portion of Dooley's Ferry that first drew my interest was the line of entrenchments atop Dooley Hill, around which the Common Hill Baptist Church cemetery now lies. On first blush, they appear to be little more than a small line of earthworks that we know were never used in battle. Both of these facts are true, but that's not the whole story. The fuller tale is much more complex, much more engaging, and ultimately points us towards an interesting set of behaviors that the Confederate high command, either through concern over their eroding control over the area or through the idiosyncratic views of the local commander, are a unique aspect of the closing months of the war in southwest Arkansas.

Tracing Out 3HE39

The trenches at Dooley's Ferry have been the recipient of years' worth of research. Though never fallen out of memory, the first recording of the entrenchments as an archaeological site was in 1970, when Sam Dickinson of Prescott, one of the great influences on early Arkansas archaeology and historic preservation in southern Arkansas, reported the site to the Arkansas Archeological Survey (ARAS Site Files). Beverly Watkins, one of my predecessors at the SAU Research Station of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, conducted extensive archival research on the site in 1977. Finally, Mark Christ and Tony Feaster, of the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (AHPP) and Keenan Williams, of Hope, visited the site in 2004 as part of a site reporting program run by AHPP. They worked in collaboration with Dr. Ann Early, State Archeologist for Arkansas, to nominate the trenches to the National

Register of Historic Places, to which they were added as Property #04001031 (ARAS Site Files).

This project's fieldwork built off the work of Dickinson, Watkins, Christ, and Feaster, but especially Keenan Williams, whose has worked for years to help preserve and interpret the Civil War landscape of Dooley's Ferry (Williams 1994).

Archaeological fieldwork on the trenches consisted of mapping the four extant pieces of entrenchments, three of which sit on the hills above the Red River valley, and one more that sits adjacent to Red Lake, along the road to the ferry crossing in the river valley itself. These four segments are designated sections A-D, with A, B, and C surmounting the hill and Section D in the flats (Figure 38).

Sections B and C were the first mapped. In April of 2008, Jamie Brandon and I worked to clear sight lines through the underbrush covering these two sections. Once we had adequate visibility, we mapped the entirety of these two sections, save for the south end of Section C, which stood in bracken too thick for practical total station mapping. We completed this section a few days later, using a Trimble GeoXT global positioning system (GPS).

In 2008, Section A was visible, but deep in woods that negated the site lines required to effectively employ a total station, and whose canopy was thick enough to impede satellite signal, making the GPS inoperable. It remained unmapped until 2012, when the landowner sold the timber. The loggers, quite fortunately, did not significantly damage the earthworks in the process. Indeed the National Park Service (1998) suggests the removal of trees from historic earthworks as part of its guide to long-term management for such cultural resources. Removing trees prevents damage

to the earthwork from the root ball of the tree, should age or severe weather bring the tree down.

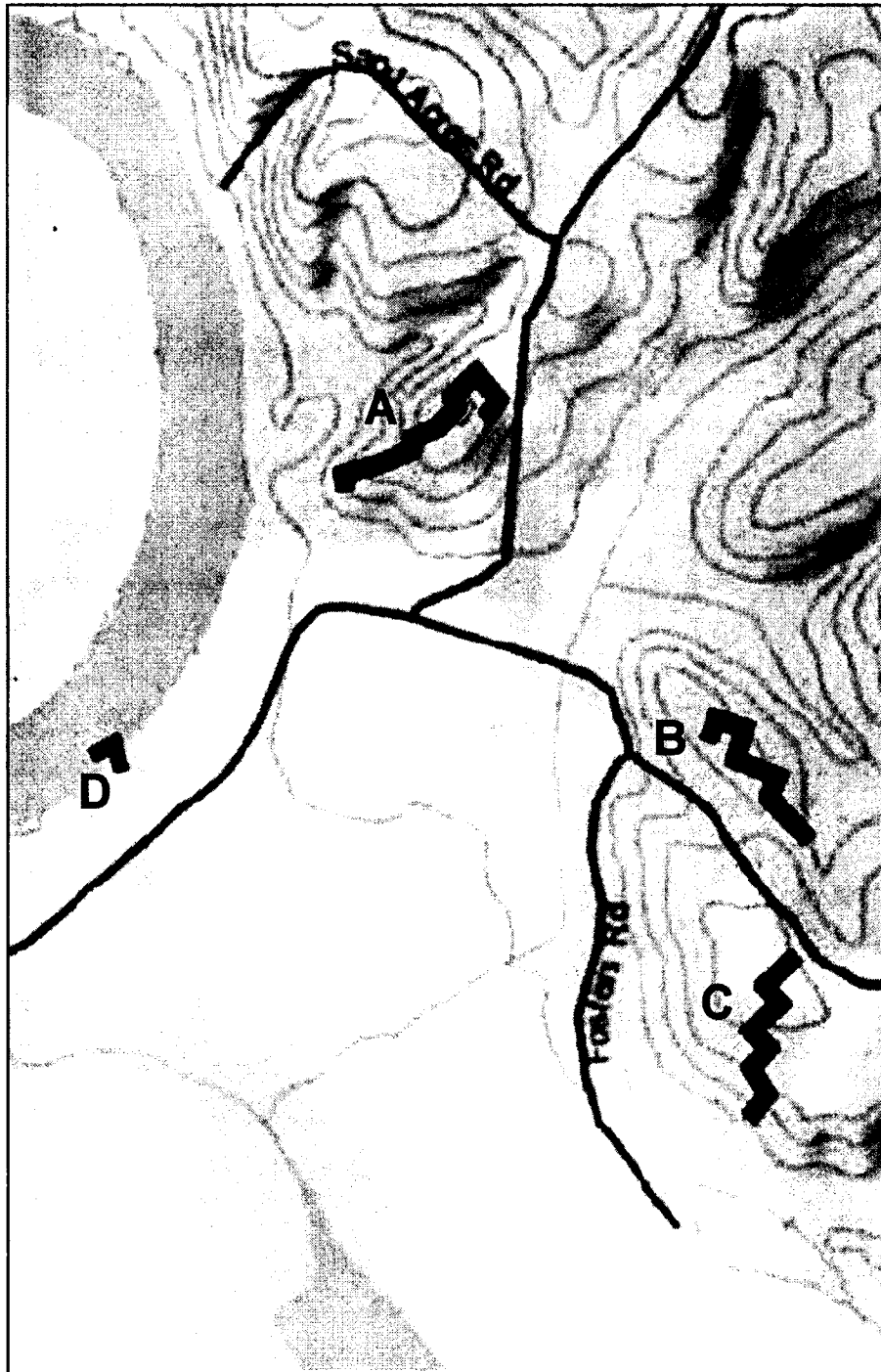


Figure 38: Sections of Confederate Trenches at Dooley's Ferry, 2008-2012

With Section A now clear, I made a basic map of the trench alignment using a GPS, completing the basic data used in Figure 38. In June of 2012, just after the

logging, Mr. Tim Mulvihill, station archaeologists for the Arkansas Archeological Survey's station at the University of Arkansas at Fort Smith made a highly-detailed map of the main fort and a portion of the associated trench line using a Trimble robotic total station.

We did not map Section D along with the other sections primarily because it went unnoticed by all involved until late in the project. Landowners and local historians did not notice or recognize it as an earthwork. It was only when the Confederate map made by Captain Venable was located and reviewed that it became obvious what this earthwork was. The full-color version of the Venable map shows the first steps in the fortification of Dooley's Ferry, marked as "rifle pits" (Figure 39). The associated sections of trenches across the road, shown in the map, are not present.



**Figure 39: Excerpt of Venable's Map of Dooley's Ferry, Showing Ferry Crossing and Earthworks
(Highlighted)**

Trench Section D suggests that the first steps taken to defend the ferry crossing were to invest the road leading to it at the narrowest point. Figure 39 shows that Red

Lake, north of Section D, and the north end of Clear Lake, to its south, come close together. The Confederates were using geography to their advantage, anchoring their trenches on bodies of water that any attacking force would have to try to circumvent. Section D was the shortest line of trenches that would control the road while presenting a large obstacle to an invader. Figure 40 shows Section D as it appears today, still guarding the approach to the old ferry landing. When Leon Williams wrote that the Red River was a wall to stop refugees from heading to Mexico, it may have been these earthworks that served to close the road.



Figure 40: Section D (2010)

Sections A-C do not appear on the Venable map, and are likely of later construction. They are a much more elaborate and expansive system, but they similarly use local geography to their advantage. The trenches all sit on the military crest of their respective hills. Military crests, unlike geographic crests, are not the

highest points of landforms (Griffith 1987). They are the highest points from which a soldier can still see down the slope of the hill, meaning he can fire at an approaching adversary. The Confederate Army of the Tennessee mistakenly dug trenches on the geographic crest of Lookout Mountain, overlooking Chattanooga. When federal soldiers under U.S. Grant scaled the precipice in 1863, Confederate soldiers could not fire on them, a fact that contributed significantly to the Confederate defeat (Cozzens 1996:251–253; McDonough 1989:183).

Section A's northern terminus runs to the end of the hill near Red Lake, again tying the trenches to an impassible obstacle. The ends of Sections B and C that do not meet at County Road 7 also run to the end of their respective landforms. In addition to tying into the local landscape, all of these trench sections conform to the 19th century ideal of earthwork construction, a carefully-taught and scrupulously-followed part of military instruction and culture.

Civil War officers were trained to construct field fortifications in a highly-prescribed manner, captured in Mahan (1862) but traceable back to Vauban's (1737) writings on field fortifications. Soldiers constructed field fortifications by laying out the alignment of a ditch, which they then excavated by hand, using the fill dirt to construct the glacis, in front of the ditch, and the parapet, which constituted the bulk of the earthwork itself. The glacis, ditch, and parapet all sported obstacles to the movement of invading troops. An *abatis*, usually branches or tree-tops laid points-out, topped the glacis. The ditch, ideally, had a palisade of vertical stakes running down its centerline, and the parapet boasted a horizontal fraise protruding from it. These features were all calculated to inhibit the movement of troops, to maximize the killing

power of defending troops, and to safeguard the integrity of the fortification (Babits 2010; Mahan 1862).

The ditches were to be not less than six feet and not more than twelve feet in depth, and at least twelve feet wide. This was to ensure that the ditch was enough of an obstacle to enemy troops to be a deterrent to attack. Deeper or than twelve feet was seen as an inefficient use of labor, as soldiers were expected to be able to throw dirt six feet vertically and twelve feet horizontally during earthwork construction (Mahan 1862:49).

Troops reinforced (revetted) the interior of fortifications with sandbags, logs, or planks, depending on the availability of building materials. This helped stabilize the earthwork walls and prevent erosion, reducing maintenance over time. One of the unknown aspects of the construction of trenches surrounding Dooley's Ferry was whether or not the Confederates took the time to revet the earthworks, and, provided they did, what kind of revetting they chose.

There has not been a systematic study of how closely Civil War field fortifications adhered to prescriptions. Babits (2010) lists numerous examples of how even short-term, hastily-constructed fieldworks generally conformed to standard, though his discussion is more anecdotal than systematic. Photographs of large trench systems, such as those at Petersburg, Virginia, or Fort Fisher, North Carolina, show numerous features that appear in the period manuals. Given that the elements of fortifications helped protect defending troops and maintain the stability of the fighting line, constructing earthworks to standard was important to the officers and men who found safety and cover behind them.

Fortifying Dooley's Ferry

Who did the fortifying was a significant question at the time. These earthworks index (in a semiotic sense) events and processes taking place in southwest Arkansas late in the war that significantly affected their construction (Preucel 2006). Tying together all of these associations reveal much about the conditions people faced towards the end of the war.

Confederate troops built the trenches comprising Sections A-C in January of 1865, much later than initially designed. They were the brainchild of Major General John Bankhead Magruder, who spent much of the war as Confederate commander of the Department of Texas. When Major General Sterling Price vacated Arkansas to launch his raid into Missouri in September of 1862, the Confederate army needed an officer of equivalent rank to fill Price's position, and Magruder was the only available man in the Trans-Mississippi (Casdorff 1996). Called "Prince John" behind his back, Magruder was a notorious dandy who reveled in the grandiose plans. In 1863, he announced plans to impress 60,000 slaves from Texas plantations to construct massive earthworks all along the Texas coast, a daring plan that never came to fruition.

As soon as Magruder arrived in Arkansas, he worked with army engineers to identify places in Confederate territory that controlled access to strategic points and that, if fortified, would deny a Union invasion force. In September, Magruder wrote letters to Senator Robert W. Johnson, Major General John Forney in Texas, and Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith, his superior, announcing his intentions to construct earthworks along the Ouachita and Red Rivers (Magruder 1893).

The curious aspect of Magruder's planning is that no other commander in the region had ever looked to fortifying the river crossings, and there was no indication that the federal troops in Little Rock were making plans to invade the area. After the Camden Expedition, which the federal commander, Major General Frederick Steele, did not press following the collapse of the Red River Expedition in Louisiana, Union soldiers seemed more than happy to stay in the state capital. Why, then, was Magruder so adamant about the need for these entrenchments?

The answer, I believe lies with Magruder, himself. We should remember that Magruder won the bulk of his Civil War fame by his defense of Yorktown, Virginia. He oversaw the construction of massive earthwork systems at Yorktown and Williamsburg that stymied the advance of federal soldiers under the command of General George McClellan in 1862. Many of those trenches remain on what is now Joint Base Langley-Eustis and, strangely, in the center court of Radisson Fort Magruder Inn, in Williamsburg. Wherever Magruder went, grandiose plans for elaborate trench systems seemed to follow.

Magruder's plan was to invest Camden on the Ouachita River and Fulton and Dooley's Ferry on the Red. His engineers informed him that these were the crucial crossing points and Magruder set about planning the earthworks. Almost immediately, Magruder encountered a problem that had not confronted him before, and produced maddening construction delays. He laid out his dilemma in a letter to Confederate congressman Robert Johnson of Arkansas, dated November 5, 1864 (Magruder 1893).

In his previous fortification efforts, Magruder had made liberal use of enslaved labor, commandeering African Americans from plantations and farms from both above

and below Yorktown to build the entrenchments. His planned to use African-American forced labor to construct an elaborate network of forts on the Texas coast. When it came time to plan the forts along in Arkansas, Magruder knew how he wanted them built.

Southwest Arkansas did have slaves, as it was one of the major cotton-producing areas of Arkansas during the antebellum period (McNeilly 2000). In 1860, 46% of Hempstead County was African-American, while Lafayette County was a majority black county, with 60%. None of these African Americans were free. Arkansas's antebellum expulsion of free blacks chased the few that ever lived there out (Lovett 1995:308), while areas with large plantations were notoriously hostile to free blacks in the first place (Berlin 2007). In theory, at least, Magruder's desired work force was present in large numbers.

The issue arose with appropriating slave labor from the community. As Magruder's letter to Johnson pointed out, slaveowners carried many thousands of slaves from the region into Texas for safekeeping. Local slaveowners were very loath to loan or rent their enslaved workers to the government. Thousands of Arkansans had carried their slaves deep into Texas to keep them away from both Union and Confederate forces (Chapter 6; Lovett 1995:310). In a period when agricultural production needed every available hand, the loss of workforce on the farm was a significant threat to the viability of household production. Additionally, there is some evidence that slaveowners were concerned that government overseers would mistreat slaves rented to the Confederate government, who might not return the human property. Further, impressments generated resentment against the Confederate

government. The armies of both sides systematically put their needs before those of civilians when conducting impressments, and often wrote receipts that were not honored or inscrutable.

Fearing the loss of property or that their slaves would come to harm at the hands of strangers, many southerners refused outright to provide them, creating an adversarial relationship with local military units who would then compel where they could not buy or rent. Many others, from across the Trans-Mississippi South, fearing both the demands of their government and their eventual loss should the Union army take over, pulled up stakes and removed to Texas, where land was available for farming, Union forces were nowhere on the horizon, and Confederate forces were not as thick as along the front lines in Arkansas and Louisiana

Magruder reported to Johnson that 150,000 enslaved African Americans went to Texas from all across the region. Arkansas's enslaved population in 1860 was 111,000, and Louisiana's was 331,000, so 150,000 would be a sizeable portion of the enslaved population of the area. Historians have cast doubt on Magruder's estimate, with Betts placing the number at a still-high 50,000 (Betts 2009; Magruder 1893). Magruder's feared that, should he go forward with impressments, he would drive off the few remaining slaveowners.

This was more than just an issue of construction logistics. From the very first year of the war, Confederate authorities in Richmond informed Arkansas's civil and military leaders that there would be little-to-no assistance provided from east of the Mississippi River. Preoccupied with campaigns in Virginia and Tennessee, the Confederacy could spare little for the Trans-Mississippi. This isolation became more

acute after the capture of New Orleans in 1862 and the gradual union conquest of the Mississippi River, made final by the captures of Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Port Hudson, Louisiana, in 1863.

In the absence of outside assistance, much of what the Confederate army needed to feed itself and be able to function in the field had to come from the Trans-Mississippi. For foodstuffs, this meant having a farming populace in place and growing crops. The *Washington Telegraph* published weekly reports from the Commissary Department detailing which foods were most in need. Those needs could only be met locally, and it was common practice for Confederate units to bivouac in an area until they had depleted stores from surrounding farms, at which point they would shift to a new neighborhood. Had local farmers and planters fled en masse in fear of Confederate impressments, the subsistence base for the Army would diminish and there was real concern that the military would not be able to function in the region. Keeping people in Arkansas became a matter of military necessity.

As a result, the Confederates could not organize the manpower to dig the trenches. Magruder was reluctant to make troops perform this kind of manual labor, and was willing to let the work lapse rather than order it outright. With no indication of federal movement out of Little Rock since the Camden Expedition earlier in the year, the main threat that trenches around Dooley's Ferry and Fulton were intended to meet did not materialize.

Magruder remained in Arkansas until March of 1865. By January of that year, military necessity won out, and Magruder decided to turn construction over to soldiers. On January 15, he sent orders to division commander Thomas Churchill, who

dispatched Brigadier General Alexander T. Hawthorn's Brigade consisting of the 34th, 35th, 37th, and 39th Arkansas Infantry regiments, was ordered to Dooley's Ferry to construct the works (Sifakis 1992).

Hawthorn's men had only a few days to complete the work. On January 23rd, in response to perceived preparations for a Union foray out of New Orleans. The brigade was ordered to Churchill's headquarters at Camp Lee, near Lewisville, and then marched south into Louisiana (Churchill 1896).

The departure of Hawthorn's Brigade does not mean that the ferry crossing was unguarded or unstaffed. The Leon Williams letters mentioned in Chapter 6 indicated that the Confederate Commissary Department maintained a facility, including warehouses, at the site. The last reference to Dooley's Ferry in the *Official Records* is an intelligence report submitted by Major A.M. Jackson (1896) of the 10th Colored Heavy Artillery on March 20, 1865. In enumerating Confederate troop dispositions around Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, he mentions "Logan is at Dooley's Ferry." This may refer to Colonel John Logan's 11th/17th Arkansas Mounted Infantry, which served in the Trans-Mississippi at the end of the war. Coincidentally, the 11th/17th Mounted Infantry arose from, as its name suggests, the remnants of the 11th and 17th Arkansas Infantry regiments. Recalling Chapter 4, Cicero Bates served in the 11th Arkansas before capture at Island No. 10.

Entrenchments and Social Control in Wartime

Archaeological analyses of entrenchments frequently focus on the tactical and strategic considerations involved in their construction. As Babits outlines, there is a lot of profitable research for archaeologists to do on the siting and construction of

trenches and understanding the evolution of military use of the landscape over time. The trenches at Dooley's Ferry, as described above, make good use of the landscape to guard the two roads that approached the ferry crossing from attack and, if troops manned both Sections A-C and Section D at the same time, guarded the ferry in depth. Outside of these tactical considerations, however, we should consider the possibility of trenches and other military installations having other meanings within contexts of conflict.

As covered in Chapter 6, civilian morale eroded during the war, and the Confederate army in Arkansas. Unionists appeared in every corner of southwest Arkansas, as McPheeters reported during Price's division stay in Camp Sumter. There may have even been a Unionist in the Dooley's Ferry community. The clearest indication we have for some active dissent amongst a member of the ferry community comes from a union officer. Captain Samuel Swiggett, of the 36th Iowa Infantry, was one of many captured by Confederates at Moro Bottom, Arkansas, in April of 1864. In his memoirs, Swiggett (1897) writes expansively of the guards that shepherded him and his fellow captives to captivity at Camp Ford, in Tyler, Texas.

Though they did not pass through Dooley's Ferry, Swiggett struck up a conversation with one of his guards that pointed to the crossing. Evidently, the guard had been a deserter and part of one of the lay-out gangs that fought home guard units the year before. The man, identified as "Captain Payne," said that after capture he was conscripted into Confederate service and made to serve as a prisoner escort. Payne told Swiggett that the ferryman at Dooley's Ferry was a union man who would get him back across the Red River and point him in the direction of the next friendly house in

the neighborhood. Whether Swiggett's memory was accurate (he refers to the ferryman as "Dooley," though there was not a Dooley in residence for years prior to the war) forty years after the fact is open to debate, though he seems adamant that Dooley's Ferry was a place of safe crossing. Taken with a grain of salt, this may be evidence of unionist sentiment amongst the ferry's population. If George had been operating the ferry still, he would have been a good candidate for assisting escaped Union soldiers.

In this context, then, the entrenchments around Dooley's Ferry take on an added dimension. They are more than simply a defensive position, they are a material manifestation of Confederate power and control over the landscape and, by hopeful extension, the people in it. As Dooley's Ferry was a major thoroughfare connecting the cotton plantations in the Red River Valley with the trade and governmental institutions in Hempstead County, a fact established by Magruder's engineers, many Arkansans would have had to pass through or around the entrenchments as they travelled the Southwest Trail and the Trammel Trace. The works guarding the ferry would have been a prominent new addition to the landscape, and were, as the products of the Confederate Army, an index (in a Peircean semiotic sense) of Confederate power and authority.

In demonstrating control over the landscape of the river crossing, the Confederate army reinforced governmental control over the area and in so doing worked to maintain sway over the local populace. In a situation where political allegiance was a contingent, shifting, and important facet of Arkansans' identities, these representations of authority become critical reinforcements to the established

political order. Foucault (1977), in his history of prisons, wrote of the importance of the control of the distribution of people as a fundamental aspect of the discipline of prison life. While Foucault wrote about prisons, a much more confining space than the landscape of southern Arkansas, in a period where people were seeking to flee the area (counter to government wishes), hard points on the landscape that exerted any kind of control on the flow of people become means to control the people themselves, and a reinforcement of governmental authority and power.

Future Research

We did not make excavations along the trench line a part of this research for several reasons. First, a large portion of Section C lies under the cemetery for the Common Hill Baptist Church, and there would be no conscionable way to excavate in that portion. Second, Sections B and C (outside of the cemetery) drown in bracken that make accessing, much less excavating the site difficult. Section B was fairly open when we visited it in 2008, but growth since makes it inaccessible. Finally, the focus of this research was on the community surrounded by the trenches, not the trenches themselves.

In the future, metal detector sweeps and excavations along the trench line would help to characterize the interactions between the trenches and the people who dug and manned them, and recover details of their construction. Local collectors, by report, found war-related material culture, including a sword and a cannonball, on site (Bud Martin, personal communication, 8/14/2008), so there is the possibility that significant material culture is recoverable there.

Such a research effort should include a similar effort on the fortifications at Fulton, which are also extant and in good condition. Both projects should include the context of the exodus of Southerners to Texas and the attempted defense of the Red River as a safeguard against a Union advance and the hopes of prolonging the war.

Additionally, Hawthorn's Brigade had to have camped in the vicinity while digging the trenches, though it still waits to be located. A prime candidate for this site would be the Plank Field, so called because it once boasted a plank fence, at the base of Dooley Hill across from the Rosenbaum House. This is also the former location of a mound recorded as 3HE14 by L.E. Sanders in 1960. Robert Taylor, of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, visited the site in 1970 and reported various stone tools, and unfinished celt, and various kinds of ceramics indicating a "long occupied" site heavily impacted by subsequent land use.

On the Invisibility of Confederates on the Civilian Landscape

The material culture recovered during the archaeological fieldwork at Dooley's Ferry did not include artifacts that could be directly and conclusively associated with Confederate (or Union) soldiers. As the old saw goes, though, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. We must bear in mind the limits of the archaeological research done on Dooley's Ferry to this point, and leave open every possible door for future work.

First, the aim of this project was to locate a civilian community, not a military camp. From the project's inception, the point was to locate those who endured the war without joining in the fighting. In identifying four structures that date to the war period and ruled out others, we have been very successful in pursuing that goal. The design of

the project was, from the first, focused on what maps and oral histories told us was the center of the civilian community. The geophysical surveys focused on finding that community, and the excavations that followed-on from there, of course, built on those findings.

Second, the approach taken to this site was more along the lines of a household excavation than a military camp. In the past twenty years, historical archaeologists have been working to develop a suite of technologies and fieldwork practices designed to deal with exceedingly ephemeral sites, such as military camps. Soldiers, particularly if they were only temporary visitors to an area, typically lived in canvas tents in orderly rows sited away from the cores of communities. Towns of any size were points of concern for commanders, as friction between civilians and soldiers could cause problems, and businesses of various characters gravitated towards permanent shelters offered by villages and towns.

Presaged by work by Legg and Smith (1989) and McBride (1994), camp archaeology rounded into form with the publication of Geier, Orr, and Reeves's (2006) *Huts and History: The Historical Archaeology of Military Encampment during the Civil War*. The contributors to the volume lay out research on camps from Virginia to Kentucky representing both Confederate and Union forces. One of the emerging themes in this research is the inapplicability of traditional techniques for archaeological site prospection to finding military sites. The ephemerality of such sites makes shovel testing nearly pointless, an observation shared for battlefields by Cornelison and Cooper (2002) among many others.

While wide-area geophysical survey has not been critically evaluated, the cousin of the gradiometer, the metal detector, has become a workhorse for archeological research on military sites (Connor and Scott 1998; Pratt 2007). Corle and Balicki (2006) offer a list of approaches to campsite archaeology, and could be used as a guiding document for a later search for Confederate soldiers at Dooley's Ferry. Such techniques were profitably applied at Camp Benjamin, in the Arkansas Ozarks, by the Arkansas Archeological Survey in 2003 (Hilliard et al. 2008).

Searching for Confederate Camps: Plank Field

We know from the above-mentioned documents that the Confederates maintained some presence at Dooley's Ferry throughout much of the conflict, and, ideally, there should be some recoverable evidence of that presence. Based on the history of Confederate use of the area, I would consider the Plank Field to be a likely candidate for being a Confederate camp.

The largest-scale Confederate presence at Dooley's Ferry that we history records is from the period when General Alexander Hawthorn's brigade constructed earthworks at Dooley's Ferry, and possible subsequent occupation by the 11th/17th Arkansas Mounted Infantry. Siting them along the bluff lines overlooking the Red River Valley, the Plank Field, in the adjoining flat land behind the trenches, would have been an attractive campground. Near water but not too near the civilians at Dooley's Ferry proper, athwart two roads providing easy movement in an emergency, and flat, level ground good for camping, Plank Field possessed many qualities that would have been desirable to troops. A multi-sensor geophysical survey of Plank

Field, combined with a systematic metal detector survey would be a profitable next step.

Conclusion

The earthworks that ring Dooley's Ferry stand today as one of the few highly-visible reminders of the Civil War in southwest Arkansas. Their association with the military and the brief stay of Hawthorn's Brigade at the site is quite clear and straightforward. If we look deeper, however, there are other connections that tie into these shallow ditches that reveal a profundity about the conflict and the people of southwest Arkansas that belies the homogeneity and chauvinism of the Lost Cause myth, a development of the post-war years (Blight 2001). The semiotic approach advocated by Preucel (2006; with Bauer 2001) facilitates this drawing together of various historical events and the built landscape of Dooley's Ferry.

Section 3: Rebuilding and Reconstructing

Arkansas came out of the war broken and bloodied. Riven by internal divisions and lacking clarity, consensus on what society would look like in the coming years would be a negotiation amongst the various segments of Arkansas society. Emancipation irrevocably altered the foundations of Southern society, and made the full recovery of antebellum society impossible.

The war also left Arkansans at best broke, at worst massively in debt. Economic reconstruction would see a measure of recovery of the antebellum Atlantic World, though the 1870s would see the development of new industries that would fundamentally alter the state's economic arrangements. Arkansas would remain an agricultural economy, but a more diverse one.

Chapter 8. Emancipation and Enslavement

Historically, the lives of African Americans during the Civil War have been more difficult to recover, and less-frequently investigated, than those of whites. As they were involved in every phase and aspect of the war, either through military service, refugeeing, or producing for each side's war effort, the Civil War was a very African-American conflict, and no groups' condition was so fundamentally altered by the war's outcome than they. Still, their legal and social marginalization before the war meant that, in many ways, they remained on the sidelines, serving in support roles and watching while whites took the leading roles in the conquest. Ward's (2008) collection of oral histories of African Americans during the war indicates that many saw it as a white man's war, to which they were spectators.

It was only late in the war that African Americans enrolled in the U.S. Army and given combat roles. Arkansas was one of the places where African-American troops served widely and participated in major engagements and campaigns. They earned recognition for their service in the battles such as Helena and Pine Bluff, the Camden Expedition of 1864, and several smaller actions, such as the engagement at Wallace's Ferry, in Phillips County.

The U.S. victory in the Civil War ushered in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, abolishing slavery, granting citizenship, and extending suffrage to the formerly-enslaved. These sea changes in American life opened new vistas and opportunities for African Americans throughout the South, though their implementation and the responses to that implementation were mediated by very local processes. This chapter explores some of the facets of the changes of the

Reconstruction Era (1865-1874) in terms of their ramifications for African Americans in Arkansas, and the moves made against those changes. It should be noted that despite the antebellum history of restrictions and oppression, black Arkansans jumped at every opportunity to attain equal rights to their white neighbors that Reconstruction afforded them, and that the potential for rebuke was no deterrent. Having striven for this moment for generations, Arkansans of African descent made what progress they could in spite of widespread resistance by former Confederates and the difficulties of securing support from the national government for local progress.

Free at Last

Emancipation was a fixture throughout the conflict. Wherever U.S. forces marched, African Americans flocked to them and claimed their freedom. In Confederate-held territory, self-emancipation was common throughout the war, exploiting the potential for escape afforded by the proximity of union forces and the disruption to mechanisms of control occasioned by social upheaval and the loss of men to the front. African Americans who reached the Union lines were set up in camps, such as Camp Ethiopia in Helena, or Camps Dixie and New Africa at Memphis (Stockley 2009:47).

Camp life did not guarantee health or safety, however. Disease rates were as high as food was short, and the Union army was not prepared with adequate facilities. Worse, Union authorities treated women with marked hostility, and a shortage of opportunities to labor in roles open to women (laundresses and cooks) left many women and children without means to support themselves (White 1999:166). When work was available, it was generally in support and service roles to the military that

emphasized hard labor in service of whites, sometimes with pay, sometimes without (Stockley 2009). In the Mississippi Delta, Union officers resorted to leasing out seized plantations and putting African Americans to work on them producing cotton, recapitulating the organization of labor most of them had just escaped from. Gang labor in cotton fields was the rule under slavery, and it was the rule under what became many African Americans' first taste of liberty (Moneyhon 1994b).

Even in areas untouched by the brogans of Union troops, the war brought reorganization and, frequently, break-up of the systems of control that had typified the slave system since the first importation of Africans to American shores in 1620. Nelson and Sheriff (2007:280) describe the demise as slavery as being a “give and take” between African Americans on one side and members of the white power structure (slaveowners, military officers, soldiers, or government officials) on the other. With most white men, the traditional arbiters of violence within the plantation communities, off serving in the military, the ability of African Americans to resist labor demands and to assert their own interests increased. Whites began to lament their inability to compel work from the enslaved, effectually initiating emancipation well in advance of when it became a legal reality.

The end of the war and the extension of legal emancipation to Arkansans of African descent opened opportunities for movement, habitation, and association heretofore withheld from them. Emancipation was a complex process, and typifying the choices and pursuits of African Americans is difficult to do in aggregate. Some took the opportunity to abandon their former residences, leaving either for a new start somewhere else, others looking for loved ones sold off in the preceding years.

Movement became a hallmark of freedom. Slaves had historically been barred from travelling without a pass issued by their owner, and could be punished severely, by their owners or by slave patrols, for being caught out without permission (White 1999). Others chose to stay on as hired workers, or claimed land in the local community to raise their own crops (DeBlack 2003a:154). While no longer enslaved, the coming decades would see their civil liberties winnowed down by Redeemer governments, building towards the Jim Crow era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Graves 1990).

Expanding Horizons

Suffrage was a major emphasis of the postwar Constitutional Convention. Registration of black voters began in 1867, aided by the Freedman's Bureau. Incidentally, the eight African-American delegates to the convention included one man each from Hempstead and Lafayette Counties, girding Dooley's Ferry (Du Bois 1969).

The process of reconstructing the South offered opportunities for African Americans to expand their economic, political, and social horizons, though doing so invariably entailed swimming against the current of white popular sentiment, which could provoke attack. Regardless, Arkansas freedmen eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity to progress towards equality of opportunity in the years following the Civil War.

Economically, wealth in Arkansas was grounded on owning land. The state's wealth remained heavily focused on agricultural production, and those who did not own the land were destined to work for another's gain. The Southern Homestead Act

of 1866 opened public land in Arkansas for purchase, and forbade government agents from discriminating on the basis of race. The land office in Washington was soon awash with African Americans looking for an opportunity to become landowners (DeBlack 2003a).

Those that did not become landowners were still primarily involved in farming, particularly in rural southwest Arkansas. In the years following the Civil War, Arkansans worked out a number of labor arrangements between landowners, who were overwhelmingly white, and tenants, both white and black. The immediate postwar period saw wage labor dominate tenant/landowner relations. Shortages of cash made this system unsustainable, which gave rise to sharecropping, where the landowner would supply equipment and the tenant would provide the labor. At the end of the year, the landowner and tenant split the proceeds of the sale of produce.

Whatever income the tenant kept could be spent at local stores, though this presented another issue for sharecroppers. High rates charged at local stores, many of which were run by landowners, kept many sharecroppers cash poor. When the cash ran out, many resorted to promising a portion of their crop share to the store for credit. This crop-lien system frequently initiated a debt cycle that few could escape. Debts tied people to the land as sharecroppers, both white and black, endeavored to earn enough by their labor to buy their way out of debt. This system limited the upward mobility of both white and black sharecroppers for the balance of the 19th century and well into the 20th (Clark 1964; DeBlack 2003a:155).

African-American women worked on farms but also took work as domestics in white homes, though worked strenuously to avoid recapitulating the work regimes of

slavery. Certain kinds of work, such as cleaning menstrual rags, were considered degrading and were avoided, while other tasks, such as ditch-digging, were refused for the excruciating amount of labor required (White 1999). Women's labor involved more than simply providing food and paying rent. One of the moves made to reinstitute something like slavery in the wake of the war was development of apprenticeship laws, which bound black children to white families until their 21st birthday if white-dominated courts deemed their parents incapable of providing for them. Prejudice against black women, in particular, made it crucial for a woman to have work and thereby maintain her claim to her own children (White 1999).

The one governmental organization that was specifically tasked with representing freedmen was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly referred to simply as the "Freedmen's Bureau." Though a national organization with a clear structure and the goal of being an effective arbiter of black interests, the success or failure of the Freedmen's Bureau pivoted around very local factors, not the least of which was the mentality of the local agent. Most approached their task with an air of paternalism common to the period, treating both blacks and poor whites with a mixture of disdain and benevolence. They saw their mission as being one of "civilizing" the newly-emancipated, though the power accorded them by the government could move them to despotism (Finley 1996).

The approach each local agent took to conducting business could make or break the effectiveness of the Freedmen's Bureau. Those who were hostile to local whites met with obstruction. Those who actively dismissed black interests or, worse, exploited them for their own gratification (the agents in Chicot and Lafayette Counties

used his power to coerce sex from freedwomen), could actually hinder black efforts to build new lives for themselves (DeBlack 2003a; Finley 1996).

By and large, however, the Freedmen's Bureau was an aid to freedmen. Agents worked to break landowners of their habit of whipping African Americans, provided food aid in times of want, oversaw elections, and informed on the extra-legal activities of local whites, either in mobs or as organized bands such as the Ku Klux Klan (DeBlack 2003a). Historian Randy Finley sums up his *From Slavery to Uncertain Freedom: The Freedmen's Bureau in Arkansas* by stating that without the Freedmen's Bureau, black Arkansans would likely never have gotten schools, increased economic opportunities, respect for their freedoms of movement and association, never gotten to vote, and would have suffered from exposure and starvation to an extent much greater than they did (Finley 1996).

Despite these difficulties, Arkansas offered the highest farm wages for African Americans of any of the former Confederate states, making it a draw for African Americans from across the South. In Hempstead County, Freedmen's Bureau agent E.W. Gantt noted that many local farms were lying fallow due to a want of labor, offering opportunities for black employment (Finley 1996:98).

Education was of primary importance to the newly-emancipated throughout the South. Not only children but adults attended schools in large numbers in the years just after the war, eager to receive an education and gain the literacy denied them under the conventions and laws of slavery. The Freedmen's Bureau contributed to African-American schools throughout Arkansas, as did a number of upper-class Southern white churches and northern congregations. Prominent among the latter were Quakers,

including members of Indiana Yearly Meeting, who supported school construction in general and founded Southland College, in Helena, in 1864 (DeBlack 2003a; Kennedy 2009). Education, like land-ownership, was one of the things denied to African Americans before the war that became of primary importance in the following years.

African-American Militias and Reconstruction Military Service

The Reconstruction era also saw the use of African-American militias in Arkansas. From keeping order to overseeing elections, militia troops were one of the main sources of law-and-order and worked closely with Governor Powell Clayton. Smith (1983) accuses these militia units of being constituted of unemployed or criminal African Americans, though his reliance on period accounts from white newspapers may reflect the bias of the press at the time.

The early Reconstruction years saw numerous African-American militia units raised for keeping order in rural Arkansas. As the white population were largely ex-Confederates, African Americans stepped into the breach to fill the need for security forces (Smith 1983:27). These militias carried out several missions, defending freedmen and the Freedmen's Bureau, performing police actions, and overseeing elections. Though black militias served in Arkansas until the Brooks-Baxter War of 1874, they were not widely employed thereafter, as the majority white populace resented the use of blacks to enforce government, and the end of Reconstruction saw the re-emergence of white militia and police forces (Singletary 1957).

Though their service, both during the war and after, black Arkansans continued to volunteer for service to the U.S. government throughout Reconstruction. This service was mobilized by black members of the state's postwar constitutional

convention. Representative William Grey, of Phillips County, argued for black suffrage by advocating for “men... who have stood by the government and the old flag in times of trouble, when the republic trembled with the thought of civil war, from center to circumference, from base to cope” (Du Bois 1969:548). This service is part of a long history of African-American service that dates back to the Revolution, and was a mark of the increasing inclusion of African Americans in the social fabric of the United States. Becoming American meant not just the ability to exercise the rights outlined by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Full enfranchisement carried with it the ability to serve and fight for the country, a right not fully realized until the wars of the late-20th century (Astor 2001).

Backlash

Organized opposition by whites to the use of African-American militias manifested was widespread and violent. As elsewhere in the South, African-American militias often lacked support from federal and state authorities, often leaving them at the mercy of the local populace, who murdered militiamen with virtual impunity. Members were picked off in ones and twos, with perpetrators either going unidentified and unpunished, or shielded from prosecution by juries that refused to convict (DeBlack 2003a). Indeed, courts were openly hostile to suits brought by African Americans throughout Reconstruction, routinely siding with whites and occasionally humiliating the black person audacious enough to seek their rights in court (White 1999).

The most organized opposition to both the militia came in the form of the Ku Klux Klan, founded in Tennessee in 1867, but brought to Arkansas soon thereafter.

Between 1867 and 1869, militias composed of Unionist whites and African Americans helped in combatting various Klan organizations from around the state, which were terrorizing freedmen and attempting to reinstitute the social and political hierarchy of the antebellum years.

DeBlack (2003a) highlights the role of Cullen Montgomery Baker in the southwestern part of the state as a front man for the Ku Klux Klan, muscle for local white elites in confrontations with blacks over labor and economic exchanges, and general terrorizer of freedmen, Freedmen's Bureau officials, and all those aligned with the government and the social and political projects it represented, such as black suffrage. Baker attacked militiamen as well, murdering an unknown number before his death in 1869.

The state passed an anti-Klan law the following year, which Governor Powell Clayton enforced during a period of martial law. This measure largely succeeded in breaking up the Arkansas Klan, though it did not end white resentment against black enfranchisement (Du Bois 1969). out various missions around the state, including an action at Center Point (Howard County) in late 1868 focusing on securing a storehouse of weapons (DeBlack 2003a:192–193; Smith 1983:37–39).

While the Ku Klux Klan was an organized response to the changes ushered in by the Civil War, public resentment, the development and strengthening of the Lost Cause mythology (Blight 2001), and the steady erosion of the Reconstruction Era civil liberties by subsequent legislation was the more effective and long-lasting response to black progress in the Reconstruction Era. As destructive to African Americans as the episodal rides of the Ku Klux Klan could be the daily violence perpetrated against

them by their white neighbors, who resented the changes brought about by the war and were slow to grasp the extremity to which their beliefs about black contentment under slavery were misplaced. Their well-ordered antebellum world was gone, a fact they blamed on African Americans, and to which they exacted pounds of flesh (White 1999).

Blight (2001) suggests that the states of the former Confederacy succeeded by legislation during the post-Reconstruction Era what the Klan and more overt violence failed to do during Reconstruction. Williams (2005) suggests that real political and social change did not come to the South until the arrival of the boll weevil in the 1920s necessitated a change in farming practices.

Common Hill Baptist Church

The Common Hill Baptist Church registered as a congregation in Hempstead County in the early 20th century (Peggy Lloyd, personal communication, 2012). This roughly corresponds with the earliest dates on headstones in the church's burial grounds atop Dooley Hill, overlying a section of the old Confederate entrenchments.

When we started the project, the congregation's old building, vacated in favor of the current chapel, stood vacant to the east of the burial ground. Though not investigated closely, it appeared to be a mid-20th century structure, clad in blonde bricks and roofed with a combination of asphalt tiles and metal sheeting (Figure 41). Given its location, removed from the burial ground by a distance of around 100m, it is plausible to believe that there was an earlier structure on site, one possibly associated with the founding of the congregation in the early 20th century.

The nearby New Zion Baptist Church, an African-American church located just across the Red River, has a chapel and graveyard in close proximity. Though the New Zion building is clearly a recent construction, an isolated set of concrete steps at the same location indicates that the congregation's previous building also stood on that spot. Common Hill likely had a similar arrangement, with the midcentury structure being a replacement facility constructed adjacent to the original building.



Figure 41: Common Hill Baptist Church Building, 2007

During the fieldwork for this project, many interviewees recalled that the land where the Common Hill church and burial ground now stand is not the original location for the church. Rather, the original congregation met in a building in the river valley, in a place known as "Plank Field." Plank Field lies across the road from a two-story home now owned by the Rosenbaum family, but once owned by Mrs. Ruby Hunt. Mrs. Hunt owned land in the hills and brokered a swap with the Common Hill

congregation, allowing her access to the fertile soils of the Plank Field, and affording the church congregation a stable, dry location for their church and burying ground.

Church formation was one of the major sources of black community formation and definition during the Reconstruction Era. Under slavery, blacks were expected to attend white churches, where pastors routinely exhorted them to mind their owners and mobilized Christian scripture as a means to defend and enforce slavery. Many saw through this effort, and gatherings on Sundays (typically the slaves' one day in a week with minimal labor demands) frequently featured worship services that offered alternative interpretations. With liberation came the opportunity to formalize those congregations into established churches, which helped to root black communities and served as a medium of self-definition for those whose lives had been fundamentally altered by the change in their condition (Finley 1996:49). Given the large black population in the vicinity of Dooley's Ferry, and the importance of black churches in general in the postwar period, it is reasonable to suggest that the Common Hill congregation existed in some form before its formal establishment in the early 20th century. It may well be a Reconstruction Era congregation.

It remains a congregation today, and it continues to use its old cemetery as a burial ground. Several funerals during the fieldwork phase of this research added to this community of the dead, extending away from the old Confederate trenches. That which was once a part of a militarized effort to keep African Americans enslaved became a place of rest and peace for the descendants of the enslaved.

Conclusion

Emancipation opened many doors for African Americans in the Great Bend region. The right to own land, maintain familial relations, choose marriage partners, conduct business in their own name, and even to remain in the state without paying a bond to the county were all new to Arkansans of African descent. Women could raise their own children, were not forced to care for white babies instead of theirs, and could dress, do, and behave as they chose (White 1999). The Jim Crow era ushered in a new era of repression, but it never took away the entirety of the gains of the Reconstruction Era.

Historian Grif Stockley characterizes the present state of race relations in Arkansas as a “glass half full,” as there has been definite progress, though not as much as many have hoped. The Ku Klux Klan, or at least the modern incarnation of it, retains a presence in the area, and various forms of overt and covert racism remain a reality in the area and Arkansas in general. The legacies of the slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction eras remain with us in many forms (see Chapter 9: “Ghosts of the Atlantic World,” below).

In 1873, the Arkansas state legislature passed a civil rights law that compelled hotels and public spaces to admit African Americans and guaranteed quality educational facilities for black children. Peace officers who refused to enforce the bill could be fined heavily (Du Bois 1969). Though progressive on its face, the bill also provided for legal segregation so long as both races received equal facilities. This opened the door to legal segregation, a process that took off in the 1880s (Graves 1990).

Tom DeBlack (2003a) sums up the black experience in Reconstruction Arkansas by stating that the promise felt by African Americans at the end of the war went largely unfulfilled. Though black business ownership increased, and several truly wealthy and powerful African Americans called Arkansas home in the postwar period, the mass continued to feel the grind of poverty and marginalization well into the 20th century. DeBlack faults Arkansas Republicans for this failure. Though theirs was the party of black advancement and they were ostensibly the champions of civil rights and equality, their “corruption, high taxes, and a perversion of the democratic process” ultimately doomed their efforts. African Americans needed the political sway of the Republican Party, and did not receive it.

Chapter 9. Reconstructing Dooley's Ferry

As Arkansans of African descent were making their transition to freedom, all of Arkansas society had to start rebuilding itself out of the chaos and disorder created by the war. Reconstruction actually began during the war, when President Lincoln authorized the formation of a "Ten Percent Government" (ten percent of the prewar voters had to take part in the election) in Arkansas. Voters elected Isaac Murphy, a Unionist who was the only delegate to the Secession Conventions in 1861 who would not alter his vote against disunion (Smith 1983:1–19)

Reconstruction also saw the first state-backed school systems in Arkansas, a priority of Pennsylvania-born Governor Powell Clayton, who had come to the state during the war as an officer with the Union army (DeBlack 2003a:201–207). Railroads started to overspread the state, initiating massive economic reorganization that would, in time, break New Orleans's hold on Arkansas's economy and make Memphis and St. Louis major markets for Arkansas produce (Moneyhon 1997:25–27).

These changes came amidst the re-imposition of several key aspects of antebellum culture. The Democratic Party slowly gathered itself and returned itself to power in the bloody debacle of the Brooks-Baxter War in 1874. In its wake came the re-marginalization of African Americans in Arkansas (Stockley 2009:84–87). Those whites who occupied the most privileged economic situations largely retained them through the war, or regained them soon thereafter (Moneyhon 2002:185–189). Finally, as noted in Chapter 5, white women largely accepted a return to antebellum gender hierarchies following the stress and strain of life on the home front during the war (Brockett and Vaughan 1867; Faust 1998).

Emerging Mercantilism

In this mixture of change and persistence, we see a number of new developments taking place at Dooley's Ferry. One of the key changes comes in the form of a succession of attempts to establish stores at the ferry landing. We did not identify stores through archaeological work. Rather, our knowledge of this emerging mercantilism comes from a unique set of documents housed at the Baker Library at Harvard Business School, in the fair city of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In Chapter 1, I made mention of the Panic of 1837 spurring many Americans to migrate to Texas in search of a fresh start outside the reach of American business interests. This exodus was the reaction of many who owed debt as a result of the Panic. Those who held the debt, and who found themselves holding the bag on millions of unrecoverable dollars, also reacted to the Panic of 1837, but in a different way. Manufacturers, located significantly in the U.S. Northeast, were among those who lost millions during the downturn, primarily to country merchants who received lines of credit that they were not able to pay. One of the many industrialists who lost large sums was Lewis Tappan, a Boston manufacturer who came out of the Panic of 1837 holding hundreds of thousands of dollars in debt (Norris 1978; Wyatt-Brown 1966).

Tappan sought a mechanism by which he and his peers could know who amongst far-flung merchants was a reputable business partner and who could not be trusted. Tappan founded the American Mercantile Company and made gathering business information his business. Through the years, as partnerships merged and broke up, Tappan's company became the R.G. Dun Company, forerunner to today's

Dun & Bradstreet. Though the names have changed, Dun & Bradstreet carry forward the business's original aim, amassing and disseminating information on business (Latham Moore & Associates 2005).

Tappan worked with local agents, frequently lawyers, who would send reports on local businessmen to the firm's headquarters in Boston every six months. The system supplanted an earlier model where industrialists either relied on references forwarded by the merchant himself, which opened the door for massive misinformation, or employed their own agents, creating redundancy and inefficiency. Tappan's network made it cheap and centralized to get information on virtually any merchant located away from the manufacturing cores of the Northeast.

Records exist for Arkansas dating to the 1840s, though not for Dooley's Ferry. Tappan found it difficult to extend his network of representatives through the South, as the members of the Tappan family were staunch abolitionists. Few in Dixie were willing to work with them as a result, and the Tappans had to build a system of intermediaries and shell companies before they could extend their reach to rural southern areas (Wyatt-Brown 1966).

The records submitted are now available as the R.G. Dun Company records at Harvard Business School's Baker Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Organized in volumes by state and then by county, they offer a unique look at the businessmen of the 19th century. Unlike obituaries or county histories, the Dun Company records document the negative qualities of those engaged in commerce as well as the positive. While many were honest and upstanding men, others appear to have been drinkers, carousers, or outright liars.

Dooley's Ferry in the R.G. Dun Records

Residents of Dooley's Ferry appear in several places in the Hempstead County record book. The earliest dates to September of 1869, the latest to November of 1877, giving us a dense, highly-textured look at the men (they're all men) who comprised the mercantile sector of Dooley's Ferry. All of the reports on Dooley's Ferry are the work of a single man, identified only as "#20018." He wrote most of the postbellum reviews for merchants in the area, be it at Dooley's Ferry, Spring Hill, or Washington.

Most of the merchants of Dooley's Ferry appear to have been only briefly or lightly in business. I say "lightly" to indicate that, for some, shop-keeping was not their sole route to wealth. Many farmed as well as kept store, indicating that shop-keeping was a side business for them. Three men, J.J. Scott, Augustus Borquin, and J.T. Kidd, appear only briefly, in one or two reports indicating that their forays into the mercantile world were fleeting.

We have greater detail on four other names. I'd like to start with the firm of William J. Tyus and John B. Burton. They entered business together at Dooley's Ferry in 1869, mixing farming and shop-keeping. They had evidently bought farming rights to a large portion of C.M. Hervey's lands near the ferry. Hervey was a man of great prominence in the period, and the street leading out of Hope towards Washington bears his name. With the crop rights, a small stock of agricultural goods, and the use of cheap African-American labor, they were going to try to make a farm run in addition to offering an assortment of farming goods for sale at their general store.

The reviewer, #20018, was quite dubious of their success, noting that "their prospects are not thought to be very flattering, but how they will come out is yet to be

decided.” He did describe them as “temperate, honest, and reliable,” if unmarried (which was a decided negative in the review books). Note that he did not mention “energetic” or “motivated.”

In six months, they were heavily in debt. More problematic, they were reported as having “much loose,” indicating that their affairs were not being kept orderly. Within the space of a year, they were reported to be “insolvent and out of business.”

Two members of the Williams family appear in the records. James H. Williams was reported on from 1872-1874, and was noted as a young man doing a small business and farming. By 1874, he had become a deputy sheriff for Hempstead County, and was noted as “honest and capable,” though he had “little or no means.” Like Scott, Kidd, and Borquin, he does not seem to have pursued the merchant’s trade with much vigor, finding another source of income. Unlike the others, though, he was much better thought of by #20018.

His relative, Robert H. Williams, had greater longevity in business, though, like the other storekeepers at Dooley’s Ferry, he split his time between keeping a general store and farming. His general store was, evidently, a modest affair. Williams did a small amount of business in his “plodding” way, but earned a decent living by it. At least, so said the report filed on him on September 20, 1869. He was “not a polished businessman, but possessed of good common sense.” By 1871, he was reported as “doing very well.” Over time, he apparently devoted increasing time to farming, suggesting that storekeeping wasn’t very profitable at the time. By November of 1872, he had amassed some debts, but had good prospects of paying them off that year. Every six months after that, until July of 1875, it was reported that Williams

focused on farming while trying to keep his debts in control and pay out annually. This must have been a great strain, and by 1875, he could no longer keep ahead of his obligations. He mentioned to the reviewer that he was afraid that he could not pay his debts that year. Within 18 months, he was bankrupt, though still reputed an honest and energetic man.

To add some context, Robert Williams's grand-nephew, Lagrone Williams, carried on the family mercantile tradition, opening a hardware store in Hope. Lagrone's son, Keenan, runs the store today and is a man known to many of us for his profound knowledge of and passionate interest in southwest Arkansas history. Keenan's son, Joshua, is the Curator at Historic Washington State Park.

C.M. Hervey also appears in the Dun Records, listed as a "planter." In 1875, someone made a request of the Dun Company to find out whether Hervey was still at Spring Hill, or whether he had removed to Texarkana, one of the new and growing railroad towns in the region. Between 1875 and 1877, reports were filed on him that describe him as a fairly typical large-scale cotton planter, whose successes ebbed and flowed depending on the quality of the year's crop. During the period covered, Hervey was doing well, and spending much of his time on his plantation on the Red River (the Lafayette County side of Dooley's Ferry, still marked on many maps as Hervey, Arkansas).

War Debt and Proxy Mercantilism

One of the phenomena noted repeatedly in the Dun Records for the postwar era not seen in the years before the war was what I am calling here "proxy mercantilism." The economic fiasco that typified the Confederate years in the South has been well-

documented. Many who were in business before or during the war came out of the conflict in much worse shape than when they went in.

Small storeowners, not shielded by the corporate identity of a large firm, amassed personal debts during the war that followed them even after the Confederacy's demise. With Southern economic lag after the war, few found themselves able to escape the holes they had dug while trying to support the Confederacy. In several instances, the R.G. Dun Company records show men in the southwest Arkansas area who were beset with massive and inescapable debt, making them effectively toxic as trading partners.

What emerged was a rash of new entries for small businessmen who were, almost invariably, very young. Despite their youth, the Dun Company agents recommended the extension of large lines of credit and freely endorsed them for business skills beyond what would have been afforded them in years prior to the war.

This disparity stems from a business arrangement that appears in several places in the records wherein a young man, just starting out in the business world, worked with and was advised by one of these older gentlemen who was well-known from his business dealings before the war, but had accumulated too much debt to trade on his own name in the years after the war. The records indicate which older man was working with the younger, and this arrangement served to grease the wheels of commerce for the partnership. In essence, the Dun agents appeared willing to admit that the Civil War years were an aberration, which, though the effects could not be escaped, they did not permanently taint the indebted with the stench of poor business acumen or capacity.

One extreme example of this is that of Chauncey J.H. Betts, a Massachusetts native who owned the Dooley's Ferry property and ferry license at the end of the war. As a resident of Spring Hill, there are records on Betts beginning in 1852, when he was reported to be an honest and industrious businessman invested in slaves and the rail road, good for all his debts and possessed of ample means. By the time of the war, he was considered a safe businessman worthy of up to \$25,000 in credit.

In 1866, one of the first reports pertaining to him starts "worth nothing and cannot pay his debts." Over the next three years, his reviews consistently state that he is a good businessman and, were he free of debt, would be considered a safe partner, but "not so as it is." One report even states that "if forced, would cloak things in the name of his son," who was three years old at the time.

By 1869, Betts has worked out a proxy arrangement with a young man named P.F. Finley. The reports on P.F. Finley & Co. continue to be good, with recommendations for increasing lines of credit, until 1875, when the Dun records cease for the area. Betts, himself, was not part of that success. He passed away in 1870, and lies buried in a cemetery outside of Spring Hill.

His wife, Louisa Virginia Foster Betts, took over ownership and maintained it through the close of the century. She appears in Hempstead County court records, defending her rights to operate the ferry against competitors and maintaining her financial situation. Her ownership and operation of the ferry and surrounding farms provided the basis of her wealth, and she appears to be one of the first prominent women of Hempstead County who lived without the shelter of a male head of

household. She and her daughters lie in the Rose Hill Cemetery in Hope, far from Chauncey yet amongst the elites of the reconstruction period.

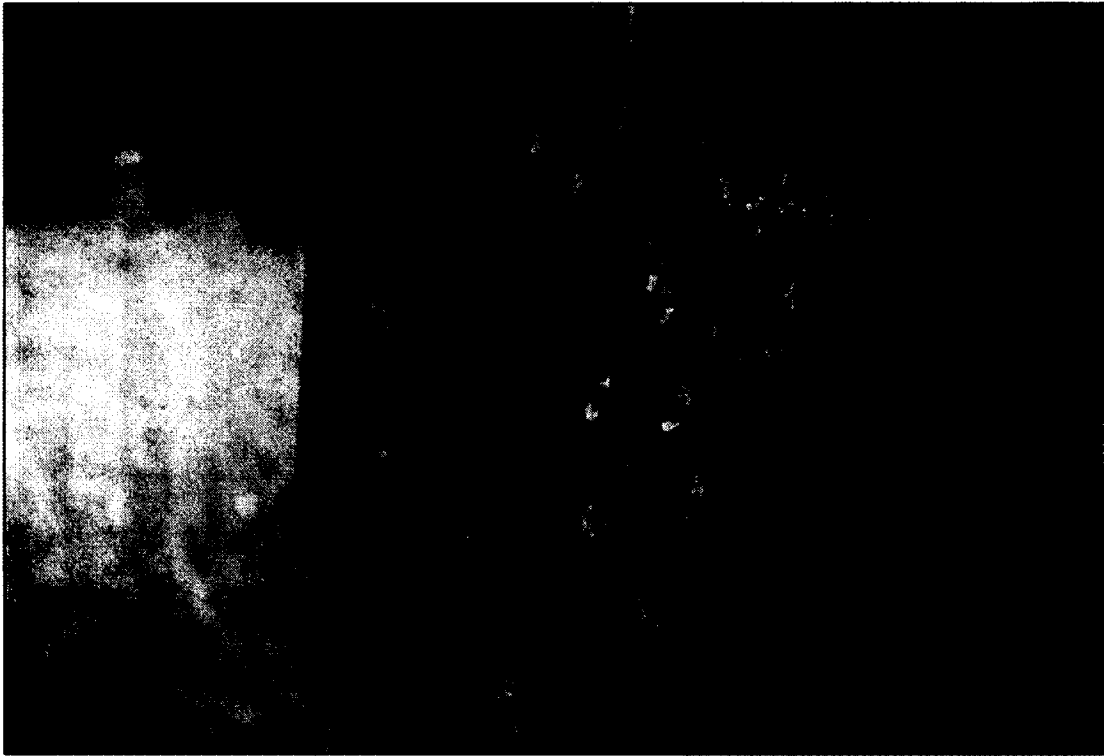


Figure 42: Headstone of C.J.H. Betts, Spring Hill

These stores were more than simply markets where goods imported from other points could be bought. Clark (1964) explores the many dimensions of country stores in the postbellum period, when they served as social hubs, sites for political rallies and voting, Masonic halls, debate clubs, and innumerable other aspects of rural life. They were also one of the few points on the landscape where white and black members of the community comingled, as “[h]ere was freedom of the most tangible sort, and the store was the one place in the new order where the Negro [sic] knew he would suffer least from discrimination. His money was as good as that of the white man, and in some few instances he had more of it for the moment” (Clark 1964:10).

The social prominence of the country store, as run by Betts and others in and around Dooley’s Ferry, was a change in custom from before the war. It is only with

the arrival of the railroad to an area, with the concomitant upsurge in available material culture that stores became fully stocked and social magnets. This trade made Louisville and Cincinnati significant players in the production of goods for American consumption. The recovery of several bottles during this project marked with “Louisville” likely date to this postbellum period.

Diversifying and Expanding

The postbellum period saw a revolution come to Arkansas. This was not the political revolution that had just failed on the battlefield but an economic one, and it rode the iron tendrils of the railroad.

Arkansas tried to construct a rail line before the Civil War. Negotiations before the war centered around the route and termini of such a line, with Gaines’s Landing, in Chicot County on the Mississippi River, and either Fulton or Dooley’s Ferry on the Red the chief contenders. Political squabbles killed the project, though, as we saw in the Dun Company records for C.J.H. Betts, many locals bought into the project. At war’s outset, there was only a small rail line extending west out of Memphis, measuring around sixty miles in length.

After the war, however, the political and economic will to complete a trans-state line came together, and by the middle-1870s, the Iron Mountain railroad completed an alignment running from northeast to southwest across the state. The coming of the railroad reoriented the state’s economy and fundamentally restructured its landscape (Moneyhon 1997).

While southwest Arkansas focused on cotton production before the war, the coming of the railroad allowed the area to tap into its other great natural resource,

timber. Not only did this diversify the economy, it brought many new towns to prominence and created an industry that endures as one of the state's major assets (Moneyhon 1997).

Towns such as Bright Star and Stamps (birthplace of poet Maya Angelou) grew as timber towns (Goodspeed Company 1890). The timber industry remains an important source of income, with Georgia Pacific, Deltic Timber, and other firms maintaining presences in the area. The annual football game between the Muleriders of Southern Arkansas University and the Boll Weevils of the University of Arkansas at Monticello was recently minted the "Battle of the Timberlands," recognizing the importance of silviculture to the state's economy. That was basically not a factor before the railroad arrived.

The railroad also made feasible truck farming. Growing northern cities like Chicago and Minneapolis hungered for fresh fruits and vegetables through the cold winter months. Rail lines to the South made it possible to transport produce grown year-round to the colder northern markets. Farmers across southern Arkansas trucked in their goods to rail hubs to fuel this trade. One of the most popular crops from the region turned out to be watermelons. Though not the salient crop it once was, Hope's annual Watermelon Festival commemorates this period when the juicy fruits brought in from the surrounding countryside made the area famous (Moneyhon 1997).

The railroads also reconstructed the landscape of southern Arkansas. Rather than build railroads through existing towns, where land prices would have made purchasing track routes expensive, the railroad built new towns, near to existing centers but far enough from them to make their construction cheap. Washington was

bypassed in favor of Hope Station, now known simply as Hope. Fulton was also bypassed, becoming a backwater. New towns, such as Texarkana, grew up thanks to the passage of the railroad (Moneyhon 1997).

As new towns gained prominence, places like Dooley's Ferry became more and more off the beaten path. As Arkansas entered the 20th century, Dooley's Ferry (or "Fay," as it was sometimes known) began to shrink. Between 1886, when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers mapped the community (Figure 31) and 1900, when General Land Office surveyors plotted it (Figure 30), the community had shrunk from a collection of homes and stores to a post office and a few scattered buildings. The GLO surveyor, Amherst Barber, even noted in his field book that "very few white people now remain residents of these rich bottom lands... the population is mostly of pure African race, renting the cottonfields" (Barber 1900:13). The instructive point is not that white people were gone and blacks remained, obviously, but that the area was now primarily sharecroppers, dispersed across their various rented patches, not nucleated in a small village as they had been before the war.

Into the 20th Century: Loci 10 and 11

During the course of the 2012 fieldwork, we explored two loci not yet mentioned, Loci 10 and 11. Located in the Martin's pasture west of Loci 7-9, they were identified by John Samuelsen in October of 2012 with a gradiometer. They both appeared to align to the road into the Martin property, and presented both large scatters of magnetic anomalies and dipolar evidence of strong anomalies, indicating large and numerous ferrous artifacts on site. Both Loci 10 and 11 proved to be 20th

century buildings, well past the part of Dooley's Ferry's history of interest to the dissertation.

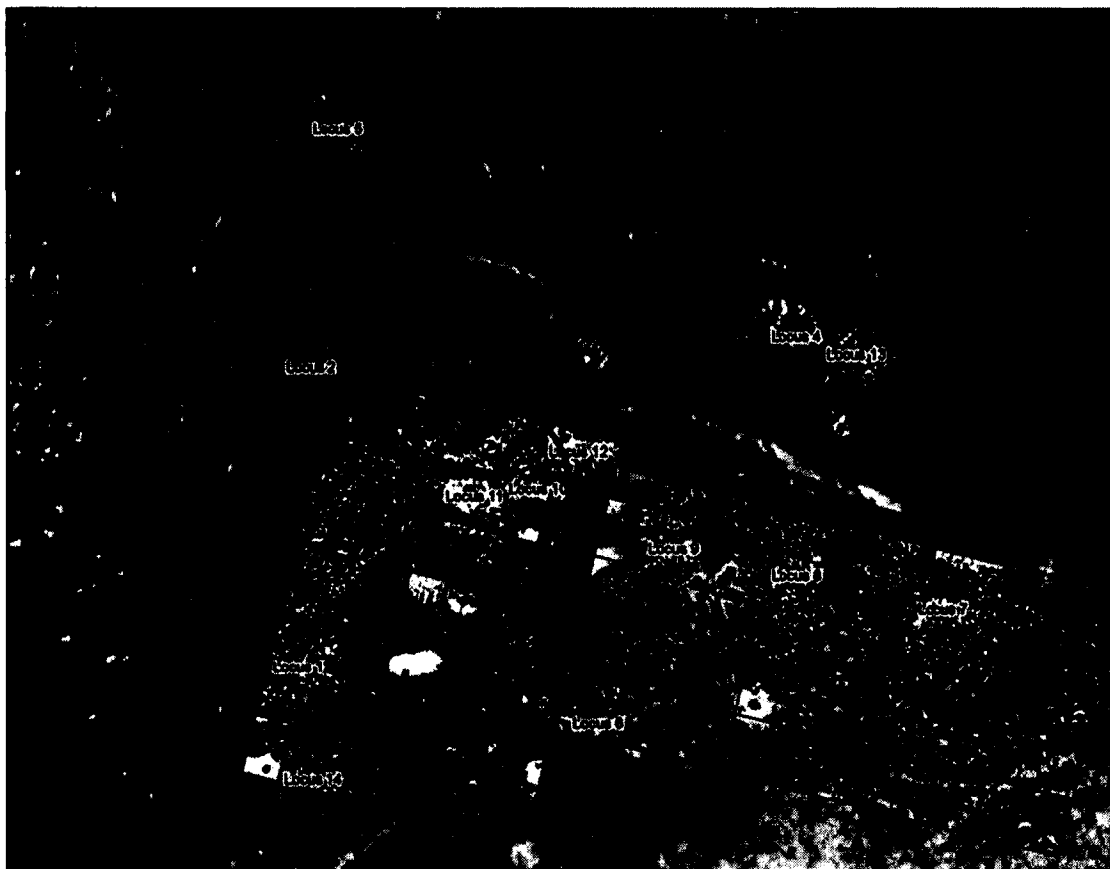


Figure 43: Location of Loci 10 and 11

Locus 10 appears to be a 20th-century farm outbuilding, probably a frame structure with metal sheeting for a roof. In addition to a large piece of sheeting left behind on site (likely the cause of the large anomaly that drew us to the locus), we collected 1,223 pieces of thin metal sheeting, much degraded, amongst the artifacts recovered from this locus (Table 8). These are likely more roof sheeting.

In addition to the metal roofing, the building used blond hollow building tile in lieu of brick, possibly for paving or as a footing for building corners. Foster and Carter (1922:307) encouraged the use of hollow tile in the floors of pig or chicken houses, as

they did not conduct cold as easily as did brick, making stall floors warmer in winter than with other pavings. They were not recommended for cattle enclosures without support from concrete, as the weight of cows would crack the tile (Foster and Carter 1922).

Unlike the antebellum structures discussed earlier (Chapter 3), both Locus 10 and 11 were dominated by wire nails, a 20th century invention. Large pennyweight nails suggest their use in pinning together a frame structure and cladding it with boards held by smaller pennyweight nails (8d-10d). Unlike Brandon saw at Van Winkle's Mill, where there was evidence of repairing 19th century structures with wire nails, resulting in large pennyweight wire and nails being found together, here there are only wire nails. Taken with the hollow tile and metal roofing, this led me to conclude that Locus 10 is a 20th century structure, likely an animal enclosure or storage shed, once surrounded by barbed wire, likely for retaining pigs.

One unique item recovered during this project at Locus 10 was a vaccine bottle, complete with a metal lid and membrane. The bottle's base is marked "TYPE III/ USP/14." This dates the bottle after 1942, the year that the U.S. Pharmacopoeia Convention began regulating medicine containers. Type III bottles were to be made of soda lime glass, and were permitted to release relatively substantial amounts of alkalinity into their contents (United States Pharmacopoeial Convention 1942:571–576). Typically, these were for powdered medicines, though the top to this one indicates it held some kind of liquid medication, possibly for livestock once held in this enclosure.

Presaging what would become clear in the artifact analysis, Bud Martin dropped by the site during the excavation of Locus 10 and mentioned to Jamie Brandon that he recalled that portion of the site being an outbuilding when he was a child.

Table 8: Artifacts Recovered from Locus 10

Category	Description	Count	
Architecture	Roof Sheeting	1228	
	Building Tile	17	
	Flat Glass	1	
	Bolt Head	1	
	Cut Nail, Fragment	7	
	Wire Nail, 10d	47	
	Wire Nail, 12d	2	
	Wire Nail, 20d	6	
	Wire Nail, 30d	1	
	Wire Nail, 40d	1	
	Wire Nail, 6d	8	
	Wire Nail, 7d	8	
	Wire Nail, 8d	38	
	Wire Nail, Fragment	92	
	Fence Staple	13	
	Barbed Wire, Single Razor	4	
	Barbed Wire, Double Razor	1	
	Wire	13	
	Household	Whiteware	1
		Vessel Glass, Amber	1
Vessel Glass, Colorless		19	
Vessel Glass, Colorless (Pharmaceutical)		8	
Vessel Glass, Green		3	
Floral/Faunal	Plastic, White	9	
	Shell	1	
Industrial	Tractor part	1	
	Pulley	1	
Other	Ferrous	64	
Total		1,596	

Locus 11 was even more ephemeral than Locus 10. Based on a perceived straight line in the gradiometry data, we had hoped this would be a house wall, with the data anomaly represented by nails or other fasteners from the building. Based on the recovered artifacts, it would appear this is a fence line or fence and ephemeral

wall. Over half of the artifacts recovered were pieces of barbed wire, a pattern seen nowhere else in this project. As with Locus 10, wire nails are well-represented, suggesting a twentieth-century component only.

Table 9: Artifacts Recovered from Locus 11

Category	Description	Count
Architecture	Bolt	1
	Fence Staple	1
	Cut Nail, Fragment	9
	Wire	2
	Wire Nail, Fragment	12
	Wire Nail, 10d	1
	Zinc Nail Cap	1
	Barbed Wire, 2 razor	5
	Barbed Wire, 1 razor	67
	Household	Stoneware, Salt-glazed
Whiteware		2
Whiteware		1
Vessel glass, Cobalt Blue		1
Vessel glass, Colorless		2
Bucket Handle		1
Personal	Bullet, .22	1
Other	Miscellaneous	7
Total		115

Both Locus 10 and Locus 11 contained small amounts of household debris, though not like the quantities seen in Loci 4 and 7-9. Casual discard of drinking vessels or old plates could account for their presence at these loci. Both structures had a distinctively 20th century cast to their artifact assemblages, and point to a later period in the community's history, after the site became more the province of isolated sharecroppers than a settled community.

Conclusion

The Reconstruction years, and the decades of the New South that followed it, changed rural Arkansas society geographically, politically, and socially. Dooley's Ferry was a locus of that change. From the sporadic attempts to initiate mercantile businesses in the midst of harsh economic times (Foner 2002:392) to the steady shift

towards an agricultural landscape, postwar Dooley's Ferry alternately grew and shrank with the tides of history that swept over Arkansas in general.

By the 1930s, Dooley's Ferry was no longer a ferry crossing. The Red River had shifted course in 1916, leaving its old channel as an oxbow lake, marked today on USGS quad maps as "The 1916 Cutoff Lake," indicating the date of its alteration. That date is corroborated by an article in the *Star of Hope*, a local newspaper, announcing a petition from the residents of the Dooley's Ferry area to Hempstead County to extend the road from the old ferry landing to the new course of the Red River, 1.5 miles from its old channel (Star of Hope 1916).

The new location of Dooley's Ferry ceased to operate in 1937, when the completion of the Red River Bridge at Fulton offered travelers a toll-free and reliable means of crossing the Red River (Turner 1994:20–21). By that point, Dooley's Ferry had completed its transition to the active agricultural landscape we encountered at the start of this project.

Chapter 10. Ghosts of the Atlantic World

“The racism that developed from racial subordination influenced every aspect of American life and remains powerful.”

- Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, page 3

So, what can we draw out of this research? What do we know now about Dooley’s Ferry that was not known in 2007? How do the community focus and Atlantic World concept help us make sense of the data we recovered and documents we discovered through five years’ worth of research on the site? The answers to these questions are not just the fruits of these labors, they’re fascinating.

Dooley’s Ferry in Sum

From the first years of American settlement of the Great Bend region, there were settlers, white and black, at Dooley’s Ferry. Though the community never became sufficiently large to have a truly urban aspect to it, in the way Fulton, Washington, and Spring Hill did, it remained a point of nucleation for a small group of people who were part of the emerging cotton economy of southwest Arkansas.

The people who lived at and worked Dooley’s Ferry did more than just participate in the agricultural lifeblood of the state and (at the time) American frontier. As a point of connection between the antebellum agrarian landscape and the transportation networks of the Atlantic World, Dooley’s Ferry was a vital node in an economic system that enriched the South (particularly Southern whites) and, through the implications of that productive regime, ushered in the Civil War.

Our archaeological fieldwork has started, and started well, the process of mapping out the antebellum landscape of Dooley’s Ferry. Loci 4, 7, 8, and 9 all have

clear antebellum components to them, and begin to sketch out a community running along the Fulton Road that consisted of a number of houses and a church, suggesting both residency and community function in the form of religious and social gatherings.

While not necessarily unique or remarkable in comparison to a host of other ferry landing communities lining the Red River, or indeed the other rivers of the South, Dooley's Ferry is one of the few to be so studied, and is almost unique in its association with the built landscape of the Civil War.

This brings us to the war itself. We see, throughout Section 2, the importance of registers such as militarism and political allegiance throughout the conflict. The eagerness of Samuel Carlock and the Bates brothers to join the fighting had drastic repercussions for their families left at home. Samuel's death on a troop ship at Vicksburg not only deprived his family of a father and husband, it occasioned their displacement and removal from Dooley's Ferry, fundamentally altering the structure and content of the community at the ferry landing. The Carlock family has been in Texas for now five generations due to the choice of their ancestor to march to war with the 15th Arkansas. The loss of Mary and Susan Bates similarly changed the content of the community.

The historical references to the ferry landing during the war indicate that it was an important part of the Confederate supply and communication networks, allowing for the maintenance of Confederate forces in the area. It played a role in the strategic decisions of Confederate commanders throughout the war, either directly, as with General Magruder's decisions to invest the site with earthworks in late 1864, or indirectly by allowing for the shifting of troops back and forth between Texas,

Louisiana, and Arkansas. The repeated shifts of troops east of the Mississippi River made points like Dooley's Ferry, where newly-recruited troops could be brought in to defend Confederate territory of vital necessity to the Confederate war effort.

The stationing of troops either at Dooley's Ferry or in its immediate vicinity, as occurred throughout 1864 and 1865 ties the site into the contested and ambiguous relationship that developed between Confederate civilians and soldiers during the latter stages of the war, and indexes the bitter internal struggle that developed as a result of civilian dissension and anti-Confederatism in the face of an increasingly domineering military presence. Leon Williams's account of a minor bread riot at Dooley's Ferry at the end of the war neatly crystallizes this tension and smoldering conflict.

The unifying thread that ties together these disparate actions and reactions is the instability occasioned by the war. Not only were the economic relations that made the Atlantic World a functioning economic network strained and, at times, broken by the conflict, the ties of community that bound together neighbors and household members, black and white, stretched and broken by the war and its aftermath. Dooley's Ferry after the war was a much different place than it had been in 1860.

Materially, the lack of clear postbellum components to Loci 7 and 9 suggest that they might not have been occupied significantly after the war. Whether this is due to the death, displacement, or (much more hopefully) emancipation of their residents, or due to the troubled economy of Reconstruction Arkansas is really not the point. All of those options are a direct result of the conflict, and the cessation of occupation is therefore an index of the war's effect, for good or ill, on the South.

Social Legacies of Atlantic Entanglements

Bolton (1999:22–23) points to three distinct points in Arkansas history in which the social legacy of slavery has bubbled up into glaring view. In 1905, Governor Jefferson Davis (no relation to the former Confederate president) gave a speech claiming that educating African Americans spoiled them as field hands. He was not talking about under slavery, rather he meant in that present context. In 1919, a race riot broke out in Elaine, along the Mississippi, that has gone down as one of the nations' most infamous racial atrocities. Finally, Governor Orval Faubus's objections to integration, broadcast across the nation during in 1957 once again very publicly reference the social legacy of racism born of slavery.

Arkansas, like other Southern states, does not possess a glittering record on race relations. Though home to one of the early battlegrounds of the civil rights movement, Little Rock's Central High, as well as certain landmarks in the history of race relations, such as the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, a multi-racial rural agricultural union, Grif Stockley (Stockley 2009:458–460), typifies Arkansas's progress in race relations as "a glass half full."

This history of slavery, segregation, and violence captured in Bolton's passage and concretized at place like Dooley's Ferry in general and Locus 4 in particular is the very dark side of the Atlantic World legacy. The cotton economy that fueled Arkansas's inclusion in that exchange network implanted the racism, overt and structural, that bedevils Arkansas and the United States in general to this day.

Seen through this perspective, places like Dooley's Ferry, enmeshed in the cotton economy, and Locus 4, site of enslavement for George, Rebecca, and Margaret, and even the entrenchments guarding Dooley Hill can be taken as an index of the

brutality of slave-based production as well as a reminder of the possibilities and hope that the demise of the Confederate war effort and the emancipation of Arkansas's enslaved brought.

Historic Washington

Dooley's Ferry is not the only ghost of the Atlantic World that haunts the Great Bend region. We encounter its shades in isolated former plantation houses, such as the Wynn-Price House in Garland City (Figure 44), or the massive outdoor walking museum at Washington, north of Hope.



Figure 44: Wynn-Price House, Garland City (ca. 1845)

Like Colonial Williamsburg, Washington, Garland City, and Dooley's Ferry owe their continued existence as places where people can connect with the past – as *lieux de memoire* (Nora 1989) – to the changing economic and political conditions of the worlds into which they were born. Where Colonial Williamsburg is the result of

the shifting of Virginia's capital to Richmond in the 18th Century, Washington, Garland City, and Dooley's Ferry are preserved thanks to the shifting transportation networks and economic arrangements of the latter stages of the 19th.

As Arkansas progresses through the 21st century, and as we mark the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, sites such as Dooley's Ferry can serve as instructive examples of the state's history, the decisions and arrangements which fellow Natural Staters made in the founding and developing the state, as well as cautionary tales of the effects that those decisions hold. Dooley's Ferry also reminds us that the story of Arkansas in the Civil War is as much about what happened off the battlefield as it is about the clash of arms.

References

- Adams, Horace
1952 An Arkansas Alderman. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 11(2): 79–101.
- Agbe-Davies, Anna S.
2012 Anti-Racism, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and You. *SHA Newsletter* 45(1): 9–10.
- Albertson, Paul E., Maureen K. Corcoran, Whitney Autin, John Kruger, and Theresa Foster
1996 *Geomorphic Investigation of the Great Bend Region, Red River*. Technical Report GL-96. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, MS.
- Alspaugh, E. Joyce
1998 *Confederate Units of Columbia County Arkansas*. Privately Published, Magnolia, AR.
- Anderson, Nesta
2004 Finding the Space Between Spatial Boundaries and Social Dynamics: The Archaeology of Nested Households. In *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, pp. 109–120. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Andreas, Peter
2013 *Smuggler Nation: How Illicit Trade Made America*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Arensberg, Conrad M.
1961 The Community as Object and as Sample. *American Anthropologist* 63: 241–64.
- Arkansas Gazette
1833 Died. *The Arkansas Gazette*, August 28 edition.
- Arkansas, State of
1861 *Journal of Both Session of the Convention of the State of Arkansas*. Johnson & Yerkes, Little Rock.
- Arkush, Elizabeth N., and Mark W. Allen (editors).
2006 *The Archaeology of Warfare: Prehistories of Raiding and Conquest*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

- Arnold, J. Barto, Thomas J. Oertling, and Andrew W. Hall
 2001 The Denbigh Project: Excavation of a Civil War Blockade-Runner. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 30(2): 231–249.
- Arnold, Morris S.
 1991 *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Arnold, Morris S.
 2002 Indians and Immigrants in the Arkansas Colonial Era. In *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, edited by Jeannie M. Whyne, Thomas A. DeBlack, George Sabo, and Morris S. Arnold, pp. 46–74. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Associated Press
 2007 2 Convicted in Cross-Burning Case Get Month Behind Bars. *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, February 9 edition.
- Astor, Gerald
 2001 *The Right to Fight: A History of African Americans in the Military*. Da Capo Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Atkinson, James H.
 1955 *Forty Days of Disaster: The Story of General Frederick Steele's Expedition into Southern Arkansas*. Pulaski County Historical Society, Little Rock.
- Babits, Lawrence E.
 2010 Patterning in Earthen Fortifications. In *Historical Archaeology of Military Sites*, edited by Clarence E. Geier, Lawrence E. Babits, Douglas D. Scott, and David G. Orr, 113-121: Texas A&M University Press, College Station.
- Bacevich, Andrew J.
 2005 *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Bailey, Anne J.
 1989 *Between the Enemy and Texas: Parsons' Texas Cavalry in the Civil War*. Texas Christian University, Fort Worth.
- Bailey, Anne J.
 1990 Was There a Massacre at Poison Spring? *Military History of the Southwest* 20: 157–168.
- Bailey, Anne J., and Daniel E. Sutherland (editors).
 2000 *Civil War Arkansas: Beyond Battles and Leaders*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.

- Bailyn, Bernard
2005 *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Barber, Amherst W.
1900 *Field Notes for AR, Volume R0143, Survey 5882*. U.S. General Land Office, Washington, DC.
- Barnes, Jodi
2011 An Archaeology of Community Life: Appalachia, 1865-1920. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4): 669–706.
- Barnes, Kenneth C.
1993 The Williams Clan: Mountain Farmers and Union Fighters in North Central Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 52(3): 286–317.
- Barnes, Kenneth C.
2001 The Williams Clan's Civil War: How an Arkansas Farm Family Became a Guerilla Band. In *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionism in the Civil War South*, edited by John C. Inscoe and Robert C. Kenzer, pp. 188–207. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Bates, Ethel F.
1962 *Mississippi Pioneers: A History of the Bates Family 1803-1962*. Privately Published, Baton Rouge, LA.
- Battle, Whitney
2004 A Space of Our Own: Redefining the Enslaved Household at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage Plantation. In *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, pp. 33–50. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Benjamin, Thomas
2009 *The Atlantic World: Europeans, Africans, Indians and Their Shared History, 1400-1900*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Berlin, Ira
1998 *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Berlin, Ira
2007 *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. The New Press, New York.

- Berlin, Ira, and Leslie S. Rowland (editors).
 1997 *Families and Freedom: A Documentary History of African-American Kinship in the Civil War Era*. New Press, New York.
- Betts, Vicki
 2009 "A Sacred Charge upon Our Hands": Assisting the Families of Confederate Soldiers in Texas, 1861-1865. In *The Seventh Star of the Confederacy: Texas during the Civil War*, edited by Kenneth W. Howell, pp. 246–267. University of North Texas Press, Denton, TX.
- Blassingame, John W.
 1972 *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Bleed, Peter, and Douglas D. Scott
 2011 Contexts for Conflict: Conceptual Tools for Interpreting Archaeological Reflections of Warfare. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 6(1): 42–64.
- Blevins, Brooks
 2002 *Hill Folks: A History of Arkansas Ozarkers and Their Image*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Blevins, Brooks
 2009 *Arkansas/Arkansaw: How Bear Hunters, Hillbillies, and Good ol' Boys Defined a State*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Blight, David W.
 2001 *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Belknap Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Du Bois, W.E.B.
 1969 *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*. Atheneum, New York.
- Du Bois, W.E.B.
 1995 Marxism and the Negro Problem. In *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*, edited by David L. Lewis, pp. 538–544. H. Holt and Company, New York.
- Bolton, S. Charles
 1998 *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Reckless*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Bolton, S. Charles
 1999 Slavery and the Defining of Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53(1): 1–23.

- Boudreaux, Jennifer R.
1999 Another Look at Cedar Grove: A Re-Analysis of a Historic African-American Cemetery. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Arkansas.
- Brandon, Jamie C.
2004 Van Winkle's Mill: Mountain Modernity, Cultural Memory and Historical Archaeology in the Arkansas Ozarks. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas.
- Brandon, Jamie C.
2009 A North American Perspective on Race and Class in Historical Archaeology. In *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, edited by Teresita Majewski and David Gaimster, pp. 3–15. Springer, New York.
- Brandon, Jamie C., and Kerri S. Barile
2004 Household Chores; or, the Chore of Defining the Household. In *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, pp. 1–12. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Brandon, Jamie C., and James M. Davidson
2003 *Archeological Inventory and Testing of Cultural Resources at Van Winkle's Mill (3BE413) and Little Clifty Creek Shelter (3BE412), Beaver Lake, Benton County, Arkansas*. Unpublished Report. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Brandon, Jamie C., and James M. Davidson
2005 The Landscape of Van Winkle's Mill: Identity, Myth, and Modernity in the Ozark Upland South. *Historical Archaeology* 39(3): 113–131.
- Brandon, Jamie C., James M. Davidson, and Jerry E. Hilliard
2000 *Preliminary Archeological Investigations at Van Winkle's Mill (3BE413), Beaver Lake State Park, Benton County, Arkansas: 1997-1999*. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Braudel, Fernand
1995 *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Britton, Wiley
1993 *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

- Brockett, Linus P., and Mary C. Vaughan
 1867 *Women's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism, and Patience*. Zeigler, McCurdy, & Co., Philadelphia.
- Brown, Richard M.
 1975 *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Burnett, Abby
 2012 Worms [Medical Condition]. Encyclopedia of Arkansas.
- Buxton, Virginia
 1957 Salt Springs and Salt Works in Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 16(4): 383–387.
- Bynum, Victoria E
 2010 *The Long Shadow of the Civil War: Southern Dissent and its Legacies*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Cantú Trunzo, Jennifer M.
 2012 Buying Out to Buy In: Ceramic Consumption on the Home Front during the American Revolution in Rural Connecticut. *Historical Archaeology* 46(2): 55–74.
- Carlock, Marion P.
 1929 *History of the Carlock Family and Adventures of Pioneer Americans*. Marion Pomeroy Carlock, Los Angeles.
- Carter, Cecile E.
 1995 *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Carter, Clarence E. (editor).
 1953 *The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume 19: The Territory of Arkansas, 1819-1825*. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
- Casdorph, Paul D
 1996 *Prince John Magruder: His Life and Campaigns*. John Wiley & Sons, New York.
- Cash, W. J.
 1991 *The Mind of the South*. Vintage Books ed. Vintage Books, New York.
- Cashin, Joan E.
 1990 The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families: “The Ties that Bound Us Was Strong.” *Journal of Southern History* 56(1): 55–70.

- De Certeau, Michel
2002 *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Cheatham, Thomas H.
1983 Volunteerism at Work in Southwest Arkansas: The Salvage Operation in the “Plaza of the Skulls” at the Crenshaw Site and the MicKinney Bayou Survey Project. *Field Notes: Newsletter of the Arkansas Archeological Society*(193): 3–5.
- Christ, Mark K. (editor).
2003 *“All Cut to Pieces and Gone to Hell”: The Civil War, Race Relations, and the Battle of Poison Spring*. August House, Little Rock.
- Christ, Mark K.
2009 *Action at Wallace’s Ferry*. September 8, 2011.
- Churchill, Thomas J.
1896 Headquarters Churchill’s Division. In *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 48:pp. 1340. 1. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
- Clark, Thomas D.
1946 The Furnishing and Supply System in Southern Agriculture since 1865. *The Journal of Southern History* 12(1): 24–44.
- Clark, Thomas D.
1964 *Pills, Petticoats, and Plows: The Southern Country Store*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Cochran, Robert B.
1989 “Low, Degrading Scoundrels”: George W. Featherstonehaugh’s Contribution to the Bad Name of Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 48(1): 3–16.
- Connor, Melissa A., and Douglas D. Scott
1998 Metal Detector Use in Archaeology: An Introduction. *Historical Archaeology* 32(4): 76–85.
- Corle, Bryan L., and Joseph F. Balicki
2006 Finding Civil War Sites: What Relic Hunters Know, What Archaeologists Should and Need to Know. In *Huts and History: The Historical Archaeology of Military Encampment during the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier, David G. Orr, and Matthew B. Reeves, pp. 55–73. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Cornelison, John E., and Tammy D. Cooper
2002 *An Archeological Survey of the Chalmette Battlefield at Jean Lafitte Historical Park and Preserve*. USDI/NPS Southeast Archaeological Center.

- Cothran, James R.
2003 *Gardens and Historic Plants of the Antebellum South*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Cozzens, Peter
1996 *The Shipwreck of their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Daily True Delta
1861 Red River Packet. *The Daily True Delta*, 2 March:8. New Orleans.
- Dallas Morning News
1898 Mortuary. *Dallas Morning News*, March 3. Dallas.
- Danley, Michael
1986 History of Lost Prairie, a Paper. Unpublished Manuscript on file at the Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives. Washington, AR.
- Dattel, Eugene R
2011 *Cotton and Race in the Making of America: The Human Costs of Economic Power*. Ivan R Dee, Lanham, MD.
- DeBlack, Thomas A.
2003a *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861-1874*. Histories of Arkansas. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- DeBlack, Thomas A.
2003b An Overview of the Camden Expedition. In *"All Cut to Pieces and Gone to Hell": The Civil War, Race Relations, and the battle of Poison Spring*, edited by Mark K. Christ, pp. 11–30. August House, Little Rock.
- Dedmond, Glenn
2009 *The Flags of Civil War Arkansas*. Pelican Publishing, Gretna, LA.
- Degler, Carl N.
1982 *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century*. Northeastern University Press, Boston.
- Delle, James A., Stephen A. Mrozowski, and Robert Paynter
2000 *Lines that Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*. 1st ed. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Dick, Everett
1948 *The Dixie Frontier: A Comprehensive Picture of Southern Frontier Life before the Civil War*. Capricorn Books, New York.

- Dougan, Michael B.
1972 Life in Confederate Arkansas. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 31(1): 15–35.
- Dougan, Michael B.
1976 *Confederate Arkansas: The People and Policies of a Frontier State in Wartime*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Dressler, Rachel
1999 Steel Corpse: Imagining the Knight in Death. In *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Middle Ages*, edited by Jacqueline Murray, pp. 135–168. Garland Publishing, New York.
- Dyer, Frederick H.
1908 *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*. Dyer Publishing Company, Des Moines, IA.
- Early, Ann M. (editor).
1993 *Caddoan Saltmakers in the Ouachita Valley: The Hardman Site*. Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series 43. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Elkins, Stanley
1959 *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Escott, Paul D.
2006 *Military Necessity: Civil-Military Relations in the Confederacy*. Praeger Security International, Westport, CT.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin
1996 *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin
1998 “Ours as Well as That of the Men”: Women and Gender in the Civil War. In *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand*, edited by James M. McPherson and William J. Cooper, pp. 228–240. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin
2008 *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. 1st ed. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

- Featherstonehaugh, George W.
1844 *Excursion through the Slave States from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico; with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices, Vol. 2.* John Murray, London.
- Fike, Richard E.
1987 *The Bottle Book: A Comprehensive Guide to Historic, Embossed Medicine Bottles.* Blackburn Press, Caldwell, NJ.
- Finley, Randy
1996 *From Slavery to Uncertain Freedom: The Freedmen's Bureau in Arkansas, 1865-1869.* Black Community Studies. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Flores, Dan L. (editor).
2002 *Southern Counterpart to Lewis & Clark: The Freeman-Custis Expedition of 1806.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Foner, Eric
2002 *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877.* 1st Perennial Classics ed. New American Nation Series. Perennial Classics, New York.
- Foote, Shelby
1958 *The Civil War: A Narrative, Vol. 3: Red River to Appomattox.* Vintage Books, New York.
- Foster, William A., and Deane G. Carter
1922 *Farm Buildings.* John Wiley, New York.
- Foucault, Michel
1977 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Random House, New York.
- Fox, Richard A.
1993 *Archaeology, History, and Custer's Last Battle.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth
1988 *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Frazier, E. Franklin
1939 *The Negro Family in the United States.* 1st ed. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Freehling, William W.
2001 *The South vs. the South: How Southern Anti-Confederates Shaped the Course of the Civil War.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Friedlander, Amy

1985 Establishing Historical Probabilities for Archaeological Interpretations: Slave Demography of Two Plantations in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1740-1820. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, edited by Theresa A. Singleton, pp. 215–238. Academic Press, Orlando, FL.

Gabaccia, Donna

2004 A Long Atlantic in a Wider World. *Atlantic Studies* 1(1): 1–27.

Gaines, J.J.

1896 Special Orders, Headquarters Churchill's Division, Number 17. In *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 48, Chapter LX: Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi States and Territories, January 1-June 30, 1865, Part 1: Reports, Union and Confederate Correspondence*, edited by George W. Davis, pp. 1335. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Galindo, Mary Jo

2004 The Ethnohistory and Archaeology of Nuevo Santander Rancho Households. In *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, pp. 179–196. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Galke, Laura J.

2000 "Free within Ourselves": African American Landscapes at Manassas National Battlefield Park. In *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter, pp. 253–269. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Gatewood, Willard B.

1991 Sunnyside: The Evolution of an Arkansas Plantation, 1840-1945. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 50(1): 5–29.

Geier, Clarence R.

1994 Towards a Social History of the Civil War: The Hatcher-Cheatham Site. In *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier and Susan E. Winter, pp. 191–214. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Geier, Clarence R., David Gerald Orr, and Matthew Reeves (editors).

2006 *Huts and History: The Historical Archaeology of Military Encampment During the American Civil War*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

- Geier, Clarence R., and Stephen R. Potter
2000 *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Geier, Clarence R., and Susan E. Winter
1994 *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN.
- Geismar, Joan H.
1982 *The Archaeology of Social Disintegration in Skunk Hollow: a Nineteenth-Century Rural Black Community*. Studies in Historical Archaeology. Academic Press, New York.
- Genovese, Eugene D.
1974 *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. Vintage Books, New York.
- Gerdes, Edward
2001a Company E, 15th (Johnson's) Arkansas Infantry Regiment, Confederate States of America. Electronic document, <http://www.couchgenweb.com/civilwar/15coe.html>, accessed 7 May 2013.
- Gerdes, Edward
2001b 6th (Monroe's) Arkansas Cavalry, Company D. Electronic document, <http://www.couchgenweb.com/civilwar/6cavcod.html>, accessed 2 February 2013.
- Gereffi, Gary, and Miguel Korzeniewicz (editors).
1994 *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*. Praeger, Westport, CT.
- Gereffi, Gary, Miguel Korzeniewicz, and Roberto P. Korzeniewicz
1994 Global Commodity Chains. In *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*, edited by Gary Gereffi and Miguel Korzeniewicz, pp. 1–14. Praeger, Westport, CT.
- Gilchrist, Roberta
2003 Introduction: Towards a Social Archaeology of Warfare. *World Archaeology* 35(1): 1–6.
- Givens, David B., and Timothy Jablonski
2000 Survey of PhD Recipients. *American Anthropological Association*.
- Goodspeed Company
1890 *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Southern Arkansas*. Goodspeed Publishing Company, Chicago, Nashville, and St. Louis.

- Goucher, Candice
1999 African-Caribbean Metal Technology: Forging Cultural Survivals in the Atlantic World. In *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean*, edited by Jay B. Havisser, pp. 143–156. Markus Weiner Publishers, Princeton, NJ.
- Graves, John W.
1990 *Town and Country: Race Relations in an Urban-Rural Context, Arkansas, 1865-1905*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Griffith, Paddy
1987 *Battle Tactics of the Civil War*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Gurcke, Karl
1987 *Bricks and Brickmaking: A Handbook for Historical Archaeology*. University of Idaho Press, Moscow.
- Gutman, Herbert G.
1977 *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*. Vintage Books, New York.
- Hahn, Steven
2003 *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South, from Slavery to the Great Migration*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Hall, Martin, and Stephen W. Silliman
2006 Introduction: Archaeology of the Modern World. In *Historical Archaeology*, edited by Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, pp. 1–22. Blackwell, Malden, MA.
- Hammel, Eugene A.
1984 On the *** of Studying Household Form and Function. In *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*, edited by Robert M. Netting, Richard R. Wilk, and Eric J. Arnaud, pp. 29–34. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Hardesty, Donald L.
1997 *The Archaeology of the Donner Party*. University of Nevada Press, Reno.
- Hargrave, Michael L.
2006 Ground Truthing the Results of Geophysical Surveys. In *Remote Sensing in Archaeology: An Explicitly North American Perspective*, edited by Jay K. Johnson, pp. 269–304. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

- Harrington, J. C.
1955 Archeology as an Auxiliary Science to American History. *American Anthropologist* 57(6): 1121–1130.
- Hartigan, John
2005 *Odd Tribes: Toward a Cultural Analysis of White People*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Hartman, Mary, and Elmo Ingenthron
1988 *Bald Knobbers: Vigilantes on the Ozarks Frontier*. Pelican Publishing, Gretna, LA.
- Heartsill, W. W.
1992 *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army: A Journal Kept by W.W. Heartsill, or Camp Life, Day by Day of the W.P. Lane Rangers from April 19, 1861 to May 20, 1865*. Broadfoot Publishing, Wilmington, NC.
- Hempstead County
1862 *Office of the Court of Probate*. Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, Washington, AR.
- Hempstead County Courthouse
1838 *Deed Book*. Vol. D. Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, Washington, AR.
- Hendon, Julia A.
1996 Archaeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor: Household Practice and Domestic Relations. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25: 45–61.
- Higgins, Billy D.
2004 *A Stranger and a Sojourner: Peter Caulder, Free Black Frontiersman in Antebellum Arkansas*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Hilliard, Jerry E., Mike Evans, Jared Pebworth, and Carl G. Carlson-Drexler
2008 A Confederate Encampment at Cross Hollow, Benton County, Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 67(4): 359–374.
- Hoffman, Michael P.
1999 Ancient Races of Giants, Mound Builders, and Hero Collectors: Newspaper Accounts of Arkansas Archaeology, 1870-1930. In *Arkansas Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Dan and Phyllis Morse*, edited by Robert C. Mainfort and Marvin D. Jeter, pp. 245–258. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Houston, Kelly E.
2008 Slaveholders and Slaves of Hempstead County, Arkansas. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of North Texas, Denton, TX.

- Hudson, Charles
1994 The Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543. In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Tesser, Carmen C., pp. 74–103. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Huff, Leo E.
1978 The Martial Law Controversy in Arkansas, 1861-1865: A Case History of Internal Confederate Conflict. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 37(2): 147–167.
- Hume, Ivor Noël
1969 *Historical Archaeology*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, NY.
- Inscocoe, John C., and Robert C. Kenzer
2001 *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Jackson, A.M.
1896 Headquarters Military Division of West Mississippi, Office of the Chief Signal Officer. In *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 48, Chapter LX: Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi States and Territories, January 1-June 30, 1865, Part 1: Reports, Union and Confederate Correspondence*, edited by George W. Davis, pp. 1217–1218. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
- Johnson, Ben F.
2000 *Arkansas in Modern America, 1930-1999*. Histories of Arkansas. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Johnson, Ludwell
1958 *Red River Campaign: Politics and Cotton in the Civil War*. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.
- Jordan, Terry G.
1994 *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Kaye, Anthony E.
2007 *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Keane, Webb
2003 Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things. *Language & Communication* 23: 409–425.

- Kelly, Dennis
1989 *A History of Camp Douglas Illinois, Union Prison, 1861-1865*.
USDI/NPS/Southeast Region, Atlanta.
- Kennedy, Thomas C.
2009 *A History of Southland College: The Society of Friends and Black Education in Arkansas*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Kerby, Robert L.
1991 *Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865*.
University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Koons, Kenneth E.
2000 "The Colored Laborers Work as Well as When Slaves": African Americans in the Breadbasket of the Confederacy, 1850-1880. In *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter, pp. 229-252. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Kvamme, Kenneth L.
2006 Magnetometry: Nature's Gift to Archaeology. In *Remote Sensing in Archaeology: An Explicitly North American Perspective*, pp. 205-233. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Lankford, George E. (editor).
2003 *Bearing Witness: Memories of Arkansas Slavery, Narratives from the 1930s WPA Collections*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Latham Moore & Associates
2005 A Brief History of Dun & Bradstreet. Electronic document,
<http://www.lathammoore.com.au/dun-bradstreet-history.html>, accessed 17 September 2012.
- LeBlanc, Steven A.
1999 *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Lee, Annette
2011 *Human Property Hanging in the Family Tree Yields a Harvest*. Maria & Chloe, Inc., Minneapolis, MN.
- Lee, John W.I.
2001 Urban Combat at Olynthos, 348BC. In *Fields of Conflict: Progress and Prospect in Battlefield Archaeology*, edited by P. W. M. Freeman and A. Pollard, 958:pp. 11-22. BAR International Series. Archaeopress, Oxford, UK.

- Legg, James B., and Steven D. Smith
 1989 "*The Best Ever Occupied...:*" *Archaeological Investigations of a Civil War Encampment on Folly Island, South Carolina*. Unpublished Report. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Lenzer, John
 1978 Geology and Geomorphology. In *The Hanna Site: An Alto Village in Red River Parish*, edited by Prentice M. Thomas, L. Janice Campbell, and Steven R. Ahler. *Louisiana Archaeology* 5. Louisiana Archeological Society, Lafayette.
- Levy, George
 1994 *To Die in Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas, 1862-1865*. Evanston Publishing, Evanston, IL.
- Lloyd, Peggy
 2011 Hervey Street: The Past and Present Merge. *Hope Star, The*.
- Logan, Charles R.
 1997 *The Promised Land: The Cherokees, Arkansas, and Removal, 1794-1839*. Arkansas Historic Preservation Program.
- Lonn, Ella
 1998 *Desertion during the Civil War*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Lonn, Ella
 2003 *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Lovett, Bobby L.
 1995 African Americans, Civil War, and Aftermath in Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 54: 304–358.
- Mackey, Robert
 2004 *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Magruder, John B.
 1893 Letter to Senator Robert W. Johnson. In *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 41, Chapter 53, Operations in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi States and Territories, July 1-December 31, 1864, Part 4: Union and Confederate Correspondence, Etc.*, edited by George B. Davis, pp. 1029–1031. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Mahan, Dennis H.

1862 *A Treatise On Field Fortification: Containing Instructions On The Methods Of Laying Out, Constructing, Defending, And Attacking Intrenchments*. John Wiley, New York.

Malone, Ann Patton

1992 *Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Louisiana*. The Fred W. Morrison series in Southern studies. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Manning-Sterling, Elise

2000 Antietam: The Cultural Impact of Battle on an Agrarian Landscape. In *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter, pp. 188–216. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Martin, Debra L., Ann L. Magennis, and Jerome C. Rose

1987 Cortical Bone Maintenance in an Historic Afro-American Cemetery Sample from Cedar Grove, Arkansas. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 74: 255–264.

Martin Siebert, Erika K., and Mia T. Parsons

2000 Battling beyond First and Second Manassas: Perseverance on a Free African American Farm Site. In *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter, pp. 270–286. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Massey, Mary E.

1950 The Effect of Shortages on the Confederate Homefront. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 9(3): 172–193.

Massey, Mary E.

1994 *Women in the Civil War*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Mathews, Alfred E.

1861 *Interesting Narrative: Being a Journal of the Flight of Alfred E. Mathews of Stark Co., Ohio: From the State of Texas, on the 20th of April, and His Arrival at Chicago on the 28th of May, after Traversing on Foot and Alone a Distance of Over 800 Miles Across the State of Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri by the Most Unfrequented Routes*. Unknown, New Philadelphia, OH.

McBride, W. Stephen

1994 Civil War Material Culture and Camp Life in Central Kentucky: Archaeological Investigations at Camp Nelson. In *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier and Susan E. Winter, pp. 130–157. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN.

- McBrien, D.D., and W.W. Garner
 1943 Letters of an Arkansas Confederate Soldier. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 2(2): 171–184.
- McCalman, Glynn
 2003 “Polly” Bradley: Little Girl on a Flatboat. *Lafayette Lookback* 21: 13–16.
- McCrocklin, Claude
 1985 The Red River Coushatta Indian Villages of Northwest Louisiana, 1790-1835. *Louisiana Archaeology* 12: 129–178.
- McCrocklin, Claude
 1990a Three Historic Sites on Red River. *The Arkansas Archeologist* 31: 31–41.
- McCrocklin, Claude
 1990b *Preliminary Site Report, Tara II (3MI297): Lost Prairie, Miller County, Arkansas*. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- McDonough, James L.
 1989 *Chattanooga: A Death Grip on the Confederacy*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- McGimsey, Charles R.
 1972 *Public Archaeology*. Seminar Press, New York.
- McGimsey, Charles R., and Hester A. Davis
 1968 Modern Land Use Practices and the Archaeology of the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley. *The Arkansas Archeologist* 9(1-2): 28–36.
- McKenzie, H.B.
 1965 Confederate Manufactures in Southwest Arkansas. In *Arkansas and the Civil War*, edited by John L. Ferguson, pp. 47–56. Pioneer Press, Little Rock.
- McNeilly, Donald P.
 2000 *The Old South Frontier: Cotton Plantations and the Formation of Arkansas Society, 1819-1861*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- McPheeters, William
 2002 *“I Acted From Principle”: The Civil War Diary of Dr. William M. McPheeters, Confederate Surgeon in the Trans-Mississippi*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- McPherson, James M.
 1994 *What They Fought for, 1861-1865*. The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

- Medearis, Mary
1976 *Washington, Arkansas: History on the Southwest Trail*. Etter Printing Company, Hope, AR.
- Medearis, Mary (editor).
1979 *Sam Williams: Printer's Devil*. Etter Printing Company, Hope, AR.
- Meinig, D. W.
1986 *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Vol. 2*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Merrell, Henry
1991 *The Autobiography of Henry Merrell: Industrial Missionary to the South*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Meskill, Lynn
2005 *Archaeologies of Materiality*. Blackwell, Malden, MA.
- Milner, George R., Eve Anderson, and Smith V
1991 Warfare in Late Prehistoric West-Central Illinois. *American Antiquity* 56(4): 581–603.
- Mitchell, Reid
1997 *Civil War Soldiers*. Penguin Books, New York.
- Mitchem, Jeffrey M.
1996 Investigation of the Possible Remains of De Soto's Cross at Parkin. *Arkansas Archeologist* 35: 87–95.
- Moir, Randall W.
1987 Socioeconomic and Chronometric Patterning of Window Glass. In *Historic Buildings, Material Culture, and People of the Prairie Margin*, edited by David H. Journey and Randall W. Moir, 5: Richland Creek Technical Series. Southern Methodist University, Dallas.
- Moneyhon, Carl H.
1993 Disloyalty and Class Consciousness in Southwestern Arkansas, 1862-1865. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 52(3): 223–243.
- Moneyhon, Carl H.
1994a 1861: "The Die is Cast." In *Rugged and Sublime: The Civil War in Arkansas*, edited by Mark K. Christ, pp. 1–20. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.

- Moneyhon, Carl H.
1994b From Slave to Free Labor: The Federal Plantation Experiment in Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53(2): 137–160.
- Moneyhon, Carl H.
1997 *Arkansas and the New South: 1874-1929*. Histories of Arkansas. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Moneyhon, Carl H.
1999 The Slave Family in Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 58: 24–44.
- Moneyhon, Carl H.
2000 Disloyalty and Class Consciousness in Southwestern Arkansas, 1862-1865. In *Civil War Arkansas: Beyond Battles and Leaders*, pp. 117–142. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Moneyhon, Carl H.
2002 *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas: Persistence in the Midst of Ruin*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Monks, William
2003 *A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas: Being an Account of the Early Settlements, the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan, and Times of Peace*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Montgomery, Don
2001 Far From Home and Kindred: The History of Confederate Companies Raised in Hempstead County. *Journal of the Hempstead County Historical Society* 16(Fall): 73–100.
- Moore, Clarence B.
1912 *Some Aboriginal Sites on Red River*. P.C. Stockhausen, Philadelphia.
- Moore, Ellis O.
1993 John W. Paup and His Virginia Friends, Relatives Join Others to Create “The Aristocratic Region” Down on the Red River. *Hempstead County Historical Society Journal* 12: 27–44.
- Morgan, Edmund S.
1975 *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. W.W. Norton, New York.
- Murdock, George P.
1949 *Social Structure*. Macmillan, New York.

National Park Service

1996 Soldiers and Sailors Database. Electronic document,
<http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm>, accessed various
time in 2012, 2013.

National Park Service

1998 *Guide to Sustainable Earthworks Management (90% Draft)*.
USDI/NPS/Southeast Region, Atlanta.

National Register of Historic Places

2013 National Register of Historic Places - ARKANSAS (AR), Hempstead County.
Electronic document,
<http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/ar/Hempstead/state.html>,
accessed 10 February 2013.

Neal, Diane, and Thomas W Kremm

1997 *Lion of the South: General Thomas C. Hindman*. Mercer University Press,
Macon, Ga.

Nelson, Scott R.

2012 *A Nation of Deadbeats: An Uncommon History of America's Financial
Disasters*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Nelson, Scott R., and Carol Sheriff

2007 *A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America's Civil War, 1854-1877*.
Oxford University Press, New York.

New Orleans Commercial Bulletin

1870 Edward Wiler's Mother's Worm Syrup. *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*,
August 22 edition.

New Orleans Times

1875 Swift Retribution. *New Orleans Times*, 19 March:4. New Orleans.

Nora, Pierre

1989 Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations* 26: 7–
24.

Nordstrom, Carolyn

1997 *A Different Kind of War Story*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Nordstrom, Carolyn

2004 *Shadows of War: Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the
Twenty-First Century*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

- Norris, James D.
1978 *R.G. Dun & Co., 1841-1900: The Development of Credit-Reporting in the Nineteenth Century*. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.
- O'Brien, Richard D., Lynn A. Jones, C. Clay King, Phillip J. Wakelyn, and Peter J. Wan
2005 Cottonseed Oil. In *Bailey's Industrial Oil and Fat Products, Volume 2: Edible Oil and Fat Products: Edible Oils*, edited by Fereidoon Shahidi, pp. 173–280. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.
- Oates, Stephen B
1961 *Confederate Cavalry West of the River*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Odell, George H.
2002 *La Harpe's Post: A Tale of French-Wichita Contact on the Eastern Plains*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Office of the Commissary General of Prisoners
1862 Selected Records to Confederate Prisoners of War, 1861-1865. NARA Publication M598. NARA Record Group 109.
- Orser, Charles E.
2012 An Archaeology of Eurocentrism. *American Antiquity* 77(4): 737–755.
- Pearson, Charles E.
1982 Geomorphology and Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Great Bend Region. In *Contributions to the Archeology of the Great Bend Region*, edited by Frank F. Schambach and Frank Rackerby, pp. 12–29. Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series 22. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Pérez, Louis A.
1998 *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Perttula, Timothy K.
2011 The Marcus Kolb Site (41CE438), Cherokee County, Texas. *Journal of Northeast Texas Archaeology* 34: 1–12.
- Perttula, Timothy K., and Chester P. Walker (editors)
2012 *The Archaeology of the Caddo*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Pinnell, Eathan Allen
1999 *Serving with Honor: The Diary of Captain Eathan Allen Pinnell, Eighth Missouri Infantry (Confederate)*. Ed. Michael E. Banasik. Unwritten Chapters of the Civil War West of the River v. 3. Camp Pope Bookshop, Iowa City, IA.

- Piston, William Garrett, and Richard W. Hatcher
 2000 *Wilson's Creek: The Second Battle of the American Civil War and the Men Who Fought It*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Pitcock, Cynthia D., and Bill J. Gurley
 1995 "I Acted from Principle": William Marcellus McPheeters, Confederate Surgeon. *Missouri Historical Review* 89: 384–405.
- Pluckhahn, Thomas J.
 2010 Household Archaeology in the Southeastern United States: History, Trends, and Challenges. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18(4): 331–385.
- Poe, James T.
 1967 *The Raving Foe: The Civil War Diary of Major James T. Poe, C.S.A., and the 11th Arkansas Volunteers, and a Complete List of Prisoners*. Longhorn Press, Eastland, TX.
- Polk, Leonidas
 1883 Organization of Brigadier-General McCown's Command at New Madrid and Island No. 10 about February 28, 1862. In *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Volume 8, Part 1, Chapter 18: Operations in Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and the Indian Territory, November 19, 1861–April 10, 1862*, edited by Robert N. Scott, pp. 186. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
- Pollard, Anthony
 2001 "Place Ekowe in a State of Defense": the Archaeological Investigation of the British Fort at KwaMondi, Eshowe, Zululand. *BAR International Series* 958: 229–237.
- Porter, Charles W
 1998 *In the Devil's Dominions: A Union Soldier's Adventures in "Bushwhacker country"*. Bushwhacker Museum, Nevada, Mo.
- Potter, Stephen R., Douglas W. Owsley, Clarence R. Geier, and Stephen R. Potter
 2000 An Irishman Dies at Antietam: An Archaeology of the Individual. In *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, pp. 56–72. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Pratt, G. Michael
 2007 How Do You Know It's a Battlefield. In *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*, edited by Douglas D. Scott, Lawrence E. Babits, and Charles M. Haecker, pp. 5–38. Praeger Security International, Westport, CT.

- Preucel, Robert W.
2006 *Archaeological Semiotics*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.
- Preucel, Robert W., and Alexander A. Bauer
2001 Archaeological Pragmatics. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 34(2): 85–96.
- Preucel, Robert W.
2007 *Archaeological Semiotics*. Blackwell, Malden, MA.
- Quarles, Benjamin
1953 *The Negro in the Civil War*. Da Capo Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Randall, Mark
1971 Early Marbles. *Historical Archaeology* 5: 102–105.
- Rhodes, Sonny
2005 Opposite Extremes: How Two Editors Portrayed a Civil War Atrocity. *American Journalism* 22: 27–45.
- Riley, Faith (editor).
2004 *25 Years at Southwest Archives: True Stories from the Collections of the Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, Washington, Arkansas*. Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, Washington, AR.
- Roenke, K.G.
1978 Flat Glass, Its Use as a Dating Tool for Nineteenth Century Archeological Sites in the Pacific Northwest and Elsewhere. *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 4.
- Rose, Jerome C.
1983 *Cedar Grove Historic Cemetery: A Study in Bio-History*. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Rose, Jerome C.
1985 *Gone to a Better Land: A Biohistory of a Rural Black Cemetery in the Post-Reconstruction South*. Research Series, no. 25. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Samuelsen, John R.
2009 Archaeogeophysical Investigations of Early Caddo Settlement Patterning at the Crenshaw Site (3MI6). Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

- Sanders, Charles W.
2005 *While in the Hands of the Enemy: Military Prisons of the Civil War*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
- Schambach, Frank F.
1971 *Exploratory Excavations in the Midden Areas at the Crenshaw Site, Miller County, Arkansas*. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Schambach, Frank F.
1982 An Outline of Fourche Maline Culture in Southwest Arkansas. In *Arkansas Archeology in Review*, edited by Neal L. Trubowitz and Marvin D. Jeter, pp. 132–197. Research Series No. 15. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Schambach, Frank F.
1993 The End of the Trail: Reconstruction of the Route of Hernando de Soto's Army through Southwest Arkansas and East Texas. In *The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543*, edited by Gloria A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman, pp. 78–105. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Schambach, Frank F., and Ann M. Early
1982 Southwest Arkansas. In *A State Plan for the Conservation of Archeological Resources in Arkansas*, edited by Hester A. Davis, pp. SW1–SW149. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Schambach, Frank F., Neal L. Trubowitz, Frank Rackerby, E. Thomas Hemmings, and W. Frederick Limp
1982 *Test Excavations at the Cedar Grove Site (3LA97): A Late Caddo Farmstead on the Red River*. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Schoen, Christopher
1990 Window Glass on the Plains: An Analysis of Flat Glass Samples from Ten Nineteenth Century Plains Historic Sites. *Central Plains Archaeology* 2(1): 57–90.
- Scott, Douglas D., and Richard A. Fox
1987 *Archaeological Insights into the Custer Battle: An Assessment of the 1984 Field Season*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Scott, Douglas D., Richard A. Fox, Melissa A. Connor, and Dick Harmon
1989 *Archaeological Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Scott, Douglas D., and Andrew P. McFeaters
2011 The Archaeology of Historic Battlefields: A History and Theoretical Development in Conflict Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19: 103–132.

- Sherman, Daniel J.
1996 Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I. *Gender & History* 8(1): 82–107.
- Sherwood, Diana
1944 Clearing the Channel: The Snagboat in Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 3: 53–62.
- Shinn, Josiah H.
1908 *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*. Democrat Printing and Lithograph, Little Rock.
- Sifakis, Stewart
1992 *Compendium of the Confederate Armies: Florida and Arkansas*. Facts on File, New York.
- Singletary, Otis A.
1957 *Negro Militia and Reconstruction*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Smith, John I.
1979 *The Courage of a Southern Unionist: A Biography of Isaac Murphy, Governor of Arkansas 1864-1868*. Rose Publishing, Little Rock.
- Smith, John I.
1983 *Forward from Rebellion: Reconstruction and Revolution in Arkansas, 1868-1874*. Rose, Little Rock.
- Springer, Francis, and William Furry
2001 *The Preacher's Tale: The Civil War Journal of Rev. Francis Springer, Chaplain, U.S. Army of the Frontier*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Stampp, Kenneth
1956 *The Peculiar Institution*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Stanley, Henry M.
2000 *Sir Henry Morton Stanley, confederate*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
- Star of Hope
1916 Road Notice. *Star of Hope*, November 18 edition.
- Starbuck, David R.
1999 *The Great Warpath: British Military Sites from Albany to Crown Point*. University Press of New England, Hanover, NH.

- Starbuck, David R.
2002 *Massacre at Fort William Henry*. University Press of New England, Hanover, NH.
- Stockley, Grif
2009 *Ruled by Race: Black/White Relations in Arkansas from Slavery to the Present*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Stoltman, James B.
1973 The Southeastern United States. In *The Development of North American Archaeology: Essays in the History of Regional Traditions*, edited by James E. Fitting, pp. 117–150. Anchor Books, Garden City, NY.
- Swepton, Paul
2009 A Window to the Past: Judge John Brown's Diary - July 4, 1852 through July 13, 1865.
- Swiggett, Samuel
1897 *The Bright Side of Prison Life*. Fleet, McGinley, & Co., Baltimore.
- Taylor, Orville W.
1958 *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Taylor, Orville W.
2000 *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*. Arkansas Classics. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Thomas, Emory
1989 Civil War. In *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture, Volume 2*, edited by Charles R. Wilson and William Ferris, pp. 340–344. Anchor Books, New York.
- Trubowitz, Neal L.
1984 *Cedar Grove*. Unpublished Research Series No. 23. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Trubowitz, Neal L., Frank F. Schambach, Frances B. King, Jerome C. Rose, and Marvin Kay
1984 *Cedar Grove: An Interdisciplinary Investigation of a Late Caddo Farmstead in the Red River Valley*. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Turner, Mary N.
1994 Dooley's Ferry on the Red River: A Brief History. *Journal of the Hempstead County Historical Society* 13: 12–22.

- Tyson, Carl N.
1981 *The Red River in Southwestern History*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- U.S. Census Office
1860 *Eighth Census of the United States: Schedule I*. U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, DC.
- U.S. Census Office
1864 *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
- U.S. Census Office
1865 *Manufactures of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
- U.S. Census Office
1870 *Ninth Census of the United States: Schedule I*. U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, DC.
- United Confederate Veterans of Arkansas
1993 *Confederate Women of Arkansas in the Civil War: Memorial Reminiscences*. M&M Press, Fayetteville.
- United States Pharmacopoeial Convention
1942 *The Pharmacopoeia of the United States of America, Twelfth Edition*. Mack Print Company, Easton, PA.
- Vauban, Sébastien
1737 *De l'Attaque et de la Défense des Places*. P de Hondt, The Hague.
- La Vere, David
1998 *The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700-1835*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Walker, Samuel
1980 *Popular Justice: A History of American Criminal Justice*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel M.
1974 *The Modern World System*. Academic Press, New York.
- Ward, Andrew
2008 *The Slave's War: The Civil War in the Words of Former Slaves*. Houghton Mifflin, New York.

- Webster, C.L.
2009 *Entrepôt: Government Imports into the Confederate States*. Edinborough Press, St. Paul, MN.
- Wedel, Mildred M.
1978 La Harpe's 1719 Post on Red River and Nearby Caddo Settlements. In *Texas Memorial Museum Bulletin No. 30*. University of Texas at Austin, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Weiland, Jonathan
2009 A Comparison and Review of Window Glass Analysis Approaches in Historical Archaeology. *Technical Briefs in Historical Archaeology* 4: 29–40.
- West, Elliott
1998 Foreword. In *Arkansas, 1800-1860*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- White, C. Albert
1983 *A History of the Rectangular Survey System, Volume 2*. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, Washington, DC.
- White, Deborah G.
1999 *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. W.W. Norton, New York.
- Wiley, Bell Irvin
1978 *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
- Williams, Charlean M.
1951 *The Old Town Speaks: Recollections of Washington, Hempstead County, Arkansas*. Anson Jones Press, Houston, TX.
- Williams, Charles G.
1987 The Action at Wallace's Ferry, Big Creek, Arkansas July 26, 1864. *Phillips County Historical Quarterly* 25: 46–55.
- Williams, David
2005 *A People's History of the Civil War: Struggles for the Meaning of Freedom*. New Press, New York.
- Williams, Keenan
1994 Dooley's Ferry and the Civil War. *Journal of the Hempstead County Historical Society* 13: 37–43.

- Williamson, Joel
1986 *A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Willis, James F.
1998 *Arkansas Confederates in the Western Theater*. Morningside Press, Dayton, OH.
- Wilson, Joseph T.
1890 *The Black Phalanx: A History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775-1812, 1861-'65*. American Publishing Company, Hartford, CT.
- Wise, Stephen R.
1991 *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running during the Civil War*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Woodman, Harold D.
1990 *King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Woods, Stephen E.
1948 The Development of Arkansas Railroads, Part I. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 7: 103-140.
- Worley, Ted R.
1958 The Arkansas Peace Society of 1861: A Study in Mountain Unionism. *Journal of Southern History* 24(4): 445-456.
- Wright, Richard
1978 *White Man, Listen!* Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram
1966 God and Dun & Bradstreet, 1841-1851. *The Business History Review* 40(4): 432-450.
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram
1983 *Southern Honor: Ethics & Behavior in the Old South*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Zornow, William F.
1955 State Aid for Indigent Soldiers and Their Families in Arkansas, 1861-1865. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 14(2): 97-102.

Appendix 1: The Past and Present of Conflict Archaeology

“The fear of war as a widespread killer first began to afflict families only in the nineteenth century... during the American Civil War.” – John Keegan, *War and Our World*

Archaeologists have long busied themselves with studies of sites associated with warfare and violence. The contexts of such work and the interpretations offered as a result have displayed marked stability on some fronts, and some surprising fluidity on others. It is only since the 1980s, however, that conflict archaeology has gelled as a research area with dedicated scholars, conferences (Freeman and Pollard 2001), and periodicals. We can take these developments as proof of the maturation of conflict archaeology, as some have (Pollard and Banks 2005), as well as a basis for questioning the current state and future direction of conflict studies in archaeology. Institutional factors have largely kept conflict archaeology a term used by historical archaeologists in North America, South Africa, and Europe, though studies of conflict in archaeology are much more widespread. In its short history, the *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* has yet to publish an article written by a non-resident of the Anglophone world, and is developing primarily into a mix of papers on historic sites in Europe and North America and prehistoric sites in northern Europe. Most studies focus on European or American territory, though some studies have been conducted in former colonial areas, primarily South Africa, where settler communities remain a large and powerful component of society (Pollard, et al. 2005; Swanepoel 2005).

Out of this fundamentally Eurocentric environment spring the problems of understanding the effect that such institutional borders bring to conflict archaeology and identifying ways to challenge the approach to conflict archaeology that has

developed in tandem with the foundation of the journal and the convening of the Fields of Conflict conference series. By considering how archaeologists working on prehistoric sites and cultural anthropologists study and interpret conflict sites, needed changes to the conceptual framework of conflict archaeology may be made, hopefully opening the intellectual discussion in such a way as to foster debates that will be informative and useful to those interested in understanding any instance of collective violence.

This statement builds toward that discussion by identifying the intellectual history of conflict archaeology as well as tracing other areas' approaches to similar studies. In essence, the following is a four field look at anthropological pathways to understanding conflict, warfare, and collective violence. There are many reasons to feel encouraged over the prospects for the research area, though I find some emerging directions, particularly those that lead away from questioning the bases for warfare and violence in the modern era, disconcerting.

Conflict Studies in Archaeology I: Historical Archaeology

Archaeological studies in battlefields were virtually non-existent until the early 1980s. Metal detectors had been available for public use since World War II, when they were developed to locate mines, though archaeologists were slow to recognize their potential. Reliance on traditional survey methodologies have been repeatedly shown to be ill-suited for use on battlefields (Cornelison and Cooper 2002) or on any kind of military site (Balicki 2006). Snow's (1981) work at Saratoga achieved some

success through traditional techniques, but a more robust methodology was pioneered in the mid-1980s by Douglas Scott and Richard Fox.

Scott and Fox co-directed a large scale metal detector sweep of the Little Bighorn battlefield in Montana following a brush fire in 1984. Plotting each find with a total station, the archaeologists were able to identify scatters of bullets associated with different units and events during the battle. The results indicated a much different understanding of the battle than historians and popular media had embraced in the century since the battle (Dippie 1976), resulting in some hostility towards their findings. The major publications from this work include Fox's dissertation (Fox 1993), an interim report (Scott and Fox 1987), a final report (Scott, et al. 1989), and a skeletal report based on remains found in proximity to grave markers and in other contexts around the battle site (Scott, et al. 1998). Fox and Scott also collaborated on an article for *Historical Archaeology* that posited the "Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern" (PCWBP), somewhat in keeping with the pattern-promulgating craze of the 1980s that followed from South (1977). In this case, however, the PCWBP was not, as some might be led to believe, geared towards establishing whether or not there was in fact a post-Civil War battlefield in the site under study. It would be poor practice indeed to work years to find out whether or not any battle was fought in a place demarcated as a national battlefield landmark. Rather, the PCWBP was an attempt to disentangle battlefield actions, interpreting the evidence both in gross (battlefield-wide) sense and dynamic (individual- or group-specific) patterns (Fox and Scott 1991). This was the vehicle by which Scott and Fox established a flowing, dynamic interpretation of the battle, one that showed the changes in the positions of combatants

as the battle progressed, and the different ways in which Indian and American soldiers organized on the battlefield and the ways in which they used terrain.

Conflict Archaeology in the United States since the Little Bighorn

Like most of the large-scale archaeological investigations of battlefields, the Little Bighorn project took place on government-owned land. The National Park Service has been an integral part of battlefield archaeology in the U.S., sponsoring projects at Civil War battlefields such as Pea Ridge, Arkansas (Drexler, et al. 2005), Wilson's Creek, Missouri (Scott 2000), and Antietam, Maryland (Harbison 2000; Potter, et al. 2000; Prentice and Prentice 2000; Sterling, et al. 2000). The War of 1812 Battle of Chalmette, Louisiana, frequently referred to as the Battle of New Orleans, has also been investigated (Cornelison and Cooper 2002). To date, one Mexican War battlefield, Palo Alto, has been subject to archaeological work (Haecker and Farmer 1994; Haecker and Mauck 1997). Indian War battlefields throughout the western United States have been similarly studied (Adams and White 2001; Greene and Scott 2004; Lees 1999; Lees, et al. 2001). The bulk of these studies employ a historical particularist approach that sets the limits of inquiry at the boundaries of the battlefield. Interpretations specifically focus on assessing where the archaeology corroborates the historical placement and movement of troops, and where discontinuities suggest that there was something else going on that the history books miss. In so doing, they draw inspiration from the Little Bighorn project, but the work is frequently marred by over-reliance on the history books and inattention to the stress on the cultural dynamics of conflict that Scott and Fox stressed at the Little Bighorn. This refereeing of the

historical record is perhaps a reaction to the oft-cited and oft-maligned quote oft-lifted from Noël Hume's *Historical Archaeology*, stating "little useful can be said about battlefield sites... There can be no meaningful stratigraphy (as far as the battle is concerned), and the salvage of relics becomes the be all and end all" (Noël Hume 1969:188). The desire to prove that we can add to or alter the historical record has blinkered North American conflict archaeologists from more complex theoretical issues that can be drawn from cultural anthropology or other realms of the social sciences.

Currently, much battlefield work hinges on the continued efforts of a small cadre of dedicated archaeologists whose analyses tend to focus around a single region or conflict. Geier, in addition to editing some of the major volumes on Civil War archaeology (Geier and Potter 2000; Geier and Winter 1994), focuses primarily on northern Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley (Geier 1999, 2003; Geier, et al. 2006), as does Balicki. Scott continues work on Indian War battlefields and is in the process of developing a Spanish-American War project in Cuba, along with several collaborators. Sivilich maintains ongoing research on Revolutionary War sites in New Jersey, and Adams continues to speak and write about Indian Wars battlefields in the southwest, as does Laumbach. The mass of this work embraces the military-historical particularist approach to studying war, an approach to studying battlefields that while providing a plethora of material culture related to the battle, has never been used to compellingly connect the site of conflict with the cultural processes in operation during and created by periods of warfare. This is, to me, the massive shortcoming of the approach.

Battlefield Archaeology in the United Kingdom and Former Colonies

Europeans have similarly taken to the investigation of battlefields, drawing significantly from the model of the Little Bighorn Project. These projects run the gamut from early Greece, where Lee (2001) used inscriptions on Greek sling stones to posit a reconstruction of the sacking of the city of Olynthos, up through the destruction of Roman legions in the Tuetoberg Forest in 9AD (Wells 1999, 2003) and up through the English Civil War (Foard 2001) and Scottish uprising of 1715 . Much of this earlier work tends to follow in a narrow military-historical particularist vein, similar to current North American work, though projects focusing on more recent conflicts have shown much greater theoretical elasticity.

One of the few attempts to engage with post-processualist theoretical traditions and to engage in comparative study in conflict archaeology is the Bloody Meadows Project, spearheaded by John and Patricia Carman. They find the phenomenology developed by Charles Tilly to be useful in understanding long-term changes in the selection and use of the landscape during battle. They critique the understanding of the battlefield plan, the bird's eye view of the battlefield, as making it impossible for archaeologists to understand how the landscape was understood by the people who fought on it. They offer instead a ground-level take on each battlefield created by walking the field and attempting to embrace the strategic and tactical philosophies that commanders of each side brought to the battlefield.

Carman and Carman (2006:7-8) offer a brief history of battlefield archaeology from the British perspective, focusing on 19th century work by Fitzgerald (Foard 2001) and

Brooke (1854) at English Civil War battlefields such as Naseby and Stoke, as well as more recent excavations such as do Paço's (1962) at Aljubarrota, a medieval battle often seen as the beginning of Portuguese national identity.

The Carmans seek common themes in the use of the landscape by warring groups since the Bronze Age, drawing on Hanson's assertion that the rise of hoplite warfare in Greece initiated a series of assumptions and cultural practices pertaining to warfare that remained dominant throughout European history in spite of the tactical and strategic dictates of any particular conflict. They assert that this mode of warfare is ill-fit to guiding modern conflict, and advocate embracing other "subordinate models of war" as a necessary change in the way modern nation-states conduct themselves on the battlefield (Carman and Carman 2006:4).

It must be born in mind that the approach advocated by Carman and Carman is not pitched as a return to processualist nomothetics used elsewhere in archaeology previous to their own work, which sought cross-cultural generalizations from all parts of the world at all points in time (Binford 1978). Instead, the Carmans focus on European battlefields only, site of contest between groups whose cultural approaches to warfare are related in some fashion to the Greek hoplite warfare of the Bronze Age, which they see as foundational to combat traditions in Europe. They posit a culturally genetic link between hoplite warfare and subsequent European military traditions, and hold this link as the crucial factor in facilitating comparison. They highlight changes in the use of the landscape over time, with medieval battlefields situated on high ground near cities (to be seen by locals, the Carmans assert), while modern battlefields moved to low ground away from populated regions. While ambitious, Bloody

Meadows fails to deliver on several fronts. Key among these is that the Carmans assert trends for “modern” (post-1800) battlefields when only three of the 23 battlefields studies date to this period. For a period that encompasses battles such as Waterloo, Sevastopol, Borodino, Austerlitz, Metz, Sedan, Ypres, the Somme, D-Day, the Battle of the Bulge, and Kursk, and saw tactics change from Napoleonic massed infantry assaults into squad-based combat supported by heavy artillery, armor, and aircraft, the Carman’s accounting of such changes is lacking at best.

Their conclusion that modern warfare has a preference for battlefields away from cities other population centers seems a bit curious. In World War II, cities such as Leningrad, Stalingrad, and Bastogne became infamous for the bitter fighting that swirled through their streets, and other cities, such as Arnhem, Nijmegen, and Eindhoven, were scenes of protracted fighting during campaigns such as Operation Market Garden. The Carmans’s analysis implies an undue level of choice on the part of either belligerent in the selection of battlefields in the modern era. They are right to ground their interpretations in landscape analysis, but fail to grant that landscape more than towns and hills, ignoring all other forms of infrastructure.

Though glossed as embracing a phenomenological approach to studying conflict, the Carmans’ work appears to be primarily a processualism of the Carmans’ own feelings, and their observations of the placement of battlefields is grounded in the modern landscape, with no accounting being given to changes in the social construction of space over the past millennia that would substantially affect their results. Further, they consider the genetic link to hoplite infantry as being sufficient to posit a widespread European military cultural viewpoint, shaped by mutual consent by

all belligerents. This would argue against there being meaningful adaptations or mutations of that culture by any single area at any time over the past millennium. This strikes me as incredible.

Finally, I find this change troubling as well in that it is perhaps the best known attempt to approach conflict archaeology in the historic period with an explicit theoretical approach, yet ultimately recapitulates the fetishism of the battlefield. In an intellectual period wherein we need to transcend the scene of conflict as our primary scale of analysis, *Bloody Meadows* pushes us back into that battlefield-oriented mindset. In spite of the shortcomings, it remains a sophisticated attempt to expand upon a military-historical particularist tradition through the application of different theoretical orientations and a reasonable comparison between sites that have something approaching a shared tradition behind them. It is in many respects a stride forward, just not in the direction I had hoped.

Fortifications

Some of the earliest excavations of conflict sites in the United States and Europe stem from studies of fortifications. As mentioned in the introduction, Schliemann's work at Troy was specifically focused on trying to locate the walled, fortified city associated with the ancient siege. Similar work has been completed on forts, fortified settlements, and castles throughout the world, but these analyses are not referenced by self-identifying conflict archaeologists in any meaningful way. We will return to them later.

Fortification studies in the United States tend, like battlefield project, towards the historical particularist vein of inquiry. In some cases, this is because the projects are undertaken by scholars who do not have a background in conflict archaeology and undertake the projects as contracts from local, state, or federal land management agencies that need work done in advance of restoration (Matzko 2001) or construction of visitor amenities. In some cases, specialists employ the military-historical particularist approach as an explicit research strategy, adopting what can be understood as the quintessence of Hume's "archaeology is the handmaiden of history" method for historical archaeology. Starbuck's work on French & Indian War forts in New York employs this strategy, resulting in a number of works that while lacking anthropological content, are replete with new historical information on their subject sites and are useful ambassadors to the public regarding what historical archaeologists do and one way in which archaeology can contribute to historical understanding (Starbuck 1999, 2002).

One of the more widely known fortification studies is Leland Ferguson's studies of Fort Watson, South Carolina (Ferguson 1975, 1977), highlighted in South's (1977) work on pattern analysis. Fort Watson was a Revolutionary War-era fort occupied by the British Army which the Continentals took by building a massive tower overlooking the fort from which they could kill British soldiers with well-aimed small arms fire. Ferguson identified a large quantity of expended small arms ammunition at the site which clustered around the fort's southern and eastern walls, indicating that the tower had been built outside Fort Watson's northwest face.

Numerous other studies of forts in North America have been completed, though few with matching renown. Some have been published widely (Clements 1993; Deming, et al. 1996; Fryman, et al. 2000; Geier 2003; Geier, et al. 2006; Hanson and Hsu 1975; Howard 1991; Lees 1984, 1990, 1991; Lesser, et al. 1994; Mainfort 1980; Pollard 2001; Pollard, et al. 2005; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002; Stadler 2002; Sudderth and Hulvershorn 2000; Verrand 2004; Winter 1994), though innumerable more lie in the stacks of gray literature of CRM firms. In the majority of cases, the interpretations are geared towards a particularist in-filling of historical lacunae.

Material Culture

In addition to the patterns of artifacts recovered from conflict sites, archaeologists have focused on the material culture itself in a number of different ways, ranging from the empirical to the materialist. This work is supported by a massive resource base written largely by the amateur historian/collector/relic hunter community focusing on one or several specific areas of period military material culture. For the American Civil War, for instance, there are books focusing on buttons (Tice 1997), cartridge boxes (Johnson 1998), belt buckles (Campbell and O'Donnell 1996), horse equipment (Knopp 2001), medical instruments (Dammann 1983), and so on. Archaeologists have long relied on these texts for furthering our knowledge of the artifacts we recover, though some have been slow to recognize that were it not for the presence and interests of collectors, we would not have such texts and our ability to interpret archaeological remains would be much less than it is today. Given the extensiveness of this literature, I will here focus instead solely upon what

archaeologists have done using the identifications these guides to artifacts/relics facilitate. A critical analysis of the guides themselves is beyond the scope of this paper.

In recent years, archaeologists in Britain have turned towards materialism as a way of studying the material culture of conflict (Saunders 2001, 2003, 2004). Much of this work is focused on the First World War and its legacy not only in the United Kingdom but in France and Germany as well. Most prolific among these scholars is Nicholas Saunders, whose works on the material culture associated with conflict run from the shell casings and projectiles of the battlefield to the memorials constructed in the years following the war.

Other projects embrace a more processualist, data-oriented approach. For instance, the archaeological investigations of the American Civil War battlefields of Antietam, Maryland, and Pea Ridge, Arkansas, produced a number of studies dealing solely with the material culture (Coles 2003, 2004; Drexler 2004a, b; Harbison 2000; Sterling, et al. 2000). The research at Pea Ridge by Coles and Drexler identified a number of differences in ordnance manufacturing processes between Union and Confederate ammunition.

Forensic Archaeology

Many practitioners within conflict anthropology work as forensic archaeologists (different from forensic anthropologists). Doug Scott and Melissa Connor, veterans of the Little Bighorn project, participated in the exhumation of victims of genocide in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Iraq. Their experience in dealing with

remains from the Little Bighorn (Scott, et al. 1998) fed directly into this research area. Other archaeologists have helped in the recovery of remains in Guatemala and Chile. Several historical archaeologists worked on the Station Nightclub Fire in Rhode Island, which killed 100 people and injured 200 more during a concert in 2003, and others assisted with the location and identification of remains following Hurricane Katrina.

Though the association of this sort of archaeology with conflict is clear, the fact that forensic archaeology is definitionally associated with medico/legal investigations creates a profound epistemological divide between itself and conflict archaeology that takes place in academic or public archaeology. Forensic archaeology most frequently involves the recovery of human remains, commonly of civilians, unlike battlefield or more widely conflict archaeology, which focus more on the sites of violence, not the depositional contexts of its victims. Even when conflict archaeologists exhume remains associated with past conflicts, the ramifications of such work are quite different from those of forensic projects. Forensic digs focus specifically on providing information to courts who are in the process of prosecuting parties responsible for the violence, institutions such as the International Criminal Court in the Hague, Netherlands. The political implications of such work are much more severe than those that surround most battlefield projects. Even in situations such as the Little Bighorn, with its attendant alterations to widely-repeated narratives about the extermination of a brave, defiant band of soldiers, pale in comparison to the tension surrounding the cases currently leveled against the leaders of the slaughter of

Muslims at Srebrenica in the former Yugoslavia, men such as Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic .

Besides the political implications of forensic archaeology, there are important reconciliatory aspects to it as well. In some cases, those whose remains are recovered still have loved ones in the area of the atrocity, waiting for the return of their loved ones. In Srebrenica, widows of the men killed in the mid-1990s often waited years in hopes that their husbands and sons would return from some far-off concentration camp. Only when they were presented with remains and personal effects could they begin to accept the death of their loved one. In Cyprus, men who disappeared in the 1970s when the Turks took over the eastern half of the island were declared missing in action by the government controlling the Greek half. As such, their sons could not inherit their land and their wives could not collect benefit until their husbands remains were recovered and returned to them. No battlefield project conducted to date has been fraught with such poignant ramifications.

The implications of forensic work necessitate different theoretical and methodological orientations than shape work elsewhere. Because of this, a review of forensic archaeology is outside the realm of practicality for this overview. Recent overviews of the subject (Hunter and Cox 2007) serve as orientation tools, and a number of degree programs in forensic archaeology have been initiated in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Future Directions for Battlefield Archaeology

The most recent major publication in battlefield archaeology is *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War* (Scott, et al. 2006). The topics of the individual chapters range in across time and space, offering a useful snapshot of where the field was at two years ago. In the summary chapter, the editors advocate a turn towards investigating the “warrior” mentality cum personality type, one whose being and essence revolve around warfare and conflict, throughout human history and around the world (Scott, et al. 2007:430). They see this as a means to arrive at a cross-cultural examination of warfare not bound by region or time period. The strength behind this position, they assert, is it permits the archaeologist to study warfare as the most violent end of the spectrum of behaviors conditioned by culture. The driving force behind this is combating the trend, prominent in anthropology, to see violence as aberrant or evidence of cultural pathology.

Cultural anthropologists have roundly rejected such a project as too prone to misconstrue the culturally-mediated approaches to warfare and violence at play in different contexts (Otterbein 2004). Since “warriors” represent a small subset of any given population, even a minority within those who participate in warfare in any given culture, understanding the warrior is no path to understanding the culture itself, they argue. Further, looking for warriors in the historical and archaeological records, in practice, will cast past societies as being more violent than is perhaps warranted. At play here is an obvious tension between those who see humans as fundamentally violent and those who prefer more pacific interpretations (Otterbein 2000; Sponsel

2000; Whitehead 2000). I will return to this topic later in the paper during my discussion of anthropological approaches to conflict studies.

Furthermore, the quest for the warrior openly seeks to invest the interpretation of past conflicts with the themes of honor, heroism, and valor very frequently played out by military historians writing pulp histories to reinforce support for modern military projects. This is not to deny that, for instance, Civil War soldiers did not value these qualities highly, just that there is no critical consideration for the ways in which these attributes were constructed a century ago, how the interpretations of those values might differ from modern understandings. Failing to problematize the cultural orientation of the soldiers not only robs the subjects of study of an element of their humanity through the assumption of congruence between modern and past *weltanschauungen*, it too easily places archaeology in the position to give support to modern military projects. Leaning on tropes of heroism, valor, and honor negates the possibility of meaningful discussions of dissent and resistance to military authority. Additionally, it is difficult to deal with the class and race-based implications of warfare in studies that place emphasis on heroism and honor, as to do so would be seen as suggesting that they fought for a hollow cause, thus robbing them of those very qualities the author is so diligent in reiterating.

Not taking up dissent and the wider implications of warfare and militarism within archaeological work is a political decision on the part of the archaeologist. By not dealing with these matters, the practitioner reinforces interpretations of the past that are used in the media and the military today to encourage recruitment, service, and a jingoistic foreign policy that has global implications. It is possible to maintain

respect for the people in uniform while questioning the causes they fought for and the processes and structures that created the conditions that bore them to the front. I submit that moving in this direction will not only lead us to a deeper understanding of conflict and its implications, it will ultimately work to break down the emerging barrier between conflict archaeologists and the wider profession, who only too quickly assume the dominance of a military-historical particularist orientation that ultimately holds little relevance for those not deeply committed to the subject.

Tied in with this is a need to break from the equation of conflict archaeology with only military sites. Armies do not vie only with other armies. Civilians caught between and behind the lines experience, resist, and contribute to the fighting in numerous ways, many of which can be identified archaeologically, though few have been given significant study within conflict archaeology. Orser (1994) offers a prospectus, never pursued, for studying the impacts of the war on American society, and a run of chapters in *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War* (Koons 2000; Manning-Sterling 2000; Shackel 2000) offer a probe into this territory, but generated no general shift in this direction. Schofield and Cocroft (2007) write of the need to study the militarized landscape, those elements of the civilian landscape brought into service of the military during times of war. They mean specifically civilian structures put to military uses, though we could deliberately re-read this statement to argue for a conflict archaeology that gives equal weight to civilian and military sites implicated in the process of making war, either on others or on subdivisions within single societies. We cannot maintain a separation between military

and civilians landscapes in our analyses any more than those involved in the struggles we study could disentangle these landscapes as they lived out the conflicts.

Finally, we need to develop a comparative aspect to our research. Having just critiqued the military-historical side of the military-historical particularist approach, the only thing left to do is to go after the particularist component. If we do not, we run the risk of perpetuating the division between anthropology (prehistoric archaeology) and history (historical archaeology) that is both unsatisfying from the standpoint of the development of theory and mirrors too closely the nature/culture binary, whose ill effects include the marginalization of subordinate groups and the bolstering of ethnocentric depictions of wars abroad that sucks support away from efforts to develop less militarized forms of conflict resolution.

Conflict Studies in Archaeology II: Prehistories of Conflict

Many archaeologists interested in studying warfare and conflict do not self-identify as conflict archaeologists. By far the fewest of such are prehistorians in the United States and, to a lesser extent, Europe. In the U.S., regional foci dominate over thematic studies, to the point that a large body of insightful work on conflict goes largely unnoticed by historical archaeologists, and vice versa. Carneiro (1970) worked on this issue during the 1970s within the context of theorizing the origins of political complexity. Writing against models by Childe (1936) and Wittfogel (1957) that suggested complexity arose in situations where people willingly surrendered autonomy in favor of the organizational power of stratified systems, Carneiro claimed that the creation of such societies was always a coercive act, and occurred in contexts

where access to valuable land became constricted, which he termed his “constriction theory.”

The re-discovery of conflict in prehistoric archaeology was perhaps most politicized in the southwest, due in part to the manner in which archaeological interpretations were cast. A decade ago, LeBlanc (1999) re-conceptualized Puebloan warfare, spurring a series of case studies throughout the region that to be published (Rice and LeBlanc 2001). This did not arouse as much ire as did the publication of research on cannibalism, particularly Christy and Jacqueline Turner’s *Man Corn* (1999). Though not the only volume on cannibalism in the southwest (White 1992), it has been the most visible and the most referenced by the press. The subject as reported was profoundly embarrassing to the Indian community in the region, multiplying grievances against archaeologists.

As LeBlanc and others have pointed out, the image of the peaceful southwestern Indian was a myth, and was frequently framed in a manner reminiscent of the noble savage trope so widely encountered in lay and academic print. Part of the recent turn towards conflict studies stems from the publication of Lawrence Keeley’s (1996) *War before Civilization*, perhaps the fullest critique of the image of the peaceful Indian. LeBlanc and others have built upon Keeley’s model (LeBlanc and Register 2003). Though this could be seen a bit as a new archaeological hammer, which can make anything seem like a nail, the lack of attention to conflict in prehistoric archaeology before the 1990s (Carneiro’s work notwithstanding) suggests that this is more corrective than hyperbole. The following few chapters present a brief overview of some of the trends and themes to emerge in the past two decades.

Origins and Development

Philosophers, historians, and others have offered theories about how, why, and where conflict developed. Anthropologists, too, have contributed to this debate, some of which is detailed below. Among the most recent of such works is Keith Otterbein's (2004) succinctly titled book, *How War Began*. Otterbein argues that there were two incipient points for warfare in human history. First, competition between Paleolithic megafauna hunters for hunting grounds and women spilled over into deadly combat, initiating a form of fighting that was relatively constant yet small-scale, involving groups of combatants of limited size. The move towards sedentary agricultural villages created a significant change in warfare, creating large-scale wars between well-organized political groups.

Contrary to some other anthropologists (e.g. Gardner and Heider 1969; Turney-High 1991) who saw war in antiquity as being largely ritual or ceremonial, Otterbein maintains that war was a serious endeavor that had great influence on everyday life. The number of people who died in combat, even in the Paleolithic, was significant, and there is little reason to believe that it only served a ceremonial purpose.

Otterbein's study is wide-ranging, and is complemented by other, more localized work (Guilaine and Zammit 2001; Thorpe 2003). The research topic in general tends to be a *mélange* of archaeological data and ethnographic studies projected analogically into the past. As such, it offers both helpful models for how and why violent confrontations became part of humanity's past while raising questions

regarding the applicability of employing data collected on modern groups to interpret the past 10,000 years.

Case Studies

In addition to the proliferation of books covering the nascence and development of conflict through the ages, the great trend in prehistoric archaeology is in the direction of case histories. This is due in part to the insularity of regional study areas, as, for example, specialists in the American southwest tend to publish together while failing to cite outside of their own general area (e.g. Rice and LeBlanc 2001).

Archaeological case studies have been published for Mesoamerica (Brown and Stanton 2003), the American Midwest (Milner, et al. 1991), and South America (Arkush and Stanish 2005), to name a few. In each case, the analysis is pitched primarily towards members of the regional research community, and less towards the interests of those interested in building a robust archaeological perspective on conflict, though Arkush and Stanish (2005) do express some leanings in that direction.

Current Trends

In a sense, the turn towards case studies of the past decades has laid the groundwork for more broadly-conceived, cross-cultural analyses of conflict that are just now beginning to make it to press. This is perhaps one of the most exciting developments in archaeology of recent years, as the developing approach not draws together interpretations of different prehistoric contexts; it draws theoretical inspiration from both archaeology and cultural anthropology to produce a number of

engaging, illuminating studies (e.g. Solometo 2007). Arkush and Allen (2007) pulled together case studies of prehistoric violence from around the world to illustrate how archaeologists can profitably apply anthropological theory to the archaeological record in studying conflict.

Arkush and Allen's volume, while a great step forward towards synthesizing global archaeological traditions, contains one glaring deficiency. Pointed up by Redmond and Spencer's work on Mesoamerica, for which they draw upon their day jobs, excavating remains of U.S. soldiers from the Vietnam conflict still in southeast Asia. In making the bridge from deep past to present, they skip past the entirety of the subject matter of historical archaeology. While prehistorians draw heavily on cultural anthropologists, they essentially ignore any contributions historical archaeology can give. Admittedly, historical archaeologists have been allergic to referencing prehistoric work. Still, this temporal disunity represents a barrier in archaeological approaches to conflict that inhibits the intellectual possibilities of all involved.

Conflict Anthropology

Cultural anthropologists have also been interested in studying conflict, and some of the insight gained from more recent conflict can be of assistance to archaeologists interested in wars of greater antiquity. There is a substantial and rapidly growing canon of work on this subject, though as Gusterson (2007) points out, the relationship between conflict and anthropological fieldwork has been underappreciated. Reflecting the trends in the research area itself, I will here give an

overview of this work based on the way in which nation-states factor into the conflict being studied.

I will try to limit this discussion to those works dealing directly with the topic of warfare and violence. However, I should note here that the connections between anthropology and conflict are much deeper than simple research, as many anthropologists have worked directly for the U.S. military in all of the wars of the 20th century (Benedict 1946; Boas 2004; Horowitz 1967; McFate 2005), and the selection of field sites and research regions is conditioned to some extent by American military control abroad (Gusterson 2007). Recent debates over the role of anthropologists in the military, where the discipline is essentially weaponized and made a tool for manipulation, have been heated and protracted.

Human Quintessence: Hawks and Doves at the Height of the Cold War

Studies of warfare in anthropology date to the post-World War II boom in the field, and deal with a number of issues that were directly relevant to the Cold War period. Dealing primarily with non-state societies, anthropologists sought out “primitive” forms of warfare that, in ways similar to Durkheim’s approach to studying religion, would help answer two fundamental questions. First among these was whether humans were innately violent, warmongering creatures or not, the second question being whether or not state-level warfare was inevitable. This last was an important question in an era where the United States and the U.S.S.R. were pointing nuclear missiles at one another.

Anthropologists were not the first to ask whether or not humans were inherently violent, however. Philosophers have been debating the topic for centuries, though the two poles of responses are usually associated with Thomas Hobbes and Jean Jacques Rousseau. In *Leviathan*, (1651) Hobbes argued that man was innately driven to make war upon others, and that chaos and anarchy would come to pass without the guiding, pacifying hand of a strong centralized government. Rousseau, on the other hand, believed that humans were innately peaceful creatures, and that society was a corrupting influence, robbing humans of their basal pacifism (Rousseau 1923[1750]).

The ramifications of the Hobbes/Rousseau dichotomy were profound, as the former's understanding of human nature made an all-out war with the Soviets seem a foregone conclusion, whereas the latter held out more hope. Gusterson (2007) suggests that the studies of "primitive" warfare completed during the Cold War era were spurred in no small part by anxieties bred by the conflict and fueled by a scientific approach to anthropology that not only overrode the interests and concerns of the subject populations but also resonated with U.S. government funding sources who were interested in the research.

More Recent Research: Genocide, Militarism, Nukes, and Memory

In the wake of the massive levels of violence of the twentieth century, anthropologists and other social scientists have turned towards the study of genocide as a cultural phenomenon (Bodley, et al. 1992; Hinton 2002a; Uehling 2004). While the anthropological literature has much to contribute to this discussion, the field of

genocide studies, which has its own journal now in its tenth volume, is predominantly carried out by sociologists, historians, and political scientists (Totten and Jacobs [2002] do not include anthropologists within their volume, *Pioneers of Genocide Studies*). The few books that appear in this review of the anthropological literature should be understood to be a miniscule sampling from the massive collection now housed in Swem Library.

Anthropological work has focused on the interlinking of genocide and modernity, the relationship of anthropology (and archaeology) to bringing about genocidal violence (Arnold 2002), and the growing effort to reverse the previous trend and use anthropology against genocide (Hinton 2002b). Others have turned towards the way in which memories of genocide are brokered in current politics and how they function within communities of survivors, particularly amongst immigrant refugee communities containing those who escaped genocidal violence (Uehling 2004). Clearly evident in this discussion is a frustration with cultural relativism. As Hinton notes, many dictators in the postcolony have wrapped themselves in the mantle of cultural relativism to mask or to insulate themselves from international sanction for acts of violence perpetrated against their subjects.

The bellicosity displayed by the United States government over the past decade has also produced the first protracted studies of American militarism in anthropological writings. Obviously directed to some degree at the relationships between the United States and other nations, an important component of this research focuses on how militarism shapes American social and economic structures. Projects include the transitioning of the U.S. economy to a platform for constant war-making

(Melman 1974), the changed brought to civic life by the presence of large permanent encampments of troops (Lutz 2001, 2002).

Anthropologists have also dealt with the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the implications of their development and deployment, though, as Gusterson (2007) notes, this did not occur until after the Cold War, when the threat of nuclear Armageddon was less of a reality. This is one point at which cultural anthropology and historical archaeology re-converge, as work on recent archaeological sites in Great Britain (Schofield and Cocroft 2007; Schofield 2005; Schofield, et al. 2002) has dealt significantly with the effects of mobilization for potential nuclear war, particularly during the late 1980s and early 1990s, as well as grassroots opposition to such preparations.

Undergirding many of these conflicts is a felt desire to homogenize the population; to drive out or destroy those who are not ethnic allies. As Appadurai (2006) points out by drawing on Douglas (1960), there need not be substantial numbers of subordinate groups to spark warfare and, possibly, genocide. Small numbers of “others” can be seen as proof that the ethnic cleanliness of a community is in doubt, and that if that small number can be reduced to nothing, then the ethnically dominant community can reclaim some measure of control over its affairs. This elides the fact that many of the concerns and problems that impel ethnocide and genocide in the modern world stem from economic and political imbalances brought into being by globalization, and are therefore not the fault of any local multiculturalism. In many cases, the scale of inequalities brought about through the globalizing process is too

large to be conceptualized by the community, the result being that minority groups are made scapegoats for problems not of their creation.

Carl Gilbert Drexler, MA (ABD)

Curriculum Vita

Home:	1010 Linda Magnolia, AR 71753 757-561-7629 twolongyears@gmail.com	Office:	Arkansas Archeological Survey SAU Research Station Magnolia, AR 71754 870-235-4230 cgdrex@email.wm.edu
-------	--	---------	---

Education

Doctor of Philosophy, Anthropology

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia (expected August 2013)
Dissertation title: Crossroads of Conflict: Historical Archaeology at Dooley's Ferry, Hempstead County, Arkansas.

Master of Arts, Anthropology

University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska (May 2004)
Thesis: Identifying Culturally-Based Variability in Artillery Ammunition Fragments Recovered from the Battlefield of Pea Ridge, Arkansas.

Bachelor of Arts, Anthropology

Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa (May 2002)
Senior Thesis: Hard Times in the Black Sands: The Trade Relations of the Sinagua at New Caves and Bench Pueblos, Arizona.

Research Interests

- Historical Archaeology
- Culture Contact
- Conflict Archaeology
- Cultural and Historical Memory
- Forensic Archaeology
- Border and Frontier Theory
- Anthropological & Archaeological Theory
- Spatial Analysis
- Archaeology of the Caribbean
- Landscape Analysis
- Archaeo-geophysics
- Aerial and Terrestrial Laser Scanning

Computer Skills

ArcGIS 10.x (ArcMap, ArcCatalog, ArcToolbox), ArcView 3.x, Pathfinder Office, Blackboard, Microsoft Access, Microsoft Excel, SPSS, Adobe Illustrator, Adobe Photoshop, QuickTerrain Reader,

Professional Organizations

Society for American Archaeology

- Society for Historical Archaeology

Professional Service

- 2010 – Present Academic and Professional Training Committee (APTC), Society for Historical Archaeology
- 2011 – Present Continuing Education Coordinator, Society for Historical Archaeology
- 2006 – 2007 Program Committee, Society for Historical Archaeology
- 2005 – 2006 Program Committee, American Society for Ethnohistory
- 2004 – 2007 Student Subsection of the APTC, Society for Historical Archaeology
- 2003 – 2004 Program Committee, Society for Historical Archaeology

Publications

Carlson-Drexler, Carl G.

2008 Monuments and Memory at San Juan Hill: Archaeology of the Spanish-Cuban-American War. *SAA Archaeological Record* 8(1):26-28.

2006 Using Spatial Analysis to Identify Battery Positions at the Site of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri. In *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*. D.D. Scott, L.E. Babits, and C.M. Haecker, eds. Pp. 58-74. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International.

Hilliard, Jerry, Mike Evans, Jared Pebworth, and Carl Carlson-Drexler
2008 A Confederate Encampment at Cross Hollow, Benton County, Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 67(3).

Organized Symposia

- 2013 "Across the Pond: New Ventures in a New World." Symposium presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Leicester, United Kingdom [with Jenna Carlson]
2010 "Sentinel to History:" Historical Archaeology in the State of Arkansas. Symposium presented at the 67th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Archaeological Conference, Lexington, Kentucky [with David Markus].
2006 A Hidden Diversity, Historical Archaeology in the Ozark Uplands. Symposium presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Sacramento [with Dr. Alicia Valentino]
2004 Anthropology on the Battlefield: Method and Theory in Military Sites Archaeology. Symposium presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, St. Louis.

Conference Papers

Carlson-Drexler, Carl G.

- 2013 The Edge of the World: Settlement, Production, and Trade in Early Southwest Arkansas. Paper presented at the 46th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Leicester, United Kingdom.
2012 Surviving on the Confederate Home Front: Soldiers and Civilians in Southwest Arkansas. Paper presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Baltimore, Maryland.
2011 Small Finds on a Bloodied Landscape: Placing Landis's Battery on the Battlefield of Pea Ridge. Paper presented at the 44th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Austin, Texas.
2010 Defending the Red: Archaeology of Conflict at Dooley's Ferry, Hempstead and Lafayette Counties, Arkansas. Paper presented at the 67th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Archaeological Conference, Lexington, Kentucky.
2008 Crossroads of Conflict: Archaeology at Dooley's Ferry, Hempstead County, Arkansas. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
2006 Warfare in the Ozarks: Toward a Regional Landscape Approach to Conflict Archaeology. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Sacramento, California.

Carlson-Drexler, Carl G., Douglas D. Scott, and Peter A. Bleed

- 2006 Contested Terrain, Congested Landscape: Memorialization of San Juan Hill. Paper presented at the 71st Annual Conference of the Society for American Archaeology, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Drexler, Carl G.

- 2005 Identifying Cultural Differences in Shell Fragment Standardization: An Example from Civil War Arkansas. Paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, York, United Kingdom.
2004 Cultural Influences on Artillery Projectile Morphology in the Trans-Mississippi, 1862. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, St. Louis, Missouri.
2003 Ordnance Standardization as a Measure of Relative Industrial Capacity: A View from Civil War Arkansas. Paper presented at the 123rd Annual Meeting of the Nebraska Academy of Sciences, Lincoln, Nebraska.
2002 Hard Times in the Black Sands: Changing Trade Relations among the Sinagua of New Caves and Bench Pueblos. Paper presented at the 114th Annual Meeting of the Iowa Academy of Science, Des Moines, Iowa.

Drexler, Carl G., Alicia L. Coles, and Joel A. Masters

- 2004 Thunder in the Trans-Mississippi: Quantitative and Metallurgical Analyses of Civil War Ordnance from Wilson's Creek National Battlefield and Pea Ridge National Military Park. Paper presented at the 69th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Contract Reports

Carlson-Drexler, Carl G.

- 2011 Archaeological Investigations at Fort Sully (14LV165): Excavating the Civil War at Fort Leavenworth. USACE/ERDC/CERL, Champaign, IL. [With Carey L. Baxter]
- 2011 Archaeological Management Plan for Fort Leavenworth. USACE/ERDC/CERL, Champaign, IL. [With Carey L. Baxter]
- 2011 Historic Trails on Fort Riley: A Cartographic and Remote Sensing-Based Approach. USACE/ERDC/CERL, Champaign, IL. [With Carey L. Baxter]
- 2011 Prioritizing Historical Archaeological Sites at Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri. USACE/ERDC/CERL, Champaign, IL. [With Ellen Hartman]
- 2008 Fairfax Court House, 1861-1865: Civil War Archaeological Resources in the City of Fairfax, Virginia. Report prepared for the City of Fairfax, Virginia by the William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, VA. [With Joe B. Jones]
- 2008 "The Battle Raged... With Terrible Fury:" Battlefield Archeology of Pea Ridge National Military Park. Technical Report No. 112. USDI/NPS Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE. [With Douglas D. Scott and Harold Roeker]

Moore, William H., David W. Lewes, Courtney J. Birkett, and Carl G. Carlson-Drexler

- 2008 Comprehensive Report: Thematic Survey of Civil War Archaeological Resources in the City of Fairfax, Virginia. Williamsburg, VA: William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research.

Scott, Douglas D. and Carl G. Drexler

- 2004 Archeological Inventory of the Graff/New Visitor Center Property, Homestead National Monument of American, Gage County, Nebraska. Report on file, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE.

Scott, Douglas D., Harold Roeker, and Carl G. Carlson-Drexler

- 2008 "The Fire Upon Us Was Terrific:" Battlefield Archeology at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, Missouri. Technical Report No. 109. USDI/NPS Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE.

Employment

2012 – Present

Adjunct Instructor
Southern Arkansas University

- Supervisors: Mr. Jan Duke, Dr. Claude Baker, and Dr. Edward Kardas
- Duties include teaching Social Science Research Methods (CRJU3153), World Archaeology (ANTH4133), and Geographic Information Systems (SCI3003).

2011 – Present

Station Assistant
Arkansas Archeological Survey, SAU Research Station

- Supervisor: Dr. Jamie C. Brandon
- Duties include assisting with general station function, setting up and running archaeological research on historic sites in southwest Arkansas and the rest of the state, and working with the public to answer questions regarding Arkansas's archeological heritage. I also work closely with other state agencies to assist in preservation and outreach work throughout the state on mid-19th century, particularly Civil War, sites.

2009 –2013

Archeologist
U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center, Construction

Engineering Research Laboratory, Champaign, Illinois

- Supervisor: Dr. Christopher M. White
- Duties include developing research in aerial remote sensing and LiDAR analysis to support cultural resources projects, assisting with geophysical surveys and developing and completing archaeological projects for the U.S. Army. Other research includes foci in managing cultural resources in impact areas containing unexploded ordnance and assisting with developing federal government-wide spatial data standards for cultural resources.

- Spring 2009** Adjunct Instructor
College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia
- Supervisor: Dr. Brad Weiss, Chair of the Department of Anthropology
 - Duties included teaching one section of Introduction to Cultural Anthropology to a class of 80 students. I developed the syllabus and lectures as well as selecting the ethnographies read during the course.
- Spring 2008** Archaeological Intern
William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research
- Supervisor: Joe B. Jones
 - Duties included writing reports and assisting with field projects for the school's CRM firm. Produced a popular booklet for the City of Fairfax, Virginia, detailing recent research on Civil War sites in the area.
- 2005-2009** Graduate Assistant
College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia
- Supervisor: Dr. Frederick Smith, Dr. Donald John Hatfield, Dr. Martin Gallivan, Dr. Barbara King, Dr. John Ertl, Dr. Neil Norman
 - Duties include assisting with class preparation as well as helping with Archaeology Month activities.
- 2005, 2006** Archaeologist
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
- Supervisor: Dr. Marley Brown
 - Supervised a five week field school in historical archaeology at the Peyton Randolph house in Colonial Williamsburg. Also was a member of field crew for an extensive Phase I survey of the Carr's Hill property.
- 2004-2005** Senior Graduate Assistant
Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas
- Supervisor: Dr. Justin Nolan, Dr. J. Michael Plavcan
 - Duties: Teach three 2-hour lab classes per week, grade papers, organize and host study sessions, proctor and grade examinations, consult with students, and offer lectures.
- 2004** Archaeological Collections Assistant
Department of Anthropology and Geography, University of Nebraska, and
University of Nebraska State Museum, Lincoln, Nebraska
- Supervisors: Dr. Peter Bleed, Dr. Luann Wandsnider, Dr. Priscilla Grew, Dr. Tom Myers
 - Duties: Write access and borrowing protocols for the archaeological collection, review and improve digital records of anthropology department holdings, and act as liaison between the department and the museum
- 2003** Graduate Teaching Assistant
Department of Anthropology and Geography, University of Nebraska,
Lincoln, Nebraska
- Course: Introduction to Anthropology
 - Professor: Dr. Paul A. Demers
 - Duties: Advising students, grading papers, writing tests, maintaining class notes, tracking grades, assisting the professor with sundry tasks.
- 2002-2004** Archeological Technician
Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska
- Supervisor: Dr. Douglas D. Scott, Anne M. Vawser, M.A.
 - Duties: Analyzing, curating, and performing spatial analysis on artifacts recovered from Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, Missouri and Pea Ridge National Military Park, Arkansas. I have also been part of the center's Archeological Information Management (AIM) Team, which has required me to work on a number of GIS projects in various national parks and national forests. I have also been involved with site survey and land use history research for Homestead National Monument, Gage County, Nebraska.

2000-2002

Laboratory Assistant
Grinnell College Anthropology Department, Grinnell, Iowa

- Supervisor: Dr. Jonathan C. Whittaker
- Duties: Digitizing site maps, analyzing pottery fragments, cleaning and labeling artifacts, and assisting in ceramic analysis laboratories

Field Experience

Ongoing

Research Associate
Arkansas Archeological Survey

- Supervisor: Jamie Brandon
- Historical archaeological projects in southwest Arkansas operated through the Magnolia station of the Arkansas Archeological Survey.
- Excavation, mapping (plane table and with total station), overseeing volunteers, metal detector operation, assisting with geophysical surveys, and cleaning, sorting, bagging, and analyzing artifacts.

2005

Archaeologist
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia

- Supervisor: Dr. Marley Brown III
- Phase I survey of Carr's Hill, a forested area owned by Colonial Williamsburg. Duties included digging shovel test pits, operating a total station, and collecting and cataloguing artifacts.

2004

Volunteer
National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center

- Supervisor: Dr. Douglas Scott
- Project: Phase III investigation of the area adjacent to the tour road at Little Bighorn National Battlefield, Montana, in advance of a project to widen the tour road.
- Duties: Operation of the GPS during the project, recording artifact locations with a Trimble PowerPro unit. This project also required the downloading and post-processing of all spatial data collected during the project.

2003

Archeological Technician
Midwest Archeological Center

- Supervisor: Dr. Douglas D. Scott
- Project: Metal detecting survey of selected portions of Pea Ridge National Military Park, Arkansas.
- Duties: I was employed to operate the GPS-receiver and coordinate and maintain artifacts and data during the duration of the field project.

2002

Crew Member
Grinnell College Department of Anthropology

- Supervisors: Dr. Jonathan C. Whittaker, Dr. Kathryn A. Kamp, Dr. Timothy Hare
- Project: Mapping the ceremonial complex of the Mayan city of Mayapan, Yucatan, Mexico.
- Duties: Assisting with the GPS-receivers, mapping using an EDM, data logger, and prism.

References

Dr. Frederick H. Smith
Department of Anthropology
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, VA 23187
fhsmi@wm.edu

Dr. Douglas D. Scott
dougscott@aol.com

Dr. Jamie C. Brandon
Arkansas Archeological Survey
SAU Research Station
Magnolia, AR 71754
jbrando@uark.edu

Dr. Neil Norman
Department of Anthropology
College of William & Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-8795
nlnorman@wm.edu