Jamie C. Brandon
James M. Davidson

The Landscape of Van Winkle's Mill: Identity, Myth, and Modernity in the Ozark Upland South

ABSTRACT

Archaeological investigations at Van Winkle's Mill (3BE413), a mid-to-late-19th century sawmill in the Arkansas Ozarks, were conducted between October 1997 and October 2003. These investigations yielded information that may help us understand the changing social relations and race constructions associated with the end of the antebellum era as expressed via landscape usage. Additionally, the excavations have much to say regarding our stereotypes of both slavery (and by extension the whole African Diaspora) and the inhabitants of the American upland South.

Introduction

In what is now a quiet, overgrown Ozark hollow in a corner of the low mountains and plateaus of northwestern Arkansas was once a bustling community centered around a sawmill known as Van Winkle's Mill. This mill served as a major source of lumber for the region in the mid- to late-19th century and was the dominant provider of the materials for rebuilding after the carnage that marked the American Civil War. Additionally, the narrow hollow now known as "Van Hollow" was home to a good number of men and women—black and white, skilled and unskilled, enslaved and free—who made up the labor force of Van Winkle's Mill.

Like many other regions, this postwar period seemed to mark for northwest Arkansas a passage into a more fully articulated modernity (Harvey 1990:27). The war seems to have served doubly as a catalyst for this change. First, it served as the traumatic moment creating the need for social and infrastructural change (Soja 1989:26–27). The Union armies effectively demolished the Southern way of life—including racial slavery and its economic infrastructure. Simultaneously, the war's havoc opened up space much like the practice of "creative destruction" did in other contexts (Harvey 1990:19; Boyer 1994:179), and an "explosion of capitol investment in the last two decades of the century" was mobilized to fill that space (Allen 1994:156). Thus the massive social reorganization that occurred on the heels of the war was accompanied by rebuilding the physical landscape.

Landscape-oriented archaeology is, by all accounts, becoming a ubiquitous line of inquiry in historical archaeology (Leone 1984, 1995; Kelso and Most 1990; M. Johnson 1996; Worrell et al. 1996; Yamin and Metheny 1996; Stine et al. 1997; Kealhofer 1999; Epperson 1999b; Delle et al. 2000). By now, it is no longer a novel concept to see social landscapes as intimately connected to social structures (Cosgrove 1984; Soja 1989; Jameson 1991:97–129; Lefebvre 1991). In this vein, archaeology and historical research conducted sporadically at Van Winkle's Mill (3BE413) between 1997 and 2003 presents some interesting perspectives on and poses some important questions about the cultural processes that form cultural memory, stereotypes about the plantation South, the African Diaspora, and the very landscape of the hollow itself.

This article will attempt to outline some of the entanglements of the landscape and the social realities of Van Winkle's Mill. Of course it cannot address all of the complex ways in which modernity, concepts of race, the emerging trope of the Ozark "hillbilly," and industrial landscape of Van Winkle's Mill all interacted and changed throughout the 19th and early-20th century. It does, however, hope to focus on more than one of these trends and how it relates to the physical landscape of Van Winkle's Mill.

Peter Van Winkle and Van Winkle's Mill: A Brief Background

Van Winkle's Mill began as a place on the historical cultural landscape in the 1850s when Peter Marselis Van Winkle borrowed money

Historical Archaeology, 2005, 39(3):113–131.
Permission to reprint required.

from a local capitalist and purchased the land, equipment, and enslaved labor for his Ozark mill (Easley and McAnelly 1996:156; Brandon and Davidson 2003:8). Peter had been born in 1814 in New York City, the fourth child of a family that had come from Holland in 1619 to be a part of the Dutch New Amsterdam colony (Hicks 1990:3–8). Peter's family had moved west by 1820, and Peter grew up in Franklin and Fulton counties in Illinois (Hicks 1990: 17–18; Easley and McAnelly 1996:156).

Peter Van Winkle first appears in northwest Arkansas in the mid-1830s when he would have been 21 years old (Rothrock 1973:63; Hicks 1990: 15–16). Van Winkle marries his second wife, Temperance "Tempy" Miller, in 1840 and made a living farming, contracting to "break" prairie land, blacksmithing, and making wagons in Washington County, Arkansas, through the 1850s (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850; Hicks 1990:17; Easley and McAnelly 1996:156). By 1851 he was paying taxes on land in Benton County, Arkansas, and had started lumbering soon thereafter (Hicks 1990:19; Brandon et al. 2000:5). By 1860 Van Winkle had built what has been described as a "plantation style" or "Southern-type" home in Van Hollow (Johnson 1963:33–34; Hicks 1990: 21) where he lived with his wife, eight living children, a tutor from Tennessee, and a young apprentice lathe operator. As early as 1861 he was beginning to acquire the symbols of his newly acquired station: 1,370 acres of land, one saw mill, 34 mules, 1 gold watch, 1 pleasure carriage, and 12 slaves over the age of five (Hicks 1990:21; Brandon et al. 2000:7).

While the first evidence of Van Winkle "owning" slaves was 10 years earlier, coincident with his moving to Van Hollow, by the beginning of the Civil War he enslaved at least 18 human beings (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860; Hicks 1990:21,51; Brandon et al. 2000: 10). This is not an insubstantial number for northwest Arkansas, where only the largest slaveholders in the region claimed 30 slaves (Smith 1995:42).

Moreover, his sympathies during the war are not hidden in the slightest. Not only did Van Winkle contract with the Confederate government to build barracks and stables for troops stationed in the area (Hicks 1990:21,346–348), he named two of his children after prominent Confederate figures: Jefferson Davis Van Winkle (born 1861) and Robert E. Lee Van Winkle (born 1863; Hicks 1990:175–262). Thus when the tide turned against the Confederate forces in northwest Arkansas, Van Winkle found no quarter. He fled, with his family and slaves, to Bowie County Texas, and his home and mill in Van Hollow were burned to the ground sometime between 1864 and 1866 (Rothrock 1973: 64; Hicks 1990:23; Hughes 2001:35).

Following the war, Van Winkle and company returned to Van Hollow and rebuilt the community along with his two-story house with terraced gardens (Figures 1, 2) and what has been called "the most modern and powerful mill in the west" (Hicks 1990:25; Easley and McAnelly 1996:157). Van Winkle's Mill dominated the regional market in the 1870s and provided the lumber for the postbellum rebuilding of Fayetteville as well as many of the public buildings built following the war (Rothrock 1973:62; Hicks 1990:32,47).

In the larger landscape of the region, Van Winkle's Mill lies in the White River Hills of the Ozark Mountains in the southeastern portion of Benton County (Rafferty 2001:12). This region of the Ozarks is known for its rugged relief and karst topography (Rafferty 2001: 15–16). Historically, it was described as "so broken and uneven that it [was] mostly unfit for cultivation, except in the valleys of the streams" (Goodspeed Pub. Co. 1889:2). Peter Van Winkle was, no doubt, aware that he was building his mill in the southeast corner of the county on "a tract of land, six miles north and south by about eight miles east and west, covered with pine timber, much of which is large enough for lumber and of it there is a seemingly inexhaustible supply" (Goodspeed Pub. Co. 1889:5).

From the perspective of regional settlement patterns, Van Winkle's decision to settle at Van Hollow proved to be "either fortuitous or an act of genius" (Bowers 2003:10). In 1850, when Van Winkle settled in Benton County, only four towns existed near Van Hollow to provide a market for his lumber: Fayetteville, Shiloh (Springdale), Bentonville, and Huntsville. By the time Van Winkle died in 1882, however, Rogers and Eureka Springs had been incorporated and had grown into important places in the northwest Arkansas marketplace—Rogers as a town on the St. Louis and San Francisco

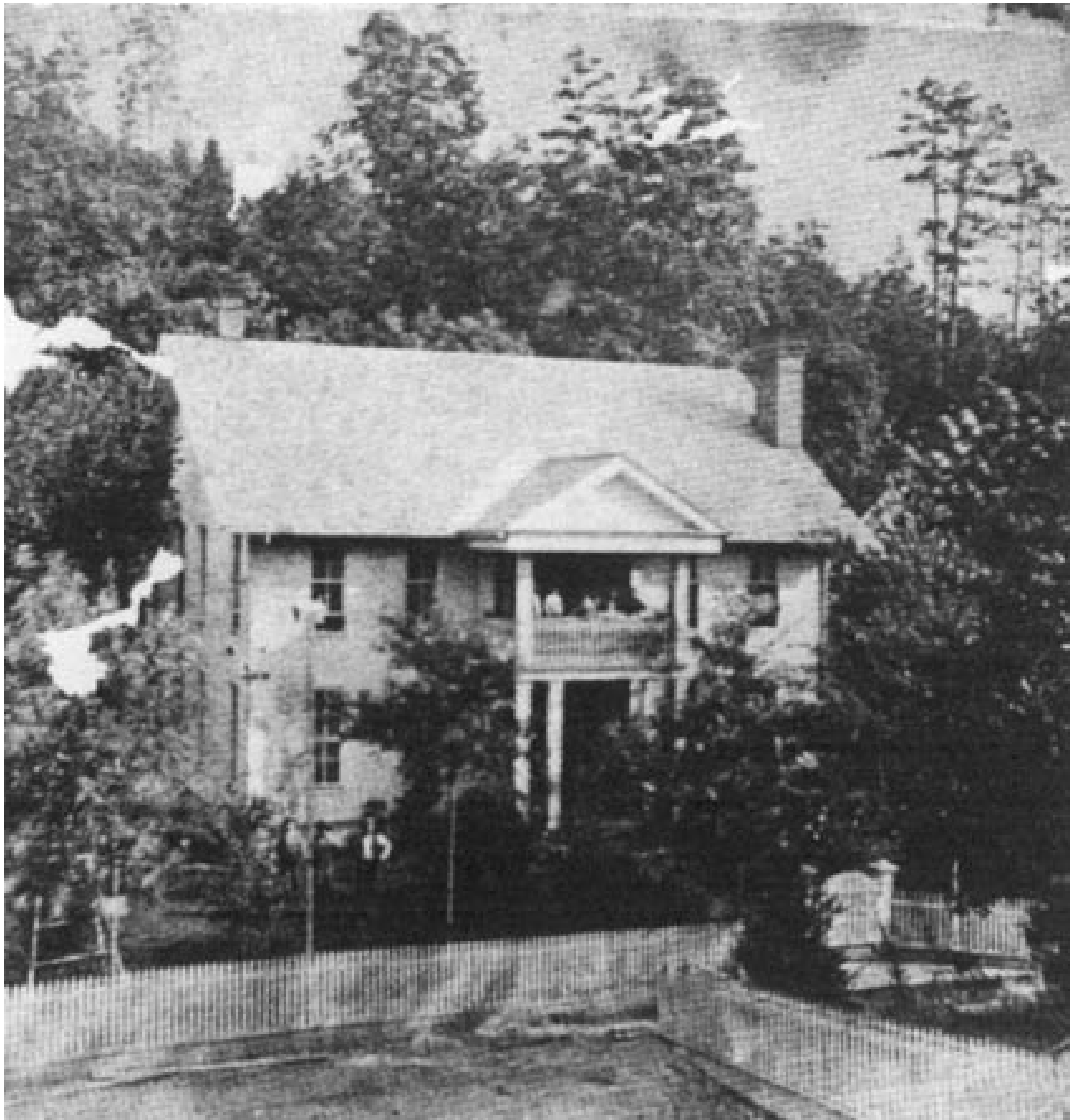

FIGURE 1. Photograph of Van Winkle home ca. 1870 (after Hicks 1991:28).

Railroad and Eureka Springs as a cosmopolitan tourist attraction and health retreat. Van Hollow is centrally located to these towns on the landscape, providing equal access to northwest Arkansas' largest towns and their markets (Figure 3).

Taking advantage of his central place on the landscape, Van Winkle expanded his lumber concern into a network throughout the 1870s and early 1880s. His "Home Mill" in Van Hollow added door and window manufacturing capabilities; he opened two lumberyards (one in Eureka Springs and one in Rogers) and began acquisition of timberlands and a portable sawmill in Madison County not far from Eureka Springs (Bowers 2003:50). He had even opened the Van Winkle Hotel, an elegant three-story showplace on the Fayetteville square in 1880 (Brandon et al. 2000:8). By the time of his death he had direct access to markets in Fayetteville, Eureka Springs, and Rogers. Close examination of the Van Winkle probate record reveals that

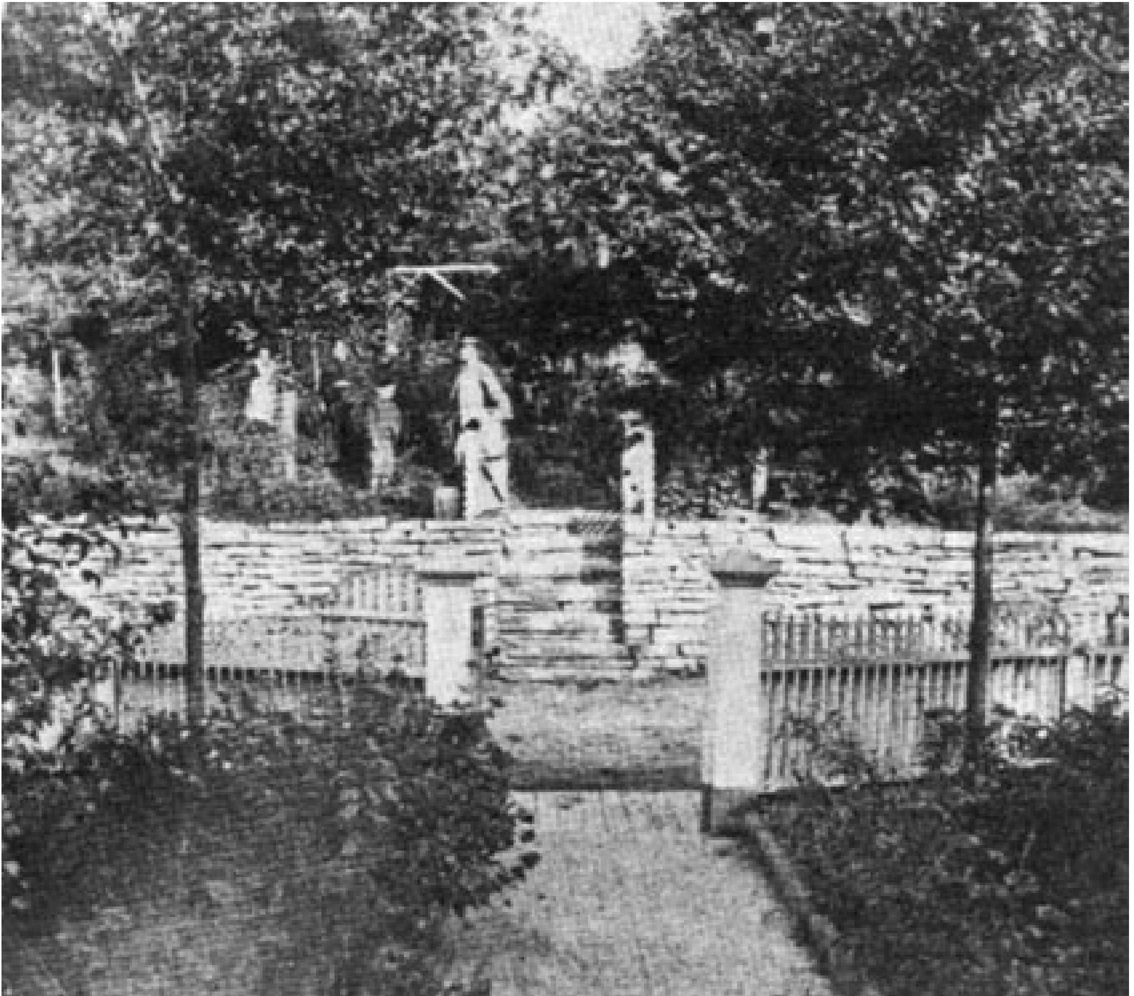

FIGURE 2. Photograph of raised garden opposite Van Winkle home (after Hicks 1991:28)

these yards offered plows and other hardware in addition to the doors, windows, and lumber manufactured at the Van Winkle's Mill.

Following Van Winkle's death in 1882, Van Winkle's Mill slowly faded into the distance as the 20th century marched on. After a brief time operating in the hands of Van Winkle's relatives, the mill's engine was sold in 1904; the flywheel was blown apart for scrap metal near the end of World War I; and the large, spacious Van Winkle home was finally demolished in 1969, shortly before the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism took over the property (Funk 1962; Hicks 1990:47–48; Brandon and Davidson 2003: 14; *contra* Brandon et al. 2000:14).

Family history and archival evidence relating to Van Winkle's life emphasize the "modernisms" of this "pioneering" industrialist—his attitudes towards wealth and nature allude to the conscious and unconscious ideologies of knowledge, power, and progress which, when implemented in the proper and rational way, can liberate man from the tyranny of "scarcity, want, and arbitrariness of natural calamity" (Harvey 1990:12; see also Foucault 1970, 1980). His commitment to the Ozarks' modernization is attested to by his stalwart and generous support of projects such as telegraph line expansion and his successful work to coax the Arkansas-Missouri Railroad through the city of Fayetteville (Rothrock 1973:61–62,68–69; Hicks 1990:38–40,389). Additionally, his deft accumulation of symbolic capital (e.g., the gold watch, pleasure carriage, the large home and raised garden) as well as his economic capital

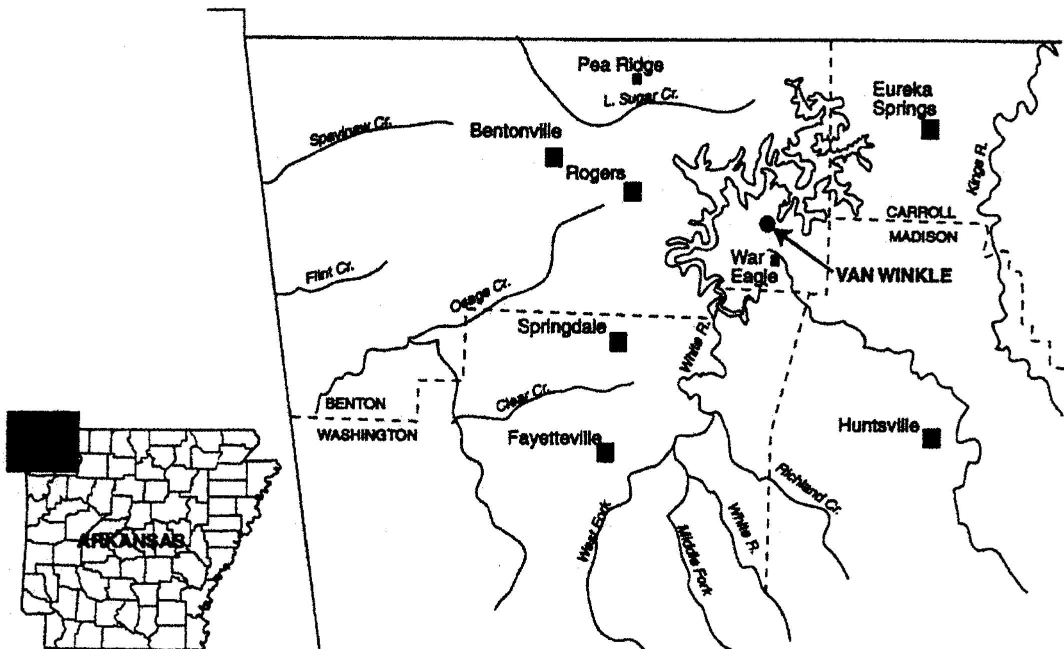

FIGURE 3. Northwest Arkansas area map showing the locations of Van Winkle's Mill (3BE413) and the towns of Fayetteville, Springdale, and Bentonville.

(which, of course, also functioned symbolically) demonstrates his working knowledge of the aesthetic and taste culture of modernity and capitalistic consumption (Bourdieu 1979; Lavine 1988). As we will see later, the landscape of Van Hollow itself reflects these values—emphasizing the need for order, a separation between public and private spheres, the observation/surveillance of labor (Foucault 1977:170–176,195–227, 1980: 146–165), and spatializing and naturalizing social distinctions (Soja 1989; Jameson 1991:154–180; Lefebvre 1991).

Archaeology, Modernity, and the Landscape of Van Winkle's Mill

Archaeological investigations have been conducted sporadically at Van Winkle's Mill since 1997, when the Arkansas Archeological Survey conducted an extensive mapping project and limited archaeological testing at the site. Personnel at the developing Hobbs State Park and Conservation Area initiated this project by contacting the State Archaeologist and requesting guidance concerning the documentation and historic interpretation of the mill and related features (Brandon et al. 2000:2; Brandon and Davidson 2003: 15). The original mapping and testing project has been supplemented by a systematic survey of the northern portion of the hollow (Brandon and Davidson 2003:24–33) and a series of small testing and excavation projects.

As no aboveground structural remains have been preserved (aside from a limestone spring house and the steps of the raised garden), specific details about the built environment have been discerned through photographic evidence (see Allen, this volume). Further construction information, as well as temporal data, has been inferred from five testing programs—one at the main house belonging to Peter Van Winkle and family, one at the Feature 9 workers' quarters, one at a possible antebellum slave quarters (Feature 33), one at the blacksmith shop (Feature 31), and one at the location of the sawmill boiler platform (Hilliard 1997; Brandon and Hilliard 1998; Brandon et al. 1999, 2000; Bowers 2003: 36–39; Brandon and Davidson 2003).

The natural narrowness of the hollow and its rugged, dissected topography place physical limitations on the construction of the cultural

landscape of Van Winkle's Mill (Figure 4). The hollow itself begins in the west, trending southwest northeast, and turns at a slightly more northerly angle where the hollow widens near the former location of Van Winkle's home.

A total of four archaeological loci (features 8, 9, 10, and 33) have been identified in the southwest portion of the hollow. During two brief testing projects (in 1999 and 2000) and the 2001 University of Arkansas field school, the entire footprint of the Feature 9 structure has been uncovered (Figure 5). Feature 9 appears to be a double pen frame structure, perhaps a dogtrot-style building (Brandon et al. 2000:53). The extensive excavations at Feature 9 indicate the structure is domestic in function and that the major depositional events occurred between 1870–1910 (Brandon et al. 2000: 53–55). Nail and window glass analysis point toward one major and one minor construction period—the major event occurring 1866–1870 and the second, minor event occurring post 1900 (Brandon et al. 2000:38,41–42). Other artifacts recovered from Feature 9 excavations, however, may point toward an ephemeral antebellum (slave?) occupation (Brandon et al. 2000:53; Brandon 2001). The data currently assembled imply that the family of one of the laborers in the mill inhabited the structure.

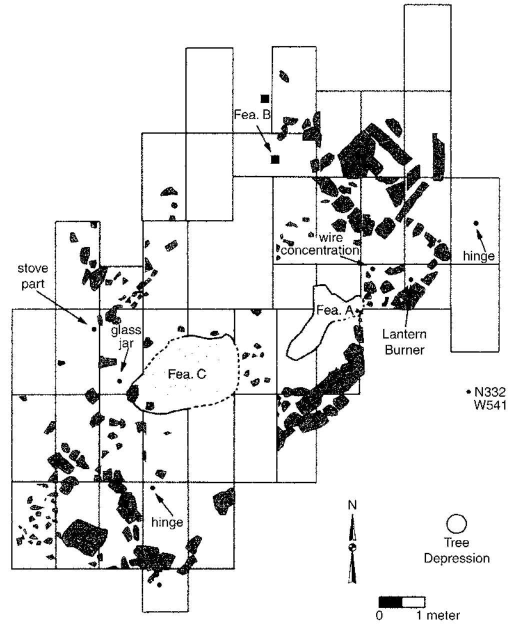

FIGURE 5. Plan view of Feature 9, probable slave/freedmen mill workers' quarters.

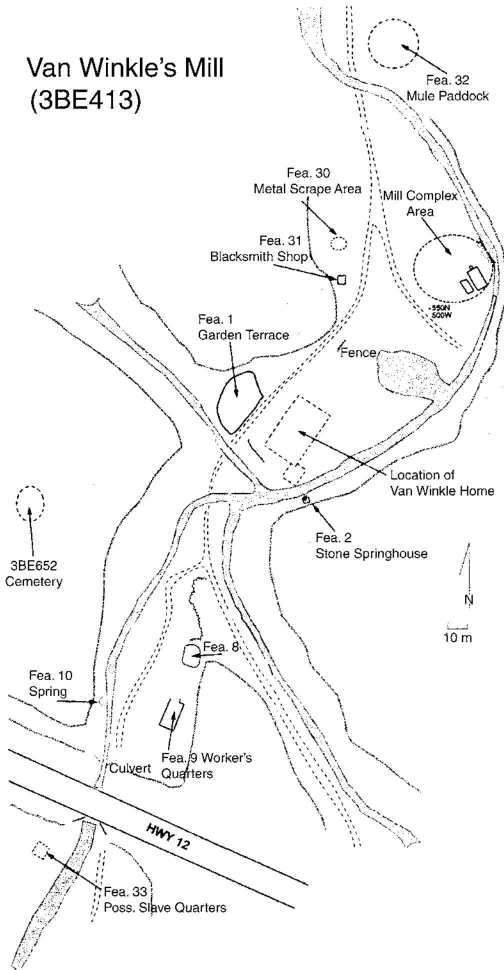

FIGURE 4. Map of Van Winkle's Mill (3BE413), showing cultural features.

Eighteen enslaved men and women lived and labored in this place prior to emancipation. After the war, two freedman families returned to Van Hollow to live and work. Of these, the family of Aaron Anderson Van Winkle seems to be the most compelling candidate for the residents of Feature 9 (Brandon et al. 2000:55; Brandon and Davidson 2003:17).

At the age of six, Aaron Anderson Van Winkle (known by some as "Old Rock" or "Uncle Rock") was brought in bondage from Alabama to Arkansas by Colonel Hugh Anderson (*Benton County Democrat* 1904; also see Hilliard 1997 for a discussion of that family

and slavery). It is unclear if or when Aaron was sold to Van Winkle, but by the end of the war he is working at the mill as an "engineer" (*Benton County Democrat* 1904; Brandon et al. 2000:14). Family oral history claims, however, that Aaron had a more domestic role in the hollow—"Rock was Peter's 'manservant' and always by his side" (Hicks 1990:52). Whatever Aaron's role at the mill, he managed to garner a great deal of respect from both the black and white communities. When he passed away in 1904, his death was mourned across the racial divide. At least three obituaries in local white papers described his funeral at a black Bentonville church.

Located further up Van Hollow is Feature 33—a probable antebellum slave quarters. Artifacts from the limited testing in 2001 do not support a postbellum occupation. The artifact deposition is thin, and no substantive foundation remains, like those at Feature 9, were encountered. However, multiple geophysical technologies (electrical resistance, magnetometry, electromagnetic conductivity, and magnetic susceptibility) deployed at the Feature 33 location detected a linear data trend with a right angle (Brandon 2001). As this trend roughly matches the extent of the nail rain observed in units excavated at Feature 33, it is thought to represent a wall of the structure. Other features in the southwest portion of Van Hollow include a series of small springs opposite Feature 9 (Feature 10), a cemetery marked with unmodified field stones (3BE652), and a 20th-century structure that does not appear to be residential (Feature 8).

The Van Winkle home—with its raised garden (Feature 1), white picket fence, and massive stone springhouse (Feature 2)—sat just past the bend in the north-south trending portion of the hollow. In 1997, preliminary excavations, including cruciform backhoe trenches, indicate that this is the location of both the original and 1870 Van Winkle homes. The second Van Winkle home was represented by 30–50 cm of highly disturbed midden along with the remains of brick chimneys and limestone supports. The first Van Winkle home, burned during the Civil War, is thought to be represented by a thin (5 cm) anthrosol containing annealed cut nails, melted glass, and charcoal buried by 50–60 cm of sterile soil (Brandon et al. 2000:27–28). This seems to indicate either a burying of the burned remains of the first structure or substantial landscaping of the landform prior to the building of the second Van Winkle home.

Located in the widest portion of Van Hollow is the mill complex itself. The above-ground remains of a large limestone boiler and engine platform, flywheel trench and mounting (Feature 5), and a small, stone-lined cistern-like feature thought to be used in the draining of the boilers (Feature 6) are all that remains of the large two-story grist and sawmill complex. Two separate attempts to locate the foundation lines of the structures that housed these mills using geophysical technologies (electromagnetic conductivity, magnetometry, and electrical resistance) and traditional testing strategies proved unsuccessful (Brandon and Davidson 2003: 36–39,54). Excavations in 2001 have uncovered a portion of the extent of the boiler platform, and partially cleaned out and defined Feature 6 and the flywheel trench (Bowers 2003:36–39; Brandon and Davidson 2003:55–57).

The systematic survey of the northern portion of the hollow has lead to the discovery of several new features of interest to this analysis (Brandon and Davidson 2003:24–33). Located across from the mill is a large blacksmithing shop (Feature 31) and scrap metal storage area (Feature 30). Test excavations and geophysical investigations (magnetometry and electrical resistance) have lead to the excavation of a limestone foundation along the back wall of the blacksmith shop and the eastern half of the forge box (Brandon and Davidson 2003:42–48). Excavations indicate that the forge was probably used thought the life of the mill and was salvaged sometime in the early-20th century (Brandon and Davidson 2003:53,69). Additionally, the location of a mule paddock (Feature 32, represented only by a large number of mule shoes and large pennyweight nails), two discreet dumping areas (features 27 and 28) were also investigated following their discovery during the systematic survey (Brandon and Davidson 2003: 25–31,51–53).

These features make up the cultural landscape of Van Winkle's mill and provide us with an opportunity to examine modernity, enslavement, and industrialization in the upland South (Brandon and Hilliard 1998). These phenomena have implications for the relations of groups (both the

dominant and the dominated) to the means of production. Moreover, the dynamic transformations that occur during the occupation of Van Hollow (increasingly "efficient" industrialization, the Civil War, and emancipation) offer further insights as to how people actively sought to restructure their worlds in response to changes in these relations.

A few things quickly become evident when you examine the configuration of the Van Hollow landscape. First there seems to be a clearly discernable industrial zone in the northern area of the hollow (Figure 6). Here, in the widest portion of the hollow, were the mills, blacksmith shop, metal scrap areas, lumberyards, and mule paddock. This area was, of course, a hub of activity and the locus that made Van Winkle's mill "a lively place" (Godspeed Pub. Co. 1889:107) that "resembled a fair as people gathered to trade their produce and wares to each other as well as for the sawmill products" (Hicks 1990:20).

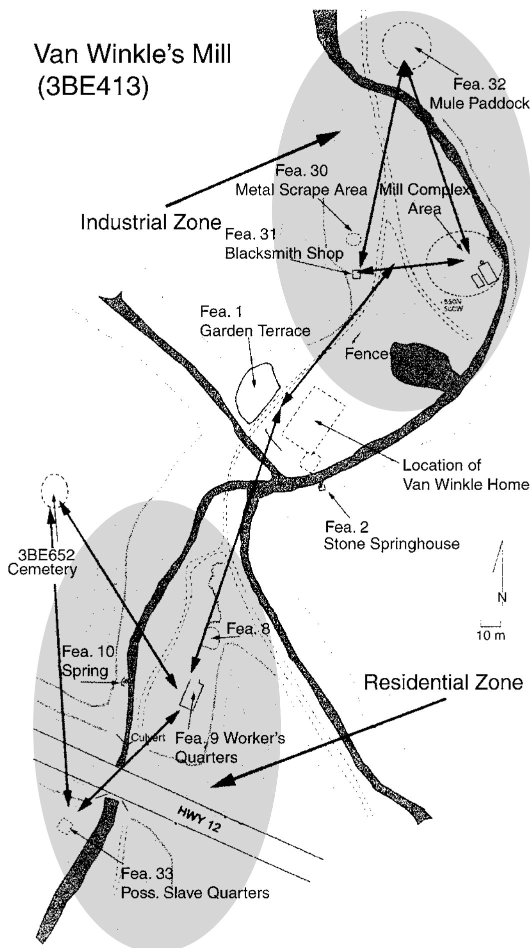

FIGURE 6. Implied landscape zones and interactions between features on the Van Hollow landscape.

Moreover, the mill's industrial features would have been constituent parts of the whole of the industrial enterprise. All would have variously interacted as nodes in a network designed to produce lumber and sell commodities to the public. For instance, the blacksmith shop would be busy casting and repairing mill parts, reshoeing mules from the paddock, fixing log wagons after delivering their cargo to the mills, and selling goods and services to the general public. Likewise, Robin Bowers (2003:40–51) reconstructs the probable system of interaction of these parts as timber moves from logging and log storage, through the mill and specialty woodworking shops to final distribution. The efficiency of this system of logging and lumber distribution certainly represented an engagement with the modern, industrial mindset of Fordism (Gramsci 1971:277–278; Harvey 1990:125).

The road that passes between Van Winkle's house and his formal garden was no ordinary lane, it was a major thoroughfare that led to a ferry, which he operated on the White River, and to the towns of Rogers, Huntsville, and Eureka Springs. Thus, a constant parade of people would have admired the small world within the hollow that Van Winkle had created. More importantly for Van Winkle, he could see (and be seen by) these passersby quite easily from his second-story balcony or his elevated garden—both conveying Van Winkle's importance and augmenting his already formidable stature. Despite the road's importance and apparent high traffic, it should be noted that at its articulation with the Van Winkle home and raised terrace garden, the roadway bottlenecks to such an extent that someone standing in the bed of a wagon could reach out and touch either Van Winkle's picket fence (demarcating the boundary of the outer yard) or the walls of the family's terraced garden.

The aforementioned narrowness of the Ozark hollow imposed constraints that had to be accommodated, and in many ways, the fact that Van Winkle could have fit all of his landscape into Van Hollow could have been viewed as a

status symbol in and of itself. Specifically, these modifications to the "natural" Ozark hollow can be seen as a reference to the "man's mastery over nature" theme common to modern thought with its origins in the enlightenment (Foucault 1970:157–162; Leone 1984).

Massive amounts of labor, possibly enslaved, created flat spaces out of slopes when the formal garden was constructed, and again, after the war, a great deal of time was taken to build up the landform on which his first house had stood before the construction of the second structure. This labor, in addition to "capping" the old burned building's remains, widening and flattening the landform, was making more space for the large house and its dependencies.

Meanwhile, in keeping with Victorian ideology of separate public and private spheres, the western arm of Van Hollow is entirely residential and contains at least three, if not four, homes for the enslaved and later free workers in residence. The mill workers were thus both "out of site" (i.e., around the bend) and kept nearby. The landscape creates a north-south line that symbolically delineates a work/home dichotomy. The southern portion of the hollow, where the "domestic" activities of both Van Winkle and the laborers took place, can be contrasted with the northern portion where production, in the formal economic sense, was conducted and managed. The Van Winkle house itself was situated at the center of this narrow, linear world—the mill was situated in the northeastern portion of the complex, Van Winkle's house in the virtual center, and the workers' quarters (Features 9, 33), located past the bend in the hollow in the southwestern portion of the complex (out of sight of the main house for "aesthetic" purposes but close enough to allow labor to be "on call").

Not only did this landscape replicate and legitimate the social hierarchy of the hollow (placing Van Winkle in the center, with all things revolving around him), but this landscape actively sought to remind others of this implied hierarchy. Laborers who lived in the Feature 9 and Feature 33 structures would have been required to walk past Van Winkle's large, impressive home at least twice a day on their way to and from the mill proper—where these "worlds" collide. The mill itself would have been the one place where Van Winkle interacted daily with the entire spectrum of the mill's labor.

Van Winkle's Mill and Settlement Patterns in the Regional Landscape

Widening the scale of analysis slightly, the settlement system immediately surrounding Van Winkle's Mill is examined. Bowers (2003:66–92) examined settlement patterns of six townships surrounding the location of Van Winkle's Mill. Although this analysis is self-described as a "preliminary study of settlement patterns near the mill," (Bowers 2003:69) it does raise interesting questions regarding Van Winkle's Mill and its landscape.

Bowers evaluated the influence Van Winkle's Mill had on general settlement choice following William Langhorne's work on settlement patterns and industrial location in New York State (Langhorne 1976). Plainly stated, Langhorn (and Bowers) hypothesized that certain industries (namely mills) and the services they provide will influence people to settle nearby. Based on land patent data, Bowers found that "the Van Winkle Mill exhibited little influence on settlement of the region" and concluded "that settlers were most influenced by flat, arable land and access to markets" (Bowers 2003:92).

Given the above observations about Van Winkle's Mill and its placement on the regional landscape, this lack of "settlement pull" poses some questions. How is it that the largest, most important mill in the region, one that offered both a saw and grist mill in addition to a blacksmith, did not draw a population that could sustain it as a settlement following Van Winkle's death? How could a place that was listed among the "towns and villages" of Benton County and described as a "very lively place" disappear almost overnight?

One of the answers lies in the relationship between labor and the mill itself. Van Winkle's Mill was not so much a settlement with a mill at its center as it was a fully integrated capitalist enterprise whose "settlement" solely existed to man the mill and its related undertakings. Next, the "socio-spatial dialectic" at work within Van Hollow (Soja 1989:79) and the similarities between the landscape of Van Winkle's Mill and that of a plantation of the lowland South will be examined.

Pines in Place of Magnolias: The Plantation Landscape of Van Winkle's Mill

Interesting light can be thrown on the cultural landscape when it is approached dialectically (Crumley 1997). For instance, several tantalizing strands of information point to the Southern plantation as the model for Van Winkle's mill. First, on a superficial level, Van Winkle's house was described by Mrs. Bertha Blackburn Yeager (quoted in Johnson 1963:33–34) as "Southern-type" and by Marilyn Hicks (1990:21) as "plantation style." This, along with its formal raised garden area, certainly alludes to a style of life that was not common in this mountainous frontier—the life of an affluent planter.

But a deeper look into what is (and is not) *defined* as a plantation may lead researchers to see more than just passing similarities between the characteristics of Van Winkle's Mill and Southern plantations. Landscape geographer Charles Aiken (1998:9) points out that although slavery has been consistently seen as the principle feature of the Southern plantation, it "was not the critical factor that distinguished a plantation." Instead, he outlines what he sees as six characteristics that distinguished plantations from other types of farms.

> First, plantation agriculture requires high capitalization compared with most other types of farming. For new crops and in new regions, the potential profit that can be realized from a planting venture is so large that even speculative capital is invested. Second, plantation agriculture is significantly focused at both the farm and regional scales. Although subsistence crops might be grown to help sustain the labor force, only one commercial crop is emphasized. As in other types of commercial ventures, specialization leads to efficiency. Skills required for planting, harvesting, and processing a crop are competently learned and perfected (Aiken 1998:5–6).

These first two characteristics are broad, and the Van Winkle enterprise certainly falls within their bounds. Van Winkle had expended a great deal of capital into the mill, including venture capital borrowed from local speculative capitalists (Goodspeed Pub. Co. 1889:107–108; Easley and McAnelley 1996:156). Likewise, Van Winkle's Mill focused on a single, specialized form of agriculture—the growth and harvesting of hardwood and pine timber and their manufacture into lumber and finished products for the marketplace.

Aiken's third, fourth, and fifth characteristics regard managerial practices. He insists that both the size of the landholding and the labor force are large enough to achieve economies of scale. He points out "a few intensely farmed plantations of 100 or 200 acres have existed, but most have contained 300 acres or more and have been larger than the legendary American family farm" (Aiken 1998:6). By the time of Van Winkle's death, he owned over 7,000 acres of forestland, including the 3,575 acres surrounding the mill itself (Bowers 2003: 13–17). The fact that Van Winkle *owned* all of the land surrounding the mill is undoubtedly the major reason that Van Winkle's Mill was not a "pull" for regional settlement. All of the inhabitants of Van Hollow—his relatives as well as the resident skilled and unskilled labor—were, in effect, tenants of Van Winkle. As only the hollow itself was developed, the vast majority of this acreage was only used for its timber. These were the "fields" of Van Winkle's plantation landscape.

Aiken specifically mentions the fact that "the labor force historically was composed of entire families, not just heads of households." Again, Van Winkle's Mill conforms to this criterion. Not only were whole enslaved and freedmen families involved in the mill's operation and its domestic support (Brandon et al. 2000:10–14), but Van Winkle's own family extended to the skilled labor working in the mills and associated enterprises.

Thus, it seems that the Van Winkle operation would fit into Aiken's first five characteristics of a plantation fairly well. Although it is admittedly odd to think of a timber operation in terms of plantation agriculture, it should be pointed out that Aiken and other researchers (including archaeologists) have noted similarities between some industrial enterprises and plantations. Having established a relative number of structural similarities between Van Winkle's timber enterprise and the Southern plantation model, the analysis returns to the landscape of the mill. Aiken's sixth and final characteristic is of much interest here:

> The sixth characteristic is that a plantation has a unique geographical form that spatially distinguishes it from

> other types of farms. A nucleated settlement complex has traditionally been an overt element of the geography. The most important building is the one from which management disseminates. Although the storied big house historically served this purpose on many of the South's plantations, the headquarters often is an office (Aiken 1998:7).

As previously mentioned, the narrow Van Hollow is the only developed settlement on the decidedly nucleated Van Winkle landscape, and the "big house" at the center of the hollow's cultural landscape seems an easy fit as the management center for the enterprise.

Furthermore, according to Aiken, one of the striking features of settlement complexes on Southern plantations were "a facility to process the crop" before it is shipped to market along with auxiliary structures such as "mule and horse barns" (Aiken 1998:7). "Houses for workers are also major components of the settlement complex" and these were often situated in a row along one or both sides of a road near the headquarters (Aiken 1998:7).

The landscape of Van Winkle's Mill with the its mill complex processing the timber harvested on Van Winkles holdings, its associated mule paddock, blacksmith shop, and workers' housing roughly in a row in the southwestern portion of the complex near the Van Winkle residence seems very much a plantation landscape. Add to this Van Winkle's use of enslaved labor, not common for industrial enterprises, and the plantation picture is nearly complete.

The very fact that Van Winkle, a New York native, *chose* a Southern model for the layout of his operation can be seen as indicating an intricate understanding of the Southern taste culture and a desire to attain a greater standing within its hierarchical structure. Van Winkle had been in Arkansas for at least 15 years before building his first mill in Van Hollow, during this time he was able to learn how the social and economic systems were structured in this corner of the South. It is his Southern social "competence" that is being expressed in this industrial landscape.

The deployment of the plantation model for his timber enterprise, however, seems to have directly contributed to its erasure from the landscape in a concrete way. Following the Civil War, changes in the landscape of Van Hollow can be related to changes in social relations in the hollow. More prominently, changes in the tropes of historical memory, which occur simultaneously with the region's articulation with modernity, serve to effectively erase Van Winkle's Mill. These tropes are tied to changes in conceptualizations of race, class, and the character of the Ozarks themselves. Below, the landscape changes that occurred following the war and the factors that relate to Van Winkle's Mill in the historical memory of the Ozarks is examined.

Mapping Cultural Change in Van Hollow

An added dimension to this landscape analysis is, of course, the temporal aspect. Van Winkle's Mill is advantageous in that it contains both ante- and postbellum components with the two separated by the archaeologically convenient trauma of the Civil War and the accompanied burning of many of the structures in the hollow. This trauma has implications beyond mere chronological significance, as the period is also one of profound reorganization of the social fabric of the region along with the incorporation of new tropes of cultural identity and race (Savage 1999; Birshir 2000).

In the hollow, the very fact that there seems to be a spatially desecrated antebellum slave quarter and postbellum workers' quarter (inhabited by freedmen) seems to point to important changes following emancipation. Conversely, if Van Winkle did effectively reconstruct his 1850s home in 1870 to make the statement "the war will not change me," then the spatial organization of the remainder of his operation undermines that assertion.

Comparisons between the antebellum and postbellum structures may also be instructive. Prior to the March 2000 excavations it was assumed that Feature 9 represented two separate structures—single pen dwellings in a row, perhaps with others obscured beneath the fill of Highway 12. This configuration would, in fact, have been in keeping with examples of labor housing in many of the Southern plantations during both slavery and tenancy (Orser and Nekola 1985; Vlach 1993), as well as housing in industrial wage-labor settings (such as those encountered in mining operations, railroad construction camps, and logging towns). Further excavations, however, revealed a continuous foundation running toward the second chimney

fall. It seems likely that both chimneys served the same structure—a large double-pen or dog-trot style dwelling.

There is a clear break that occurs between the pre- and postemancipation occupations of the hollow by the Van Winkle family, with the raising of the landform upon which the first house was built, for the construction of the second house on the site circa 1868. Although not known with certainty, there is archaeological evidence to suggest a similar amount of elaboration and attempt at architectural permanence poured into Feature 9, which experienced a long occupation likely as both an African American slave and later freedman residence.

Feature 33, interpreted as a slave quarters, has an artifact temporal signature suggestive of a pre-emancipation occupation, with little or no occupation after the Civil War and the family's return to the hollow circa 1868. This pre-emancipation residence has the most ephemeral architectural footprint of any structure excavated in Van Hollow to date, with not even undressed stone piers present on the site. In stark contrast to Feature 33, Feature 9 (the residence to the north) has an elaborate continuous stone foundation and impressive twin chimneys composed of dressed stone masonry.

Artifact analysis from Feature 9 narrows the possible dates of construction, inhabitation, and abandonment of the structure—the majority of artifacts recovered from the 1999 and 2000 excavations point toward a primary occupation between 1870 and 1890—in keeping with the hypothesis that this structure served as the postbellum workers' quarters (with a probable antebellum ephemeral occupation). Nail types and frequencies indicate that the structure was framed in the 19th century with some structural repairs and/or modifications occurring after the turn of the century (Brandon et al. 2000:52–55). Flat glass thickness distributions indicate that the first windowpanes installed in the structure were hung around 1870, possibly upon the Van Winkles' return from Texas (Brandon et al. 2000:40–42).

While some of the recovered artifacts have manufacturing ranges that continue into the early-20th century (aqua bottle glass, plain whiteware ceramics, etc.), it would seem clear from an examination of the complete artifact assemblage that the residence was not extensively occupied into the 20th century. Chiefly, the assemblage is virtually lacking in common 20th-century temporal markers (mason style glass canning jars, tin cans, etc.; cf. Stewart-Abernathy 1986:156).

While exposing the northern chimney footing of Feature 9 in 2001, whiteware sherds were found directly beneath that portion of the house foundation that skirts or makes a "dog leg" around the chimney's firebox. These ceramic sherds, part of a partially reconstructable shallow bowl, have an impressed maker's mark tentatively dated to the 1820s to 1840s. Although artifacts of pre-emancipation dating had been recovered from Feature 9 previously, the position of these sherds, directly beneath an element of the stone foundation, is strongly suggestive of an occupation on the site prior to the foundation's construction, likely pre-emancipation in dating. If true, this fortuitous discovery suggests a great deal—that the remaking of the landscape of the hollow following the Civil War occurred not only with the home of the elite and white Van Winkle but with the newly emancipated freedmen home as well.

The ephemeral Feature 33, farthest from the white residence, was never occupied again after the war. Rather, it was Feature 9 (the former slave quarters nearest to the home of Peter Van Winkle) that was not only reoccupied after the war but greatly improved in the process, with the laying down of the impressive and permanent continuous stone foundation, double stone chimneys, and glass windows (e.g., the temporal indications derived from the window glass thickness suggests an initial hanging of windows circa 1868).

These physical landscape changes almost certainly reflect changes experienced within the social landscape of the hollow. A geographical distancing and little economic investment in labor's housing before the Civil War alters in the postemancipation years, with a shrinking of the space between black and white, labor and capitalist, and at least some investment in the quality of life and standard of living of the freedman labor.

Certainly material culture recovered from the two structures is indicative of vastly different consumption patterns, reflective of this pre and postemancipation dichotomy. The predominately postbellum Feature 9 was full of mass-produced

personal items and "nonessentials" such as the large array of children's toys (Brandon et al. 2000:45–52), while the antebellum Feature 33 assemblage was almost entirely architectural and kitchen related. This change is surely influenced by the newly freed African Americans' desires to assert their humanity and equality through consumption (Mullins 1999:160–170) and the region's quick move toward modernizations following the war, ensuring that a large number of cheap, mass-produced goods were available to consumer markets via mail order catalogs (Harvey 1990:125–140). Finally, the change in geographic placement of the two domestic structures, especially when compared to the nonchanging placement of the Van Winkle's house, may also point toward a exercising of newly acquired freedmen's rights.

Conversely, the second spring serving the predominately postbellum Feature 9 (no spring was observed in association with Feature 33) also seems to anticipate the "separate but equal" metaphor that would come to dominate Southern culture in the Jim Crow era (Hale 1998:23). Since at least the 18th century, the enslaved peoples of the American South were seen as property and perhaps not quite human (Deetz 1997: 246; Epperson 1999b:164), while emancipation required a reworking of the oppressive systems. Now a subtly new, decidedly modern construction of difference emerged along with a whole suite of material expressions. This new modern metaphor was the segregation of the "non-white" (Hale 1998; Mullins 1999:185–190).

It is clear, however, that "when one approaches a problem as important as that of taking inventory of the possibilities for understanding between two different peoples, one should be doubly careful" (Fanon 1967:84). Specifically, one needs to be wary of casting the oppressed as the dupes of the dominant ideology as "oppressed peoples everywhere understand that they are being oppressed" (Franklin 1997:34). Following this assertion, some researchers have stressed that enslaved/free black populations classified the landscape in which they lived in radically different ways than their enslavers and other free persons—thus, looking at multiple possible perceptions of the Van Winkle landscape is also an important area of future research (Kryden-Reid 1994; Epperson 1999b). In this vein it is tempting to look for agency and an exercise of power in the postbellum relocation of quarters—a move that is not uncommon across the South. Further analysis of Feature 9 and further excavations at Feature 33 may provide a means to understand how enslaved and free African Americans saw Van Hollow's landscapes differently from each other and the other whites working in the hollow.

Cultural Memory in the Arkansas Ozarks: Constructions of The "Ozark Other" and Plantation Slavery

Why does this site, with its modernizing industrialization hand-in-hand with slavery in the Ozark Mountains, seem incongruous with conceptions of history? Finally, another type of terrain must be analyzed in order to understand Van Hollow's unique relationship to the history of the region—the landscape of cultural memory in the Arkansas Ozarks (*sensu* Shackel 2001).

Needless to say, the Ozarks are known for neither the institution of slavery (Otto 1980) nor their industrial output. Rather an invented tradition that has been elsewhere called the "Ozark Traditional Myth" stresses isolated, rugged, and impoverished yeoman farmers who are the inspirations for such stereotypes as portrayed in the *Snuffy Smith* and *Lil' Abner* cartoons, *The Beverly Hillbillies* television show, and the infamous "folk" song *Arkansas Traveler* (Stewart-Abernathy 1987, 1992, 1999; Brandon et al. 2000:2). Indeed, these mythic conceptions of the upland South begin to be constructed just following the Civil War (contemporary with the mill's operation) through a complex series of popular culture phenomena such as local color writers, popular music, and folklorists (Harkins 1999; Horning 1999, 2001). These tropes served to "legitimize northern middle-class life by presenting the mountain South as the 'other'" and eventually spawning a type of ethnic identity that was both imposed upon and ambivalently adopted by the inhabitants of Appalachia and the Ozarks—characterizing them as backward, antiquated, lazy, and *exclusively* of Anglo-Saxon stock (Horning 1999:121–122; also Harkins 1999:5–6,74–81; Horning 2001:31). In short, the Southern mountaineer was seen as "the illiterate son of illiterate ancestors, cast loose in an immense wilderness without basic mechanical or agricultural skill" and "without

refining, comforting and disciplining influence of an organized religious order, in a vast land wholly unrestrained by social organization or effective laws ..." (Caudill 1962:31). They were constructed as a "white other"; however, at the same time they were also seen as a "racially pure" segment of white America descended directly from immigrants from the British Isles (Harkins 1999:74)—a last bastion of hope against an increasingly diverse America "succumbing" to European and Asian immigrations and emancipated blacks.

This characterization may explain the 20th century "erasure" of upland slavery, Van Winkle's Mill, and Peter Van Winkle himself from Arkansas' historical narrative. Van Winkle, despite all of his worldly success and his role in the modernization of northwest Arkansas, is not a well-known historical figure outside a select group of local history scholars and families residing near (or tracing their lineages to) the hollow (Rothrock 1973; Hicks 1990)—no standing buildings, major roads, bridges, or other corporate institutions bear the Van Winkle name in the region.

As Van Winkle did not fit well into the Ozark mythos (Dutch ancestry, industrialist, progressive, modern, slave-holding, etc.), history seems to have favored more recent Ozark entrepreneurs who have "folksy" images more in accord with the myth (Sam Walton of Wal-Mart fame). In fact in the face of this larger "tradition" of recent vintage, Van Winkle's obituaries felt the need to explain his interest in "progress," industrialization, and other non-Ozarkian things as an aspect of his "Dutch blood" (Brandon et al. 2000:23). As already mentioned, Van Winkle's linage stretches back over seven generations to the New Amsterdam colony. Therefore his roots were probably deeper in the American soil than those who felt the need to explain him within the context of the larger naturalized Ozark tradition—he was no more Dutch than they were "Scotch-Irish." Likewise, the labor of Van Winkle's Mill has been erased from the landscape of historical memory, as both industrial enterprise and the enslavement of African Americans run counter to the "hillbilly" trope.

Another problematic set of notions illuminated by the work in Van Hollow has to do specifically with the enslavement of African Americans. Archaeology of the African Diaspora has, by and large, centered on plantation slavery in the lowland American South (Orser 1990; Singleton 1999:12–14). As our knowledge continues to grow regarding enslaved African Americans pressed into service in the agricultural economy of the South, however, attention should be focused on enslavement in other contexts, such as industrial settings, lest we run the risk of stereotyping the systems of enslavement and racialization. Recently, important work "beyond the plantation" has begun to shed light on Maroon settlements (Orser 1996; Deagan and Landers 1999), urban domestic slavery (Yentsch 1994; Herman 1999; Stewart-Abernathy 2004), and postemancipation race constructions (Mullins 1999; Orser 1999). Industrial slavery, however, still remains little studied by either Americanist archaeology or history (but see Dew 1994, and Shackle and Larsen 2000 for exceptions), even though as early as the 1850s, 5% of the enslaved population in the United States was engaged in industrial production—including as much as 20% of those working in bondage in urban areas (Shackle and Larsen 2000:23).

To date, however, most of the historical archaeology conducted in the Arkansas Ozarks has centered on the stereotypical protagonist of the myth—the Anglo-American yeoman farmer (Stewart-Abernathy 1986, 1987, 1992; Cande 1992). Few archaeological studies have centered on African Americans in the Ozarks (Santeford 1980:170–190), and almost none have explored the importance of industrial sites in the development of northwest Arkansas as a region. This stands in stark contrast with the lowland portion of the state where more African American sites in general (Buchner and Childress 1991; Weaver 1991; Buchner 1992; and even an industrial sawmill community that relied on black labor [Stewart-Abernathy 1982]), have been the subjects of archaeological assessments. This is probably due to the more accepted role that African Americans have been accorded in the history of that region. At any rate, this disparity goes a long way toward upholding the stereotype of the Ozark region as backward, nonindustrial, poor, and exclusively white.

Conclusions

Van Winkle's Mill has been examined on a number of levels. Van Winkle's use of a

plantation model for the construction of his landscape, the careful separation of public (industrial) and private (domestic) zones in the landscape, and some of the changes that occurred following emancipation and the conclusion of the Civil War, all which have bearing on the implications of this landscape for the laborers who lived and worked in Van Hollow.

Van Winkle sought to create a plantation landscape at his industrial enterprise in the Ozark Mountains. His ideas were decidedly influenced by modernity, although they relied on a model long associated with the agrarian lowland South. This landscape, however, was destroyed by war and its re-creation reflected social changes not entirely of Van Winkle's making. Finally, both Van Winkle and the labor of Van Winkle's Mill were obscured by historical tropes that spring into being through modernity and the pronounced social shift that these actors lived through.

The sense that the South "shifted gears" after the war is by no means a new observation, and in northwest Arkansas the feeling of change (towards the "bigger and better") is evident in local histories. For instance, the Van Winkle hotel took a prominent position as "showplace" in this "new" northwest Arkansas:

> Fayetteville *removed the scars* of Civil War by rapidly replacing the structures destroyed with *larger and better buildings*. By the time the 1870s were coming to a close about 30 buildings had been erected in the town in a six month period. Among these was the Van Winkle Hotel on the north side of Center Street [emphasis added] (Donat 1995).

This shift did not just include the urbanization and industrialization of the South (i.e., its transmogrification into the "New South"), but it also meant a complete reorganization of the concept of race and its spatialization. No longer could the conflation of "black" and "slave" hold as they had since the 18th century (when they replaced the "Christian/non-Christian" trope [Issac 1982; Epperson 1999a]). In its stead stood a broader construction of opposed opposites—white versus nonwhite—that were increasingly seen as immutable and nonfluid (note that terms such as mulatto are present in the 1860 census and disappear in the1870 census). The monumental *Plessy vs. Fergusson* decision codified in 1896 the post-reconstruction process (signaled in the 1880s and 1890s by laws segregating transportation and public spaces) that already seemed underway in 1870—the spatialization of race and the racialization of space underlying the refusal of larger American society (which was increasingly and self-consciously "white") to consider the possibility of racial mixing (Hale 1998:23).

Almost simultaneously, this larger American society created the "Ozark other," erasing the possibility of this local rupture in a region comprised of its backward, white "contemporary ancestors." To this day the ambivalent figure of the hillbilly complicates the region's relationship to the Civil War, slavery, modernization and any African American heritage.

An analogue can be found in Richard Flores's informed discussion of the Alamo as both reality and myth (Flores 1998, 2002**).** Flores emphasizes the means wherein the past and the present come together within a "memory-place." Flores concisely pinpoints when and why the Alamo, a crumbling and relatively unimportant building located in San Antonio's old downtown, came to be viewed as sacred ground, literally "The Cradle of Texas Liberty." Although it is stressed by Flores that the Texas Revolution was not fought along simple racial lines but, rather, along class lines and individual political interests, by the late-19th century the dominate Anglo culture in Texas (and the United States as a whole) needed a symbol and an appropriately distorted history to justify a social and economic oppression of Hispanics.

The "Remembering of the Alamo" and the "forgetting" of Peter Van Winkle as an historic figure (and by extension the free and enslaved labor of Van Winkle's Mill) strike similar though opposite resonances; Peter, his accomplishments, and steadfastness to modernity did not mesh with the 20th-century construction of the "Ozark Traditional Myth," which stresses instead isolation and a definite antimodernity; consequently, his very existence is downplayed to the point of erasure from the landscape he helped create..

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge the Arkansas Archeological Survey, the Little Rock District Corps of

Engineers (SWL) and the Arkansas State Department of Parks and Tourism (State Parks) for their support (both monetary and professional). In particular we would like to thank Jerry Hilliard, George Sabo, and Robert Mainfort for their support in time, input, and resources. Thanks to Robin Bowers who took the industrial history of the mill as the subject her master's thesis at the University of Arkansas. Thanks also to the large number of crew, volunteers, and students who made these excavations possible. A great debt is owed to Mark Clippinger, Steve Chryrchel, Christopher Davies, and others at State Parks and the SWL. Thanks are also due to Maria Franklin, Richard Flores, and Samuel Wilson of the University of Texas at Austin who have provided insightful comments from which we have benefited much. Additionally, we would like to thank Kerri Barile for her assistance with the analysis of the architectural photographs from the hollow. Finally, we would also like to thank Marilyn Larner Hicks—great, great, granddaughter of Peter Van Winkle—not only for her excellent work on the Van Winkle family history but also for her kind words and support of the project. Like State Parks and SWL, we hope that our relationship with Ms. Hicks continues in future investigations.

REFERENCES

ALLEN, THEODORE W.
1994 *The Invention of the White Race: Volume One*. Verso Press, London, England.

AIKEN, CHARLES S.
1998 *The Cotton Plantation South since the Civil War.* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

BENTON COUNTY DEMOCRAT
1904 No Title. *Benton County Democrat*, 12 May. Bentonville, AR.

BIRSHIR, CATHERINE W.
2000 Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past in Raleigh and Wilmington, North Carolina, 1885–1915. In *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, W. Fitzhugh Brundage, editor, pp. 139–168. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

BOURDIEU, PIERRE
1979 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. R. Nice. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

BOWERS, ROBIN F.
2003 Ozark Industry: The Van Winkle Saw Mill, 1857–1890. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

BOYER, M. CHRISTINE
1994 *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments.* MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

BRANDON, JAMIE C.
2001 Van Winkle's Mill Revisited: A Report on Ongoing Excavations at a Late-Nineteenth-Century Sawmill Community in the Arkansas Ozarks. Paper presented to the 4th annual meeting of the South Central Historical Archaeological Society, Little Rock, AR.

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. Report to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Little Rock District, Little Rock, from the Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, AR.

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. Report to Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism, Little Rock, from the Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, AR.

BRANDON, JAMIE C., AND JERRY HILLIARD
1998 The Van Winkle Mill and the Anderson Slave Cemetery: African-American Related Sites in Northwest Arkansas. *African-American Archaeology,* 22(Fall):1.

BRANDON, JAMIE C., JERRY E. HILLIARD, AND JAMES M. DAVIDSON
1999 Return to Van Hollow: 1999 Excavations at a Nineteenth-Century Mill-Worker's Residence. *Field Notes,* 282(May/June):10–12.

BUCHNER, C. ANDREW
1992 Archaeological Investigations at the Lewis Site (3LE266): A Twentieth-Century Black-Owned Farmstead on the St. Francis Floodway, Lee County, Arkansas. Report to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Memphis, from Garrow and Associates, Inc., Memphis, TN.

BUCHNER, C. ANDREW, AND MITCHELL CHILDRESS
1991 Archaeological Investigations at 3SF332L: An Early Mississippian and Tenant Period Site on Cutoff Bayou, St. Francis County, Arkansas. Report to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Memphis, by Garrow and Associates, Inc., Memphis, TN.

CANDE, KATHLEEN H.
1992 The Ozarks as Destination: Data Recovery Excavations at the Lambert Farmstead, Mountainburg, Arkansas. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeology Conference, Little Rock, AR.

CAUDILL, HARRY M.
1962 *Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area.* Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston, MA.

COSGROVE, DENIS
1984 *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape.* University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

CRUMLEY, CAROLE L.
1997 A Dialectical Approach to Landscape. In *Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Perspectives*, Linda F. Stine, Martha Zierden, Lesley M. Druker, and Christopher Judge, editors, pp. 23–33. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

DEAGAN, KATHLEEN, AND JANE LANDERS
1999 Fort Mose: Earliest Free African-American Town in the United States. In *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, Theresa Singleton, editor, pp. 261–282. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

DEETZ, JAMES
1997 *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life.* Anchor Press, New York, NY.

DELLE, JAMES A., STEPHEN A. MROZOWSKI, AND ROBERT PAYNTER (EDITORS)
2000 *Lines That Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

DEW, CHARLES B.
1994 *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge.* W.W. Norton and Company, New York, NY.

DONAT, PAT
1995 The Van Winkle Hotel: A Fayetteville Showplace When It Opened in 1880. *Flashback,* 45(2):9–23.

EASLEY, BARBARA PICKERING, AND VERLA PICKERING MCANELLY (EDITORS)
1996 *Obituaries of Washington County Arkansas, Volume I: 1841–1892.* Heritage Books, Bowie, MD.

EPPERSON, TERRENCE W.
1999a The Contested Commons: Archaeologies of Race, Repression, and Resistance in New York City. In *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, Mark Leone and Parker Potter, editors, pp. 81–110. Plenum/Klewer, New York, NY.
1999b Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantation. In *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life,* Theresa Singleton, editor, pp. 159–172. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

FANON, FRANTZ
1967 *Black Skin, Black Masks.* Grove Press, New York, NY.

FLORES, RICHARD R.
1998 Memory-Place, Meaning, and the Alamo. *American Literary History,* 10(3):428–445.
2002 *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

FOUCAULT, MICHEL
1970 *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences.* Vintage Books, New York, NY.
1977 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books, New York, NY.
1980 *Power/Knowledge*. Pantheon Books, New York, NY.

FRANKLIN, MARIA
1997 *Out of Site, Out of Mind: The Archaeology of an Enslaved Virginian Household, ca. 1740–1776.* Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkley, Berkeley, CA. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

FUNK, ERWIN
1962 Flywheel of Van Winkle Sawmill Sold to Junk Man. *Benton County Pioneer,* 7(5):7–9. Bentonville, AR.

GOODSPEED PUBLISHING COMPANY
1889 *Goodspeed's History of Benton, Washington, Carroll, Madison, Crawford, Franklin, and Sebastian Counties, Arkansas*. Goodspeed Publishing Company, Chicago, IL.

GRAMSCI, ANTONIO
1971 *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. International Publishers, New York, NY.

HALE, GRACE E.
1998 *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940.* Vintage Books, New York, NY.

HARKINS, ANTHONY A. R.
1999 *The Hillbilly in Twentieth-Century American Culture: The Evolution of a Contested Icon*. Doctoral dissertation, History Department, University of Wisconsin at Madison, WI. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

HARVEY, DAVID
1990 *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Blackwell Publishers, London, England.

HERMAN, BERNARD L.
1999 Slave and Servant Housing in Charleston, 1770–1820. *Historical Archaeology,* 33(3):88–101.

HICKS, MARILYN LARNER
1990 *Peter Marseilles Van Winkle (1814–1882): His Life and Times, His Ancestors Back to the Sixteenth Century and Most of His Descendants.* Henington Publishing, Wolfe City, TX.

HILLIARD, JERRY E.
1997 A Brief Look at One of Northwest Arkansas' Largest Sawmills: The Van Winkle Site, 3BE413. *Field Notes,* 279(Nov./Dec.):10–12.

HORNING, AUDREY J.
1999 In Search of a "Hollow Ethnicity": Archaeological Explorations of Rural Mountain Settlement. In *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation, and the Interpretation of Ethnicity*, Maria Franklin and Garrett Fesler, editors, pp. 121–137. Colonial Williamsburg Research Publications, Williamsburg, VA.
2001 Of Saints and Sinners: Mythic Landscapes of the Old and New South. In *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*, Paul Shackel, editor, pp. 21–46. University of Florida Press, Gainsville.

HUGHES, MICHAEL A.
2001 Wartime Gristmill Destruction in Northwest Arkansas and Military Farm Colonies. In *Civil War Arkansas: Beyond Battles and Leaders*, edited by Anne J. Bailey and Daniel E. Sutherland, pp. 31–45. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.

ISAAC, RHYS
1982 *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740–1790*. W.W. Norton & Company, New York, NY.

JAMESON, FREDRIC
1991 *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

JOHNSON, MATTHEW H.
1996 *An Archaeology of Capitalism*. Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, MA.

JOHNSON, MARTHA SHERWOOD
1963 Bertha Blackburn Yeager Recounts The Van Winkle Home. *Benton County Pioneer,* 8(2):33–34. Bentonville, AR.

KEALHOFER, LISA
1999 Creating Social Identity in the Landscape: Tidewater, Virginia, 1600–1750. In *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp, editors, pp. 58–82. Blackwell Publishers, London, England.

KELSO, WILLIAM, AND RACHEL MOST
1990 *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology.* University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

KRYDEN-REID, ELIZABETH
1994 "As Is the Gardener, So Is the Garden": The Archaeology of Landscape and Myth. In *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, Paul Shackel and Barbara Little, editors, pp. 131–148. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

LANGHORNE, WILLIAM T.
1976 Mill Based Settlement Patterns in Schoharie County, New York: A Regional Study. *Historical Archaeology,* 10:73–92.

LEFEBVRE, HENRI
1991 *The Production of Space.* Blackwell Publishers, London, England.

LEONE, MARK P.
1984 Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using the Rules of Perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland. In *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory*, Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilley, editors, pp. 25–35. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA.
1995 Historical Archaeology of Capitalism. *American Anthropologist,* 97(2):251–268.

LEVINE, LAWRENCE
1988 *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

MULLINS, PAUL R.
1999 *Race and Affluence: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture.* Kluwer/Plenum Press, New York, NY.

ORSER, CHARLES E., JR.
1990 Archaeological approaches to New World Plantation Slavery. In *Archaeological Method and Theory, Vol. 2*, Michael Schiffer, editor, pp. 111–154. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
1996 *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World*. Plenum Press, New York, NY.
1999 Archaeology and the Challenges of Capitalist Farm Tenancy in America. In *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, Mark Leone and Parker Potter, editors, pp. 143–167. Kluwer Academic Publishers, New York, NY.

ORSER, CHARLES E., AND ANNETTE M. NEKOLA
1985 Plantation Settlement from Slavery to Tenancy: An Example from a Piedmont Plantation in South Carolina. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life,* Theresa Singleton, editor, pp. 67–91. Academic Press, New York, NY.

OTTO, JOHN S.
1980 Slavery in the Mountains: Yell County, Arkansas 1840–1860. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly,* 39(1): 35–52.

RAFFERTY, MILTON D.
2001 *The Ozarks: Land and Life.* University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.

ROTHROCK, THOMAS
1973 Peter Manelis Van Winkle. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly,* 32(1):61–70.

SANTEFORD, LAWRENCE
1980 The Conway Water Supply: An Intensive Archeological and Historical Survey of a Proposed Reservoir Area in Conway County, Arkansas. *Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Report, No. 20.* Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

SAVAGE, KIRK
1999 *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America.* University of Princeton Press, Princeton, NJ.

SHACKEL, PAUL A. (EDITOR)
2001 *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

SHACKEL, PAUL A., AND DAVID L. LARSEN
2000 Labor, Racism, and the Built Environment in Early Industrial Harper's Ferry. In *Lines That Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*, James Delle, Stephen Mrozowski, and Robert Paynter, editors, pp. 22–39. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

SINGLETON, THERESA A.
1999 An Introduction to African American Archaeology. In *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, Theresa Singleton, editor, pp. 1–17. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

SMITH, TED J.
1995 Slavery in Washington County, Arkansas, 1828–1860. Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

SOJA, EDWARD W.
1989 *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* Verso Press, London, England.

STEWART-ABERNATHY, LESLIE C.
1982 The Black Community at Sawdust Hill: Graphic Documentation of the Historic Occupation of the Parkin Site (3CS29). Manuscript, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
1986 The Moser Farmstead, Independent but Not Isolated: The Archeology of a Late-Nineteenth-Century Ozark Farmstead. *Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 26.* Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
1987 From Memories and from the Ground: Historical Archaeology at the Moser Farmstead in the Arkansas Ozarks. In *Visions and Revisions: Ethnohistoric Perspectives on Southern Cultures*, George Sabo and William M. Schneider, editors, pp. 98–113. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
1992 Industrial Goods in the Service of Tradition: Consumption and Cognition on an Ozark Farmstead before the Great War. In *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz,* Ann Yentsch and Mary Beaudry, editors, pp. 101–126. CRC Press, Boca Raton, FL.
1999 From Famous Forts to Forgotten Farmsteads: Historical Archaeology in the Mid-South. In *Arkansas Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Dan and Phyllis Morse*, Robert C. Mainfort and Marvin Jeter, editors, pp. 225–244. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
2004 Separate Kitchens and Intimate Archaeology: Constructing Urban Slavery on the Antebellum Cotton Frontier in Washington, Arkansas. In *Household Chores, Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, Kerri Barile and Jamie Brandon, editors, pp. 51–74. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

STINE, LINDA F., MARTHA ZIERDEN, LESLEY M. DRUKER, AND CHRISTOPHER JUDGE (EDITORS)
1997 *Carolina's Historical Landscape: Archaeological Perspectives*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
1850 *United States Manuscript Census: 1850.* Washington, DC.
1860 *United States Manuscript Census: 1860.* Washington, DC.

VLACH, JOHN M.
1993 *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

WEAVER, GUY
1991 Analysis and Interpretation of Artifact Collections from Site 3CT271, Randolph Estate Development, Crittenden County, Arkansas. Report to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Memphis, from Garrow and Associates, Inc., Memphis, TN.

WORRELL, JOHN, MYRON O. STACHIW, AND DAVID M. SIMMONS
1996 Archaeology from the Ground Up. In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture.* Winterthur/University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

YAMIN, REBECCA, AND KAREN BESCHERER METHENY (EDITORS)
1996 *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

YENTSCH, ANNE E.
1994 *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA.

JAMIE C. BRANDON
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
AUSTIN, TX 78712-1086

JAMES M. DAVIDSON
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
AUSTIN, TX 78712-1086