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National Park Service

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National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources Associated with the Ethnic and Racial Minority Settlement of the Arkansas Delta

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Minority Settlement in the Mississippi River Counties of the Arkansas Delta, 1870-1930

C. Geographical Data

The Delta region of the state of Arkansas -- a region roughly defined as the area to the east of the Ozark Mountain escarpment between the Missouri border and Little Rock (generally following the roadbed of modern U.S. Highway 67); to the east of the low water line of the Arkansas River between Little Rock and Pine Bluff; and to the east of the low water line of Bayou Bartholonew between Pine Bluff and the Louisiana border.

☐ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Cathryn A. Buford — 8-4-92

Signature of certifying official — Date

Arkansas Historic Preservation Program

State or Federal agency and bureau

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

for Mark M. Nagy — 9/21/92

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register — Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

☒ See continuation sheet

I. Introduction

The end of the Radical Reconstruction in 1874 allowed Arkansans to turn their attentions inward toward the development of their state's resources and population. In the years following the Civil War, Arkansas was still considered underpopulated, and the general consensus was that increased immigration to the state could provide the impetus toward further economic growth. However, new types of immigrants were being attracted to the United States in the late nineteenth century, and the public and private efforts to attract these new immigrants to Arkansas was to have long-term effects on the state's cultural and ethnic diversity. While substantial numbers of Anglo-, Scottish-, and Irish-Americans continued to settle in the state just as they had during the antebellum period, the small but significant influx of African-Americans, Italians, Chinese, Jews, and other minority ethnic groups between 1870 and 1930 was to forever change and enrich the nature of Arkansas society.

The Arkansas Delta is characterized by a deep alluvial soil spread over a near-flat landscape that extends west from the Mississippi river until it meets the rocky foothills of the Ozark and Ouachita mountains. Some of the most fertile and flat land lies east of Crowley's Ridge in the counties straddling the Mississippi River: Mississippi, Crittenden, St. Francis, Lee, Phillips, Desha and Chicot counties (while St. Francis county does not actually border the Mississippi River, it is nevertheless being included in this study). While this region's fertile soil is more productive than any in the rest of the state, the land drains poorly and stays wet for long periods. Prior to settlement and large-scale agriculture, most was woodland or swampland, with small scattered prairies. The poor drainage created problems for early settlers, and the region has an extensive history of experiments with drainage ditches, levees and reservoirs to control the Delta's water. Major floods occurred in the Delta river counties in 1882, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1890, 1893, 1897, 1927, and 1928.[1]

Before 1875, most Arkansas settlers were people of Scottish, Irish, English, or African descent who had emigrated from the older southern states east of the Mississippi River. While this general pattern continued in the years following Reconstruction, new ethnic groups began to appear in the state as well. Slavs are known to have been employed in the timber industry of Southeast Arkansas, and a major Italian colony was founded in Chicot County late in the century. A few Chinese were brought in to work on lowland cotton plantations, while others migrated to eastern Arkansas via New Orleans after having worked on the railroads in the western United States. A scattering of French, Germans, Swiss, Syrians, Greeks, and Jews also began to appear in eastern Arkansas at this time. While the new immigration was not heavy enough to change the general makeup of the population, a

number of new minority immigrants came from northern states such as Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania. Others came directly from Europe or Asia.

Immigration to Arkansas was at its apex in the 1870's, when railroad development in the state was at its peak. Steamboat trade on the Mississippi River also played a role, bringing a diverse group of immigrants to the region in the late nineteenth century. This combination of ethnic groups and nationalities was eventually to make the culture and society of the Arkansas Delta distinct from other regions of the state. The flow of immigrants began to decline following World War I after the federal government placed restrictions on foreign immigration. The cycle was to be completely reversed in the 1920's and 1930's when the troubled economy and poor agricultural conditions created an exodus through which much of Arkansas' population left the state. Many never returned. The physical reminders left by these early inhabitants represent an important legacy, a testament to the contributions that these settlers made to Arkansas' heritage.[2]

II. Minority Immigration and Settlement in Arkansas: 1870-1900

A. Immigration Advocacy and Promotion

Over half of Arkansas' immigrants in the late nineteenth century were of German, English, or Irish descent. Most settled in urban areas, with Little Rock home to twenty percent of the state's foreign born population and Fort Smith home to ten percent. Those counties with little or no urban populations, especially those in north central Arkansas, had correspondingly fewer foreign-born citizens.

Following the end of the Radical Reconstruction period in Arkansas the state entered a conservative era, characterized as a reaction against Republicanism and control of the state by "carpetbaggers and their Negro allies." Arkansas' leadership began to encourage railroad companies, industries and immigrants to come to the state.[3] Increased immigration was necessary because of the disruption to the labor supply caused by the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. In addition to those killed, many left the state to avoid conscription while many blacks fled to free states or to Union army camps.[4] Most of the state's population had been born in the United States and in 1870 only 5,026 were foreign born.[5]

In 1865 the Arkansas Immigrant Aid Society (AIAS) was formed to encourage immigration and to disseminate information about the state. This organization was broadly based and politically diverse, but ultimately ineffective. The society was irreparably

factionalized by the election of 1866. The German Immigrant Aid Society was organized in Arkansas in September, 1867 and began to compile data on soil types, climate, crops and terms for the sale or donation of land from those areas of the state interested in immigration. Landowners were encouraged to donate rather than sell land to immigrants to offset the cost of travel from Europe. These early attempts at immigration advocacy ultimately amounted to little more than good intentions. A series of editorials in the Arkansas Gazette in the late 1860's noted the need for increased immigration from Europe in order to maintain a "Caucasian majority," and called on the General Assembly to take action.[6]

Prior to the Civil War there was very little railroad activity in Arkansas, but in the 1870's development of a rail system for the state began in earnest. The federal government had granted thousands of acres of land to the railroad companies to encourage the development of rail lines nationwide. The railroad companies therefore were especially interested in promoting immigration to Arkansas so that settlers could buy and cultivate this land and trade and shipping could increase. Arkansas' railroad companies sent representatives to northern states and abroad, sold government land grants at low prices to homesteaders and provided special rates for railway transportation. The implementation of the federal Homestead Act in Arkansas was one of the most successful of any state.[7] In 1875 railroad and real estate executives in Arkansas sponsored a tour of the state for representatives of northern and western newspapers. The reactions of the visitors were published in The New Arkansas Travellers, a book intended to further promote immigration to the state. Businessmen and farm organizations such as the Grange were also in favor of increasing immigration to Arkansas.[8]

In 1876 Arkansas was represented at the United States Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, promoting the state's resources and opportunities to emigrants and their sponsors. Arkansas participated in other similar events that year in Atlanta, New Orleans and Chicago. The following year a state association was organized to promote immigration, the Southern and Western Immigration Convention was held in Little Rock, and local immigration societies began to spring up all over the state. The Arkansas State Exposition was held in 1887 to advertise the state's products and resources to businessmen and immigration sponsors, and a geological survey of the state was undertaken to accentuate the resource potential the state had to offer immigrants. In 1889 the General Assembly established the State Bureau of Mines, Manufactures and Agriculture, one objective of which was to promote immigration to the state.[9]

While literature describing the resource potential and attractiveness of Arkansas was

distributed throughout the nation and world to attract new settlers and industries, the state experienced only moderate population growth during this period. Arkansas population increased from 802,000 in 1880 to 1,128,000 in 1890. By 1900 the population had grown to 1,311,000, one quarter of which was African-American.[10]

The immigration of Germans, Poles, Italians and others of continental European descent resulted in substantial increases in Catholic and Lutheran populations in some parts of Arkansas. The few Jews in the state tended to live in the larger towns, with Jewish populations known to have existed in such Delta river county cities as Helena, McGehee and Forrest City. Blacks in Arkansas established their own churches following Reconstruction, completing the religious separation of the races. Most followed the faith of their former masters, generally Baptist or Methodist.[11]

As European economies faltered in the late nineteenth century, America came to be seen as a land of opportunity. Ultimately, Arkansas was never as successful as the western states in attracting foreign immigrants entering the country in New York, especially in the late 1860's and early 1870's. Of the 25,000 who landed in New York in April 1867, only 5 were headed for Arkansas, and of the 213,000 who came to the U.S. in 1868, only 78 eventually settled in Arkansas.[12]

B. Black Immigration and Settlement

i. Social and Economic Conditions.

Blacks constituted the largest minority group in Arkansas at the close of the Civil War. Between 1870 and 1900, Arkansas' black population grew from 122,169 to 366,856, an increase of more than 200 percent.* By the year 1900 all of the Arkansas counties bordering the Mississippi River had black majorities, with Chicot County having the highest percentage of black residents (87 percent) and Mississippi County having the lowest (51 percent). This black community was primarily agricultural; by 1900, 71 percent of black workers in the Delta counties were employed as farmers or farm laborers, 19 percent were employed in domestic or personal services (with occupations ranging from owning and managing hotels and restaurants to serving as barbers or housekeepers), 5 percent were employed in manufacturing (usually either in saw mills or as carpenters), and 3 percent were involved in some form of trade or transportation enterprise (usually either as draymen, hackers, or

* The growth rate for white Arkansans over the same time period was 161 percent.

railroad workers). About 1 percent identified themselves as professionals; this increasingly powerful black middle class were primarily employed as clergymen, teachers, physicians, lawyers and other miscellaneous professions. This latter group was located for the most part in the few urban areas of the region.[13]

After the Civil War, the U.S. Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, to aid former slaves in their transition to freedom. However, the implied promise that the Bureau would oversee the redistribution of land and supplies from plantation owners to former slaves ("forty acres and a mule") never came to pass and the economic institution of slavery was replaced with a variation on the same theme, tenant farming and sharecropping.[14] Between 1880 and 1930, the number of southern workers who farmed on someone else's land grew from one-third to more than half. In the late 1860's and 1870's, destitute farmers and former slaves found themselves with little or no money and in need of land. Plantation owners on the other hand, found themselves with plenty of land but without the monetary resources necessary to hire workers and farmers. Southern banks had little capital available to loan landowners or landless workers. All that the poor had of marketable value was their labor. The tenant farming system was created when labor was substituted for money and tenants began to trade their labor for the right to work a plantation owner's land.[15]

Sharecropping developed as a unique form of tenancy, with the tenant promising a certain percentage of his crop to the landowner in exchange for land and supplies. The division of the crop was dependent on what supplies the landlord had to supply to the tenant, such as work animals, feed, seed and tools. Often the sharecropper was dependent on the landowner for food and household goods available at a plantation store in exchange for scrip. The sharecropper represented the lowest form of tenant, one who had to be supplied with all of his farming needs; often his rent to his landlord constituted over half of his crop.[16]

Most agricultural decisions were made by the landlord, including what crops to plant and how to cultivate, process and market them. At the end of the year, the most the tenant could hope for was to break even, to have his share of the crop cover the costs of the supplies leased from or supplied by the landowner. The tenant was legally bound to his creditors until his debt was paid; often the tenants, who were usually poorly educated if not illiterate, were cheated by their landlords and paid below market prices for their crops. Many found themselves sinking deeper into debt each year. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was estimated that as many as 100,000 families in the lower Mississippi Valley lived on submarginal farmland, unable to provide an adequate livelihood for their own

families.[17]

The common goal of most black farmers in the Delta river counties, whether native or emigre, was to own land. In 1875, it was estimated that about one in twenty black voters in the region had acquired land (totaling roughly 2,000 men). By 1900 this number had risen to 11,941, still a small minority of the total black population. Most blacks either rented land on shares or at fixed rates, or worked as annual or monthly wage laborers. In the 1870's, agricultural land could be rented from land owners for six to ten dollars per acre. It was not unknown for sharecroppers to contract for as much as one-half of their crop. In 1875 it was estimated that a sharecropper farming 50 acres and utilizing the labor of his entire family might bring in $750 for the season.[18]

Conditions for black farmers in the late nineteenth century were especially bleak. Cotton, the predominant cash crop in the region, was selling for fifteen cents a pound in the early 1870's, but by 1895 a world glut had forced cotton prices down to just six cents a pound. As cotton prices fell, sharecroppers and tenant farmers found themselves unable to pay off their debts to landowners at the end of the year. Black farmers increasingly became mired in perpetual indebtedness, a cyclical system of dependency that had the effect of immobilizing them and binding them to the land. The nature of the sharecropping and tenant farming system ensured that the value of black property holdings remained far behind that of whites. In 1890, the average value of a black farmer's holdings stood at $823, less than half of the $2,065 average for whites. The annual farm product of a white farm averaged $599, but just $374 for black farms. Inadequate educational opportunities and high rates of illiteracy also placed burdens on black Arkansans and served to consign many to lives of perpetual agricultural or unskilled labor. In 1900, 43 percent of black Arkansans were illiterate, as compared to 12 percent of the state's white citizens.[19]

In 1883 over one hundred of the state's black leaders met in Little Rock at a convention originally intended as a promotion for Chester A. Arthur's renomination as the 1884 Republican presidential candidate. The meeting turned into more than just a pro-Arthur gathering, however, as the delegates used the convention to discuss what they perceived to be the deteriorating living conditions for blacks in Arkansas. The convention identified three major issues as being critical to black progress: economic freedom and independence through land ownership, improved educational opportunities, and equal education under the law.[20]

In 1869 Tabbs Gross began publication of the Arkansas Freeman, a newspaper dedicated to improving conditions for blacks in Arkansas. One goal of the paper was to

encourage black immigration to Arkansas from the states east of the Mississippi. A group of radical whites with the same goal founded the Colored Immigrant Society in the early 1870's, but the movement never got off the ground. The Patrons of Husbandry, better known as the Grange (founded near Helena in Phillips County in 1872), was also a major advocate of black immigration to the state during this period. Numerous black fraternal organizations were founded during this period, including the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Tabor, the Sons of the Agricultural Star and the Mosaic Templars. At least eight newspapers with black editors began publication during these years.

ii. Black Immigration to Arkansas

After the Civil War, many former slaves immigrated to Arkansas by train, boat or wagon - some even walked. Some ex-slaves immigrated to re-unite families that had been separated before the war or as a result of the war. Most were farmers, and several states with labor shortages competed to attract these workers. Arkansas and Texas offered the best wages for top field hands, ranging from fifteen to twenty-five dollars per month, much better than the ten to eighteen dollars per month that was standard in Mississippi, Alabama, Florida and Louisiana. Laborers who immigrated to Arkansas generally fared better than their counterparts who remained in the older southern states. Some plantation owners even provided transportation for these new field hands and families, and numerous state and private agencies were formed to encourage black immigration.[21]

Plantation owners typically did their own recruiting of black immigrants or hired agents to recruit sharecroppers for them. Blacks were recruited in large groups or as families, while others simply emigrated on their own. Outrageous promises and stories about Arkansas were common in enticing these immigrants. One account of Arkansas told of hogs walking around with knives and forks stuck in their backs, begging to be eaten, while another told of how "the cotton grows so big...you could sit on a limb and eat dinner." To many impoverished and uneducated blacks, Arkansas must truly have seemed a land of opportunity, the "Promised Land." While some were subsequently dissatisfied with their lives in Arkansas, others were able to accumulate land, build homes and become fairly prosperous. In one eight-year period, one former slave bought 503 acres of land; later in life he willed half to his children and sold the rest.[22]

iii. Black Education and Southland College

Between 1869 and 1870 the proportion of black children attending public schools in

Arkansas increased from 28 to 50 percent. These gains were for the most part erased with the end of Reconstruction and the closing of black schools in 1874 and 1875. The dismantling of the Freedmen's Bureau and the return of school control to the southern state governments led to decreased funding for black education. By 1876, black school attendance was only 8 percent of the school age population, but attendance returned to 50 percent by 1890. The literacy rate for blacks ten years old or older in 1890 was 46.1 percent; only three other southern states had higher percentages.[23]

Arkansas was one of only two states (Texas was the other) to actually have integrated schools before integration was legal or acceptable. In 1864, Southland College was founded to serve black youths of the Delta, specifically those children of slaves who had been orphaned, abandoned or lost by their parents as a result of the Civil War. The college was founded in Helena (Phillips County) by the Religious Society of Friends, better known as the Quakers, a denomination with intense objections to slavery. The exact location of the original campus in Helena is unknown, but a later site that was used until 1935 is recorded.[24]

Federal officers and soldiers of the 56th United States Colored Infantry Regiment purchased a tract of land northwest of Helena in 1866 and deeded it to the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends, a northern Quaker group active in black charity efforts in the South. The original tract included about 167 acres, 80 of which formed the main part of the Southland campus. In 1869 the school added high school courses, and in 1872 Southland was organized as a college. The first class, consisting of Chandler Paschal, Emma Lancaster and Jerry Cross, graduated in 1876.[25]

In 1880, Southland added the first black teachers, all Southland graduates, to its faculty, making the school one of the first in the South to feature an integrated faculty. By 1886 the campus consisted of five permanent buildings and enrolled almost 300 students. The institute began falling on hard times in the early twentieth century, with declining enrollments and financial difficulties. Control of the college shifted to the Masons and later to the African Methodist Episcopal Church before it finally closed in 1935. In its heyday, Southland College exerted a great influence on the culture of the Delta, graduating future black leaders from Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas.[26]

iv. Black Segregation

Limited racial separation and segregation began in Arkansas soon after the Civil War. Blacks withdrew from white churches and began to form their own congregations where they

could develop their own styles of service and leadership. A segregated school system was established during Reconstruction with no recorded protest from the black community. Despite these developments, however, Arkansas society in the 1870's retained a degree of racial integration and tolerance that would be unthinkable in later years. At times, the situation approximated the much-feared level of "social equality."[27]

In 1873, the last Reconstruction legislature in Little Rock passed a strong civil rights bill addressing public accommodations, including public carriers, hotels, saloons, restaurants and "places of public amusement." Owners and proprietors of such properties were required to provide all patrons with equal services at equal cost, regardless of race. Penalties for failure to comply included stiff fines and imprisonment. The bill also directed school districts to furnish black children with facilities equal to those of whites. This law, usually unenforced in later years, nevertheless remained on the books for 34 years until it was repealed in 1907.[28]

In the 1880's, agricultural depression and economic tensions helped to fuel an increase in racial prejudice in Arkansas. Perhaps due to their relative nearness on the social scale, prejudice was strongest among poor whites who saw blacks as rivals and competitors for scarce jobs and opportunities. Upper-class southerners, usually familiar with blacks having grown up on plantations during the years of slavery, held somewhat different attitudes toward racial issues. This attitude often approached an aristocratic paternalism toward black workers, especially their house servants. This attitude of superiority often engendered resentment by blacks, however.[29]

After Reconstruction, it was these conservative planters who began to engage in limited political cooperation with blacks in the "black counties" of eastern Arkansas through the fusion system. Blacks benefitted from this relationship in that they gained at least some voice in state and county government, while conservative whites were able to utilize the black voting bloc to maintain their power and positions. The agrarian revolt of the late 1880's and early 1890's shattered this relationship, as fearful Democratic leaders began appealing to poor whites and their demands for segregation laws to "keep the Negro in his place." These appeals to racial prejudice served to divert attention from the pressing economic issues dividing white voters. By uniting white voters in this way, Democrats were able to survive the threats posed by the Populist agrarian movement. Republicans found that they could not simultaneously run campaigns based on xenophobia and racism and still maintain a close alliance with blacks at the local level. The GOP was forced to end their political relationships with blacks.[30]

The Populist movement that swept southern and western states in the late 1880's was felt in Arkansas as well. At a state convention in Little Rock, Arkansas Populists endorsed the party's national platform and appealed to the state's small farmers for support. The movement was particularly egalitarian for its day, despite the fact that most of the white members were those among whom racial prejudice was highest. The movement maintained that white and black farmers faced the same problems and difficulties, and thus should stand together to confront the entrenched political hierarchy of the state. The Populist ideology held that it was the farmers and workers who were the creators of America's wealth, while the bankers and middlemen were societal parasites. Needless to say, the Arkansas Democratic machine viewed the Populists as a threat and eventually adopted some of their tenets to defuse the movement in the mid-1890's, albeit not those advocating racial equality.[31]

iv. Political Participation and Disfranchisement

Many black citizens of the Delta river counties were able to rise above the pervasive poverty and prejudice of their era to distinguish themselves. Between 1874 and 1892 at least forty-seven blacks held seats in the General Assembly, while two served in the state Senate. Many more held positions at the county level. Black politicians of the late nineteenth century soon found that they had to align themselves with a major party and cooperate with white leaders to have any success. Under this system of "clientage-" or "fusion politics" a black politician would establish ties to a white officeholder and agree to organize and deliver the black vote. In return, the black politician received the patronage and support of the local white political establishment. While this system might appear exploitative and unsavory, it did succeed in bringing several black community and political leaders to the forefront and allowed for more black representation in state and local government than Arkansas was to know for many years after the disfranchisement of the 1890's excluded most blacks from active participation in politics.[32]

Between 1870 and 1892 several influential black politicians and leaders rose to prominence. William L. Copeland of Crittenden County, the Republican candidate for Secretary of State in 1876, was described by a Democratic newspaper as "a well-posted parliamentarian, a fluent and rather graceful talker, and withall a man of good political information." The 1876 general election saw eight blacks elected to the General Assembly, including Barry Colemen and J. N. Donohoo (Phillips County), James Wofford (Crittenden County), and Crocket Brown (Lee County). In addition, Anthony L. Stanford of Phillips County was elected to the state Senate. Of this group, six were farmers, one was a lawyer

and one listed his occupation as physician/preacher. None were wealthy or owned land; the average personal property holdings per man amounted to just $116, less than one-half the state average of $239. The average age of the legislators was 38.[33]

By 1890 black representation in the House had grown to eleven, including Henry A. Johnson (Chicot County), John H. Carr and J. N. Donohoo (Phillips County), G. W. Watson (Crittenden County), and R. C. Weddington (Desha County). George Walthorn Bell served the district including Desha and Chicot counties in the Senate. The rising strength of the black middle class during this time is apparent when comparing the black General Assembly delegation in 1876 and 1890. Occupations among the 1890 legislators included one preacher, five teachers, one lawyer, and one grocer. The 1890 legislators were also better educated than their 1876 predecessors had been; two had attended college (both at Alcorn College in Mississippi), two had high-school diplomas, and two had completed the common school curriculum (roughly the equivalent of an eighth grade education). The average age of the 1890 black legislators was 31, eight years younger than their 1876 predecessors. Arkansas' black political leaders had changed to reflect the community they represented.[34]

One of the most powerful of Arkansas' black leaders of the late nineteenth century was J. Pennoyer Jones of Arkansas City (Desha County). Born in Virginia in 1842, he eventually wound up in Arkansas City and established a law practice. By the time he entered politics in the mid-1870's he already had a reputation as a successful businessman, railroad speculator and developer. In 1874, Jones allied himself with Henry Thane, the chairman of Desha County's Republican organization. Jones was elected to the Arkansas Constitutional Convention of 1874, defeating the Democratic candidate Xenophon Overton Pindall of Arkansas City. Later that year, Jones was elected sheriff of Desha County and eventually became County Clerk. By 1890 Jones was elected County Judge of Desha County and was a frequent delegate to many state and national conventions. Despite his connections with the fusion system, Jones was known as a hard working politician, not a pawn of the Thane machine. In representing his constituents, Jones is credited with exerting enough force and influence to push the Arkansas Republican party into supporting at least some issues of black interest.[35]

Black political participation increased significantly during the years after the Reconstruction period. The 1888 elections saw an increase in the number of black officeholders elected in those counties with black majorities. These gains were consolidated in the 1890 elections, but the growth of black political power and voting strength began to provoke a backlash among conservative white Democrats. Fraud became an acceptable tactic

to use in keeping Republicans and blacks out of power. During the summer of 1888 violence broke out in Crittenden County, which had four times as many black voters as white. Armed whites captured black county officials and transported them across the Mississippi to Memphis, leaving the local election machinery in the hands of Democrats.[36]

The relatively narrow margins of victory accorded the 1888 Democratic gubernatorial candidate, James P. Eagle, scared the state Democratic party into pursuing measures to limit the effectiveness of its opposition by weakening the Republican party and disfranchising black voters. By the end of the century, all of the political gains blacks had realized were lost and most were effectively excluded from participation in the political process. In disfranchising blacks, the state's Democratic establishment used political rhetoric and appeals to racial prejudice to heighten tensions and to cleave the black and white lower classes.[37]

In 1891 the General Assembly began to take up a series of segregationist bills, beginning with a separate coach law requiring segregated facilities on all railway cars operating in the state. This measure was vigorously protested by black leaders all over the state as a direct attack on the civil rights of black citizens. In the House, J. N. Donohoo sarcastically called on his white counterparts to pass not only the separate coach law, but other segregationist measures so that blacks would realize that there were "two races in Arkansas that had nothing in common with each other." Despite opposition from black delegates, the separate coach law passed the General Assembly and became law. In the House, only two whites sided with the black legislators; in the Senate, only one white voted with Senator Bell.[38]

With the passage of the separate coach law, other segregationist legislation seemed justified and appropriate, and the idea that blacks should therefore also be excluded from participation in the political process followed naturally. Numerous revisions to the state's electoral laws eventually served to ensure that elections, even in Republican areas where fusion politics had benefitted black politicians, were essentially controlled by Democrats. These electoral changes facilitated the passage of a poll tax amendment to the state constitution submitted to voters in the 1892 general election.**

**Surprisingly, many heavily black precincts and counties passed the poll tax amendment. Moore speculates that this is due to the fact that the amendment's supporters campaigned for its passage as a means of increasing revenues for the common school fund, bypassing its racial implications. Nevertheless, there were questions as to whether or not the amendment received the necessary majority of votes required in the constitution. A second poll tax amendment

The effects of this sudden surge of racist and segregationist legislation could be seen in the results of the 1892 elections. The power of black voters was seriously undermined by the new electoral laws, so that of the fifteen majority black counties, the Republicans carried only two. Republican balloting dropped from almost 26,000 votes in 1890 to just 9,061 in 1892. Black county officials were defeated even in the heart of the state's black belt, and only four black legislators were elected to the 1893 General Assembly. Desha County saw the election of its first straight Democratic ticket since the Civil War, and similar upsets were registered in the other Delta river counties. In Chicot County, where black voting fell by one-half, the local white newspaper proudly proclaimed "After Negro Rule for Twenty-Eight Years Democracy on Top."[39]

What was left of black electoral power was pared away by subsequent legislation through the decade. The adoption of a white Democratic primary later in the decade effectively completed the disfranchisement of blacks from the political process. The results of these new electoral procedures had profound and immediate impacts on Arkansas politics. The total number of voters in 1890 versus 1894 reveal a drop of 65,000 votes in the latter election, almost one third less. The greatest gains for Democratic candidates came in six predominantly black counties, regaining control of these county governments for the first time since the Civil War. With no constituency to call on, black leaders became unimportant even to the Republican party, which became increasingly segregationist itself. To protest the increasingly "lily white" character of the Arkansas Republican party, black Republicans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century began to field their own "black and tan" candidates; though this succeeded in splitting the Republican vote, the Democratic machine was never in any danger and no "black and tan" candidate succeeded in winning office. The process of disfranchisement was essentially complete by 1905.[40]

In 1906, the state Democratic Central Committee, under the leadership of Governor Jeff Davis, ordered the use of white primaries throughout the state. Unlike many other southern states, Arkansas never resorted to such electoral requirements as literacy tests, grandfather clauses or property requirements to limit black voting.[41] In 1928, many of Arkansas' black leaders were active in the presidential campaign of former New York Governor Alfred E. Smith, who they claimed had promised them black participation in Democratic primaries should he be elected.***

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received the necessary majority in 1908.

***Smith's running mate was Arkansas Senator Joseph T. Robinson.

C. German Immigration and Settlement

Germans, Swiss and Austrians were considered to be among the most desirable of immigrants because of their reputations for hard work and industriousness. Despite the fears in some circles that such immigration would lead to an unacceptably high influx of Roman Catholics to the state, active recruitment of these groups began in earnest in 1874.[42] Most settled in areas of the state outside the parameters of this study, such as Stuttgart and Wiederkehr Village. However, some German immigrants are known to have located in Arkansas City (Desha County) and it is likely that more settled in other areas of the Delta river counties.[43]

A group of prominent German merchants in Little Rock organized the German Immigrant Aid Association in July of 1870 to prepare for the increase in German immigration that was expected to result from the end of the Franco-Prussian War. When the expected deluge of immigrants failed to materialize, the association disbanded. In 1872 Little Rock's German community organized a more energetic advocacy group, the German-American Association for the Promotion of Immigration and the Maintenance of German Habits and Customs. Another German immigration group, the Immigration Aid Society, was organized later in the decade.

Meanwhile, events in Europe conspired to encourage German emigration to the Americas during the 1870's. Throughout the decade Otto von Bismarck was conducting a campaign to eradicate the Roman Catholic Church in his newly unified nation, and these pressures combined with the effects of the general depression that gripped the nation between 1873 and 1874 to create a bottleneck as disillusioned Germans who wanted to leave found that they could not afford to do so. When the German economy improved in the late 1870's the floodgates were thrown open and the United States experienced a sudden surge in German immigration. German and Swiss immigration to Arkansas was at its apex during the period 1878 to 1883. Austrian immigration to the state was minimal, constituting only 1 percent of the total immigration during the 1870's and 1880's.[44] By 1900, one-quarter of Arkansas' foreign-born population was German.[45]

D. Italian Immigration and Settlement

Italians began to arrive in the U.S. in large numbers after 1880, nearly all of them fleeing poverty and searching for economic opportunity. In 1880, Italy's small farmers were still experiencing the economic after-effects of Italian unification, and the ill-equipped Italian

government was faced with the daunting task of developing a third-rate nation amidst the more powerful modern economies of Western Europe. To become more competitive, the Rome government embarked on a massive industrialization and taxation program that resulted in disproportionately higher taxes being levied on the nation's lower classes. Meanwhile, Italian landowners took advantage of the agricultural labor glut by paying low wages and charging outrageous rents for land. U.S. tariffs designed to protect the California and Florida citrus industries hurt the already depressed Italian fruit industry. Faced with all of these pressures and with little prospect for improved conditions, many Italian farmers and their families were forced to flee to the New World.[46]

Between 1880 and 1915 nearly four million Italians immigrated to the United States. Most were northern Italians who had sold their family farms and most of their possessions to finance their journeys. Unlike some other immigrant groups, Italians tended to immigrate in extended family groups rather than as groups of individual unmarried men. Upon arrival in the U.S., most sought out Italian colonies or communities where they could work for themselves and eventually own their own land.

Italian families preparing to emigrate to the United States were exposed to numerous advertisements and immigration agents from North and South America, with both legitimate and illegitimate promises about the areas and interests they represented. Immigrants recruited by legitimate agents representing such interests as American railroads or large landholders in the southern U.S. were generally able to fulfill most of their promises; at the very least, the immigrants would have work available on their arrival at their destination. However, the majority of poor Italians exploited by false promises found themselves stranded in the urban seaports of the northeastern United States.[47]

In the late nineteenth century, Bishop Scalabrini of Piacenza, Italy organized the St. Raphael Society, a support organization for Italians emigrating to the Americas, with the goal of keeping "alive in the hearts of the emigrants love of the motherland together with love of their faith." Scalabrini was the first high Roman Catholic prelate to mobilize the church as an official source of immigrant support. The Society worked in the major ports of Italy where immigrants gathered before leaving, providing spiritual, financial and medical aid, legal assistance with labor contracts, and advice and information on what to expect in the Americas. Later, the Society arranged to have a priest waiting to meet immigrants on their arrival at their destinations.[48]

Pietro Bandini was a young Italian priest who arrived in New York City in 1891 to

establish the St. Raphael Society there. Bandini believed that cities had a corrupting influence on the immigrants he was charged with protecting, leaving them pessimistic and cynical. The only hope for the Italian immigrant in America was to be found outside the cities in the agricultural heartland of the continent. Bandini held a romantic and idealistic faith in the land and wanted to establish Italian agricultural colonies in the South and Midwest.[49]

In the late 1880's such a plan had been put forth by Austin Corbin, a New York stockbroker. Corbin enlisted the help of Prince Ruspoli, the mayor of Rome, to help establish an Italian agricultural colony in the southern United States. Ruspoli agreed to recruit 100 families from northern Italy and send them to the U.S. In 1887, Corbin purchased 4,000 acres of land in Chicot County, Arkansas and named the area Sunnyside. On November 8, 1895 700 Italians left the port of Genoa on the chartered steamship "Chateau Yqum"; they arrived in New Orleans eighteen days later. The Sunnyside colony provoked nationwide controversy almost immediately as critics contended that the federal law prohibiting contract labor made Corbin's project illegal. Corbin had to prove that his representatives in Italy had not forced the immigrants into signing contracts turning them into indentured servants. The resulting red tape necessary to prove that the immigrants were indeed colonists and not simply cheap labor for Corbin prevented the party from arriving in Chicot County until December 4, 1895.[50]

Corbin's plans for Sunnyside called for each immigrant family to receive 20 acres and enough tools and supplies to begin farming. A company store was established and the colonists were issued coupons to make purchases. The farmers were to raise cotton and sugar cane under the supervision of overseers working for Corbin's Sunnyside Company. The sale of crops were to be applied against the cost of the farms in payment to Corbin and in 21 years the colonists would receive title to their land.[51]

The immigrants were essentially treated as tenant farmers by the Sunnyside Company, told what and when to plant, how much to sell and how much to give to the company. Instead of the 20 acres each family had been promised, most were allowed to use only 12, too little for even subsistence farming, much less cash-crop agriculture. This agricultural system was completely alien to that the colonists had known in northern Italy, where most had been engaged in subsistence or truck farming. The colonists had little experience in growing non-food crops. Additionally, old village and provincial rivalries had been transplanted to the U.S. and it was often difficult to get the colonists to cooperate with one another. As these problems mounted, the colonists grew increasingly dissatisfied with their lives at Sunnyside.[52]

Conditions at Sunnyside deteriorated further when Austin Corbin died in 1896 and his heirs lost interest in the Chicot County project. The company never completed a promised drainage system for the community, resulting in a malaria outbreak among the Italian immigrants and widespread flooding that ruined that year's cotton crop. With no money for either medicine or food, over one hundred colonists died from malaria or malnutrition over the next year.[53]

In 1897 Father Bandini accompanied a second wave of Italian immigrants to the Sunnyside colony. He had been charged by his superiors in the St. Raphael Society with stabilizing the colony and establishing a parish. He spent most of the following year combating the malaria outbreak, mediating disputes between colonists, attempting to stabilize and improve crop production, and generally trying to bring order to the troubled community.[54]

When Bandini himself fell ill later that year, he retreated to the Ozarks to recuperate. Realizing that the Ozark climate and topography were better suited to the needs and culture of his northern Italian charges, he returned to Sunnyside with plans for a mass exodus. Few Italians remained at the colony when Father Bandini returned; most had fled to surrounding states, to South America, or back to Italy. Thirty-five families left with Father Bandini on February 17, 1898, and eventually founded the community of Tontitown in Washington County, Arkansas. A few Italian families remained in Chicot County however, where their descendants remain. Even after his move to Tontitown, Bandini continued to visit Sunnyside several times a year to look after the spiritual needs of the Italians that remained.[55]

In 1902, Bandini wrote to Bishop Fitzgerald in Little Rock, asking him to send an Italian priest to serve the Italians at Sunnyside. With Fitzgerald's approval, Bandini then wrote to the Bishop of Senigallia in the province of Ancana, Italy, for a priest. A Father Galloni left Genoa September 14, 1903 en route to Sunnyside, Arkansas. After first visiting Father Bandini in Tontitown, Galloni arrived in Chicot County in late December, where he boarded with one of the Italian farmers. For over a year, one room served as Galloni's bedroom, study and church.[56]

In 1905, Galloni and the Italian congregation began construction of a new church building in Lakeport, near Sunnyside, with the help of Bishop Fitzgerald and two of his Protestant friends. In 1912, Galloni moved to Lake Village, where some of the Italian families from Sunnyside had relocated. Galloni eventually oversaw the establishment of another church and a parochial school in Lake Village.[57]

E. Chinese Immigration

During the labor-scarce 1870's, cotton planters imported Chinese laborers to work their fields, while others came to work on the railroads. Most Chinese in the Delta came via New Orleans and the Mississippi River. The influx of blacks from east of the Mississippi resulted in most Chinese agricultural workers leaving the region. Those that remained established a Chinese-American culture substantially different from those found on the east and west coasts of the United States.[58]

In the late 1800's, U.S. law allowed male Chinese laborers into the country, but banned Chinese women. Some of the earliest Chinese immigrants married black women, but as they came to better understand the power-structure of the late nineteenth century South, this custom died out. One Chinese who married a black woman in Mississippi reportedly sent their children back to China to spare them from the racism that was so prevalent in the Delta. Like blacks, Chinese in the Delta were segregated from whites until after World War II, refused access to white churches, schools, hospitals, hotels and restaurants. Many became small grocers serving black neighborhoods.[59]

Delta Chinese, or *Hon Yen* as they called themselves in Cantonese, established a society unlike that of any other Chinese enclave in North America. There were no substantial Chinatowns in any Delta cities, nor were there any of the cultural accoutrements that Chinese communities on the two coasts brought to America, such as clans, tongs, gambling parlors, pagodas and paper dragons. Historically, Delta Chinese have tended to play a subdued role in Delta society, somewhere between the *Lo Mok*, the blacks, and the *Bok Guey*, the whites.[60]

F. Jewish Immigration

Jews have long been a small but significant minority in the Delta river counties. Most settled in the urban centers of the region and established mercantile businesses. They arrived, for the most part, with few resources, no families, and few attachments to the area. Many were foreign-born and spoke poor English. By developing reputations as hard-working, honest, and intelligent businessmen, they quickly became valued members of their communities. Because most Jewish temples were located only in Arkansas' larger cities, most religious services and instruction were held in individual homes.[61]

Simmon Weiss, a merchant at Grand Lake (Chicot County) is the first Jewish immigrant known to have settled in the river counties, sometime in the late 1840's. He was

followed in 1856 by Emmanuel Hoover, who began peddling merchandise to farmers in Chicot, Desha and Drew counties. Gus Waterman, who arrived in Dumas in 1875, eventually served as Postmaster from 1882 to 1887. One of his sons, Julius Waterman, went on to become dean of the law school at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. The Waterman Hall Law Building was named in his honor.[62]

Samuel Marks opened a very successful mercantile business in Arkansas City in 1885, but later left for St. Louis because there was no Jewish temple in Arkansas City. In 1897, Abraham Dreidel arrived in Arkansas City to work in Marks' store. He eventually entered business as a senior partner of the firm Hoover and Company (with Samuel Hoover, the son of Emmanuel Hoover), a firm operating confectionery stores in Arkansas City, Dermott and Warren. Dreidel went on to serve as mayor of Arkansas City from 1901 to 1905, and again from 1910 to 1911. He also represented the 17th District (Desha and Drew counties) in the state Senate during the 36th General Assembly as Arkansas' first Jewish Senator.[63]

Samuel Wolchansky arrived in Arkansas City in 1895 and established a dry goods business, which he relocated to McGehee in 1906. Wolchansky also acquired a large acreage of farmland in the area and ran his own cotton gin. Other prominent Jews in southeastern Arkansas included Charles Dante, a leading citizen of Dumas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and Isadore Pinkus, who ran a dry goods business in Dermott (Chicot County). More Jews settled in southeast Arkansas through the early twentieth century, establishing businesses and becoming prominent members of their communities.[64]

Nathan Weinberg, who settled in Osceola in 1888, is believed to have been the first Jewish settler in Mississippi County. A native of the Courland region in Czarist Russia (present day Lithuania), Weinberg came to Osceola after traveling across the southern United States in search of a "good location" to live. The initial reaction to Weinberg was hostile and on several occasions area residents attempted to drive him from Osceola. More tolerant attitudes prevailed however, and Weinberg eventually became a respected community leader. His small business grew into a successful dry goods company before his death in 1904.[65]

G. Other Immigrants

Less information is available on other immigrant groups that are known to have settled in the Delta River counties. A few Greek communities are known to have been established in southeast Arkansas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and for a period in the 1890's sharecroppers became so scarce that Mexican labor was recruited to

work on the plantations. Helena (Phillips County) reportedly has had small groupings of Germans, Jews, Greeks, Italians, Mexicans, Chinese and Syrians.[66]

III. Minority Immigration and Settlement in Arkansas: 1900-1930

A. Immigration and Settlement Trends

As the population grew and the area's resources developed, a few Delta towns began experiencing significant expansions in the late nineteenth century, offering stark contrasts to the traditional rural nature of the region.The early decades of the twentieth century saw a major effort by the state of Arkansas to promote the fertile farmlands of the Delta, newly converted from swamps and forest land, among potential immigrants to the state.

Arkansas City (Desha County) began to flourish in the 1890's after the town of Napoleon was destroyed by the Mississippi River in 1874. To fill the subsequent vacuum, Arkansas City became a major shipping port in the early twentieth century, the first stop for steamboats heading up the Mississippi from New Orleans and Vicksburg. The city eventually became the county seat, but its initial heyday ended when the Mississippi once again changed its course and Arkansas City lost access to the river. The town shifted its focus toward the exploitation of the significant timber resources of the area, but the flooding of the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers in 1927 destroyed this industry as well. Besides the large black population in the vicinity of Arkansas City, the town is also known to have been the destination of a few German immigrants.

B. Black Immigration and Settlement

i. Tenant Farming and the Elaine Race Riots of 1919

The First World War proved to be a watershed event in terms of race relations in Arkansas. Many blacks drafted into military service and sent to fight in Europe returned home in 1918 and 1919 with an awareness and lingering resentment of their status as second-class citizens and economic underlings. The period between the world wars saw a considerable emigration of population from Arkansas as many disillusioned blacks left the south for better paying industrial jobs in northern cities. White landowners in the South found their positions threatened as their cheap agricultural labor supply began to dry up.

Most rural black families were forced to be essentially self-sufficient, producing most

of their own food and other needs. Typically, a farmstead would include a small vegetable garden, possibly a fruit orchard, a tobacco patch, and a few cows and hogs. Corn was transported to a gristmill for grinding into meal. In parts of Arkansas, clothing and shoes were still made at home as late as 1920, and only a few items, such as coffee, sugar or flour, were not produced on the farm. Because plantation owners usually did not allow any land to be used for garden plots, tenant farmers and sharecroppers tended to be less self-sufficient and were often forced to purchase staples at a plantation-owned company store.[67]

Injustice and exploitation were essential elements of the sharecropping system as it was practiced in the early twentieth century. Black tenants were routinely denied the right to make cash settlements for their crops, unable to obtain legal assistance against their landlords and not allowed to move from their lands in search of better conditions. In 1919 it was reported that a black tenant farmer had been shot and permanently crippled by his landlord because he asked for a cash settlement for his crop.[68] Some succeeded despite the obstacles placed before them. Scott Bond, an uneducated ex-slave from Madison (St. Francis County) became one of the leading farmers and businessmen of eastern Arkansas and, in 1917, turned down an offer of $2 million for his assets.

Stresses and internal contradictions in the tenant and sharecropping systems began to be felt in the years following the first World War. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers began to agitate for better economic leverage vis-a-vis their landowners and for more leeway in decisions relating to the planting, harvesting and marketing of their crops. Tensions grew as landowners began to feel threatened by these perceived encroachments on their lands, power, positions and wealth. These tensions exploded in 1919 in what black historian John Hope Franklin called "the greatest period of interracial strife the nation ever witnessed." Race riots erupted all over the United States, in East St. Louis, Chicago, Omaha, Knoxville, Indianapolis, and Washington, DC. In the fall of 1919, they reached Elaine, Arkansas.[69]

In an effort to alleviate abuses and inequities against tenants and sharecroppers, the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America was organized in 1919 to combat the unwritten southern maxim that prevented indebted tenants from moving to other areas in search of opportunity. The union, formed to "advance the interest of the Negro, mentally and intellectually, and to make him a better farmer," was initially led by Robert H. Hill, a 26-year-old black World War I veteran. The union was slow in gaining acceptance, so Hill tried to promote it as a fraternal order. By the summer of 1919, chapters had been organized in the Phillips County communities of Ratio, Elaine, Hoop Spur, Old Town and Mellwood. Concerned whites began spreading rumors during the summer that the union members were

storing arms and ammunition and planned an assault on the white community. Black sharecroppers demanding a more equal bargaining position were portrayed as "insurrectionists." A series of meetings were held in Helena in which black and white moderates attempted to defuse the tensions and prevent violence, but the efforts proved unsuccessful.[70]

The night of September 30, 1919, members of the Progressive Farmers Union met at the Hoop Spur church, two miles north of Elaine. White participants in the incident later claimed that the meeting was held to "withhold all cotton from the landlords and plan hostilities against them." Blacks insisted that the landlords had been apprised of the meeting and, fearful of the possible outcome of black unity, used "every means" to prevent it.[71]

In Little Rock the following day, Governor Charles Brough received a telegram from Elaine reporting "race riots here in Elaine and [we] need some soldiers at once. Several white men and negroes killed last night and this morning." Details of the rioting remain unclear and accounts of what happened changed frequently over the next several days. At some point, gunfire broke out between the black farmers gathered in the Hoop Spur church and a group of whites outside the building. The Arkansas Gazette featured the headline "Desperate Fighting between Whites and Negroes," and reported:

> "Elaine at midnight was quiet after a day of fighting between organized negroes armed with high-powered rifles and sheriffs posses in the streets of that town and in the country nearby."[72]

Whites involved in the fighting included members of the Helena American Legion Post and men from Clarendon, Marianna and Marvell. Others came from as far away as Lula, Tunica, Friars Point and Clarksdale, Mississippi.[73] On October 2, Governor Brough declared martial law in Elaine and sent more than 500 U.S. troops by train from North Little Rock's Camp Pike to Elaine to establish order. Scores of black citizens were arrested and confined to the basement of the community's public school, while others were not allowed to move about without military passes. More troops were dispatched to Helena to prevent the lynchings of the alleged union ringleaders.[74]

Soon after, a Committee of Seven was formed in Helena with Governor Brough's imprimatur to investigate the Elaine riots and determine what had caused them. Witnesses were interviewed, black detainees were interrogated, and it was finally concluded that:

> "[t]he leaders of the Union had led the members to believe that the federal government would back them up in demanding high prices for their cotton and in seizing the land of white plantation owners. The black urban members in the County armed themselves and drilled in secret, so it was said, in preparation for an insurrection against whites. Twenty-one white landowners and merchants were to be killed immediately at the beginning of the insurrection, scheduled for October 6. The shooting of Adkins and Pratt at Hoop Spur on the night of September 30 had prematurely set off the insurrection... with the result that the authorities were able to suppress what would otherwise have been a black massacre of the white population of Phillips County."[75]

Governor Brough accepted the findings of the Committee's report, but expressed sympathy for the plight of Arkansas' black farmers and denounced lynchings and mob violence.****

In the days and weeks that followed, the riot was initially attributed to the activities of O.S. Bratton, the son of U.S. Bratton, a prominent white Little Rock lawyer who had formerly served as Postmaster and as an assistant U.S. Attorney. Bratton's law firm had been representing about 65 black Phillips County residents in their attempts to obtain fairer treatment and better cotton prices from their landlords. The younger Bratton and several blacks were arrested after it was "alleged that Bratton had been connected with the activities of propagandists in [Phillips] County who have been preaching the doctrine of social equality to the negroes." Bratton was also accused of involvement in the rioting and being present at the shooting of a white man. After his son was taken into custody, the elder Bratton became an important figure in the case, proclaiming his son's innocence and defending several blacks charged in the case. Charges against the younger Bratton were eventually dropped.[76]

****Lynching was a scourge on Arkansas' black community for many years. Between 1882 and 1937, a total of 285 people were lynched or otherwise put to death without a trial, with blacks accounting for about 80 percent of this total. Lynchings were most common when a white man or woman was the victim of an alleged crime by a black. In 1917, Arkansas ranked third in the nation in the number of lynchings, and in 1921 Governor Thomas C. McRae proclaimed the practice a disgrace to the state. As more prominent white leaders and leading newspapers denounced the practice, lynchings became less frequent in the late 1920s and early 1930's.

Officially, five whites and eleven blacks were reported killed in the Elaine rioting, but some estimates place the total much higher. George Washington Davis, the acting grand secretary of Arkansas' black Masonic Lodge, reported that he paid 73 death claims to families of black lodge members killed at Elaine. In November 1919, 87 blacks were convicted by an all-white grand jury in connection with the riots, and twelve were sentenced to death for first degree murder. No whites were sentenced or even charged in the case.[77]

Meanwhile, several black newspapers and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began their own investigations into the incident. Walter White, the white assistant secretary of the NAACP, launched a four-year campaign to repeal the death sentences imposed in the case. White filed a lengthy report with the U.S. Department of Justice which provided the basis for the NAACP campaign. The results of White's investigation of the Elaine affair were published in the NAACP's Crisis magazine and in several black newspapers across the country, angering many political leaders and the state and local press in Arkansas. After his son's release, U.S. Bratton recruited counsel for the blacks convicted in the case. Colonel George W. Murphy, a reputable white lawyer noted for his criminal work, and Scipio A. Jones, a dynamic black lawyer with a successful record of challenges to the state's penal codes, agreed to represent the twelve men convicted of murder in their appeals.[78]

After four years, the admission of new evidence and testimony, and appeals that were heard as high as the Arkansas and the United States Supreme Courts, Murphy and Jones were successful in having the twelve death sentences overturned. In addition to their victory in the courts, the NAACP had hoped to draw attention to and help alleviate the conditions of black tenants and sharecroppers in the Delta. However, this proved more difficult and the economic and social disparities between white and black farmers in the Delta remained pervasive until the tenant farming system was largely abandoned in favor of mechanized agriculture in the late 1940's and 1950's.[79]

ii. Minorities and the Arkansas Timber Industry

Black Arkansans played a significant role in the development of the Delta timber industry, which flourished between 1880 and 1927. In 1898, forests of pine, cypress and hardwood covered more than three-quarters of Arkansas. By the mid 1920's, the lumber industry employed 60 percent of all Arkansas wage earners and nearly one half of the Delta's ten million acres of virgin forest had been cleared. Timber industry jobs were much sought

after because of the better wages they offered compared to other enterprises. The Chicago Mill and Lumber Company, which owned vast tracts of forest in northeast Arkansas and in the Helena area, was a major employer of black lumbermen, as was the Helena lumber mill. In addition to blacks, ethnic Slavs and Germans were known to have worked in the eastern Arkansas lumber industry.

Timber production rose steadily during the first decade of the twentieth century, peaking in 1909 with Arkansas ranked fifth in the nation in lumber production. Logs were hauled out of the woods on railroad cars or floated downriver and mills began to spring up throughout the region. Production began to decline after this point, as the best timber had already been cut and costs began to increase. By 1925 the industry was in trouble, with production only one-half its 1909 level and timber being cut at four times the rate at which it was being replaced. As sawmills began to close, the towns that had grown up around them were being deserted. As logging lines were abandoned, Arkansas' railroad track decreased from a total of 5,306 miles in 1910 to 4,826 miles in 1930.

In the early 1900's, a black logger named John C. Claybrook began clearing forest land for several black farmers around Simsboro, near the Mississippi River in Crittenden County. Working with two log wagons and teams of six or eight horses, Claybrook hauled the logs to spur lines of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad to be shipped and sold to lumber mills. Eventually, Claybrook's holdings grew to 300 acres of timber- and farmland, a country store, and one of the largest lumber mill operations in Crittenden County. In 1927 he built a boarding house for lumbermen, levee workers, and day laborers who worked on the farmland made available after the land had been cleared. By the 1950's, Claybrook was known as one of the wealthiest black businessmen in the central Delta.[80]

iii. The Blues

The blues, introduced to the Arkansas Delta in the 1920's, proved to be a powerful form of expression for poor and working class black Arkansans. The music was considered counter-cultural, addressing such subjects as sex, obscenities, drinking and partying contrary to the teachings of the local black churches. In this respect, the blues represented the antithesis of the other major black musical style, the religiously-oriented gospel music. For some, blues represents a musical symbol of the black experience in America, a valid form of American culture to be collected, studied and anthologized.

Charley Patton, a Mississippi native, is credited with bringing the blues to Arkansas.

Patton performed at honky-tonks, roadhouses and picnics throughout the Arkansas Delta. Helena and West Helena became centers for blues music in the Delta. Helena featured a wide array of nightclubs, saloons and juke joints that grew up around the warehouse district and the black residential neighborhoods downtown. West Memphis later developed its own blues scene. Floyd Jones, born in Marianna (Lee County) in 1917, became an important figure during the blues' formative years. He was best known for the quality of his lyrics, which typically utilized such themes as frustration due to social and economic hardships or the loss of a mother or wife. He later became known as one of the most important of Chicago's post-war blues composers. Roosevelt Sykes, born and raised in Phillips County, is also remembered as an important blues singer, pianist and songwriter of the Delta.

Perhaps the most prominent of Arkansas' blues musicians was Sonny Boy Williamson, born Aleck "Rice" Miller in Mississippi in 1908 (earlier, by some accounts). Williamson began performing in Arkansas in the 1920's and eventually settled in Helena, where he died in 1965. The boarding house where he lived much of his life still stands.

In direct contrast with the ideals and emphases of the "devil's music," the blues, was another major black contribution to American music, gospel. Gospel music was considered much more socially acceptable in the Delta's "Bible Belt" in the 1920's. Among the notable gospel singers of the Arkansas Delta was Nathan Hayes, an Arkansas City (Desha County) native who performed in Arkansas' in-state gospel circuit from 1920 through the 1940's.[81]

iv. The Ku Klux Klan in Arkansas

The Ku Klux Klan, reorganized in Georgia in 1915, enjoyed a brief resurgence in Arkansas in the years following the first World War. Its members, alarmed by the growth of Arkansas' cities and suspicious of the numbers of Catholics, Jews, blacks, radicals and other foreigners they imagined inhabited them, advocated government only by native-born white Protestant Americans. The Klan organized in Arkansas in 1921 with Little Rock attorney James A. Comer as the "Grand Dragon," or state leader. The group initially concerned itself with what it perceived to be the moral failings of Arkansas society, and widespread reports of floggings and violence toward bootleggers, loafers, wife-beaters and the immoral circulated the state in 1921 and 1922, provoking Governor Thomas McRae to declare a "Law and Order Sunday" in 1921 in an attempt to discourage the lawbreaking.[82]

Arkansas quickly became one of the strongest Klan states, with more than 50,000 members claimed in 1924. The movement took control of the city governments of Little

Rock and Fort Smith, as well as several county governments. The 1924 gubernatorial campaign saw the Klan for the first time launch a major attempt to influence the election. All but one of the announced candidates for the Democratic nomination sought the support of the Invisible Empire, but the Klan endorsement went to William Lee Cazort of Johnson County.***** Following the defeat of Cazort, the Klan's political influence diminished rapidly and it soon ceased to be a factor in Arkansas government.[83]

v. Black Education

Black education in the early twentieth century tended to be inferior to that available in white schools, mainly due to the fact that black families tended to have more children than whites and owned relatively little property to tax for school funding. Whites generally proved reluctant to finance black education through their taxes, so needs remained unmet. Some black families refused to allow their children to attend school, perhaps reasoning that their labor on the farm was a more profitable pursuit.[84]

By 1930, Arkansas was spending less than half as much to educate a black child as it was spending to educate a white. This shortfall was alleviated somewhat by contributions from northern charities. The Julius Rosenwald Fund provided the resources to build schools for blacks in the south, while the Slater Fund helped to establish county training schools. Both the Jeanes Fund and the General Education Board were involved in training and paying teachers and conducting educational research. By 1928, twenty-six black high schools had been established in the state, largely with the assistance of these northern charities.[85]

Blacks made more progress in terms of education in the years following the first World War. More began to attend high school and college, illiteracy rates began falling and black businessmen and professionals began replacing preachers as leaders in the black community.[86]

C. Swiss and German Immigration and Settlement

*****Thomas Jefferson Terral, who would eventually win the nomination and the governor's office, so coveted the Klan endorsement that he attempted to join the Arkansas Klan in 1923. The candidate's application was rejected, apparently on a technicality, and Terral began to frantically search for a chapter that would accept him. He finally succeeded in being "naturalized" by a Klan chapter in Bernice, Louisiana.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a Swiss-German community was established in Hicks (Phillips County), five miles west of Marvell. Among the families who settled in Hicks were the Inebrits, Tschabolds, Schaffhausers, Gschwends, Dubochs, Weltis, Heidelbergers, Steiners and Freidleis. Most of the Swiss families had arrived at the established Swiss colony in Bernstadt, Kentucky, before migrating to Phillips County in 1897 when the Arkansas Midland Railroad offered good farmland in the Hicks vicinity at low prices.[87]

William Welti was the first Swiss to arrive in Phillips County, where he made a deal with a Mr. Hornor and a Mr. Updegraff to buy farmland at $20 per acre. Rudolph Inebnit, his son Fred, and Anton and Ernest Schaffhauser came to Hicks by covered wagon, and other Swiss families soon followed by railroad. Robert Heidelberger was the first baby born to Swiss parents in Phillips County, on Christmas Day, 1897.[88]

During the early years of the colony, the settlers main source of income came from selling cordwood to the railroad and making crossties and heading bolts. The Swiss-Arkansans also raised cotton, dairy cattle, chickens, grapes for homemade wine, and vegetables as truck crops and for their own consumption. The community originally chose the name "Waldheim" for their colony, but was forced to change it when it was found that another Arkansas community already bore the name. The town was eventually named "Hicksville" for Colonel Bob Hicks, who had a stove and heading mill nearby. The Missouri Pacific Railroad later shortened the name to "Hicks."[89]

The Swiss community expanded to the nearby Barton area in 1903, when Emil Bloesch and Earnest Hauselman met with Ham and Ned Hornor to purchase land for other Swiss settlers at $20 per acre. The swampy land had proven difficult to cultivate for other farmers, but the Swiss farmers succeeded in draining and farming it. Most of the settlers were members of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, while others were either Roman Catholic or Lutheran. A Reformed Church congregation was organized at Barton in 1907, with another established in Hicks the following year. The Reverend Rudolph Steiner began to preach at the Hicks and Barton churches in 1911, always in German, until he died in 1928.[90]

In 1908, more ethnic Germans arrived at the colony, this time from Transylvania, in what was then the Austro-Hungarian Empire (present day Romania). Among the families that arrived were those of Alfred Kummer, Gottfried Friedli, Heinrich Welti, Albert Wetter, Francis Sabatier, Simon Schell, Simon Plattner, Matthew Plattner, John Gschwend and

August Ebert. Most had been working in a steel mill in Niles, Ohio when they were lured to Barton to work in the Premier Cotton Mill.******

D. Italian Immigration and Settlement

Sicilian immigration to Arkansas began in the 1890's when Joe Marzulo and Peter St. Columbia, both from the Palermo town of Cefalu, settled in Helena (Phillips County). The two men, and typically those that later followed them, travelled 21 days by ship to New Orleans, where they worked unloading ships for 50 to 75 cents per day until they could afford to move on. Marzulo and St. Columbia decided to settle in Helena because of the similarity of its climate to that of Cefalu. Once established, the Sicilian men would send for their families, then other relatives and friends. The majority of Sicilian emigrants in Helena were from Cefalu, while others came from the Salerno towns of San Gregorio and Trapani.[91]

In 1894, Nunzio Messina, Sr. left Cefalu for the Mississippi Delta, where he worked on the river boats and canefields of Louisiana. He eventually sent for his wife and two sons and settled in Helena, selling fruit, nuts and candies from a corner store and peddling to area farmers and laborers. The local farmers tended to dislike the peddlers, contending that they distracted the agricultural laborers. The Sicilian unfamiliarity with the English language and their use of Roman numerals were hindrances to their complete assimilation into Delta society for many years.[92]

A second Italian colony was established in the Phillips County community of Barton in 1905, when fifty Italians arrived to take jobs with the Premier Cotton Mill. Most left when the mill closed in 1909.[93]

IV. Conclusion

In the spring of 1927, the Mississippi, Arkansas and other major rivers in eastern Arkansas overflowed their banks, flooding vast areas of lowlands. Eventually, more than four million acres in eastern and central Arkansas were affected, costing millions of dollars in property losses, and leaving thousands of Arkansans homeless and 127 dead. With the coming of the Depression in the fall of 1929, it was to be almost two decades before the industry and agriculture of the Delta river counties would full cover. Many of the minority

******The same mill that employed most of Barton's Italian settlers; see above.

cultural resources, the physical reminders of the settlement of these counties by blacks, Italians, Germans and other ethnic groups were destroyed. Because the Flood of 1927 represents such an epochal event, those properties reflecting minority settlement that survived are that much more valuable as reminders of what was lost. Those properties extant stand as a testament to the contributions of minority groups to the settlement of Arkansas and the Delta river counties and to the societal and cultural enrichment of the state. They stand as irreplaceable monuments to the heritage of Arkansas.

ENDNOTES

1. Ken Hubbell and Janis Kearney Lunon, The Arkansas Delta: A Historical Look at Our Land and People (Little Rock, Arkansas: Department of Arkansas Heritage, 1990), pp. 2-4.

2. John L. Ferguson and J. H. Atkinson, Historic Arkansas (Little Rock, Arkansas: Arkansas History Commission, 1966), p. 191.

3. Ibid., p. 174.

4. Beverly Watkins, "Efforts to Encourage Immigration to Arkansas, 1865 - 1874," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (Spring 1979):32.

5. Watkins, ibid., p. 62.

6. Watkins, ibid., pp. 34-38.

7. Mala Dagget, ed., Victorian Arkansas: How They Lived, Played, and Worked (Little Rock, Arkansas: Arkansas Commemorative Commission, 1981), pp. 5-6.

8. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid., pp. 187-189.

9. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid., p. 189.

10. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid., p. 191.

11. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid., pp. 206-207.

12. Watkins, ibid., p. 62.

13. Carl H. Moneyhon, "Black Politics in the Gilded Age, 1876-1900," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLIV, No. 3 (Autumn 1985): pp. 223-225.

14. O.E. McKnight, Living in Arkansas, (Norman, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Company, 1951), p. 198.

15. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 36.

16. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 36.

17. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., pp. 36-37.

18. Moneyhon, ibid., pp. 223-224.

19. Moneyhon, ibid., p. 226.

20. Moneyhon, ibid., p. 235.

21. Horace D. Nash, "Blacks in Arkansas During Reconstruction: The Ex-Slave Narratives," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3 (Autumn 1989), p. 247-249.

22. Nash, ibid., p. 248.

23. Nash, ibid., pp. 258-259.

24. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 32.

25. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 33.

26. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid.

27. Moore, ibid., p. 78.

28. Moore, ibid., p. 79.

29. Moore, ibid., p. 81.

30. Moore, ibid., p. 81.

31. Moore, ibid., p. 95.

32. Moneyhon, ibid., p. 228-229.

33. Moneyhon, ibid., pp. 230-231.

34. Moneyhon, ibid., pp. 231-232.

35. Moneyhon, ibid., pp. 232-235.

36. Waddy William Moore, ed., Arkansas in the Gilded Age 1874-1900, (Little Rock, Arkansas: Rose Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 70-71.

37. Moneyhon, ibid., pp. 239-240.

38. Moneyhon, ibid., pp. 241-243.

39. Moneyhon, ibid., pp. 244-245.

40. Moore, ibid., p. 95.

41. Moore, ibid., p. 96.

42. Jonathan James Wolfe, "Background of German Immigration, Part II," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn 1966): p. 248.

43. Hubbell and Kearney-Lunon, ibid., p. 25.

44. Wolfe, ibid.

45. Dagget, ibid., p. 6.

46. Jeffery Lewellen, "Sheep Amidst the Wolves: Father Bandini and the Colony at Tontitown, 1898 - 1917," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Spring 1986): pp. 19-20.

47. Lewellen, ibid., pp. 20-21.

48. Lewellen, ibid., pp. 22-23.

49. Lewellen, ibid., pp. 24-25.

50. Lewellen, ibid., pp. 26-28.

51. Lewellen, ibid., p. 28.

52. Lewellen, ibid., pp. 28-29.

53. Lewellen, ibid., pp. 29-30.

54. Lewellen, ibid., p. 30.

55. Lewellen, ibid.

56. Historical Commission of the Diocese of Little Rock, The History of Catholicity in Arkansas: From The Earliest Missionaries Down to the Present Time. (Little Rock, Arkansas: The Guardian, 1925), p. 101.

57. The History of Catholicity in Arkansas, ibid., p. 101.

58. Gene-Gabriel Moore, "The Long Trail of the Hon Yen," Atlanta Magazine, date unavailable, p. 72-74.

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60. Moore, ibid., p. 72.

61. E. M. Dreidel, "Temple Meir Chayim: A Century Old Need," Programs of Desha County Historical Society (Dumas, Arkansas: Clarion Publishing Company, 1978), p. 29.

62. Dreidel, ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Dreidel, ibid.

65. G. D. Faulkner, "Ethnography," (Mississippi County WPA File, Arkansas History Commission, no date).

66. NoVella McCracken, "Ethnography," (Phillips County WPA File, Arkansas History Commission, no date).

67. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid. pp. 286-287.

68. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 41.

69. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 41.

70. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 42.

71. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., pp. 41-42.

72. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., p. 42.

73. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid.

74. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid.

75. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, p. 43.

76. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., pp. 43-44.

77. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid., p. 274.

78. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid.

79. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid.

80. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., pp. 22-23. Besides his importance in the development of the Delta's timber industry, Claybrook also had a significant impact on the social and cultural history of the Delta river counties. In 1929 Claybrook began sponsorship of a new semi-pro baseball team, the Claybrook Tigers. The team participated in the National Negro Baseball League for more than a decade, recruiting and paying top wages to black athletes from all over the Delta. Among Claybrook's players was Floyd Jones, a well-known black blues musician from Brickey (Lee County) and Mound City (Crittenden County). Several other blues musicians who played at the roadhouses and clubs around Simsboro supplemented their incomes by playing ball with Claybrook's Tigers.

81. Hubbell and Kearney Lunon, ibid., pp. 47-50.

82. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid., pp. 265-269.

83. Leon C. Miller, "Thomas Jefferson Terral," in The Governors of Arkansas: Essays in Political Biography, Timothy P. Donovan and Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., eds. (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1981), p. 161.

84. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid., p. 275.

85. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid.

86. Ferguson and Atkinson, ibid.

87. Laura H. Van Kanel, "Swiss Settlers at Hicks and Barton," Phillips County Historical Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 1 (December, 1972), p. 9.

88. Van Kanel, ibid.

89. Van Kanel, ibid.

90. Van Kanel, ibid.

91. Philip St. Columbia, "Sicilian Migration to Helena, Arkansas," Phillips County Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 4 (September 1966), p. 19.

92. St. Columbia, ibid.

93. Gene Bradford, "Barton," Phillips County Historical Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 1 (December 1972) p. 9.

I. Name of Property Type: **Resources Associated With Ethnic and Minority Settlement of the Arkansas Delta**

II. Description

Given the primarily historical significance of minority settlement in the Arkansas Delta region of the state, associated resources will include a large variety of different property types, including residences, commercial properties, cemeteries, institutional buildings, churches and many others. In fact, the universe of potential minority-associated properties is limited only by the requirement that a clear and tangible minority connection be estabished. Such properties may physically reflect the cultural influences of the ethnic or racial minority with which they are associated -- such as the iconography of the black fraternal organizations that appears on many of the head stones within the historic section of the New Hope Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery -- but most often they do not, instead revealing the effects of assimilation into the existing culture, along with its popular tastes and fashions. Therefore, any minority-associated standing structures tend to either be plain and unadorned, or reflective of the popular national architectural styles of the period in which they were constructed (though it should also be noted that some uniquely ethnic architectural forms, such as the shotgun house, are also found).

III. Significance

The significance of the resources associated with ethnic and minority settlement of the Arkansas Delta region lies largely in their direct and tangible association with one or more of the minority groups discussed in the associated historic context, *Minority Settlement in the Mississippi River Counties of the Arkansas Delta, 1870-1930,* though they may also retain significance through their association with other historic contexts as developed. Their significance will largely be determined by the extent and tenure of this association, though such properties can also be significant for additional reasons, such as architectural quality or association with an especially important person who was also a member of one of the minority groups identified in the associated historic context.

The role played by the multifarious ethnic and racial groups that immigrated to the Arkansas Delta region before and during the period of significance has only recently begun to be properly and thoroughly understood, and even then only sporadically. The growth in appreciation over the past twenty-five years of indigenous black music (the various forms of the blues, spirituals, folk music, etc.) serves as a particularly good example of the relative recentness of this

phenomenon, particularly when one considers the fact that at least some of these musical forms date to the 1700's and before. The influence on the settlement and growth of the Delta region by the minority groups that settled within its confines during the period of significance is only beginning to be fully appreciated. Their status as merchants, land traders, lumbermen, railroad workers, as well as farm laborers and domestics, had a significant -- though as yet not fully understood -- impact upon the daily life and routine of the communities of which they were a part, many of which came under the influence of the travel and commerce that centered around the Mississippi River and its status as a conduit to the world beyond. Hopefully, in time, the full extent of their contribution will be better understood; however, for now, we will have to settle for less. Thus, properties of any physical type, style or character will be eligible under Criterion A if a connection between the property and the local, statewide or national contribution of a minority member or group can be established.

IV. Registration Requirements

Resources associated with ethnic or minority settlement of the Arkansas Delta region must meet three basic requirements to be included in this multiple property listing:

1) They must be located within the Delta region of the state of Arkansas (a region roughly defined as the area to the east of the Ozark Mountain escarpment between the Missouri border and Little Rock; to the east of the Arkansas River between Little Rock and Pine Bluff; and to the east of Bayou Bartholomew between Pine Bluff and the Louisiana border.

2) They must have attained their minority-associated significance during the period of significance (1870-1930), and that association must be documented through some reliable means, such as oral history, family records, written business transactions, or official government records (such as deeds, tax documents, marriage licenses, etc.). However, it must also be noted that frequently such records either never existed, or have since been destroyed, and that therefore the documentation requirements to establish this connection will be less stringent than in the case of most other types of historic resources.

3) They must retain at least 51% of their physical integrity so that they may remain recognizable as historic resources dating from their respective periods of significance. Subsequent alterations must not overwhelm their historic visual appearance.

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

[X] See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

[X] See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- [X] State historic preservation office
- [ ] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [ ] University
- [ ] Other

Specify repository: _____

I. Form Prepared By

name/title Kenneth Story, Architectural Historian

organization Arkansas Historic Preservation Program date 8/4/92

street & number 225 E. Markham, Suite 200 telephone (501) 324-9346

city or town Little Rock state AR zip code 72201

F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type _____

II. Description

III. Significance

IV. Registration Requirements

[X] See continuation sheet

[X] See continuation sheet for additional property types

In May of 1990, the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (AHPP) initiated a context-driven survey of minority properties in the Delta counties along the Mississippi River built between 1870 and 1930. It was felt that these properties were in danger of insensitive rehabilitation, deterioration or demolition as a result of neglect, poor economic conditions or population shifts over the past half century. At the initial planning meeting in which the parameters of the project were discussed it was agreed that a number of goals would be pursued with the ultimate objective of calling attention to the importance of these properties. It was hoped that by emphasizing the importance of these properties to the understanding and appreciation of the history of minority settlement in Arkansas, the AHPP could encourage their continued preservation, protection, use and adaptive re-use. It was decided that only the area around Lake Village (Chicot County) would be comprehensively surveyed, but that other properties within the region could be added at constituent request.

The Delta minority project involved significant interaction and cooperation between the AHPP program areas. The Survey staff agreed to locate properties on USGS topographic maps of the Lake Village vicinity, then schedule survey trips in order to identify, photograph and document those properties that remained extant. At the same time, the agency's Preservation Planner would research and write an historic context study on the subject, to include such topics as immigration to Arkansas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the variety of minority groups in the Delta region, the lifestyles and customs of these groups, and other relevant issues. This context would then accompany a multiple-property nomination of eligible properties to the National Register of Historic Places. Throughout the course of the Delta minority project, public input would be sought through press releases to media outlets in the counties along the Mississippi River.

Any property reflective of or associated with the history of minority settlement in the seven Arkansas counties on the Mississippi River would be considered eligible for inclusion in the context, provided that the property retained at least 51 percent of its original integrity, as determined by the professional historians and architectural historians of the AHPP's Survey and National Register staffs. Property types potentially eligible might include commercial structures, agricultural buildings, residences, cemeteries or any other property fifty years old or older associated with minority settlement.

Archeological sites would be eligible under Criteria D if they offered research potential: the 51 percent original integrity condition need not apply in these instances. The AHPP archeologists have not yet evaluated the properties identified for research potential under Criterion D.

The multiple property listing of minority properties in the Lake Village vicinity, 1870-1930, is based upon a comprehensive survey of the area by the AHPP Survey and Inventory staff. This survey was conducted between May and July of 1990 by Joe DeRose, AHPP Survey Coordinator, and Barbara Lindsey-Allen, Survey Historian. William D. (Don) Baker, AHPP Preservation Planner, was responsible for the research and writing of the historic context, while Kenneth Story, National Register Coordinator, oversaw the development of a multiple property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. DeRose has a B.S. in History and Political Science from Indiana State University and a M.A. in Public History from Loyola University of Chicago. Lindsey-Allen has a B.A. in History/Historic Preservation - Pre-Law from Arkansas College. Baker has a B.A. in Foreign Service and a M.A. in Political Science from Baylor University. Story has a B.A. in Art History from Amherst College and a M.A. in Art History with a concentration in the History of American Architecture from Tufts University.

The survey identified approximately 120 structures dating from this period, three of which were applicable to the minority context and eligible for the National Register. Those properties that were more than 50 percent intact were recorded. Those not recorded were passed over because of alterations that substantially damaged their integrity. Integrity requirements were based upon a knowledge of existing properties and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. For each recorded property locations were noted on USGS topographical maps; photographs, both black and white prints and color slides, were taken of several elevations; computerized inventory forms, complete with plan view drawings, were completed; and research, utilizing primary, secondary and oral history sources was conducted. Any information on research, events or ethnic groups not covered in this study should be directed to the Preservation Planner at AHPP.

These properties represent significant physical reminders of an important period in Arkansas history, a time in which the state's population was significantly expanded and its cultural diversity enriched through immigration. By recognizing the importance of these resources to the understanding and appreciation of Arkansas history, the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program hopes to encourage the preservation, protection, continued use and adaptive re-use of these properties.

Boehm, Randolph H., "Mary Grace Quackenbos and the Federal Campaign Against Peonage: The Case of Sunnyside Plantation," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Volume L, No. 1, Spring, 1991, pp. 40-59.

Bradford, Gene. "Barton." Phillips County Historical Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 1 (December 1972).

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Historical Commission of the Diocese of Little Rock. The History of Catholicity in Arkansas: From the Earliest Missionaries Down to the Present Time. Little Rock, Arkansas: The Guardian, 1925.

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Milani, Ernesto R., "Peonage at Sunnyside and the Reaction of the Italian Government," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Volume L, No. 1, Spring, 1991, pp. 30-39.

Miller, Leon C. "Thomas Jefferson Terral." In The Governors of Arkansas: Essays in Political Biography, 160-164. Edited by Timothy P. Donovan and Willard B. Gatewood. Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1981.

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Moore, Waddy William, ed. Arkansas in the Gilded Age, 1874-1900. Little Rock, Arkansas. Rose Publishing Company, 1976.

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Watkins, Beverly. "Efforts to Encourage Immigration to Arkansas, 1865-1874." Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (Spring 1979): 32-62.

Wolfe, Jonathan James. "Background of German Immigration, Part I." Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (Summer 1966): 151-182.

____. "Background of German Immigration, Part II." Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn 1966): 248-278.

____. "Background of German Immigration, Part III." Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXV, No. 4 (Winter 1966): 354-384.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram, "Leroy Percy and Sunnyside: Planter Mentality and Italian Peonage in the Mississippi Delta," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Volume L, No. 1, Spring, 1991, pp. 60-84.

NPS Form 10-900-a
(8-86)

OMB Approval No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page _____

Ethic and Racial Minority Settlement of the Arkansas Delta MPS ~~Chicot County, ARKANS~~AS

		DATE LISTED
COVER	Substantive Review	9/21/92
1. Epstein, Sam, House		9/21/92
2. New Hope Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery, Historic Section		9/21/92
3. Tushek, John, Building	Substantive Review	
4. Marion Colored High School	Entered in the National Register	3-23-95

WASO Form - 177
("R" June 1984)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

Ethnic and Racial Minority Settlement of
the Arkansas Delta MPS
Chicot County
ARKANSAS

Working No. 8/7/92
Fed. Reg. Date:
Date Due: 9/6/92 - 9/2/92
Action: ✓ ACCEPT 9/21/92
___ RETURN
___ REJECT
Federal Agency:

☐ resubmission
☐ nomination by person or local government
☐ owner objection
☐ appeal

Substantive Review: ☐ sample ☐ request ☐ appeal ☐ NR decision

Reviewer's comments: This cover gives a great deal of historical information on minority settlement patterns & immigration. It establishes the fact that work on assessing the signif. of these minority groups is just beginning. When individual nominations are submitted they will have to make a good case for the imp of the ethnic group being discussed.

Recom./Criteria Accept/Cover
Reviewer Harper
Discipline Historian
Date 9/21/92
___ see continuation sheet

Nomination returned for: ___ technical corrections cited below
___ substantive reasons discussed below

1. Name

2. Location

3. Classification

Category	Ownership	Status	Present Use
	Public Acquisition	Accessible	

4. Owner of Property

5. Location of Legal Description

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

Has this property been determined eligible? ☐ yes ☐ no

7. Description

Condition		Check one	Check one
☐ excellent	☐ deteriorated	☐ unaltered	☐ original site
☐ good	☐ ruins	☐ altered	☐ moved date ___
☐ fair	☐ unexposed		

Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

☐ summary paragraph
☐ completeness
☐ clarity
☐ alterations/integrity
☐ dates
☐ boundary selection

8. Significance

Period Areas of Significance—Check and justify below

Specific dates Builder/Architect

Statement of Significance *(in one paragraph)*

- ☐ summary paragraph
- ☐ completeness
- ☐ clarity
- ☐ applicable criteria
- ☐ justification of areas checked
- ☐ relating significance to the resource
- ☐ context
- ☐ relationship of integrity to significance
- ☐ justification of exception
- ☐ other

9. Major Bibliographical References

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of nominated property _____

Quadrangle name _____

UTM References

Verbal boundary description and justification

11. Form Prepared By

12. State Historic Preservation Officer Certification

The evaluated significance of this property within the state is:

____ national ____ state ____ local

State Historic Preservation Officer signature

title date

13. Other

- ☐ Maps
- ☐ Photographs
- ☐ Other

Questions concerning this nomination may be directed to _____

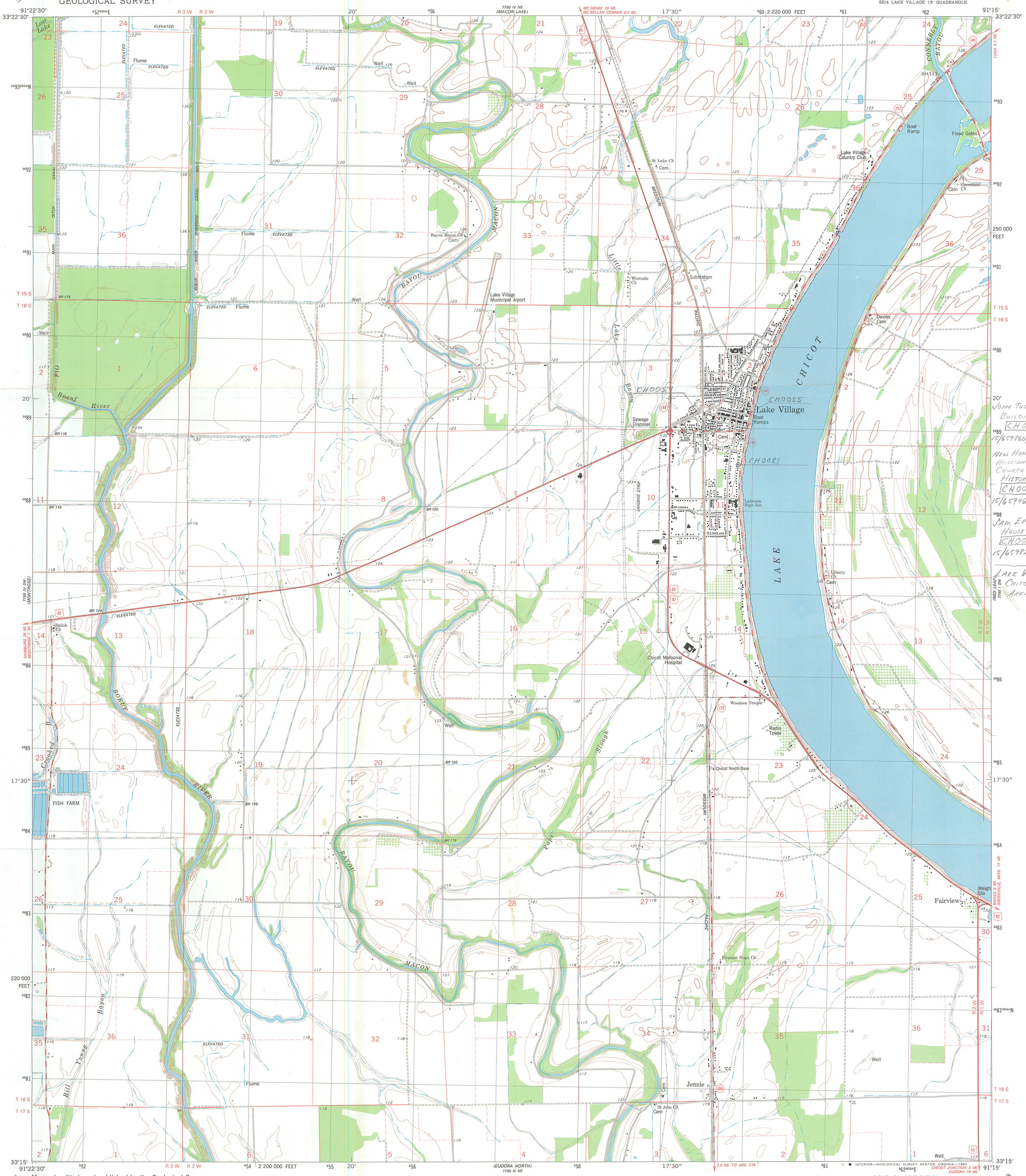
Signed _____ Date _____ Phone: _____

GPO 918-45

Comments for any item may be continued on an attached sheet

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

LAKE VILLAGE QUADRANGLE
ARKANSAS–CHICOT CO.
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)
SE/4 LAKE VILLAGE 15' QUADRANGLE



JOHN TUSHEK BUILDING; CH0055
15/659860/3689140

NEW HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH CEMETERY, HISTORIC SECTION
CH0059
15/659460/3689000

SAM EPSTEIN HOUSE
CH0081
15/659820/3688560

LAKE VILLAGE, CHICOT CO., ARKANSAS

Mapped, edited, and published by the Geological Survey

Control by USGS and NOS/NOAA

Topography by photogrammetric methods from aerial photographs taken 1975-76. Field checked 1978. Map edited 1981

Projection and 10,000-foot grid ticks: Arkansas coordinate system, south zone (Lambert conformal conic)
1000-meter Universal Transverse Mercator grid, zone 15
1927 North American Datum
To place on the predicted North American Datum 1983 move the projection lines 11 meters south and 11 meters east as shown by dashed corner ticks

Fine red dashed lines indicate selected fence and field lines where generally visible on aerial photographs. This information is unchecked

MN
GN
0°56' 17 MILS
4° 71 MILS
UTM GRID AND 1981 MAGNETIC NORTH DECLINATION AT CENTER OF SHEET

SCALE 1:24 000

1 ½ 0 1 MILE

1000 0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 6000 7000 FEET

1 .5 0 1 KILOMETER

CONTOUR INTERVAL 5 FEET
NATIONAL GEODETIC VERTICAL DATUM OF 1929

THIS MAP COMPLIES WITH NATIONAL MAP ACCURACY STANDARDS
FOR SALE BY U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, DENVER, COLORADO 80225, OR RESTON, VIRGINIA 22092
AND ARKANSAS GEOLOGICAL COMMISSION, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72204
A FOLDER DESCRIBING TOPOGRAPHIC MAPS AND SYMBOLS IS AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

ARKANSAS
QUADRANGLE LOCATION

INTERIOR—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, RESTON, VIRGINIA—1982

ROAD CLASSIFICATION

Primary highway, hard surface
Light-duty road, hard or improved surface
Secondary highway, hard surface
Unimproved road
Interstate Route
U. S. Route
State Route

L023

LAKE VILLAGE, ARK.
SE/4 LAKE VILLAGE 15' QUADRANGLE
N3315–W9115/7.5

1981

DMA 7750 IV SE–SERIES V884

ARKANSAS
HISTORIC
PRESERVATION
PROGRAM

RECEIVED
AUG 07 1992
NATIONAL
REGISTER

August 6, 1992

Carol D. Shull
Chief of Registration
United States Department of the Interior
National Register of Historic Places
National Park Service
1100 "L" Street, NW
Washington, DC 20240

RE: Historic and Architectural Resources
Associated with the Ethnic and Racial
Minority Settlement of the Arkansas Delta

Dear Carol:

We are enclosing for your review the nomination of the above referenced properties. The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program has complied with all applicable nominating procedures and notification requirements in the nomination process.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

Cathy

Cathy Buford
State Historic Preservation Officer

CB:kg

Enclosures

Suite 200 • 225 East Markham • Little Rock, Arkansas, 72201 • Phone (501) 324-9346
A Division of the Department of Arkansas Heritage