

National Park Service
Midwest Region



Wolf House Special Resource Study

Norfolk, Arkansas

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This report has been prepared to provide Congress and the public with information about the resources in the study area and how they relate to criteria for inclusion within the National Park System. Publication and transmittal of this report should not be considered an endorsement for a commitment by the National Park Service to seek or support either specific legislative authorization for the project or appropriation for its implementation.

This report was prepared by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Region. For more information contact Ruth Heikkinen, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 601 Riverfront Drive, Omaha, NE 68102-4226, (402) 661-1846

Executive Summary

The NPS was tasked by Congress in Public Law 110-229 to evaluate if the Wolf House in Norfolk, Arkansas, meets criteria for addition to the National Park System and document its findings in this special resource study.

Historic Context

The Jacob Wolf House, built ca. 1829, is a two-story, “dogtrot” plan, log building that served as the first territorial courthouse for Izard County, Arkansas, then as the home for the Wolf family, and most recently as a museum site. It is currently within the jurisdiction of Baxter County, which owns and maintains the building. It represents a vital building type in the history of the American frontier. Early county courthouses, often constructed of logs, were frequently the first public services available to settlers on the leading edge of European American settlement, and marked the transition between rough country and established communities.

The Wolf House is part of a long tradition of log building in the United States. The “dogtrot” plan was used broadly across the Eastern United States, Upper South, and South for everything from dwellings, to taverns, to courthouses. The choice of a two-story dogtrot for a courthouse was advantageous; the separated rooms on the ground floor could be put to different uses and provided some privacy in conducting business by not sharing a party wall. The breezeway, a cool respite in hot summer months, could serve as a place to post public notices. The Wolf House served as the Izard County Courthouse until 1835.

Current Status

The Wolf House is currently managed by Baxter County. The approximately one-acre grounds are open to the public, but the interior is open only occasionally to visitors. The Wolf House was listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) at the state level of significance in 1973 for its architecture. The building underwent an extensive restoration project completed in 2002. The building is in good condition.

Criteria for Inclusion

To be considered eligible for designation as a new unit of the National Park System, an area must be nationally significant, suitable, feasible, and have a need for direct NPS management.

Significance Findings

For a cultural resource to meet significance criteria in a special resource study, it must meet National Historic Landmark criteria. National Historic Landmark criteria

is used to evaluate if a property represents an outstanding aspect of American history and culture, and whether the property has a high degree of integrity, which is the ability of a property to convey its historical associations or attributes. The Wolf House was evaluated as a remarkable surviving example of a rarely preserved type of public building: the log courthouse.

The Wolf House is a notable surviving physical manifestation of the establishment of government services on the frontier. Though the reach of any one local government institution or service was limited, the issue of establishing governance on the frontier was essential and common to newly settled areas nationwide, and the log courthouse is a building type once common but now especially rare.

For a property considered to have high integrity for its architecture and representation of a building type, it must retain those physical features that characterize the type, period, or method of construction that the property represents. The Wolf House retains many of the features that define its character, but because materials and setting are important aspects of the overall integrity determination for this property, changes in those areas mean that the Wolf House does not meet the high integrity standard for National Historic Landmark determination, and therefore does not meet the special resource study criterion for national significance.

Conclusion

Since the Wolf House did not meet the criterion for national significance, the study team did not evaluate the criteria for suitability, feasibility, or the need for NPS management in detail. As a result, there was no basis for further consideration of new unit potential and the study process was concluded. No federal action is proposed.

Opportunities for Preservation and Interpretation

The Wolf House is currently being managed by Baxter County. The legislation directing NPS to study the Wolf House for inclusion in the National Park System also directed NPS to look at other opportunities for preservation and interpretation. The study identifies the potential for increased involvement in the property by the State of Arkansas and by existing or new local organizations to meet maintenance and interpretive challenges. There is a high level of interest, enthusiasm, and capacity in the local community. There is also the need for further research into the possible connection between the Wolf House and the Trail of Tears, a National Historic Trail in close proximity to the site.



Figure 1: The Jacob Wolf House, Norfolk, Arkansas (east elevation).

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Chapter 1: Study Purpose and Background

In the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970, Congress declared that areas comprising the National Park System are “cumulative expressions of a single national heritage.”¹ Potential additions to the National Park System should therefore contribute in a unique way to a system that represents the superlative natural and cultural resources that characterize our heritage. Proposed additions to the National Park System must possess nationally significant resources, be suitable additions to the system, be feasible additions to the system, and require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector.

Before Congress decides to create a new park, it needs to know whether the area’s resources meet these established criteria for designation. The NPS was tasked by Congress in Public Law 110-229 to evaluate if the Wolf House in Norfolk, Arkansas, meets criteria for addition to the National Park System and document its findings in this special resource study (SRS). (See Appendix A for the full text of the law.)

Chapter 2 of this study examines the historic context of the Wolf House within the settlement of the Norfolk area and the Ozarks and the architectural context for log construction, the dogtrot building form, and the log courthouse building type to provide background for the evaluations of national significance. Chapter 3 applies criteria for inclusion in the National Park System, analyzing the significance, suitability, feasibility, and need for direct NPS management of the Wolf House. The NPS was directed to determine “the methods and means for the protection and interpretation of the Wolf House by the National Park Service, other Federal, State, or local government entities or private or non-profit organizations,” which is addressed in Chapter 4: Management Alternatives.

Overview of the Study Area

The Jacob Wolf House, built ca. 1829, is a two-story, “dogtrot” plan, log building that served as the first territorial courthouse for Izard County, Arkansas, then as the home for the Wolf family, and most recently as a museum site.² It is located on just over one acre on the west side of Highway 5 in the City of Norfolk, Arkansas,

overlooking the confluence of the White and North Fork rivers. Opposite the White River from Norfolk is a large segment of the Ozark National Forest. The population of Norfolk is approximately 550, and the population of Baxter County, in whose jurisdiction Norfolk is presently located, is 41,513.³ Norfolk is 13.5 miles south and east of the Baxter County seat of Mountain Home, and approximately 135 miles from the larger population centers of Little Rock, Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas, and Springfield, Missouri. The Norfolk area is predominantly wooded and agricultural.

Following its service to Izard County as a courthouse, the Wolf House reverted to Wolf family ownership, and was occupied as a residence until it was purchased by the City of Norfolk in 1937 and restored under the Works Progress Administration (WPA) program. The Elna M. Smith Foundation undertook repairs and additional restoration in the mid-1950s and the Wolf House Memorial Foundation took over management of the site in the mid-1970s. The Wolf House was listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) at the state level of significance in 1973 for its architecture. In 1999, the property was transferred to Baxter County, which received a Court House Restoration grant from the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program. This project was completed in 2002.⁴ Currently managed by Baxter County, the Wolf House grounds are open to the public, but the interior is largely empty and open only occasionally to visitors.

The Wolf House property is a roughly one-acre area including and immediately surrounding the building. Other buildings on the property are the 1828 John Wolf Cabin, which was moved to the site in the mid-1990s from Calico Rock, Arkansas, a log museum annex constructed late 1970s, and a blacksmith shop constructed in the mid-1990s. Immediately south of the property are four county-owned parcels, which include a parking area and overlook structure (see Figure 3). The overlook allows for views of the Wolf House and the confluence of the North Fork and White rivers.

The site has parking spaces, sidewalks, and walkways to the Wolf House. The extant parking lot on Highway 5 directly east of the Wolf House and the parking lot

1 Formally known as “An Act To Improve The Administration of the National Park System by the Secretary of the Interior, and to Clarify the Authorities Applicable to the System, and for Other Purposes 1970 (84 Stat. 825)”

2 Discussion of the dogtrot plan can be found on page 18.

3 U.S. Census Bureau, 2010, <http://www.census.gov>.

4 Tommy Jameson and Joan L. Gould, *Jacob Wolf House: Historic Structure Report* (Little Rock, AR: Southern Reprographics., 2004). Prepared by Jameson Architects P.A. (Little Rock, AR) for the Honorable Joe Bodenhamer, County Judge, Baxter County, Arkansas.

near the approach to the overlook provide roughly 20 parking spaces. The first floor porch is accessible by ramp from the east, though the width of doors to the first floor rooms may present a barrier to visitors in certain conveyances. The second floor of the building is accessible by an outdoor stairway to the second floor porch on the Wolf House's west elevation. The recently constructed overlook of the river at the south end of the study area appears to be accessible to the mobility impaired.

Neighboring properties to the north and south are residential; properties east of Route 5 are commercial. To the west of the Wolf House downhill are the Missouri

and Northern Arkansas Railroad tracks, which carry five to six freight trains per day past the Wolf House. Beyond the tracks are parking lots on county property and lands owned by the Arkansas Game and Fish Commission (see Figure 3). The area is well known and promoted for its recreational fishing.

With the sponsorship of Arkansas Senators Blanche Lincoln and Mark Pryor, study legislation was enacted on May 8, 2008, as part of as Public Law 110-229, the Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008. In response, the NPS formed the Wolf House Special Resource Study Team tasked with conducting a Special Resource Study of the site.

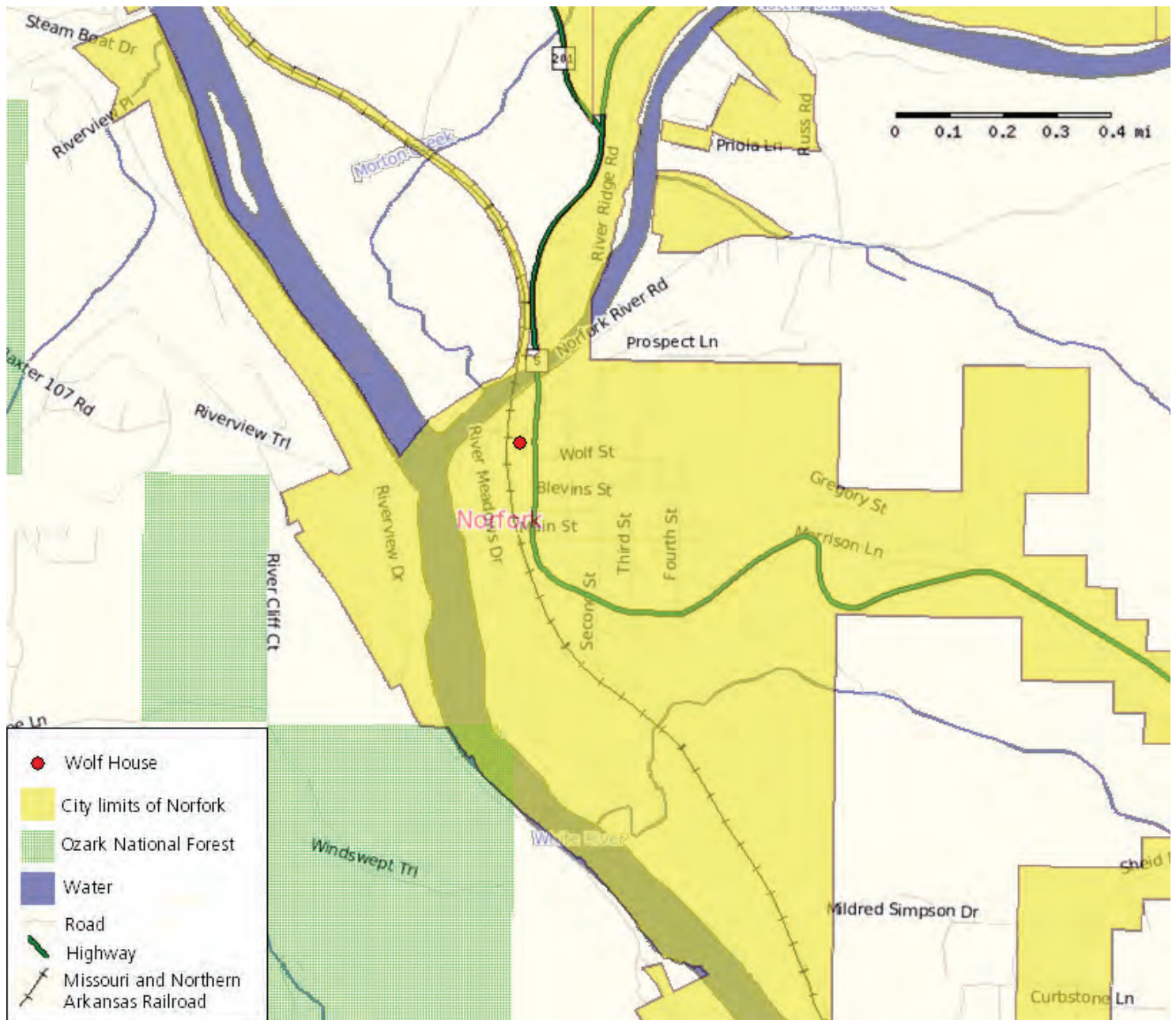


Figure 2: Location of the Wolf House, Norfolk city limits, and Ozark National Forest lands.



Figure 3 (above): Parcel divisions and public ownership. Figure 4 (below): Wolf House (south and west elevations.)

Chapter 2: Historic and Architectural Context

In this chapter, the history of the Wolf House and the architectural methods and traditions that influenced it will be explored. This background will provide a basis for the analysis of national significance and suitability in Chapter 3.

Historic Context

The Jacob Wolf House, a two-story log structure constructed as the Izard County Courthouse ca. 1829, represents a vital building type in the history of the American frontier.⁵ Early county courthouses, often constructed of logs, were frequently the first public services available to settlers on the leading edge of European American settlement, and marked the transition between rough country and established communities. Jacob Wolf constructed the courthouse on a hill above the confluence of the White and North Fork rivers in the fledgling community that became Norfork, Arkansas. Wolf, an enterprising and influential early settler, erected the building in anticipation of the need for a seat of justice in what was then Izard County in Arkansas Territory. A member of the territorial general assembly, Wolf successfully proposed that his property serve as the county's first permanent courthouse. As such, the Jacob Wolf House is the oldest public structure in Arkansas and a rare extant example of a log courthouse, a once-typical frontier building type.

Prior to 1803, American Indian and European American presence in the Ozark region was minimal or transient. In the early sixteenth century, the Quapaw Indians migrated to southern Arkansas. The Caddo, Osage, and Choctaw also inhabited the region. In 1682, a French expedition led by Robert Cavalier traveled from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming the entire Mississippi Valley for France. Four years later, another French explorer, Henri de Tonti, arrived in Arkansas with a grant for land at the intersection of the Arkansas and White rivers. Six of his men remained there and built a log cabin in the vicinity, establishing the first permanent European settlement in the lower Mississippi Valley in 1686.⁶ This settlement later became

known as Arkansas Post. France ceded its Mississippi Valley territory to Spain in 1762 but regained it in 1800. European American settlement remained concentrated in Arkansas Post for most of the eighteenth century; a census of the entire Spanish District of Arkansas taken in 1798-1799 recorded the population at 368.⁷

The United States acquired the area that became present-day Arkansas as part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. With acquisition came profound changes in population as European Americans quickly began settling the Arkansas portion of the Louisiana Territory. In 1806, the territorial legislature officially created the District of Arkansas, which became part of the Missouri Territory when it was created on October 1, 1812.

European-Americans who settled in Arkansas followed a general pattern of migration that led settlers further and further into the backcountry and eventually to the western frontier of the United States, sometimes bringing enslaved African-Americans with them. European immigrants and their descendants who had originally migrated to New England and the Mid-Atlantic States relocated first to the backcountry of Virginia and North Carolina as older states became more populous and land prices rose. Beginning in the 1750s, for example, German and Scots-Irish immigrants who had originally settled in Pennsylvania moved into the Valley of Virginia. Many then moved on into western North Carolina, following the Great Wagon Road.⁸

Increasingly dense settlement and a concomitant escalation in land prices induced families to move west once again. After the American Revolution, the U.S. government encouraged this migration by granting veterans land in Tennessee and Kentucky. Following the War of 1812, Americans became swept up in the "Great Migration" to the trans-Appalachian frontier, spurred by the federal government's grants of 150-acre tracts to veterans. Most of these migrants were farmers who moved in large groups based on family connections, religion, or some other common interest. These groups

⁷ Lonnie J. White, *Politics on the Southwestern Frontier: Arkansas Territory, 1819-1836* (Memphis, TN: Memphis State University Press, 1964), 1. While it is not specified, this likely refers only to Euro-American settlement.

⁸ Clyde A. Milner II et al., eds. *Oxford History of the American West*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 283; Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz, eds. *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

⁵ Ibid, 44-45. The dendrochronology study indicates that the logs were cut between 1825 and 1828, providing the likely period for actual construction activities.

⁶ "Arkansas," *Dictionary of American History*, 3rd edition, 37-38, Stanley I. Kutler, editor in chief, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2003), 37; "Arkansas," *Worldmark Encyclopedia of the States*, 38-49 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1988), 41.

often included blacksmiths, millers, and builders, known collectively as “mechanics”, who helped ensure the successful establishment of new settlements.⁹ This wave of migration included the movement of many Baptist families in Kentucky to Lawrence County, then part of Missouri Territory and later the “mother county” of Arkansas. When Congress considered granting statehood to Missouri, it determined that the territory was too large. As a result, Arkansas became a territory in its own right, formed out of Arkansas and Lawrence counties in 1819. The first capitol of Arkansas Territory was Arkansas Post. Little Rock replaced it as the capital in 1820.¹⁰

European Americans and African Americans were not the only recent migrants to the area; Arkansas was an early destination for displaced eastern American Indian tribes. Even prior to the Louisiana Purchase, some groups of Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, and Cherokee relocated to the eastern Ozarks.¹¹ Early in the nineteenth century, Cherokee, Delaware, and Shawnee settlers moved into Arkansas’ White River Valley in Lawrence County. Between 1809 and 1812, approximately 2,000 Cherokees migrated to the area.¹² In 1817, the U.S. government set aside the area between the Arkansas and White rivers for the Cherokee under treaty after seizing their lands east of the Mississippi River.¹³ In 1819, the Cherokee gave the Shawnee and Delaware tribes the right to settle on their lands and members of these groups settled on the south bank of the White River. By the 1820s, fragments of various tribes were established widely across southern Missouri and northern Arkansas.¹⁴

American Indians and European Americans lived together relatively peacefully and benefited mutually from trading partnerships in the early 1800s. In the first years of Euro-American settlement, the Arkansas economy centered on the fur trade with area tribes. Traders transported furs by boat to New Orleans and returned with building and farming implements, hunting supplies, and food staples. Settlers depended largely on waterways for transportation, using keel- and flatboats until steamboats came into use in the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁵

9 Malcom J. Rohrbough, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 158-159.

10 Ibid.

11 Milton D. Rafferty, *The Ozarks: Land and Life* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 33-35.

12 Charles Russell Logan, “The Promised Land: The Cherokees, Arkansas, and Removal, 1794-1839” (Little Rock, AR: Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, undated), 7.

13 *Oxford History of the American West*, 146.

14 Rafferty, 35.

15 Rohrbough, 281-283.

The influx of European-American migration put increasing pressure on American Indians in frontier areas. The population of Arkansas Territory quickly grew from 14,273 in 1820 to 30,388 in 1830.¹⁶ The wealthier migrants brought enslaved African-Americans to Arkansas. By 1835, the territory had a total population of 52,240, including 9,838 slaves. Cherokee leaders signed a treaty in 1828 relinquishing the Arkansas reservation for lands in Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma.¹⁷ In the 1830s, the federal government began the forced relocation of many remaining eastern Cherokee and other tribes to Indian Territory.¹⁸ In December 1838, approximately 1,200 Cherokee passed through Izard County in the White River Valley along the infamous “Trail of Tears.”¹⁹

The large “mother” county of Lawrence in the Arkansas Territory was increasingly subdivided as population rose and the realities of administering large areas came into focus for frontier governments. Izard County was formerly part of Independence County, which was subdivided from Lawrence and covered the eastern White River Valley.²⁰ Pioneers settled in the White River Valley area and supported themselves through fur trading with local American Indian tribes. These would have included Shawnee and Delaware, who established multiple villages in the vicinity on the west side of the White River between 1818 and 1828.²¹ In 1818-19, ethnologist and biologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft chronicled his expedition down the White River, making observations of the people and terrain. Schoolcraft observed a trade vessel doing lucrative business on the White River at the confluence of the North Fork, near the site that would become the seat of Izard County.²² Botanist Thomas Nuttall, who spent several months exploring the Arkansas River region south of Independence County in 1819, recorded detailed observations of American Indian and Euro-American settlements he encountered. He included a description of an early French settlement:

16 Rohrbough, 285.

17 Logan, 21.

18 *Dictionary of American History*, 3rd ed., 260.

19 “Izard County,” *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture* [online edition], <http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=777>. Accessed October 25, 2010.

20 Independence County,” *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture* [online edition], <http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=776>. Accessed November 30, 2011.

21 Joan L. Gould, “Jacob Wolf House,” *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture* [online edition]. <http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2113>. Accessed October 21, 2010.

22 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and Milton D. Rafferty, *Rude Pursuits and Rugged Peaks: Schoolcraft’s Ozark Journal, 1818-1819* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1996), 102-103.

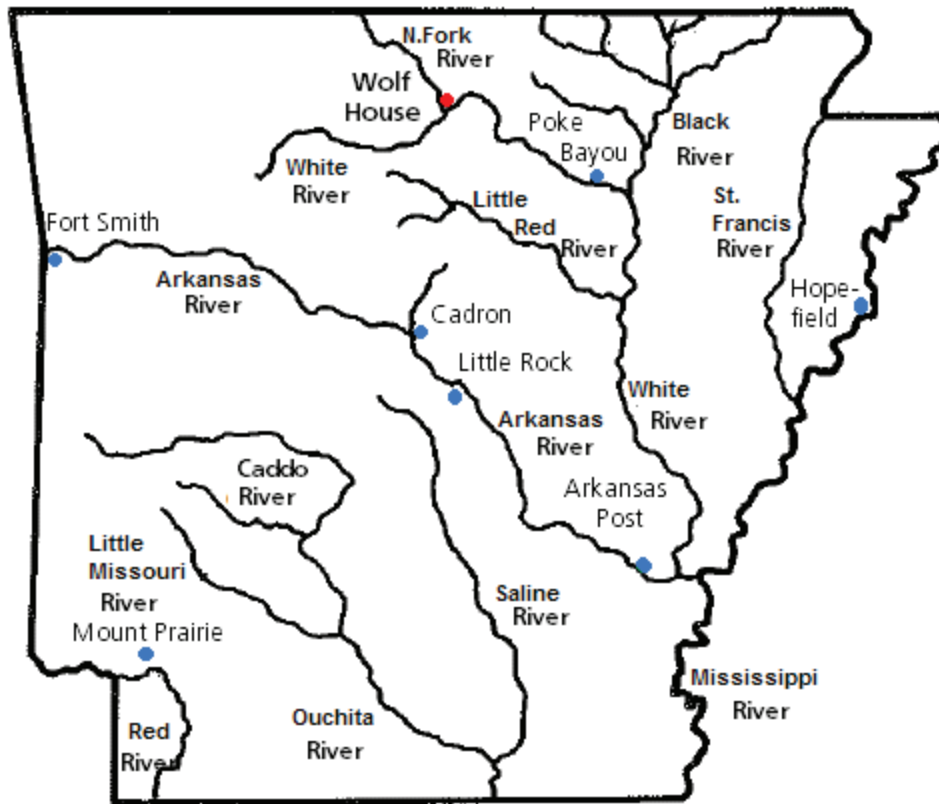


Figure 5: Arkansas in 1820, showing the Wolf House and major rivers and settlements.

The houses, commonly surrounded with open galleries, destitute of glass windows, and perforated with numerous doors, are well enough suited for a summer shelter, but totally destitute of comfort in the winter. Without mechanics, domestic conveniences and articles of dress were badly supplied at the most expensive rate . . . Such is the evil which may always be anticipated by forcing a town, like a garrison, into being, previous to the existence of necessary supplies. . . . [These settlers] must, however, in time give way to the introduction of more enterprising inhabitants.²³

People whom Nuttall would have considered “more enterprising” began migrating from Kentucky in 1818 as word spread of the White River Valley’s fertile, affordable farmland. In 1825, when the Arkansas Territorial Legislature created Izard County out of Independence County, it began establishing a county administration, including the first seat of justice.²⁴ The act creating it provided “that the temporary seat of justice . . . shall be held at the house of Jacob Wolf. . . .”²⁵

²³ Thomas Nuttall, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory During the Year 1819*. March of America Facsimile Series, No. 63 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), 77-78.

²⁴ “Izard County.”

²⁵ Jameson and Gould, 39.

Jacob Wolf was the great-grandson of German immigrant Michael Wolf, who, according to family tradition, left the Palatine region of Germany in 1754. Michael and his family settled first in Pennsylvania and then moved to the Valley of Virginia later in the eighteenth century in search of less densely populated and more affordable land. The family next moved to Rowan County in western North Carolina. Like many of their fellow settlers, the Wolfs brought various practical skills with them, such as blacksmithing and carpentry. Such skills became more useful as settlers continued moving away from centers of population. Settlers of German extraction, like the Wolfs, particularly earned a reputation for self-sufficiency and for quickly building secure log houses rather than unsubstantial lean-tos.²⁶

Jacob Wolf was born in Salisbury, North Carolina, on May 12, 1786. By the 1790s, Rowan County began experiencing increased settlement and rising land prices. In 1799, his father sold his land and apparently moved his family father west.²⁷ In 1803, the family settled on a land grant in Henderson County, Kentucky, which would become part of Hopkins County in 1807. As a young man, Jacob would have witnessed the creation of

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

Hopkins County's government and the establishment of its court system, an experience that would serve him well in Arkansas.²⁸

Jacob Wolf married Mildred Meredith on March 9, 1809, and the couple had at least five children together.²⁹ It is unclear when he and/or his family first traveled to Lawrence County, then part of Missouri Territory. Members of his family and the Adams family, with whom the Wolfs intermarried, may have settled on the south side of Big North Fork River as early as 1814. Jacob Wolf and his family settled in the area by 1820.³⁰ His wife Mildred died sometime in 1823 and he married Elizabeth Lantz Saunders later the same year. The couple eventually had ten children.³¹

Wolf was a slave-owner – records indicate he owned two slaves in 1829 and four by 1841. Family tradition holds that some of the Wolf and Adams slaves were craftsmen in the building trades.³² The numbers of slaves in the Ozarks region was much smaller overall and as a percentage of the population compared to the flatter areas of the state in the south and east more suited to cotton production.³³ In 1831, tax records show only 22 slaves in IZARD County.³⁴

Around the time of Jacob Wolf's arrival in the area, more than 3,000 American Indians lived near the mouth of the North Fork River. Trade with them prompted him to establish his homestead at the intersection of the White and North Fork rivers in 1824.³⁵ Wolf entered a claim on just over seventy-six acres on November 15, 1824, which he patented on July 20, 1825; he called this settlement Liberty.³⁶ Wolf built a two-story log house for his family overlooking the White River; this home became the temporary seat of justice in the act establishing IZARD County. This building no longer exists.

Unlike the traders as described by Thomas Nuttall, Wolf was a highly enterprising settler. He operated a blacksmith shop, was skilled in log building and other forms of carpentry, managed a thriving farm, and ran two ferries.³⁷ In addition to hosting the temporary

IZARD County court location, Wolf also participated in Arkansas' Territorial Militia, becoming a commissioned major in the Seventh Regiment on December 3, 1825. He also participated in the fledgling territorial government, winning election to the General Assembly in 1826. Wolf would eventually serve five consecutive terms. "The Arkansas assembly," notes historian Malcolm Rohrbough, "devoted most of its time to three issues: creating new counties, changing the county court system, and petitioning the federal government for assistance." The assembly spent most of the territory's budget paying its members and civil officers.³⁸

Wolf quickly used his public office to expand his authority and influence in the area, which enhanced his entrepreneurial prospects and further augmented his income.³⁹ The General Assembly established a post office in newly formed IZARD County on March 18, 1826, and named the location IZARD Courthouse. Several months later, on October 12, 1826, Jacob Wolf became the town's second postmaster and his house the official post office.⁴⁰ Wolf clearly intended to use his political influence to ensure that his property became IZARD's first official county seat.

To prepare, he began cutting and seasoning logs to construct a second building on his land, a two-story, log dogtrot structure adjacent to his log house (Figure 6). A variety of dates have been suggested for the construction of this second building, which came to be known as the Wolf House and would serve as the county's first courthouse and later part of the Wolf family home. Tree-ring dating done on the building has provided conclusive evidence that it was constructed with logs cut during and after the growing seasons of 1825, 1826, and 1827. The building, therefore, could not have been constructed before 1827. A log cut in 1828 remains the top wall log in the upstairs partition wall, suggesting that Wolf may not have completed the building until that year or the next.⁴¹

In 1829, Liberty was designated the permanent seat of justice for IZARD County, in an act dated October 31 that was cleverly worded to exclude all other possibilities for the location of the county seat.⁴² If construction had not begun in anticipation of designation, building materials were already ready for use, and it is possible that the crew of builders could have constructed the Wolf

28 Ibid, 16-17.

29 Russell P. Baker, "Jacob Wolf," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Summer 1978), 184.

30 Jameson and Gould, 32.

31 Baker, 186.

32 Jameson and Gould, 38.

33 S. Charles Bolton, *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800-1840* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 101.

34 Jameson and Gould, 38.

35 Baker, 186.

36 Ibid, 36, 185.

37 Gould, "Jacob Wolf House," 29, 35-36.

38 Rohrbough, 285-286.

39 Though many accounts of Jacob Wolf have repeated that he was an Indian Agent, this was not the case. Jameson and Gould, 32.

40 Baker, 186.

41 Jameson and Gould, 216.

42 Ibid, 43-44.

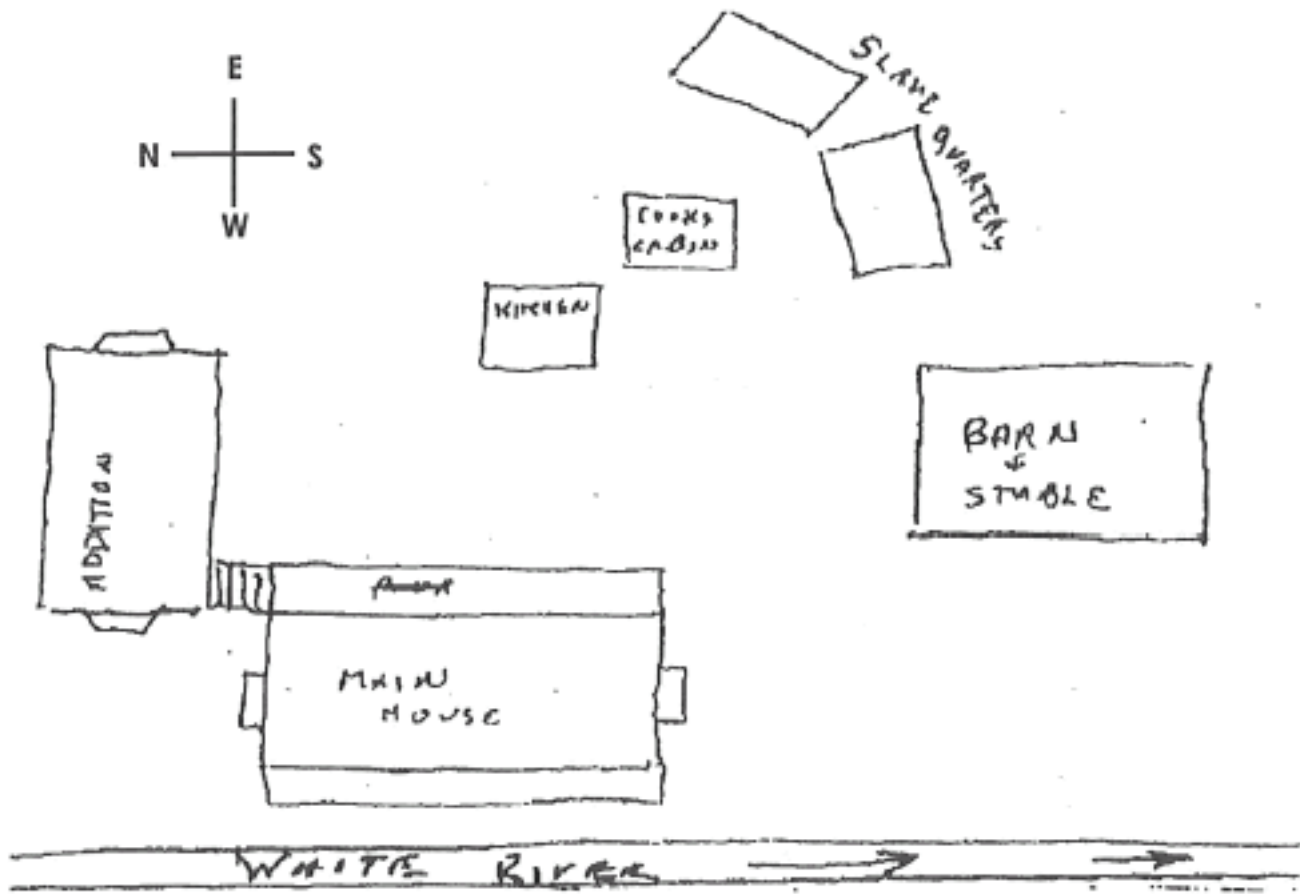


Figure 6: A 1915 sketch by Jacob Wolf's son Joseph M. Wolf (born 1841) of the Wolf House property as it was in his childhood. (The courthouse, later the Wolf House, is here labeled "Main House" and Jacob Wolf's original dwelling house is labeled "Addition.")

House in a matter of days or weeks, weather permitting. Considering sources and scientific evidence, the most accurate date for construction of the Wolf House can be said to be 1829.

The choice of a two-story dogtrot for a courthouse had several advantages. The separated rooms on the ground floor could be put to different uses and provided some privacy in conducting business by not sharing a party wall. The breezeway could serve as a place to post public notices. The large space on the second floor could serve as the courtroom. A two-story porch and stair provided access to the second floor, a gathering place for crowds, and views of the rivers where people would be coming and going. The choice of brick chimneys, rather than chimneys of abundant local stone, and fireplaces in all four rooms of the new courthouse signified wealth and status. Jacob Wolf was familiar with the Hopkins County, Kentucky courthouse, which period descriptions indicate was also a two-story dogtrot, something that may have influenced

Wolf's choices for the IZARD COUNTY COURTHOUSE.⁴³ The form was a frequent choice for early public buildings on the frontier.

The Circuit Court of Territorial Arkansas and the IZARD COUNTY COURT each met in the second floor courtroom. County and territorial court sessions, held according to a regular schedule and served by traveling judges and lawyers, took place in a large second-story room that extended over the breezeway. A county clerk lived and worked in a room on the first story. John P. Houston, brother of legendary frontiersman Sam Houston, filled this position during the Wolf House's tenure as county seat. Court days were important community events for often far-flung migrants, and the courthouse provided important services. The courthouse housed the Clerk's office in the south room of the ground floor, where land and other property sales were recorded, and the records of transactions of the county and circuit courts were kept.⁴⁴ County courthouses and offices provided

⁴³ Ibid, 46-47.

⁴⁴ No records of the IZARD COUNTY or Circuit Court sessions have

services similar to those of today, and others specific to life on the fringes of Euro-American settlement, such as registration of stock brands so stray animals could be claimed if recovered.⁴⁵

Travelers to the courthouse and on other business in the area traveled by river in the early nineteenth century, typically on flatboats and keelboats. In 1833, Wolf again used his position in the General Assembly to enhance his business opportunities, introducing legislation to build a road in Izard County that went right by his home and the courthouse. Traveled by thousands of settlers on their way to the interior of northern Arkansas, this road brought a steady stream of potential customers by Jacob Wolf's door.

As a trader, blacksmith, ferry operator, and boarding-house proprietor, Wolf would have benefited handsomely from the crowds drawn by court sessions.⁴⁶ Architectural historian Carl Lounsbury, in *The Courthouses of Early Virginia*, describes how seventeenth-century Virginian court days drew large crowds and "transformed many small crossroad villages into bustling rural forums."⁴⁷ Well into the nineteenth century, court days continued to be "looked upon as a great event, every one that could leave home was on hand." In both seventeenth-century Virginia and early nineteenth-century Arkansas, the lack of towns made county seats and court days the default locations and occasions for economic and social as well as legal interaction. John Cole, a seventeenth-century tavern keeper in Accomack County, Virginia, displayed much the same business acumen as Jacob Wolf when he made his house available for court sessions in the 1670s. According to Lounsbury,

[Cole's] business profited substantially from the dozens of people who descended upon his tavern at Pungoteague requiring food, shelter, and spirituous beverages. Desperate not to lose this lucrative trade, he became concerned over the court's decision to move its monthly sessions to another location in 1677. To maintain his monopoly, he offered the county yet another site free of charge as well as the building materials to construct a courthouse.⁴⁸

Like Cole's tavern, Wolf's ferries, trading post, smithy, and boarding house would have benefited greatly from

the regular influx of potential customers on court days.

Jacob Wolf clearly understood the volatile nature of territorial administration. When he proposed creating Carroll County out of a portion of Izard County, he added the stipulation that, if the county relocated the courthouse, the property on which it stood would revert to him.⁴⁹ Relocation of the county seat actually occurred when the assembly created Searcy County in 1835. After this subdivision, Wolf's property was no longer centrally located within Izard County and the county seat was moved to Livingston Mills, later known as Athens.⁵⁰ The first courthouse building reverted to Wolf as planned and he began to use it as the home of his large extended family.

Jacob Wolf also helped steer the development of his community through his involvement in the Baptist Church. He and his family became prominent members of a church established near his property in 1840. He eventually extended his influence by becoming a member of the White River Baptist Convention's board of managers.⁵¹ He also served as county treasurer from 1842 to 1844. In 1844, the name of the post office was changed to North Fork and Jacob Wolf was made its postmaster, an office he served for the rest of his life. Jacob Wolf's second wife Elizabeth died in 1846.⁵² On September 12, 1848, he married Cynthia H. Shipp and they had one son together.⁵³

Arkansas became the twenty-fifth state on June 15, 1836. It was admitted as a slave state, paired with the free state of Michigan under the Missouri Compromise. The importation of enslaved African Americans increased as Arkansas became more and more agricultural. In the southern and eastern regions of the state, landowners established large plantations dedicated to raising cotton as a cash crop. With the approach of the Civil War, cotton planters stood in opposition to citizens in northern and western Arkansas who supported the Union. Anti-Unionist sentiment dominated at the secessionist convention in Little Rock, and resulted in a nearly unanimous vote to join the Confederacy on May 6, 1861. Federal troops prevailed in the limited fighting that occurred in Arkansas and seized control of the state in 1862. In 1864, a provisional state government abolished slavery.⁵⁴

49 Baker, 187.

50 Ibid. 187-188.

51 Ibid., 190-191

52 Ibid, 184-186.

53 Jameson and Gould, 66.

54 *Dictionary of American History: From 1763 to the Present*, Peter Thompson, ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2000), 37; *Worldmark Encyclopedia of the States*, 41.

ever been found. Jameson and Gould, 47.

45 Ibid, 37.

46 Gould, "Jacob Wolf House," 46-49.

47 Carl R. Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 3.b.

48 Ibid., 57.



Figure 7 (left): Wolf House, ca. 1910. Figure 8 (right): Wolf House, ca. 1920.

Wolf continued to prosper economically and by 1860 owned over 400 acres, 175 of which he had improved or placed under cultivation.⁵⁵ He raised wheat, corn, and tobacco crops, as well as horses, cows, and hogs. Part of a trend among farmers and planters in eastern and southern Arkansas, he continued to purchase enslaved African Americans to work his land and owned 15 by 1850.⁵⁶ After Arkansas seceded from the Union in May 1861, members of the Wolf family enlisted in the Confederate army. While few battles occurred in the state, Arkansans fared poorly under Union control after 1862. Union General Samuel Curtis carried out large scale raids in Izard County that left its citizens destitute. Jacob Wolf allegedly resisted Union soldiers who tried to take possession of his house and was imprisoned for several months. As a result of the war, the family lost much of its land and wealth and Wolf never recovered his health after his imprisonment. He died at home on January 1, 1863.⁵⁷

After Jacob Wolf's death, a formerly enslaved person who had been property of the Wolf family lived in and cared for the house.⁵⁸ Sometime around 1865, the William Coker family purchased the property. When William Coker died in 1869, Samuel South bought the house and land. His son took possession of the property in 1889. Throughout this entire period, however, Jacob Wolf's son Jesse and his family appear to have occupied the house. Jesse either tore down many of the property's outbuildings or allowed them to fall down on their own. He also took down the original log

dwelling house (built prior to the courthouse) and built a shed addition onto the former courthouse building (the Wolf House). When Jesse died in 1898, the Wolf House became vacant. At the turn of the century, part of the property between the house and the White River was bought for a new railroad line. F. L. Christian and C. A. Blevins purchased the house and remaining property in 1906, with Blevins eventually becoming the sole owner. Jacob's grandson, Jacob Hendrick Wolf, bought the house on contract in 1910 and owned it outright by 1917. During that time, he renovated and made changes to the house. In 1917, Jacob H. Wolf sold the property to Mary Lackey, who in turn sold it in 1920 to Norman Rockwood. Rockwood made alterations to the house, including converting it into rental apartments.⁵⁹ In 1937, the city of Norfolk purchased the Jacob Wolf House and a Works Progress Administration crew made critical repairs and restored parts of the house to their original form. The Elna M. Smith Foundation undertook further repairs in the 1950s and offered 25-cent tours of the property. In 1976, the newly formed Wolf House Memorial Foundation assumed responsibility for maintaining the property. Baxter County became the owner of the house in 1999 and received a Court House Restoration grant from the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program the same year, which led to the most recent restoration of the property in 2001-2002.⁶⁰

Architectural Context

The Jacob Wolf House fits into a long tradition of log building in the United States. The "dogtrot" plan was

55 Baker., 188.

56 Baker, 190.

57 Jameson and Gould, 75-76.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid, pp. 76-84.

60 Ibid, 84-89.



Figure 9 (upper left): View of the Wolf House from Highway 5; Figure 10 (upper right): North pen; Figure 11 (middle left): View west through the breezeway; Figure 12 (middle right): Second floor; Figure 13 (lower left): John Wolf Cabin and Wolf House; Figure 14 (lower right): South pen.

used broadly across the Eastern United States, Upper South, and South for everything from dwellings, to taverns, to courthouses. Log buildings in this tradition are part of the broader category of “vernacular architecture,” a term that encompasses buildings constructed of local materials to suit local needs, often drawing on traditional styles and methods, without the involvement of a professional architect. This section explores the architectural context for log buildings in general, the dogtrot form, and early log courthouses building type in the United States.

The two-story Wolf House was constructed from pine logs well hewn on all four sides and connected using half-dovetail corner notching. The logs were chinked with wood blocks and lime mortar. A pen is the basic unit of log construction, consisting of “four log walls notched together.”⁶¹ The 45 x 17 ½ foot building sits on a stone foundation and has two, 17 ½ foot square pens or rooms on the first floor separated by an open passage or breezeway measuring 10 x 17 ½ feet. The second floor of the structure also has two rooms: the larger room covers the first floor passage and one pen (measuring 27 ½ x 17 ½ feet) and the other measures 17 ½ feet square. The interior flooring was originally puncheon, thick logs finished flat on one side. Exposed joists in the ceiling have beaded edges. Exterior chimneys on each gable end heat the structure; all four rooms retain evidence of fireplaces. The structure’s batten doors were hung on handmade wrought iron hinges, perhaps crafted by blacksmith Jacob Wolf.

Log Building

Beginning with the work of geographers and folklorists in the early twentieth century and continuing with the contributions of social historians at mid-century and vernacular architecture scholars in the last several decades, the investigation of log structures has a long and distinguished history. While becoming the stuff of myth and legend in the nineteenth century, log cabins or houses have been part of our nation’s building tradition from the very earliest settlement of the country. Early geographers and folklorists sought to explore the myth of the log cabin that was prevalent throughout the later nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The romantic tale of the log cabin is familiar. These “crude” shelters were touted as the ubiquitous pioneer dwelling represented in family, regional, and national stories of early immigration and settlement in the country. In literature, films, and later television,

log cabins were celebrated as the iconic residences of virtuous and hearty pioneer settlers who tamed the nation’s vast wilderness, spreading west from Plymouth and Jamestown. “Since those days,” writes historian Beulah Price, “the log cabin . . . has come to be associated with God-fearing persons of honesty, integrity, and perseverance.”⁶² In 1939, Harold Shurtleff’s publication, “The Log Cabin Myth: A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America,” attempted to correct the many errors in the log cabin story.⁶³ He explored the ways in which the log cabin became celebrated as the home of all our early ancestors, projected back into the earliest periods of settlement of the country. In fact, Shurtleff argues, the log cabin was not a dominant dwelling type in the seventeenth century in either the northern or southern colonies. Though not the dwelling type of the majority, the structures were pervasive and their range expanded as the frontier of European settlement did the same.

Cultural geographers and folklorists from Fred Kniffen to Henry Glassie and Terry Jordan have taken up the question of the log cabin and done much for our understanding of its geographic and social distribution across the landscape.⁶⁴ Log dwellings and structures were generally categorized by contemporary observers using phrases such as “log cabin” and “log house.” Jordan, Hutslar and Lounsbury all note that the term “log cabin” generally referred to the earliest log buildings, ones that contemporary observers described as small and windowless and constructed using round logs, crude notches, and having an earthen floor.⁶⁵ Hutslar writes that “most early log buildings were erected as temporary structures because they provided the best solution to the immediate need for shelter in an area where processed building material could not be obtained quickly.”⁶⁶ Jordan divides log housing into two stages. In the first stage, crude log cabins were built

62 Beulah Price quoted in Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape*. Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2007, 31.

63 Harold R. Shurtleff. *The Log Cabin Myth: A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

64 Fred B. Kniffen. “Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 55(1965): 549-577; Fred B. Kniffen and Henry Glassie. “Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective.” *Geographical Review* 56(1966): 40-66. Terry G. Jordan. *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978; Terry G. Jordan. *American Log Buildings*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

65 Jordan. *American Log Buildings*, 14; Donald A. Hutslar, *Log Construction in the Ohio Country, 1750-1850* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 54-70; Carl R. Lounsbury. *The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 238.

66 Hutslar, 27.

61 Ibid.

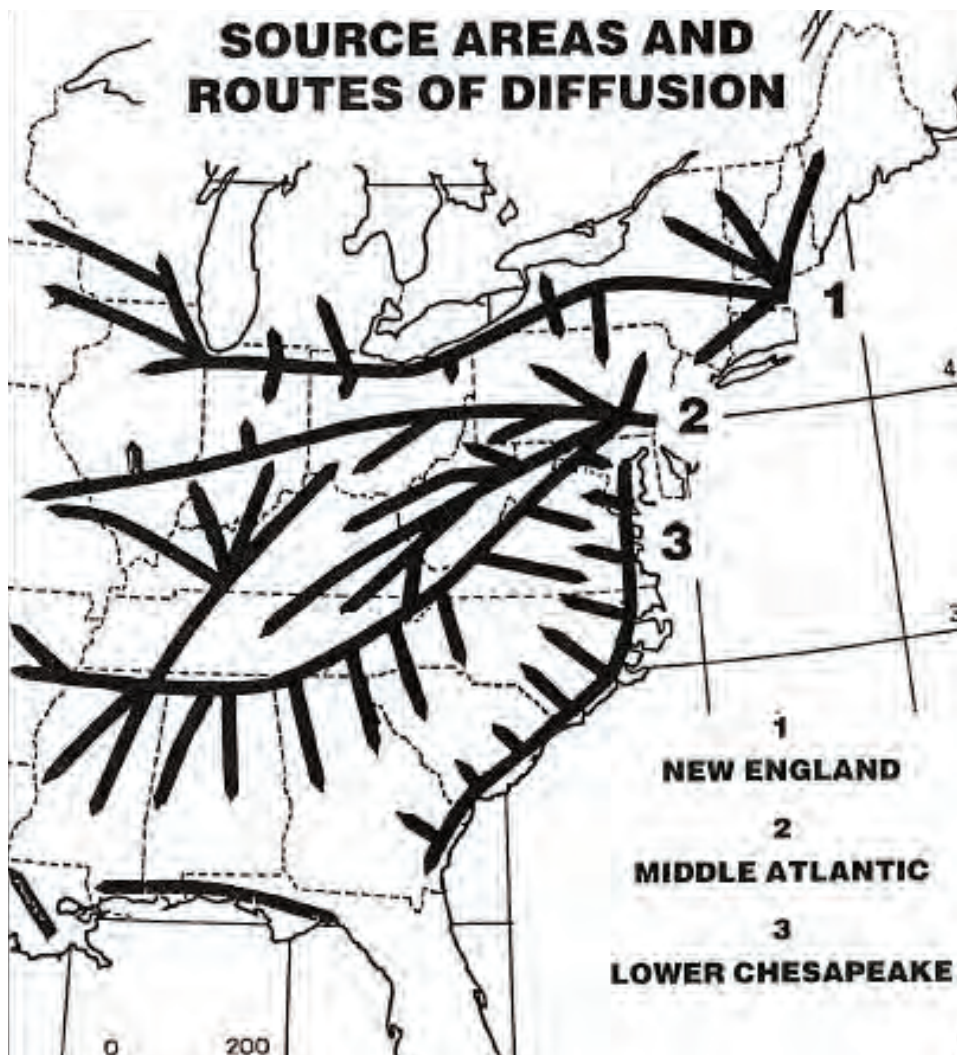


Figure 15: Source areas and routes of diffusion for log buildings.

as quickly as possible and served as temporary structures.⁶⁷ In the second stage, these temporary structures often got reused as outbuildings after the construction of a more permanent log house. The log house was defined by its more refined joinery – either squared or partially squared logs, more complex notching, and flooring – and overall finish. Log houses were regarded as more permanent and pleasing structures and often lasted many years.

The scholarly literature on upland southern log houses is voluminous. “House types,” Jordan describes, “have been identified and named, origins proposed and debated, geographical distributions charted, and diffusions traced.”⁶⁸ This work, he explains, has resulted in the identification of two basic plans: a single pen and a double pen. Variations of the double-pen structure range from two adjacent pens with gable end chimneys (known as the “Cumberland”) to two pens with a

central chimney (known as a “saddlebag”) and two pens separated by an open passage or breezeway (known as a “dogtrot”). Whether a single- or double-pen structure, log buildings could be a single story or one-and-a-half to two stories in height.

In their search for origins, scholars of log construction in the United States have confirmed a wide range of groups across Europe who brought log building traditions to their new world homes. In particular they note the use of log structural systems by builders of Scandinavian (Swedish, Finnish, Danish, and Norwegian), German, Scots-Irish, and French origin. The earliest log structures seem to have been introduced by the Finns and Swedes to the Delaware Valley in the mid-seventeenth century, although many groups were clearly using log construction upon arrival.⁶⁹ For example, Morgan notes that German contributions to log architecture were also very significant in the early

67 Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, 14.

68 Jordan-Bychkov, *The Upland South*, 31.

69 John Morgan. *The Log House in East Tennessee*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1990, 7.

years. In fact, cultural geographers have characterized the Delaware Valley and eastern Pennsylvania as the “cultural hearth” area from which log building traditions spread across the country (Figure 15).⁷⁰

Jordan has mapped the spread of log construction from this eastern core area across the upper south and into eastern Texas.⁷¹ Based on several factors, including floor plans and notching types, geographers argue that the diffusion of log building ran in three streams: 1) southern Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri; 2) Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and Texas, and 3) Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina and the Deep South.⁷² Most current scholarship suggests that these principal “routes” of diffusion had many secondary paths, and represent general trends related to migration from east to west. As historian Willard B. Robinson notes, “in every region where large straight timbers were available, log buildings appeared throughout the republic . . . ; the log technique was used for virtually every building purpose, public and private.”⁷³

In general, log construction was the typical practice throughout the Upland South during the settlement period and in many areas it remained common throughout the entire nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Travelers across the expanding eastern U.S., such as Frenchman F. S. Michaux, frequently commented on the prevalence of log buildings from Pennsylvania to the Ohio Valley and the Carolinas.⁷⁵ Gilbert Imlay, who traveled in Kentucky in the late eighteenth century, noted that the settlers “did not admit of their building any other houses but of logs . . . A house of this sort may be made as comfortable and elegant as any other kinds of building”⁷⁶ Morgan and others explain that while log building was used in both urban and rural contexts, it was largely replaced by frame and brick construction in towns by the mid-nineteenth century but continued to be common in rural areas.⁷⁷ An 1810 census of Cincinnati listed “232 frame houses, 55 log houses, 37 brick houses, and 14 stone houses”; thus log structures accounted for about 13% of the total.⁷⁸

The “Dogtrot” or Open Central Passage Plan

As noted above, log houses were built in several plan types from the single-pen structure to various configurations of double-pen buildings including the “Cumberland,” “saddlebag,” and “dogtrot.” In general, dogtrot plans consisted of an open central breezeway that divided two pens. Geographer Terry Jordan-Bychkov notes that the dogtrot, or double-pen structure with an open central passage, initially took root in Pennsylvania and was a popular plan for backwoods settlement across the expanding western frontier.⁷⁹ It was, he explains, a simple way to build two pens or rooms or to expand from a single-pen structure. The dogtrot’s versatility, argues Jordan-Bychkov, provided adaptive advantages for the frontier. He notes that the “second room set apart from the first was well-suited to serve as an inn, summer kitchen, tavern, office, classroom, chapel, or jury quarters.”⁸⁰ Another advantage of the dogtrot plan was its “suitability to a subtropical climate, where a breezeway became a true blessing.”⁸¹ Because of the public nature of the breezeway, the dogtrot form is not often seen in towns.⁸²

The dogtrot spread with the frontier from western Pennsylvania down the ridge and valley section of the Appalachians.⁸³ Jordan notes that the dogtrot was “particularly common in the subtropical inner coastal plain from Georgia to central Texas.”⁸⁴ While a popular form in the early settlement period, the dogtrot disappeared from Pennsylvania and Virginia by the mid-nineteenth century. In many areas the open breezeway was enclosed, creating a central passage plan dwelling.⁸⁵ It was across the Upland South, argues Jordan-Bychkov, that the plan found its “first widespread acceptance and staying power.”⁸⁶ The plan was particularly popular in Middle Tennessee and from that region “spewed out to every corner of the Upland South.”⁸⁷ Writing during the mid-nineteenth century, a traveler to Texas described the dogtrot’s open passage as being “according to the custom of the country” and providing the inhabitants with “a cool, pleasant resort in summer.”⁸⁸

79 Jordan-Bychkov. *The Upland South*, 36.

80 *Ibid.*, 37.

81 *Ibid.*, 38.

82 Jean Sizemore, *Ozark Vernacular Houses: A Study of Rural Homeplaces in the Arkansas Ozarks, 1830-1930* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 64.

83 *Ibid.*; see also Martin Wright. “The Antecedents of the Double-Pen House Type.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 48 (1958) (2): 109-117.

84 Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, 29.

85 *Ibid.*

86 *Ibid.*, 38-39.

87 *Ibid.*

88 Quoted in Jordan-Bychkov. *The Upland South*, 40.

70 See Kniffen and Glassie. “Building in Wood” and Kniffen. “Folk Housing.”

71 Jordan, *American Log Buildings*, 8.

72 Morgan, 10.

73 Willard B. Robinson, *Texas Public Buildings of the Nineteenth Century* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), 20.

74 Morgan, 14.

75 *Ibid.*

76 Imlay (1790) quoted in Morgan, 14.

77 Morgan, 14-16.

78 Hutslar, 45.



Figure 16: Half-dovetail notch, Wolf House.

Writing about his work on log buildings in Ohio, Hutslar notes that both “open and closed breezeways were used in Ohio . . . two 15 foot pens would form a structure 45 feet long, one and a half or two stories.”⁸⁹ In one-and-a-half and two-story structures, the breezeway typically contained a stair to the second floor passage which accessed the two upstairs rooms. Log treatment ranged from largely unfinished round logs to logs hewn or sawn on all four sides. These buildings were heated with stone or brick end chimneys; in many cases only one pen was heated. The dogtrot was constructed using a range of notching techniques from the simple saddle notch to the more refined dovetail notch. Jordan notes that, as seen on the Wolf House, “half-dovetailing may be [the] most common Midland notch, particularly on dwellings, and it is the dominate type in states as far-flung as Texas, North Carolina, and Indiana.”⁹⁰ Hutslar reports that the half-dovetail was also very common in Ohio.⁹¹ The dogtrot form is not exclusive to log construction; the benefits of a central breezeway were recognized by vernacular frame

builders as well. In the Ozarks, dogtrot houses were common, but seem to have predominated in the most mountainous and isolated areas.⁹²

Examples of surviving two-story log dogtrot buildings can be found scattered across the South. The Caldwell-Hutchinson Farm in Abbeville, South Carolina (Figure 19); the Adam Weaver Log House in Lauderdale, Alabama (Figure 18); and Wynnewood in Castalian Springs, Tennessee (Figure 17) have each been documented by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and are a few of the Wolf House’s peers of log two-story dogtrots.⁹³

Log Courthouses

As Jordan-Bychkov explains, “the earliest courthouses of the Upland South were typically log buildings, not infrequently of the ‘dogtrot’ plan, with courtroom and jury deliberation quarters occupying the two pens.”⁹⁴ The choice of a dogtrot for a courthouse had advantages, in that the separated rooms on the ground floor could be put to different uses and provided some privacy in conducting business by not sharing party walls. The breezeway could serve as a place to post public notices. Jordan-Bychkov notes that it was gradually that administrative and records offices were combined under one roof with the court; with this change county courthouses were transformed into the grand “temples of justice” that we know today.⁹⁵ Two-story dogtrots could accommodate the courtroom on the second floor and administrative and records offices on the first, as at the Wolf House.

The process of selecting county seats and specifying initial courthouse construction involved numerous practical factors and a healthy dose of politics. Robinson explains that

. . . in new seats of government, county commissioners were obligated, as soon as practicable, to erect jails and courthouses. In civilizing the wilderness, from a material as well as symbolic point of view, these were of the utmost importance. Unless law and order were established in the wilderness, there was little hope for communities to survive and prosper.⁹⁶

When new counties were established in Missouri, the government “would designate a temporary meeting

89 Hutslar, 45.

90 Jordan. *American Log Buildings*, 93.

91 Hutslar, 98.

92 Sizemore, 63-64.

93 There may be others that are unknown, their log construction obscured by weatherboarding and their central passages enclosed.

94 Jordan-Bychkov. *The Upland South*, 64.

95 Ibid.

96 Robinson, *Texas Public Buildings*, 21.



Figure 17 (left): Wynnewood (photographed 1971); Figure 18 (middle): Adam Weaver (photographed 1935); Figure 19 (right): Caldwell-Hutchinson (date unknown)

place and appoint commissioners to select the permanent site for the county seat.”⁹⁷ The county could accept donated land or purchase property outright. In selecting a county seat location, officials typically considered the general situation, extent of the population, quality of land, and convenience and interest of the inhabitants.⁹⁸ An overriding determinate, writes historian of Missouri county foundation Marion Ohman, was a “central location, equidistance for all residents to the county seat.”⁹⁹

It was not unusual for county seats to be moved; during their formative years, “county courts might have to move the county seat several times before they found a suitable site.”¹⁰⁰ While river sites were popular for early county seats because of transportation concerns, these locations were often abandoned as population grew and settlers spread out more evenly across an entire county.¹⁰¹ Ohman explains that “if the first county seat location proved to be unacceptable or inconvenient, county residents did have the option of petitioning the general assembly for a more acceptable location.”¹⁰² The reasons for moving included initial unfamiliarity with the nature of the land, unanticipated growth, political maneuvering, extraordinary events, like an epidemic, or some combination of the above.¹⁰³ When county seats were moved it often created legal questions regarding ownership of the site. “If the original site had been donated and then ceased to be used for county business,” writes Ohman, “did descendants of the donors have a right to regain it?”¹⁰⁴ If a county seat was not moved, sometimes the original courthouse itself was moved in order to accommodate a new one. For example, Hart notes that the Sangamon County,

Illinois, courthouse was sold at auction for \$32 in 1825. It was moved and the new courthouse built on its site.¹⁰⁵

Writing about the process of selecting a courthouse builder, Lounsbury notes that “the vagaries of local politics played an important role in shaping of courthouse architecture.”¹⁰⁶ “Local squabbles,” he continues, often delayed the construction of buildings, the lack of money frustrated the attempts of many courts to build enduring structure for many year, and the force of a dominate personality in the design process sometimes meant that a new or idiosyncratic plan was adopted...¹⁰⁷ Also writing about courthouse designers and builders, Ohman explains that

...during the 1820s and 1830s rarely did the commissioners or superintendents go outside the area for help. They turned to local men whose talents were known. Courts approved modest designs from anyone in their midst who could design or build a courthouse; proposals were little more than brief descriptions provided by men who drew upon their memory and experience.”¹⁰⁸

The origins of log courthouse construction seem to emanate from southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware. “Although horizontal log construction appeared in the Chesapeake in the third quarter of the seventeenth century,” writes Lounsbury, “public officials in the tidewater and piedmont rarely used it except to erect prisons.”¹⁰⁹ While not typical of the Tidewater, “log courthouses gained a tenuous hold on the western frontier of Virginia in the late colonial period.”¹¹⁰ As settlers moved south from Pennsylvania and Maryland into the Shenandoah Valley, they brought with them a tradition of log building and employed these con-

97 Marian M. Ohman, *A History of Missouri's Counties, County Seats, and Courthouse Squares* (Columbia: University of Missouri-Columbia, 1983), 18.

98 *Ibid.*

99 *Ibid.*, 19.

100 *Ibid.*, 23.

101 *Ibid.*

102 *Ibid.*, 20.

103 *Ibid.*

104 *Ibid.*, 23.

105 Richard E. Hart, *The Early Court Houses of Sangamon County, Illinois (1821-1837)* (Spring Creek Series, Springfield, Illinois, 2008), 8.

106 Lounsbury, 91.

107 *Ibid.*

108 Ohman, *A History of Missouri's Counties*, 45.

109 Lounsbury, 98.

110 *Ibid.*, 99.

struction techniques for “almost all of their building needs.”¹¹¹ Public buildings followed this pattern in Augusta, Botetourt, Montgomery, Henry, Rockingham, and Russell counties in Virginia. Domestic buildings predominated on the frontier. Not only did private homes serve civic functions in the very early days, as Jacob Wolf’s dwelling house had done before construction of the Wolf House, but buildings constructed for a public function resembled domestic structures. Frontier builders were most familiar with domestic log pen construction, and forms like the dogtrot which met the needs of public buildings were within a mechanic’s repertoire.

Log courthouses varied in their size and commodiousness. Of Augusta County, Virginia’s 1748 log courthouse, Lounsbury explains that “with large gaps in the log walls, no glass in two small windows, and no seating for the magistrates, the dark, cold interior provided little comfort for court participants and showed no expression of its civic function.”¹¹² Other log buildings were more finished, like the Rockingham County courthouse which used square logs with diamond corner notching. Yet, “despite their better construction, these buildings. . . in the transmontane counties. . . rarely survived more than twenty years.”¹¹³

Robinson notes that “Texas public log cabins revealed countless variations of form and details during the nineteenth century, [as] immigrants brought [a broad] familiarity with forms [and] knowledge of jointing techniques.”¹¹⁴ Robinson further comments that “these expediently built courthouses and jails were intended as temporary shelters. . . .”¹¹⁵ “Officials and promoters in any city,” he continues, “were eager to replace them with more durable and architecturally refined buildings as soon as possible. The development of refined architecture awaited the arrival of skilled carpenters and masons, and the production or importation of manufacture building materials. . . .”¹¹⁶ A review of building contracts and specifications suggests that the quality of early log courthouses varied widely.

A survey of 117 log courthouses (both extant and no longer existing) in 10 states stretching from Pennsylvania to Texas provides some sense of both the broad range and major trends in log courthouse construction

(see Appendix B).¹¹⁷ The data represents log courthouses built between 1748 and 1859. Perhaps not surprisingly, the earliest structures, representing 25% of the sample and dating from 1748 to 1810, are found in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. Approximately 34% of the sample dates from 1810 to 1830, and represents the expanding frontier, including Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, and Arkansas. Log courthouses built between 1831 and 1850 (37.4% of the sample) are found in all the previously mentioned states as well as Iowa and Texas.

The dimensions of log courthouses in the survey range from 14 x 14 ft. to 40 x 40 ft.; the average dimensions are 28 x 22 ft. and the median is 26 x 20 ft.¹¹⁸ The number of stories is known for about 40% (n=47) of the sampled courthouses. Of these, 25.5% (n=12) are one story, 25.5% (n=12) are one-and-a-half stories, and 48.9% (n=23) are two stories. The total number of rooms is available for only 17% of the sample (n=20), and ranges from 1 to 4 rooms. Approximately 75% of the structures had 1 or 2 rooms, while 25% had 3 or 4 rooms; these figures generally correlate with either 1- or 1½- to 2-story structures.

In terms of the length of time that these log courthouses were used before replacement, the survey indicates that almost 75% were used less than 10 years (n=59).¹¹⁹ The range of years runs from 1 to 64 and the median use was 15 years. Of the 53% of buildings for which we have data regarding the type of replacement courthouse, 69% (n=43) were brick, 16.1% (n=10) were frame, 9.7% (n=6) were stone, and just 4.8% (n=3) were replaced by new log structures. This had been, as Lounsbury notes, a common pattern in Virginia, “as log buildings were supplanted by brick and stone structures toward the turn of the [nineteenth] century.”¹²⁰

117 Compiled from Robinson, *The People’s Architecture*; Mavis P. Kelsey, Sr. and Donald H. Dyal, *The Courthouses of Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007); Robinson, *Public Buildings*; Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia*; Hart, *The Early Court Houses of Sangamon County*; Dennis Weiser, *Illinois Courthouses: An Illustrated History* (Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 2009); Pace, *Survivors*; Ohman, *A History of Missouri’s Counties*; Marian M. Ohman, *Encyclopedia of Missouri Courthouses* (Columbia, University of Missouri-Columbia Extension Division, 1981); David R. Hermansen, *Indiana Courthouses of the Nineteenth Century* (Muncie: Ball State University, 1968); Edward J. Stanek, *Iowa’s Magnificent County Courthouses* (Des Moines: Wallace-Homestead Book Co., 1976); Elisabeth H. Garr, *The History of Kentucky Courthouses: An Illustrated Story of Courthouses and County Historical Data* (N.p.: National Society of the Colonial Dames of American in the State of Kentucky, 1972).

118 Sixty-four of the 117 data elements (54.7% of sample) had known dimensions.

119 Ninety-two of the 117 data elements (79.3% of sample) had known use dates.

120 Lounsbury, 99.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Willard B. Robinson. *The People’s Architecture: Texas Courthouses, Jails, and Municipal Buildings* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1983), 20.

115 Ibid, 24.

116 Ibid.

While more specific construction details were available in too few cases to tally, several details are worth mentioning based on known log courthouses. A particularly detailed specifications list is available for the ca. 1800 courthouse in Cumberland County, Kentucky:

... walls with a good joint, shingled roof put on with pegs. Upper floor to have 2 good batten doors well nailed; two windows, one on each side; to contain 12 lights, 8"x10", with good facing and shutters to be well nailed, with good iron hinges to both doors and window cases; the underfloor to be laid with brick on good broad stone; the house to be chinked with stone and pointed with lime; a good case of stairs with a good door well nailed; a good stock lock; a small gable window in each end; and ...¹²¹

As noted above, log finishing ranged from untreated round logs to logs hewn upon two sides and "notched at the corners in a good and workmanlike manner," to solid oak logs, hewn to 8 x 12 inches.¹²² Building contracts often called for the logs to be "chinked outside and daubed inside" or "chinked with stone and pointed with lime."¹²³ Extant courthouse specifications called for a range of materials, from clapboards to shingles, to cover the structure's gable roof. While some structures were not heated, others had either one or two chimneys and fireplaces; when noted, chimney construction was either brick or stone; in several instances, county commissioners added fireplaces within a year or two of initial construction. Flooring spanned everything from dirt, to puncheon, to plank, and finally brick or stone. Doors, when specified, were typically plank or batten, while windows were either shuttered or glazed sash.

Interior room arrangements are discussed in some documents, and these provide at least a glimpse of the layout of interior spaces of log courthouses. For example, in Delaware County, Iowa, the upper floor of the 2-story "cabin" was for the jury and the lower floor was designated as a courtroom.¹²⁴ In Monroe County, Iowa, the half story above the courtroom was used as a jury room that they "could conveniently reach by climbing a ladder."¹²⁵ Some early courthouses, like Jefferson County, Kentucky, had jury rooms and offices in separate buildings; the contract called for the "construction of a 16 foot by 18 foot log courthouse and a

12 foot by 12 foot log jury room."¹²⁶ The courthouse in Johnson County, Illinois, had a "partition that divided the courtroom from the jury room," while the Warren County, Kentucky, courthouse had one room downstairs and two rooms upstairs.¹²⁷ Several contracts, such as the instructions for the Adams County, Illinois, courthouse, specify exterior stairs to reach second floor offices or jury rooms.¹²⁸ The courtroom in the Dunklin County, Missouri, courthouse was "on the lower floor; an outdoor stairway led to the second story offices."¹²⁹ In the Gentry County, Missouri, courthouse, the courtroom was on the lower floor and there were three rooms on the upper floor.¹³⁰ In several instances the first floor of the courthouse contained a jail, and the courtroom was on the second floor, reached by an exterior stair.¹³¹ In Sullivan County, Missouri, the lower floor of the 1847 courthouse "had one room, the second floor had two. The upper rooms served as jury rooms when needed; one doubled as a clerk's office and the other for probate court."¹³²

While contracts and specifications provide some sense of room arrangement, they are less forthcoming in terms of room fixtures and furnishings, providing just a hint of how the courtroom might have appeared. For example, the 1824 Pike County, Kentucky, courthouse called for a "seat for the judge to set on and a bar for the lawyers."¹³³ The contract for the Woodford County, Kentucky, courthouse specified "buckeye logs with a platform for the judge, a place for the bar and some benches. ..." ¹³⁴ The courtroom in the Gentry County, Missouri, courthouse had a "curved bar and judge's bench."¹³⁵ Likewise, the contract specifications for the Ohio County, Kentucky, courthouse provided for "... a raised bench for the attorneys with rails and bannisters [sic]."¹³⁶ It appears that interior finishing often came later, as on September 3, 1821, the Sangamon County, Illinois, commissioners paid Jacob Ellis \$4.50 for constructing a judge's seat and bar in the courthouse that had been "completed" in June.¹³⁷

The early log courthouse ranged from very crude, temporary "cabin" structures, used for just a year or two, to more refined and permanent structures used

121 Garr, 50-51.
122 Stanek, 142 and 124.
123 Hart, 7; Garr, 50-51.
124 Stanek, 62.
125 Ibid, 142.

126 Garr, 86-87.
127 Weiser, 54; Garr, 148.
128 Weiser, 15.
129 Ohman, *Encyclopedia of Missouri Courthouses*, n.p.
130 Ibid.
131 Ibid, Ralls County, Missouri.
132 Ibid.
133 Garr, 132.
134 Ibid., 152.
135 Ohman, *Encyclopedia of Missouri Courthouses*, n.p.
136 Garr, 127.
137 Hart, 7.

for several decades. Even in the case of the latter, log courthouses seem to have been viewed as a prelude to a more settled and refined government structure. Thus, these early buildings have largely disappeared from the landscape of public structures, having been either moved or demolished to build a more permanent brick or stone edifice.

The Wolf House is typical of the frontier log courthouses once so abundant on the edge of westward expansion. It was built of local materials by local craftsmen in a strategically selected location that benefited the public it served and the donor. Because of expanding population and increasingly subdivided counties, the seat of justice was moved and the building became obsolete as a courthouse, a purpose it served, like many early courthouses, for less than 10 years. Jacob Wolf's cleverness in legislation establishing the courthouse ensured the reversion of the property to him, circumventing the common confusion about a former courthouse's fate. It was the subsequent use of the property as a residence and moving the county seat elsewhere that ensured the building's survival.



Figure 20: The Jacob Wolf House, Norfolk, Arkansas (east elevation).

Chapter 3: Criteria for Inclusion

In this chapter, the Wolf House will be evaluated against criteria for new units of the National Park System. When specifically authorized by an Act of Congress (Appendix A), the NPS is responsible for conducting studies of potential additions to the National Park System, and for transmitting the results of these studies to the Secretary of the Interior and Congress. These special resource studies rely on the Criteria for Inclusion (Appendix E) to evaluate these potential new areas.¹³⁸ To be eligible for consideration as a unit of the National Park System, a proposed area must meet the following criteria:

- 1. Significance:** For cultural resources, significance is evaluated using the National Historic Landmark criteria. (Appendix D) Determinations of an area's national significance are made by NPS professionals in consultation with scholars, experts, and scientists.
- 2. Suitability:** A property is considered suitable if it represents a resource type that is not currently represented in the park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by another agency or entity. Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the type, quality, quantity, combination of resources present, and interpretive and educational potential.
- 3. Feasibility:** To be considered feasible, an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure long-term protection of the resources and to accommodate public use. The area must have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost. Other important feasibility factors include landownership, acquisition costs, current and potential use, access, level of local and general public support, and staff or development requirements.
- 4. Need for Direct NPS Management:** Even if a resource meets the criteria of significance, suitability, and feasibility, it will not always be recommended for addition to the National Park System. There are many excellent examples of important natural and cultural resources managed by other federal agencies, other levels of government, and private entities. Evaluation of management options must show that direct NPS management is clearly the superior alternative.

In this chapter, the Criteria for Inclusion are applied to the Wolf House. Each criterion is evaluated in succession. If a criterion is not met, subsequent criteria will not be applied.

Significance

For a cultural resource to be considered “nationally significant,” a property must be found to qualify as a National Historic Landmark (NHL). The purpose of this significance evaluation is to determine whether or not the Wolf House qualifies as “nationally significant” in terms of the established criteria for National Historic Landmark designation.

Properties of national significance are those that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture, and that meet one or more of the following criteria:

Criterion 1: Are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

Criterion 2: Are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.

Criterion 3: Represent some great idea or ideal of the American people.

Criterion 4: Embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

Criterion 5: Are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture.

Criterion 6: Have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

¹³⁸ This criteria is outlined in *NPS Management Policies 2006*, and draws its legal basis from Public Law 91-383 §8 as amended by §303 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act (Public Law 105-391).

For a property to be an NHL, it must meet at least one of the criteria above **and** possess a high degree of integrity, or the ability to convey its historical associations or attributes through location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

In this analysis, the Jacob Wolf House is evaluated against National Historic Landmark criterion 4 as a rare example of a log courthouse on the western frontier, and then evaluated for a high degree of integrity.¹³⁹

Criterion 4

Properties that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

As an early territorial courthouse, the Wolf House is considered under National Historic Landmark Criterion 4 because it is a remarkable surviving example of a rarely preserved type of public building. It is valuable as a type specimen of log courthouses representative of early government formation in the expanding nation. Built in northeastern Arkansas, ca. 1829, the two-story, dogtrot plan, log courthouse is typical of log courthouses that were established on the frontier as it moved westward in its building form, materials, and the circumstances of its creation, use, and eventual de-designation as a courthouse. The atypical aspects of the Wolf House are its large size, and the fact that it survives in its original location. The Wolf House's period of significance is ca. 1829 – 1835, from the time of its construction to the time the county seat was moved and the building became a residence.

The Wolf House is of a category of log buildings known as a “log house,” a term used for private and public structures alike. Unlike their more temporary cousins, known to period observers as “log cabins,” log houses were larger and built as more finished and enduring structures. While log houses were built for more sustained use, relatively few examples survive across the nation, only a handful of which are public buildings. Though repairs and alterations have been made over the

Wolf House's 180 year history, the majority have been sympathetic to the original form and materials (see Integrity below for further discussion).

The dogtrot plan was a favorite type in the Upper South region, providing flexibility in room use and comfort in the hot climate of the South. As described in the Historic Context above, it was also a form well suited to public buildings. In that regard, the Wolf House is typical of other courthouses, however, it is notable for its size. In the survey of log courthouses presented in the Historic Context, Wolf's IZard County Courthouse is the second largest in the sample of early log courthouses (see Appendix B).¹⁴⁰ The building's two stories and four rooms also place it in the category of larger structures of the type (only 25% of the sample with room designations had 3-4 rooms). The choice of a two-story dogtrot form served the needs of the county as a courthouse, county offices, and gathering place. These rooms accommodated court functions and jury deliberations, as well as the county clerk's office.

Drawing on his experiences and German building traditions from Pennsylvania and Kentucky, and perhaps his familiarity with other courthouses, Jacob Wolf crafted an extraordinarily well-finished log building on what was then the border of “Indian” territory. The features of the site that made it attractive to Wolf for trade and business – easy access to the White and North Fork Rivers, the major trade and travel routes in the area – also made the site attractive as a civic center.

It seems clear from the historical record that Wolf was quite deliberate in planning and constructing the courthouse, and in lobbying for the county seat designation. As a merchant and trader, he knew well the area where he worked and lived, and dedicated himself to establishing a permanent settlement in Norfolk, one that would advance his many business interests. These machinations were typical of county courthouse establishment on the frontier.

While the courthouse played a central part in Wolf's plans, in the long term it could not compete with local politics that resulted in the subsequent division of the county and relocation of the county seat. When the move was inevitable, however, Wolf crafted legislation

¹³⁹ The Wolf House is also notable as an example of the two-story log dogtrot building form, as representative of the broad pattern of migration from the eastern United States to the expanding frontier, and as representative of the critical economic role of settlers like Wolf in establishing capital and building economic viability in newly settled territories. The property also contains important archeological resources that are likely to inform our knowledge of the history of the property and region. These aspects are not analyzed for potential national significance. A discussion of these aspects of historical importance appears in Appendix C.

¹⁴⁰ Compiled from Robinson, *The People's Architecture*; Kelsey and Dyal, *The Courthouses of Texas*; Robinson, *Public Buildings*; Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia*; Hart, *The Early Court Houses of Sangamon County*; Weiser, *Illinois Courthouses*; Pace, *Survivors*; Ohman, *A History of Missouri's Counties*; Ohman, *Encyclopedia of Missouri Courthouses*; Hermansen, *Indiana County Courthouses*; Stanek, *Iowa's Magnificent County Courthouses*; Garr, *The History of Kentucky Courthouses*.

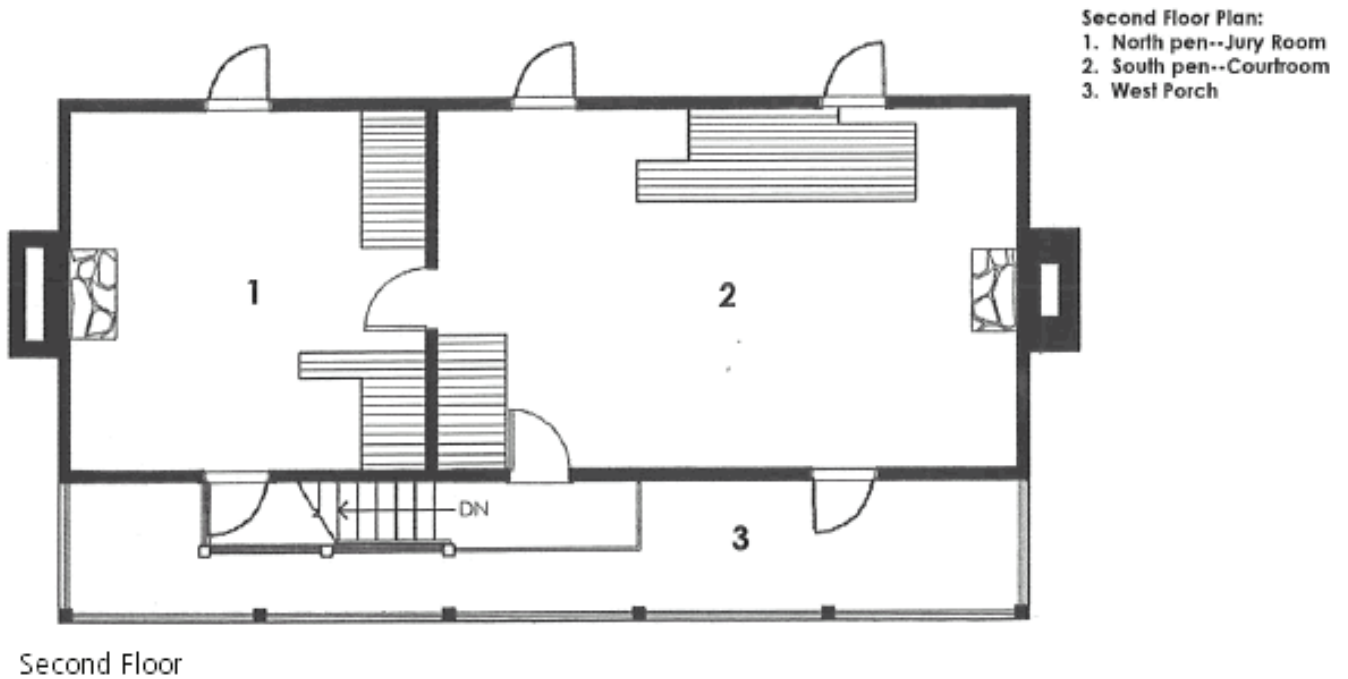
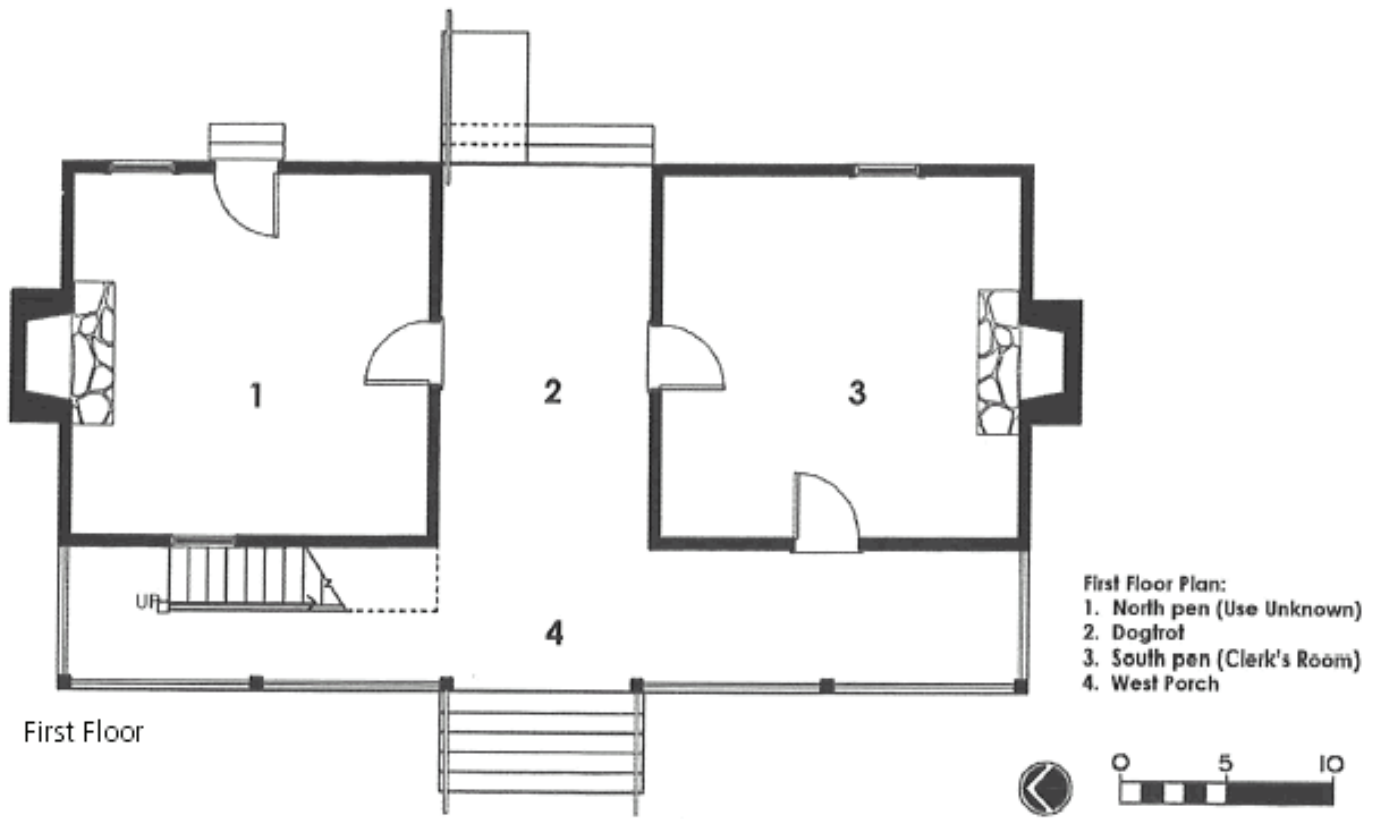


Figure 21: Wolf House floor plan following the 2002 restoration.

that returned the property and building to his control, and subsequently used it as the family home. This astute political move is largely responsible for the survival of the first Izard County Courthouse. Had the county seat remained in Norfolk, the building would almost certainly have been replaced, abandoned, or moved. The building's use as a courthouse for approximately six years is in keeping with the trend of the log courthouse building type; about 75% of the courthouses surveyed were in use fewer than 10 years. As noted, this was due to moving the county seat (as is the case with the Wolf House) or because of the construction of a more "permanent" courthouse.

While a great deal of literature exists on courthouses and courthouse design, most of this material focuses on the more permanent brick and stone buildings of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. The most scholarly work on early courthouses is Lounsbury's recent book *The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History*.¹⁴¹ Even though this book deals primarily with Virginia's early post-in-ground and later brick court buildings, and makes only passing reference to log structures that were typically found in the newer western counties of the Shenandoah Valley, Lounsbury explains that "the gradual displacement of wooden buildings with masonry ones has obscured the importance of frame and log courthouses in early Virginia."¹⁴² "Because of their modest size and lack of pretension," he continues, "these frame and log structures exhibited the same construction techniques employed in domestic architecture."¹⁴³ It was both modest size and the knowledge of local builders that perpetuated the similarity between public and private architecture across the frontier. Nearly everywhere that timber predominated across the frontier, these buildings were constructed of logs.

Very few early log courthouses like the Wolf House survive, and of those that do remain, almost all have been moved from their original sites and/or subject to early "restorations." The literature on courthouses is replete with statements noting that all but a handful of historic county courthouses were built in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, and these are almost exclusively monumental brick or stone edifices. These newer buildings were typically referred to as on or near the site of earlier log or wood frame courthouses. Log courthouses were generally sold and moved when more permanent structures were built on the "courthouse site" or simply sold off for other uses.

141 Lounsbury.

142 *Ibid.*, 97.

143 *Ibid.*

Of the handful of log courthouses that remain, most are smaller, one-story structures, and none were courthouses during the territorial (pre-statehood) phase of settlement. For example, Robinson notes that "while most of the early log courthouses [in Texas] have long since disappeared, the Comanche County building (1856) – a one-story dogtrot – remains as an example."¹⁴⁴ Formerly a single pen cabin, it was moved and extensively restored in 1984. The 1828 Jackson County, Missouri, courthouse served "only briefly as a courthouse." This "temporary" structure has been relocated, restored and still stands in Independence today.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, the ca. 1840 Saline County "courthouse," located in Arrow Rock, Missouri, is a one-story log structure that is now covered in weatherboard siding and has been restored.¹⁴⁶ It is part of the Arrow Rock State Historic Site and in the National Historic Landmark Village of Arrow Rock.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the Greene County courthouse in southwestern Pennsylvania is an original two-story log courthouse (built 1796) that remains on its original lot. It was dismantled for repairs and reassembled in 2002-2003.¹⁴⁸

A review of experts at organizations like Colonial Williamsburg and State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) from Pennsylvania to Virginia and North Carolina and west to Missouri confirms the exceptional survival of the Wolf House. Architectural historian Carl Lounsbury noted that there were "no surviving precedents" in Virginia.¹⁴⁹ He went on to comment that log courthouses in Virginia were "nothing so elaborate" as the Wolf House, "perhaps one ground floor room with a jury room [or lock-up] above."¹⁵⁰ Steve Rogers of the Tennessee SHPO noted that there were no surviving log courthouses, although many two-story log structures survive.¹⁵¹ He commented that he knew of no two-story log structures with the "second story pens being different sizes like the Wolf House."¹⁵² Likewise, archi-

144 Robinson, *Texas Public Buildings*, 21.

145 J. Bradley Pace, *Survivors: A Catalog of Missouri's Remaining 19th Century County Courthouses* (Prairie Village, KS: Greyden Press, 2000), 44. The log courthouse in its present location contributes to the Harry S Truman National Historic Landmark District, as it was used during 1932 when the current Jackson County Courthouse was under construction, replacing the brick courthouse that succeeded this log courthouse.

146 This building is no longer thought to be the courthouse. See Michael Dickey, *Arrow Rock: Crossroads of the Missouri Frontier* (Arrow Rock, MO: Friends of Arrow Rock, Inc., 2004), 80, 218.

147 Pace, 86.

148 Antoinette Finch, "Logging House of Restoration" *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (December 10, 2000), http://www.post-gazette.com/neigh_washington/20001210wacover2.asp

149 Carl Lounsbury, personal communication, July 20, 2010.

150 *Ibid.*

151 Steve Rogers, personal communication, July 26, 2010.

152 *Ibid.*



Figure 22 (upper left): Greene County, Pennsylvania Court House (1796); Figure 23 (upper right): Jackson County Courthouse, Independence, Missouri (1828); Figure 24 (lower right): “Old Saline Courthouse” in Arrow Rock, Missouri (ca. 1840); Figure 25 (lower left): Comanche County Courthouse in Comanche, Texas (1856)

tectural historian Barbara Mitchell Howard, formerly of the Iowa SHPO, noted that there were no log courthouses recorded in their statewide surveys completed in 1980 and 2003. While the surveys mention “log buildings as the earliest courthouse in many instances, none were noted as still standing.”¹⁵³ Paul Diebold of the Indiana SHPO explained that many of Indiana’s 92 counties had log courthouses at one time. Of these, the only surviving example is the Wayne County Courthouse, a log building that was sold after the county seat moved to Centerville. It was eventually disassembled, moved, and “restored” on the grounds of a school in the 1960s.¹⁵⁴ Bill Macintire of the Kentucky SHPO reported that “no log courthouses survive in Kentucky.” He noted that dogtrot construction was “quite common in houses,” but wasn’t aware of any example of courthouses constructed using this type of plan. Kingston Heath, Professor of Historic Preservation at the University of Oregon and a vernacular architecture scholar, reported that he knew of no surviving log municipal buildings in the Pacific Northwest, where the frontier

phase of development was more recent.¹⁵⁵

Even in expanding the scope of comparison to territorial courthouses constructed of all materials, Wolf House is among a small group of peers. The Cassia County Courthouse in Albion, Idaho, was a territorial frame courthouse that began construction as a hotel before being sold, unfinished, to the county, who completed it and used it as a courthouse until 1919. The frame Wasco County Courthouse in The Dalles, Oregon, still stands, having been moved several times. A Washington territorial-era Whatcom County Courthouse, constructed in brick in 1858 as a warehouse, survives, but it was the third courthouse in the county; the first and second, no longer extant, were “log buildings considered shabby and undignified even in their day.”¹⁵⁶ Bucking the trend of modest territorial courthouses, the lavish Cochise County courthouse in silver boomtown Tombstone, Arizona, was constructed of brick and stone in 1882. In keeping with the trend of early courthouses, it was eventually rendered obsolete by the relo-

153 Barbara Mitchell, personal communication, July 21, 2010.

154 Paul C. Diebold, personal communication, July 20, 2010.

155 Kingston Heath, correspondence, July 18, 2012.

156 Whatcom County Historical Society, “Territorial Courthouse Restoration Project,” undated.

cation of the county seat. While each of these territorial courthouse examples embodies some circumstances of early courthouses, none so visibly embodies in its physical materials the characteristics common to early courthouses as the Wolf House.

The Wolf House is a notable surviving physical manifestation of the establishment of government services on the frontier. The process of settlement and creation of public institutions is well reflected in the log courthouse (and later dwelling of Jacob Wolf.) Though the reach of any one local government institution or service was limited, the issue of establishing governance on the frontier was essential and common to newly settled areas nationwide, and the log courthouse is a building type once common but now especially rare.

Integrity

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historical associations or attributes. The evaluation of integrity is grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its historical associations or attributes. There are seven aspects or qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.¹⁵⁷ In order to meet NHL criteria, a property must have a high degree of integrity.

The Wolf House is a 45 x 17 ½ foot building which sits on a stone foundation supported by concrete footings installed during the 2002 restoration. It is constructed from pine logs hewn on all four sides and connected using half-dovetail corner notching. Approximately 37% of the logs were found to be structurally unsound in the 2002 restoration, and were replaced in whole or in part, or treated with epoxy. The first floor has two, 17 ½ foot square pens or rooms separated by an open passage measuring 10 x 17 ½ feet. The second floor of the structure has two rooms: the larger room, measuring 27 ½ x 17 ½ feet covers the first floor passage and the south pen, and the smaller, measuring 17 ½ feet square, covers the north pen. The interior flooring, originally puncheon, is now tongue and groove quarter-sawn pine. The level of the first floor, which had been raised nine inches in earlier alterations, was restored to its original level in 2002. Exposed joists in the ceiling have beaded edges. There are exterior chimneys on both the north and south gable ends, and all four rooms have fireplaces. The two-story west porch was recon-

structed in the 2002 restoration; evidence suggests that a two-story west porch was the original configuration. The roofing material is cedar shake.

The Wolf House underwent restoration projects in 1937, the mid-1950s, and most recently in 2002. Log buildings have their own unique set of deterioration problems, and “like any historic building, a log structure is a system that functions through the maintenance of the totality of its parts.”¹⁵⁸ Given the age of the Wolf House, and the long-term challenges faced by log buildings in a variable climate relative to brick or stone buildings, periodic repair and replacement of materials like shingles, chinking, and even some logs themselves, are part of preserving the overall integrity of the building. Because of this and the Wolf House's age, it has a lower percentage of original materials than buildings typically considered to maintained a high degree of integrity, though in recent restorations the original materials have been replaced sensitively. Setting changes have also negatively affected the integrity of the Wolf House, both on site and on surrounding properties, though in a desirable location like Norfolk, changes over a century and three-quarters would be difficult to avoid.

The building sits on its original stone foundation and thus retains integrity of location, unlike many of the other remaining log courthouses. As described in the Historic Context, the location of the courthouse on the Wolf property within view of the White River served the citizens of IZARD County and served to enhance Jacob Wolf's business prospects and the emerging village of Liberty (now Norfolk). This foundation is now underpinned by concrete footings.

The original design, as a two-story, double-pen structure with an open passage or breezeway, is well preserved and clearly evident. The design conveys the functions that the two-story dogtrot form was selected to serve when built as a courthouse. The Wolf House retains the majority of the features that illustrate the architectural style and construction technique in terms of the massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture, and some materials original to its period of significance.

In terms of integrity of materials, the Wolf House has gone through several major periods of change resulting in alternations, some reconstruction, restoration, and replication of materials. It was converted to rental units

¹⁵⁷ An explanation of the application of integrity can be found in “National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, Section VIII. How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property.” (http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm)

¹⁵⁸ Bruce D. Bomberger, “Preservation Brief 26: The Preservation and Repair of Historic Log Buildings” (National Park Service, 1991).

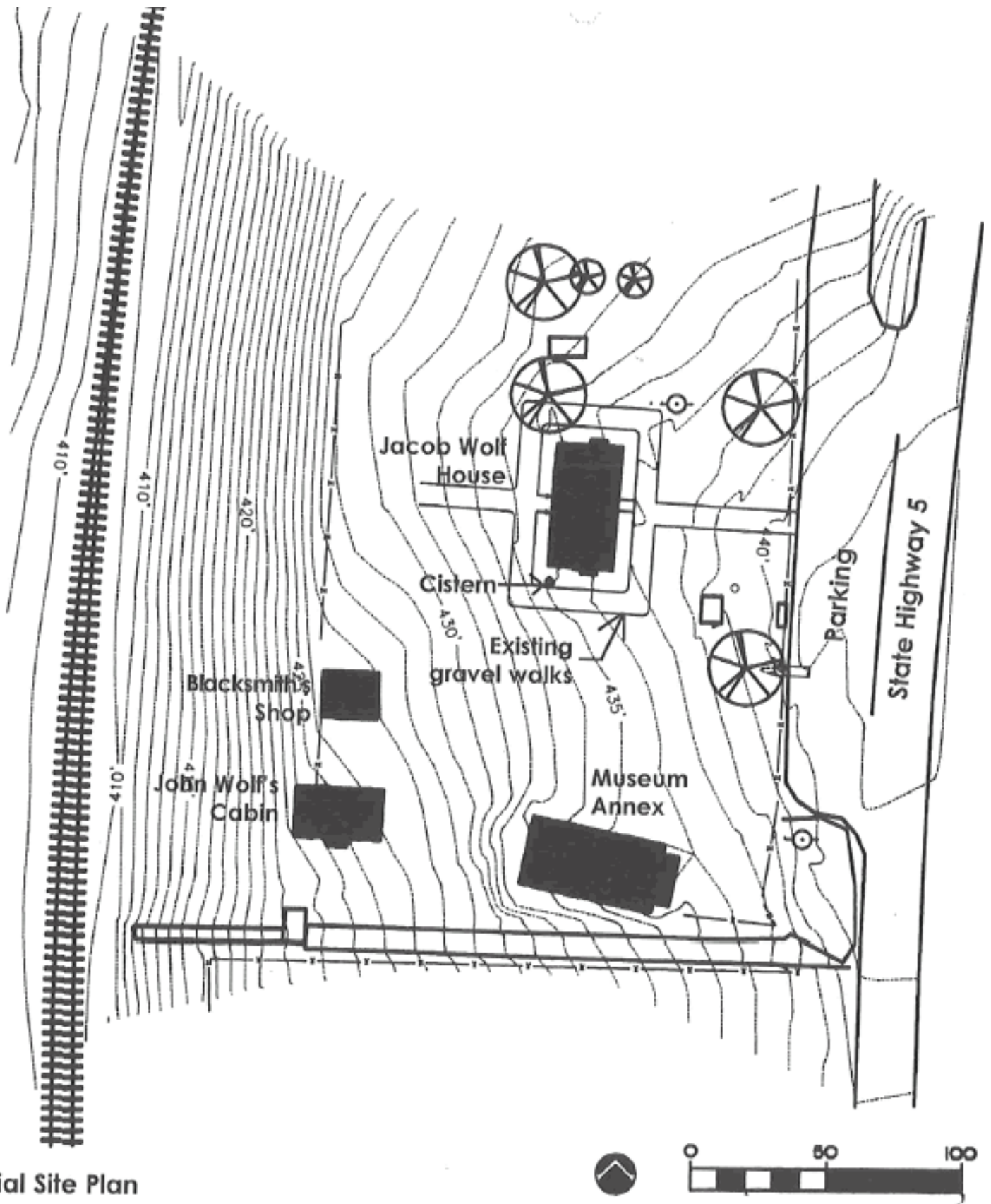


Figure 26: Wolf House partial site plan.

in the early twentieth century, restored by the WPA in 1937, restored again in the 1950s, and most recently restored in 2002. The house retains approximately 60-70% of its original log fabric. The Wolf House spent much of its history without external sheathing to protect the logs from the elements. During the restoration in 2002, well-documented before and after in a Historic Structure Report, 37 of the 121 original logs were structurally unsound and had to be replaced, and seven others were treated by partial face replacement, epoxy consolidation, or replaced with relocated materials.¹⁵⁹

Other materials have been replaced over the years, some because of necessity, and others because of changes to the building. The building's chinking and daubing was largely replaced, though several sections of original chinking were retained and left exposed after the 2002 restoration. No original material exists on the porch. The porch, located on the west (river) side, was reconstructed using evidence of original joist pockets and handrail mortise holes and based on several historic photographs. Prior to the 2002 restoration, there was an east (road) side porch, which was found to have been added after the period of significance and was not replaced. While all the original roof joists remain intact, most of the roof decking was found to be previous replacement material and in poor condition. It was replaced and the few remaining pieces of original decking (flitches) were retained and stored. None of the roof shingling was original; a new cedar shake roof was installed. The stone chimneys are not original; interior mantles are reconstructed as well. Remaining evidence suggests that the original interior floors were puncheon; these were replaced in the 1950s with sawn joists and the first floor elevated. The majority of the doors were replacements, either changed out during the historic use of the building or one of the subsequent restorations. At least one door might be original but was shortened when the floor was elevated, and thus couldn't be used once the floor was returned to its original level during the 2002 restoration. This and several other doors may also retain original hardware; all were saved and are in storage. Evidence suggests that the building did not originally have glass or sash windows on the second floor, but rather had open windows with wood batten shutters. The first floor had sash windows, but the originals are no longer extant. Many of the replacement elements were replicated based on original materials that had to be removed due to deterioration during the most recent restoration.

The restoration completed in 2002 was of very high quality, carefully following the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Restoration, and was performed in close consultation with the Arkansas SHPO. However, the amount of change to the fabric since the period of significance has been substantial when considering the totality of the building.

The Wolf House retains integrity of workmanship in that the original workmanship of the log craftsmen and carpenters is clearly visible and evident. As noted above, the building has some degree of fine finish details in terms of the preparation and notching of the logs and in minor finishes such as the beaded edges of the second floor joists. Elements like the carefully cut and fitted half-dovetail notches and beaded edges of the joists provide clear evidence of the artisans' labor and skill in constructing the log building.

Though key elements of the setting of the Wolf House remain and are clearly visible, there have been some substantial changes since the period of significance. The construction of the Wolf House overlooking the confluence of the White and North Fork rivers is an important part of its character and can be experienced easily from the porches, windows, and most of the site, though the view is disrupted by several changes. The land between the Wolf House and the rivers has been altered by later development, including a railroad track, several homes, and a large parking lot (Figures 27 and 28). These have a lessened visual impact because of the slope of the hill from the Wolf House to the riverbank, but they are still evident in the view from the porch of the house toward the water. Dotted with several new houses, the west bank is relatively undeveloped, though here are several prominent homes on distant hilltops. The east side of Highway 5 has seen recent development of a new bank and housing units that have greatly altered the setting, though little is known about the neighboring land or what Norfolk (then Liberty) looked like during the period of significance.

The setting has been altered on the site itself with the addition of three buildings added to the site since the 1970s: a log museum annex constructed in the late 1970s; a blacksmith shop constructed in the mid-1990s; and the 1828 John Wolf Cabin. The John Wolf Cabin was moved to the site in the mid-1990s from Calico Rock, Arkansas, approximately 20 miles down the White River. These additions have altered the scenery, and though they do not constitute an irreversible change, they detract from the integrity of setting.

The Wolf House retains some integrity of feeling in

159 See Jameson Gould, 149.



Figure 27 (above): A view southwest from the porch of the Wolf House, showing the landscape below the Wolf House and across the White River in February, 2010. In the foreground, from left to right, the overlook, the James Wolf Cabin, and the blacksmith shop. Figure 28 (below): A similar view in April 2010 from the fence line in the above image.

that it expresses the sense of the property as a remarkably well crafted building on the edge of the settlement frontier. The integrity of design and workmanship noted above contribute to the feeling of life in a backcountry community. Changes in the building's setting intrude on the overall sense of frontier existence during the period of national expansion.

Finally, the Wolf House retains much of its integrity of association in that the Wolf House and its setting are sufficiently intact to convey the history of the building to an observer. The general setting overlooking the White River along with its integrity of location, design, and workmanship, conveys the property's character as a log territorial courthouse, though this is lessened somewhat by the moderate integrity of materials and setting.

Significance Conclusion

The Wolf House is a rare surviving example of a once-common building type: the frontier log courthouse. For this reason, the Wolf House comports with Criterion 4 as a specimen that embodies the distinguishing characteristics of its type and is exceptionally valuable for a study of the frontier period in the area of the establishment of public services and justice in developing communities. In vernacular architecture, the aspects of a building's materials and form are inevitably entwined with the historical and cultural circumstances which spawned the need the building was constructed to fill, in the case of the Wolf House, the establishment of justice and government services on the frontier.¹⁶⁰

160 The Wolf House is also a notable example of two-story dogtrot

However, the Wolf House was found to be lacking the high level of integrity necessary to be eligible for NHL designation, and thus, does not meet the criteria for national significance. When evaluating potential NHLs, each type of property depends on certain elements of integrity more than others to express its historic significance. For a property considered for its architecture and representation of a building type, it must retain those physical features that characterize the type, period, or method of construction that the property represents. Retention of design, workmanship, and materials will usually be most important, and in the case of the Wolf House, the setting is critical to understanding the context. As described above, the setting has been altered by development after its period of significance.

Because few log courthouses remain, a comparison of the Wolf House with other extant log houses is necessary to determine the integrity of materials level that would be considered high; experts on log buildings were consulted in making this determination.¹⁶¹ Even when considering its remarkable survival for over 180 years and the necessary maintenance needed to keep a wood building structurally sound over the years, the Wolf House does not reach the threshold of high integrity of materials.

It is worth noting that, although it does not meet the level of integrity required for NHL consideration, the Wolf House is the best-preserved log courthouse remaining extant in the United States. Comparable examples are either lacking in an area that would make it a truly representative example of the building type, or have less historic integrity than the Wolf House. The Wolf House retains many of the features that define its character, but because materials and setting are important aspects of the overall integrity determination for this property, changes in those areas mean that the Wolf House does not meet the high integrity standard for National Historic Landmark determination, and therefore does not meet the special resource study criterion for national significance.

log construction, represents broad patterns of western migration and Euro-American settlement of the frontier, and represents economic activity in frontier settlements. Archeological resources found on the Wolf House property are impressive and have the potential to yield additional information. These topics were not analyzed under NHL criteria, primarily because each topic has such a broad range of comparable properties that a comparative analysis would be arduous. However, understanding these topics are important to understanding the Wolf House and its history. Discussion of each of these important topics can be found in Appendix C.

¹⁶¹ Correspondence with National Historic Landmark program historians, December 19, 2012.

Suitability

Because the Wolf House does not meet the standard for national significance as defined by NPS *Management Policies 2006*, this section will provide only a cursory overview of comparable properties. In order for an area to be considered suitable, it must represent a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the National Park System, or is not protected for public enjoyment by other units of the federal government, state and local governments, non-profit organizations, or private entities.

In considering comparable cultural resources within or outside the National Park System, the NPS uses its “Thematic Framework” (1994) for history and pre-history. The framework is an outline of major themes and concepts that help to conceptualize American history. As an example of the now-rare building type of log courthouses, Wolf House expresses the theme of *Shaping the Political Landscape*, as an example of government services created on the edge of settlement. The establishment of communities on the frontier more broadly embodies westward expansion, a component of the *Peopling Places* theme.

Shaping the Political Landscape

This theme encompasses tribal, local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape both policies and institutions. Sites associated with political leaders, theorists, organizations, movements, campaigns, and grassroots political activities all illustrate aspects of the political environment. Sites of governance are included in this theme.

Aspects of this theme are illustrated at the Wolf House in its historic function as a courthouse and the stories of early local governance associated with it. Courthouse buildings are evocative of establishing legal and political organization. Once a prevalent building type, few log courthouses survive with historic integrity in their original location. Because the issue of establishing local (county) governance on the frontier was so essential and widespread, the building type is of national interest.

The topics of legal/judicial history and politics are represented as a primary theme at a small number of National Park Service units. It appears as a theme at Faneuil Hall in Boston National Historical Park, at Federal Hall National Memorial in New York City, Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Appomattox Courthouse National His-

torical Park in Appomattox, Virginia, and others.

The closest comparisons to the Wolf House within the National Park System can be found at Fort Smith National Historic Site, the Old Courthouse at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial and U.S. Commissioner's Courthouse at Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve, all representing governance from the federal level. Fort Smith, Arkansas, was one of the first United States outposts in the Louisiana Territory, and was important in the enforcement of federal Indian policy between 1817 and 1896. It was not in use as a courthouse until 1872, and though the court delivered justice in a tumultuous border area, the courthouse era is not contemporaneous with initial community establishment as at Wolf House. A monumental courthouse in an urban center, the Old Courthouse at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial is notable as the venue where Dred Scott and his wife Harriet sued for their freedom in 1846, a case ultimately decided against them in a landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision. The closest comparable property within the National Park System is the U.S. Commissioner's Courthouse in the Chisana Historic District at Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve where mining claims were recorded. At the time of the Chisana gold rush, civil government in the Territory of Alaska was administered by appointed U.S. commissioners, providing nearly all local government services.¹⁶² The modest courthouse structure in a new town on the edge of European American settlement typifies the log courthouse type. Unlike other log courthouses, the courthouse in Chisana was not a prelude to a more established town or form of government. Large mining strikes eluded most miners and the town faded.

As a broader cultural resource type, courthouses are abundant. Most are monumental edifices of brick or stone. Outside the National Park System, there are several surviving examples of the log courthouse type comparable to the Wolf House that are preserved with public access:

Arrow Rock State Historic Site, Arrow Rock, Missouri

Arrow Rock State Historic Site includes a number of historic buildings in the village, including a log single pen, two-room building known as the Saline County Courthouse. Arrow Rock, founded in 1829 near a ferry crossing, was the Saline County Seat from 1839-1840. Oral tradition holds that the log

building, built in the early 1830s, may have been used as a courthouse, but recent research indicates this may not have been the case.¹⁶³ The entire village was designated an NHL in 1964 as the Arrow Rock Historic District, for its association with westward expansion, the Santa Fe Trail, and the artist George Caleb Bingham.

Comanche County Courthouse, Comanche, Texas

This one story log dogtrot courthouse was constructed as a single pen building in the first Comanche County seat of Cora, Texas, in 1856. The building served as both post office and district court until 1859, when the county seat was moved to Comanche. A pen was added to when the building became a residence, was subsequently moved several times, and now stands on the southwest corner of Courthouse Square in Comanche.¹⁶⁴ It is unfurnished and open to the public with informational signs.

Greene County Court House, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania

This two story log courthouse, built in 1796-97, was the first courthouse for Greene County in southwestern Pennsylvania. As was typical of log courthouses, it was replaced by a brick courthouse in 1800 when the original was outgrown. The building is owned by Greene County and is the home of the Cornerstone Genealogical Society, who offers tours of the first floor.

Jackson County Courthouse, Independence, Missouri

The first Jackson County Courthouse was constructed on a private lot in 1828 to serve as a temporary venue for court sessions, while the public courthouse square was being reserved for a more commanding building. The one story log building was in use for nine years. It was moved just south of the present day Jackson County Courthouse in 1916.¹⁶⁵ The building is periodically open for tours.

Like the original Jacob Wolf dwelling on the Wolf House site (no longer extant), early in county formation

¹⁶² See Paul Barrett, "A History of U.S. Commissioners in Alaska" (Alaska Bar Rag, September-October, 2002). https://www.alaskabar.org/servlet/content/a_history_of_u_s_commissioners_in_alaska.html

¹⁶³ Mike Dickey, Site Administrator, Arrow Rock State Historic Site. Correspondence, May 20, 2011.

¹⁶⁴ Louise Ann Herda, "Old Cora," *Texas Escapes* (March, 2003). <http://www.texasescapes.com/TRIPS/GreatAmericanLegendTour/ComancheCountyCourthouse/OldCora.htm>. Accessed December 20, 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Jackson County, "In the Beginning: 1827-1850," 2008. <http://www.jacksongov.org/content/3273/3285/3375.aspx>. (accessed December 20, 2011)

sometimes a private residence served at the courthouse until a dedicated building could be constructed. A two-story log dogtrot example of this survives at the Carson House.

Carson House, Marion, North Carolina

The Carson House was constructed ca.1793 as a single pen, two-story log building and expanded to a two-story dogtrot with the styling of southern plantation houses in the early 19th century. It was sheathed in weatherboard on the exterior, and logs were covered on the interior. Further refinements and additions were made when the house passed to Jonathan Logan Carson in 1841. With the formation of McDowell County in 1842, the Carson House served as the location of the first county court proceedings from 1843 until 1845, presumably alongside the continued occupancy of the Carson family.¹⁶⁶ The dogtrot was enclosed in the early 20th century. Located in the Blue Ridge Mountains of western North Carolina, the area's settlement was much later than that of eastern North Carolina. Though the area was isolated by rough terrain, population growth was helped along by the Carolina Gold Rush of the early 19th century. The Carson House is preserved and interpreted seasonally by the Carson House Society.

Other early courthouses on the frontier were not built of logs, and the following are surviving preserved and publically interpreted county courthouses. All date from the statehood period.

Original Wasco County Courthouse, The Dalles, Oregon

A gable-front, two-story frame building constructed in 1858-9, the first Wasco County Courthouse was completed two months after Oregon achieved statehood. Once providing services for a county encompassing much of eastern Oregon, it lays claim to the title "first courthouse west of the Rocky Mountains," and also contained offices and jail cells.¹⁶⁷ The building has been moved six times. It is operated by the Wasco County Historical Society, which interprets its use as a courthouse and jail.

Tombstone Courthouse State Historic Park, Tombstone, Arizona

The Cochise County courthouse, now a state

historic site, was constructed in the silver mining boomtown of Tombstone, Arizona, in 1882 and served until 1929, when the county seat was relocated. The massive two-story building of brick and stone is lavish and refined by "first courthouse" standards. The design by Frank Walker, superintendent of Tombstone's Sycamore Springs Water Company, was selected by the town supervisors from a number of submissions.¹⁶⁸ It now serves as a historic site and museum of the history of Tombstone and Cochise County. It is open daily.

Two first or territorial-era courthouses are currently being preserved and developed as historic sites, though they are not yet interpreted to the public. The Cassia County Courthouse in Albion, Idaho, was a territorial frame courthouse began construction as a hotel before being sold, unfinished, to the county, who completed it and used it as a courthouse until 1919. The Whatcom County Courthouse in Bellingham, Washington, dates to the territorial-era (it was constructed in brick in 1858 as a warehouse) and was the third courthouse in the county. It is currently being restored by the Whatcom County Historical Society.

Peopling Places

This theme examines human population movement and change through prehistoric and historic times, as well as family formation and daily life in the American past. Topics that help define this theme are migration from outside and within; community and neighborhood; and encounters, conflicts, and colonization.

Vernacular architecture, a term that encompasses "traditional" or "folk" buildings constructed of local materials to address local needs, is often reflective of local conditions or ethnic traditions. As described in the Historic Context, log buildings are closely tied to both. Wolf House illustrates frontier life and emigrant dispersion through its building fabric and the evidence of workmanship used to construct it. The history of migration of the families who settled Norfolk is characteristic of the path many took from the east coast to the interior of the country, reflected in the diffusion of log buildings across the expanding frontier.

Settlement and migration is represented as a theme in at least 45 parks in the National Park System. The diversity of motives for making the move west and the variety of modes of movement and settlement means a broad

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.historiccarsonhouse.com/>

¹⁶⁷ Wasco County Historical Society, "A brief history of the 1859 Wasco County Courthouse, The Dalles, Oregon," excerpted from William McNeal's "History of Wasco County," http://www.historicthedalles.org/wcoc/wasco_co_courthouse_history.htm

¹⁶⁸ Linda Weiland, "Tombstone Courthouse State Historic Park," *The Tombstone Times*, <http://www.tombstonetimes.com/stories/courthouse10.html>

number of sites embody some aspect of this theme and are necessary to a cumulative understanding of the peopling of a vast nation.

Suitability Summary

As a log courthouse and as a representative early courthouse of any building material, Wolf House has few peers. Other sites outside of the National Park System preserve and interpret similar resources to the Wolf House, but it is a good example of its resource type and one of very few protected and accessible two-story log dogtrot buildings. However, because the Wolf House does not meet significance criteria for inclusion in the National Park System, suitability was not fully analyzed.

Feasibility

Because the Wolf House does not meet the standard as defined in *NPS Management Policies 2006* to be a nationally significant addition to the National Park System, feasibility was not evaluated.

Need for Direct NPS Management

Because the Wolf House does not meet the standard as defined in *NPS Management Policies 2006* to be a nationally significant addition to the National Park System, the need for direct management of the site by the National Park Service was not evaluated.

Conclusion

With these findings, there was no basis for further consideration of new unit potential and the study process was concluded. No federal action is proposed. The Wolf House is currently being managed by Baxter County, but there are opportunities for further preservation and interpretation by local entities. These opportunities will be addressed in Chapter 4.



Figure 29: Wolf House (south and east elevations).

Chapter 4: Opportunities for Preservation and Interpretation

The legislation authorizing the Wolf House Special Resource Study directs that the study both evaluate the Wolf House as a potential unit of the National Park System and determine “the methods and means for the protection and interpretation of the Wolf House by the National Park Service, other Federal, State, or local government entities or private or non-profit organizations.” (Appendix A) Because the evaluation in Chapter 3 found that the Wolf House does not meet defined national significance criteria, and therefore does not meet the criteria for inclusion in the National Park System, options for NPS management would not be reasonable to explore.

This chapter will broadly summarize state, local government, and non-profit organizations with a current or potential stake in the Wolf House, discuss the property’s most pressing preservation challenges, and outline possible opportunities to address those challenges and increase interpretation.

Current Management

Currently, the Wolf House property is owned and maintained by Baxter County. There is no dedicated staff, or any staff presence at the site. The property is publicly accessible and features several interpretive signs installed after the 2002 restoration. The interior is open only rarely to the public. The John Wolf Cabin is not open to the public. The 1990s blacksmith shop building is used for storage of building materials removed from the Wolf House during the 2002 restoration. The 1970s museum annex does not have any displays; it is open periodically for community events.

Over the years of public ownership, a number of nonprofit organizations have undertaken the day to day operation and interpretation of the Wolf House. The most recent of these was the Wolf House Memorial Foundation, which disbanded in the mid-2000s, largely due to the advanced age of its leaders. While there is substantial interest in the Wolf House in Baxter County, no new group has formed to operate it for education or public enjoyment. But for a few items, the furnishings and artifacts from the Wolf House have been put in storage. While the Baxter County government provides for the basic maintenance of the property, it cannot undertake any of the major repairs that will be needed in time without increases in county funding or seeking grants. Baxter County could invest more time

and resources in maintenance of the Wolf House and operate it as a historic site, but like many municipal governments, Baxter County has been juggling many priorities with decreased funds in recent years.

Potential Stakeholders

The Baxter County Historical and Genealogical Society is a member-supported organization headquartered in Mountain Home. The Society’s mission is “to preserve and interpret the history of Baxter County by: acquiring, preserving, and showcasing artifacts; acquiring, preserving, and making available for research records documenting the social, economic, and political history of the county through an active archival program at the Baxter County Archives; promoting historical and genealogical research; and educating children and adults about the county’s rich cultural heritage through lectures, exhibits, tours and our quarterly journal the *Baxter County History*, received by all members of the Society.” The Society monitors and maintains the Casey House, a one-story frame dogtrot built in 1858, which is located on the county fairgrounds. The Society was also instrumental in having a portion of the City of Mountain Home’s Cooper Park set aside to assemble “Rapp’s Barren,” a small “pioneer village” of buildings moved to the site from elsewhere in the county. It is maintained by the City of Mountain Home. The Society might mobilize to manage tour operations at the Wolf House, or provide occasional programming or educational materials.

At the state level, Arkansas State Parks operates 52 parks across the state, a number of which are historic sites. The mission of Arkansas State Parks is to provide optimum quality recreational and educational opportunities, safeguard the natural, historical and cultural resources, enhance the economy of the state by providing recreation destinations and leisure services, and provide leadership for the conservation of valuable state resources. Arkansas State Parks manages several sites related to the history of the Ozarks and traditional culture. New state parks must be created by the state legislature. In 1998, the Arkansas State Parks Recreation and Travel Commission issued a moratorium on any new state parks until such times as they have fulfilled their obligation to renovate, refurbish, and rebuild existing and previously authorized parks. Because of this moratorium, management by Arkansas State Parks in the near term is not a viable option.

Also at the state level, the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program (AHPP) is Arkansas's State Historic Preservation Office, providing documentation services and preservation assistance. The AHPP administers several grant programs, including the County Courthouse Restoration Grant, of which Wolf House was a recipient. While the AHPP is not a potential manager for the Wolf House because management of historic properties is not within its purview, it is a valuable source of information and technical support. The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program is an agency within the Department of Arkansas Heritage. The Department develops lesson plans and provides teacher resources.

There may also be the possibility of the formation of a new organization to assume responsibility for interpretation and operation of the Wolf House, replacing the now-defunct Wolf House Memorial Foundation. There is a lot of enthusiasm in the community for the Wolf House (see Appendix F: Public Scoping Comment Analysis).

Preservation Challenges

Though the structure of the Wolf House was recently restored, an ongoing threat to its long-term preservation is the lack of a dedicated maintenance plan expanding on the periodic maintenance list recommended in the Historic Structure Report.¹⁶⁹ While the county is able to keep up with maintenance at this time, it will only become more challenging as time passes. A long term threat to the Wolf House is deterioration from the elements, and pests are also a concern.

Also of concern is the security of the site. The Wolf House's location on a major thoroughfare in Norfolk means that the eyes of the community are frequently focused on the building, and it has not been the target of vandalism or theft, though there is no security system in place. The buildings lack fire suppression systems.

A potential threat to the setting of the resources is further incompatible development of adjacent and visible properties, which make up the Wolf House's viewshed. The views of the confluence of the White and North Fork Rivers and adjacent lands foster an understanding of and evoke the historical context of the site. Though the properties across the White River are within the boundaries of the Ozark National Forest, all but the most distant are privately held. The City of Norfolk has zoning jurisdiction over the properties immediately on the waterfront (see Figure 2), but there are few constraints on development of the properties

between lands administered by the U.S. Forest Service and those under the zoning authority of Norfolk. As of spring 2012, no development was taking place or known to be planned.

Opportunities

The three major areas of potential improvement for the Wolf House as a historic site are in National Register documentation, maintenance, and interpretation. The Wolf House was listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in 1973 for its architecture, but the documentation is brief. With expanded documentation, the Wolf House could be listed at the national level. The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program can provide assistance with NRHP nominations. Much research into the history of the Wolf House had been done by Joan Gould as part of the Historic Structure Report, local history had been compiled by Bob Bounds and others, and the historic context of this report provides a national perspective on the building type and historical movements of which Wolf House was a part. Archeology could be a part of updated documentation as well.

A comprehensive maintenance and monitoring plan and a detailed maintenance schedule for the Wolf House needs to be developed and implemented. Without regular monitoring and upkeep, the improvements made during the 2002 restoration will deteriorate. Though there are no major issues at this time, inspection for insect and water infiltration will help prevent major problems from developing.

Further interpretation of the Wolf House and its history would be beneficial to broader understanding and careful stewardship of the property. As an example of the log courthouse building type, Wolf House offers an opportunity to provide public understanding and appreciation of the log courthouse building type and themes of establishing legal/judicial systems and public services on the frontier. The Wolf House is also one of very few protected and accessible two-story log dogtrot buildings. The stories associated with the site have local, state, and national relevance. Interpretive themes, topics that help guide a story and draw on the reasons why a property is important, could be developed telling the story of establishment of public services in newly-settled areas and the important role they played in frontier communities and the construction and styles of early courthouses. The existing research described above can also be used to develop interpretive programs and materials. Lesson plan development through the Department of Arkansas Heritage or the National Park

169 Jameson and Gould, 184-185.

Service Teaching with Historic Places program could bring the history of the Wolf House to children.

It is not clear who would provide preservation and interpretive services in the future. It may be that an existing entity could undertake projects in these three areas, such as the Baxter County Historical and Genealogical Society, or that a new group could form to undertake them. Or it may be that each area could be addressed by a different organization; for instance, ABPP drafting updated NRHP documentation, Baxter County committing time and funds to a maintenance plan, and the Baxter County Historical and Genealogical Society providing seasonal tours. Grant funding is available through the ABPP and Department of Arkansas Heritage.

Forming a new non-profit organization around the preservation of the Wolf House is a viable opportunity in the Norfolk area. The public is enthusiastic about the Wolf House, and many have ties to the Wolf family and other early settlers. Volunteerism is popular in the community, but no leadership has yet emerged to organize people around the Wolf House. If local enthusiasm and capacity can be harnessed, volunteer interpreters and building monitors may go a long way towards meeting the present needs of the Wolf House.

Finally, an opportunity for technical assistance and support may be available through a possible connection between the Wolf House and the Trail of Tears. In the 1830s, several routes were taken through Arkansas by American Indians faced with removal from their homelands in the southeastern United States. The Bengé Route of the Trail of Tears, as the path taken by Cherokee sub-chief John Bengé and some 1,100 followers is known, passed through what was then Izard County along the east bank of the White River in 1838. It is thought to have crossed the North Fork at a place called “the rapids” just upstream from Norfolk, then Liberty. Oral legends say that some travelers in carriages stopped at the Wolf House for service from blacksmith Jacob Wolf, but no documentation has been found to confirm or deny this story.¹⁷⁰

The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail (NHT) was established in 1987 to mark the historic routes of forced removal. The Bengé Route became a congressionally-designated part of the Trail of Tears NHT in March 2009. The NPS planning study for the Bengé Route, entitled *National Historic Trail Feasibility Study Amendment and Environmental Assessment, Trail of*

Tears National Historic Trail Additional Routes, describes known related cultural resources along these routes. However, it does not mention the Wolf House as being associated with the Trail of Tears. Though the site is near the Bengé Route, no evidence has surfaced linking the Wolf House to the Bengé Route of the Trail of Tears. More research may be warranted to confirm a possible connection.

If the Wolf House were connected with the Trail of Tears, it would be eligible to become a certified site of the Trail of Tears NHT. Certification is a partnership between landowners and the NHT that helps preserve and protect historic trail sites. The site owner or manager can establish visiting times and other conditions to share the site with the public through the certification agreement. Technical assistance, protection and site development guidance, project funding, and recognition are all benefits of site certification.

The certification process for Wolf House would begin if Baxter County invited National Park Service trails staff to evaluate the Wolf House’s historical significance as it relates to the Trail of Tears. If the Wolf House has played a role in trail history, NPS and Baxter County would together prepare a certification agreement. More research would be needed to support a connection between the Wolf House and the Trail of Tears.¹⁷¹

170 Ibid, 42.

171 More information about Trail of Tears NHT site certification is available at <http://www.nps.gov/trte/parkmgmt/certification.htm>.

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Figure 15: Sizemore, 44. (Adapted from Kniffen, Fred B. "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion." Figure II)

Figure 16: NPS

Figure 17: Historic American Building Survey (HABS TENN,83-CASPR,1-)

Figure 18: Historic American Building Survey (HABS ALA,39-ROG.V,1-)

Figure 19: Historic American Building Survey (HABS SC,1-LOWN.V,4-)

Figure 20: NPS

Figure 21: Jameson and Gould

Figure 22: Greene County, Pennsylvania (<http://www.co.greene.pa.us/secured/gc2/history/log-courthouse.htm>)

Figures 23, 24, and 25: Jimmy Emerson (via Creative Commons License) (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/auvet/>)

Figure 26: Jameson and Gould

Figure 27, 28, 29 and Back Cover: NPS

Appendices

APPENDIX A: Public Law 110-229, Sec. 323: Wolf House Study

Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008
PUBLIC LAW 110-229—MAY 8, 2008

SEC. 323. WOLF HOUSE STUDY.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall complete a special resource study of the Wolf House located on Highway 5 in Norfolk, Arkansas, to determine—

- (1) the suitability and feasibility of designating the Wolf House as a unit of the National Park System; and
- (2) the methods and means for the protection and interpretation of the Wolf House by the National Park Service, other Federal, State, or local government entities or private or non-profit organizations.

(b) **STUDY REQUIREMENTS.**—The Secretary shall conduct the study in accordance with section 8(c) of Public Law 91-383 (16 U.S.C. 1a-5).

(c) **REPORT.**—Not later than 3 years after the date on which funds are made available to carry out this section, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate a report containing—

- (1) the results of the study; and
- (2) any recommendations of the Secretary.

APPENDIX B: Log Courthouse Survey Data

State	County	Dimen. (ft.)	Dimen. (ft.)	Stories	Rooms	Date Built	Date Re-placed	Years used	New Courthouse
(Data is drawn from a variety of sources and includes both extant and no longer existing structures.)									
AR	Izard	45	17.5	2	4	1829	1836	6	Frame (Moved seat)
IA	Davis	40	24			1844	1851	7	
IA	Keokuk	24	20			1845	1848	3	Frame
IA	Lucas	22	18	1.5		1850			
IA	Decatur	22	20	2		1851			
IA	Ringgold	14	14			1856			
IA	Appanoose	24	20	1.5					
IA	Monroe	20	14	1.5		1846	1860	14	
IA	Delaware	24	18	2					
IL	Pope	26	24			1816	1833	17	Frame
IL	Union	20	20		2	1818	1820	2	Frame
IL	Johnson	24	14	1	2	1818	1839	21	Brick
IL	Jefferson	20	18	1		1819	1840	21	Brick
IL	Macoupin	24	18			1820	1830	10	Brick
IL	Pike	18	16			1821	1833	12	Frame
IL	Sangamon	20	20	1		1821	1825	4	Frame
IL	Fulton					1823	1838	15	
IL	Montgomery					1823	1833	10	Frame
IL	Marion	30	20	1.5		1824	1827	3	Frame
IL	Calhoun			1		1825	1832	7	Brick
IL	Adams			2		1826	1826	1	Brick
IL	Franklin					1826	1841	15	Moved seat
IL	Schuyler					1826	1831	5	Brick
IL	Vermilion	16	16			1827	1832	5	Brick
IL	Tazewell	24	18	1.5		1827	1836	9	
IL	Clark					1827	1837	10	Moved seat
IL	Perry	22	18			1828	1836	8	Brick
IL	Shelby	24	20	2		1828	1832	4	
IL	Macon	24	18			1829			
IL	McDonough	20	18			1830	1834	4	Brick
IL	Coles					1831	1835	4	Brick
IL	Knox					1832	1840	8	Brick
IL	Hancock					1833	1839		
IL	Effingham					1835	1844	9	Brick
IL	Jasper					1835	1839	4	Brick
IL	Champaign					1836	1840	4	Brick/frame
IL	Williamson					1839	1841	2	Brick
IL	Richland	24	20			1841	1843	2	Frame
IL	Hamilton	16	16	1	1		1840		Brick
IL	LaSalle					1831	1834	3	Frame
IN	Wayne	31	25	2		1811	1817	6	

IN	Monroe				2	1818	1820	2	Brick
IN	Greene	20	20		2	1823	1824	1	
IN	Brown					1837	1853	16	Brick
KY	Fayette			2	2	1782	1788	6	Stone
KY	Nelson	30	20			1784	1785	1	Stone
KY	Jefferson	20	16			1785	1787	2	Log
KY	Jefferson	18	16			1787	1790	3	Brick or Stone
KY	Lincoln				3	1787			
KY	Mercer					1788	1818	30	Brick
KY	Woodford					1790	1793	3	Stone
KY	Harrison			2		1792	1816	24	
KY	Shelby					1793	1796	3	Brick
KY	Washington					1793	1794	1	Brick
KY	Clark				2	1794	1797	3	Brick
KY	Warren	24	20	1.5	3	1797	1811	14	Brick
KY	Christian	20	20			1799	1810	11	Brick
KY	Muhlenberg				3	1800	1836	36	Brick
KY	Ohio					1800	1813	13	Brick
KY	Pulaski					1801	1808	7	Brick
KY	Rockcastle	40	24	2		1811	1871	60	Brick
KY	Union			1.5		1812	1819	7	
KY	Simpson					1819			
KY	Morgan	26	24	2		1820			Brick
KY	Calloway	20	20	1.5		1823	1830	7	Brick
KY	Pike	24	24	1.5		1824	1888	64	
KY	Letcher					1843	1897	54	Brick
KY	Marshall					1843	1847	4	
KY	Martin					1843	1847	4	
KY	Cumberland	24	20	2		1800	1858	58	Brick
MO	Ralls	24	18	2		1822	1835	13	
MO	Montgomery	18	16			1824			
MO	Franklin			2		1827			
MO	Jackson	36	15		2	1828		0	Moved/restored 1916
MO	Ray					1829	1858	29	
MO	Gasconade	24	20	2		1832	1842	10	Moved seat
MO	Carroll	20	18	1.5		1835	1841	6	
MO	Livingston	18	18			1837	1841	4	
MO	Audrain	36	18	1	2	1837	1840	3	Brick
MO	Barry				1	1837	1845	8	Log/Frame
MO	Macon	30	20	2		1838	1841	3	
MO	Benton					1838	1841	3	Brick
MO	Newton	20	18		1	1840	1847	7	Brick
MO	Miller	32	20	1	2	1840	1859	19	
MO	Pulaski					1840	1843	3	Brick (Moved seat)

MO	Saline			1		1840			Restored
MO	Buchanan	36	18		2	1841	1846	5	Moved seat
MO	Linn	36	20	2		1841	1848	7	
MO	Shannon	16	20			1845	1862	17	
MO	Gentry	24	20	2	4	1845	1855	10	
MO	Nodaway	32	20		2	1846	1855	9	Brick
MO	Oregon	20	20	2		1847	1860	13	Moved seat
MO	Mercer	24	24	2		1847	1858	11	
MO	Dunklin	40	40	1.5		1847	1870	23	Frame
MO	Sullivan			1.5		1847			
MO	Stone			2		1853	1870	17	
MO	Wayne			2			1849		Brick
OH	Wood	32	24	2		1823	1836	13	Brick
PA	Greene					1797	1800	3	Brick
TX	Grayson	24	20	1		1847	1853	6	
TX	Van Zandt	18	18	1		1850			
TX	Comanche			1	2	1856	1859	3	Log
TX	Comanche					1859	1873	14	Brick
TX	Ellis	18	16	1					
TX	Smith	26	20						
TX (Re-public)	Liberty	22	22			1831			
VA	Augusta	38	18			1748	1788	40	Stone
VA	Botetourt	24	20			1770			
VA	Shenandoah					1774	1795	21	Stone
VA	Yohogania	24	16	2		1775			
VA	Rockingham					1781	1791	10	Brick
VA	Russell					1786	1798	12	
VA	Henry					1791	1824	33	Brick
VA	Grayson					1794	1834	40	Brick
VA	Giles					1806	1808	2	Stone

APPENDIX C: Other Important Aspects of the Wolf House

The Wolf House property has been evaluated for national significance under NHL Criterion 4 as a rare frontier log courthouse, once an abundant building type. There are other aspects of the Wolf House property that are important and should also be considered in updated NRHP documentation and in interpretation, such as: log construction, the ability to represent patterns of westward migration, an example of early economies on the frontier, and archeological deposits on the property. The Wolf House was listed in the NRHP in 1973 at the state level of significance for its architecture.¹⁷² This appendix will briefly explore the other important aspects of the Wolf House.

Two-Story Log Dogtrot

In an analysis of two-story log dogtrot buildings, the Wolf House also appears to be among a few surviving examples with historic integrity. The majority of extant log dogtrot buildings are one or one-and-a-half stories; two-story examples are more rare. A search of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) database revealed 24 dogtrots and about 75% of those are one or one-and-one-half story.

Michael Southern, senior architectural historian for the State of North Carolina noted one county in the state's log building region has a recent resurvey.¹⁷³ In Forsyth County, 300 houses of log construction have been recorded since 1970. "Of those" Southern writes, "120 had vanished by 2009. Only six of the 300 were identified as dogtrot houses, and those are either gone or altered." While he notes that the single pen form was most common in North Carolina, this rapid loss of log buildings of all types affects the already lower-frequency dogtrots.

Data suggest that even when looking at residential structures, the two-story, log dogtrot is both quite rare and rapidly disappearing. An MA thesis on dogtrot houses in Georgia found 167 dogtrots listed on the state register.¹⁷⁴ A field survey of 4 counties indicates that most postdate 1850 and are one or one-and-a-half stories in height. The author calculated that the surveyed counties are losing dogtrot houses at a rate of 1 every 18 months.

A search for comparable examples of two-story log dogtrot structures found that Wolf House is one of several such properties inventoried or documented by state or federal surveys.

As a two-story log dogtrot, Wolf House has a degree of historic integrity as strong as or stronger than its peers. Notably, it is the only surviving example with at least moderate historic integrity constructed for a civic purpose; the others were private homes or early stage-coach inns and taverns.

Patterns of Westward Migration

The Wolf House is part of the broad pattern of migration from the eastern United States to the expanding frontier from the nation's foundation through the outbreak of the Civil War - in the case of the Wolf family, from Pennsylvania, to Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and finally Arkansas. As noted in the Historic Context, families like the Wolfs who settled in Arkansas followed a general pattern of migration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that led settlers into the backcountry and eventually the western frontier of the United States. European immigrants and their descendants who had originally migrated to New England and the Mid-Atlantic states relocated first to the backcountry of Virginia and North Carolina as older states became more populous and land prices rose. This westward migration pattern increased after the War of 1812, when veterans and others received land grants in the western territories.

The Wolf family followed this archetypal move westward. Jacob Wolf, builder of the Wolf House, was the great-grandson of German immigrants who settled first in Pennsylvania in the 1750s, and then moved to the Valley of Virginia later in the eighteenth century. The family next traveled to Rowan County in western North Carolina, where Jacob Wolf was born in 1786. As Rowan County began to experience increased settlement and rising land prices, the Wolf family moved again, this time settling on a land grant in Henderson County, Kentucky. Jacob eventually married and he and his family moved to what was then Lawrence County in Missouri Territory by 1820.¹⁷⁵

Like many of their fellow settlers, the Wolfs brought various practical skills with them, such as blacksmithing and carpentry. Such skills became more useful as settlers continued moving away from centers of population. Settlers of German extraction earned a reputation for self-sufficiency and for erecting secure log houses

¹⁷² National Register of Historic Places, Jacob Wolf House, Norfolk, Baxter County, Arkansas, National Register #73000380.

¹⁷³ Michael Southern. Email with Don Linebaugh, July 7, 2011.

¹⁷⁴ Sheldon Ben Owens, *The Dogtrot House Type in Georgia: A History and Evolution* (MA Thesis, University of Georgia, 2009).

¹⁷⁵ Jameson and Gould, 32.

Name	Location	Date	Documentation	Notes	Management
Carson House	Marion, North Carolina	ca. 1793	NRHP # 70000843	Built as single pen in late 18 th c., expanded to double pen dogtrot, early 19 th c., dogtrot enclosed 20 th c. Served as the first McDowell County Court-house, 1842-45	The Carson House Society
Caldwell-Hutchinson Farm	Abbeville, South Carolina	ca. 1800	HABS No. SC 382		Calhoun Falls State Recreation Area
George Silver House	Kona, North Carolina	ca. 1806-1809		Current condition and use undetermined	
Wynnewood (Castalian Springs)	Castalian Springs, Tennessee	1828	NHL and NRHP # 71000838; HABS No. TN 81	Heavily damaged by tornado in 2008; restoration underway	Wynnewood State Historic Area
Wolf House	Norfolk, Arkansas	ca. 1829	NRHP # 73000380	Restoration completed 2002	Baxter County
Isaac Metcalf House	Paint Lick, Kentucky	ca. 1830-1840	Kentucky Inventory No. GD-59; NRHP # 85001287		
Pearce-Wheeler Farmstead	Hart County, Kentucky	ca. 1830-1840	Kentucky Inventory No. HT-249; NRHP # 05001317	Recently restored (also identified as a "central passage I house")	
Adam Weaver Log House	Lauderdale, Alabama	ca. 1838	HABS No. ALA 39	Current condition and use undetermined	

in contrast to many flimsy early structures in freshly-settled territory.¹⁷⁶ In this sense, the Wolf House is a clear reflection of the migration of ethnic immigrants across the country, following the expanding frontier. The Wolf House was literally teetering on the edge of settlement, overlooking the White River valley and the lands of American Indians on the far shore. As would be repeated over and over, the establishment of a courthouse on the banks of the White River had far-ranging impacts for all of the area's residents, but especially the tribes across the river, because it was symbolic of the settlement that would eventually displace them.

¹⁷⁶ Jameson and Gould, 7-9.

Economic Activity on the Frontier

The Wolf House also represents the topic of economic activity on the frontier, closely interwoven with the establishment of the courthouse. Jacob Wolf stood to benefit from the crowds drawn by court sessions who might patronize his trading, blacksmith, ferry operation, and boarding-house enterprises.¹⁷⁷ Thus, Wolf clearly intended to use his political influence as a member of the General Assembly to ensure that his property became Izard's first county seat. To prepare, he constructed the two-story, log dogtrot structure that survives today, adjacent to his log house which no longer stands. As one of the first settlers to the area, Wolf was critical to the development the community. He

¹⁷⁷ Gould, 46-49.

used his entrepreneurial energy and zeal to help forge a viable community in the backcountry. This community of settlers both formed around and benefited from county courthouses which served as the locus of economic, political, and social activity in the backcountry.

Archeology

The Wolf House property also has excellent archeological resources that are important in understanding the history of the property, the region, and possibly westward expansion more generally. Archeological survey and testing around the building identified intact deposits and features that date from American Indian occupation of the property to the late nineteenth century. The authors of the various archeological reports note that a dense midden extends north of the structure. Evidence of the former kitchen was also identified during the work.¹⁷⁸ Excavations conducted under the Wolf House during the restoration project recovered almost 40,000 artifacts: 25,000 under the south pen and dogtrot and another 13,000 under the north pen of the house, and identified numerous features related to the structure itself and activities at the site.

The materials recovered included a substantial American Indian component with artifacts (46% of the entire collection from the south pen and dogtrot) spanning the prehistoric period. The authors note that the materials were recovered from intact deposits that have never been plowed. The archeologists commented on the fact that “this is quite rare for an open archeological site.”¹⁷⁹ This component also contains materials related to American Indian groups that would have been contemporary with Jacob Wolf, likely related to his trading activities (i.e., trade goods, etc.).

Given the excellent preservation of archeological deposits, features, and artifacts, the site retains high

integrity in terms of the potential for additional archeological resources that could add to understanding of life and governmental activities at the Wolf House, American Indian activity at the site, migration and settlement during the Early National Period, and cultural contact between different groups. These resources can contribute to increasing our understanding of the courthouse period, as well as migration and settlement to the Ozark region of the United States.

178 Robert H. Lafferty III, Carol S. Spears and Carol Ann Johnson. *Archaeological Investigations at the Wolf House Site (3BA368): Volume I*. Prepared by Mid-Continental Research Associates, Inc., Lowell, AR, and on file with County Judge, Baxter County, Mountain Home, AR, August 2005; Robert H. Lafferty III, Lynita Langley-Ware, Kathleen M. Hess, and Karl Sandrock. *Archaeological Investigations at the Wolf House Site: Volume II – Excavations Under the South Pen and Dogtrot*. Prepared by Mid-Continental Research Associates, Inc., Lowell, AR, and on file with County Judge, Baxter County, Mountain Home, AR, n.d.; Carol S. Spears, Chris Branam, Christopher M. Page, Robin F. Bowers, Glenda Cade, Leslie Walker, and Robert H. Lafferty III. *Archaeological Investigations at the Wolf House Site: Volume III – Excavations Under the North Pen*. Prepared by SPEARS, Inc. and Mid-Continental Research Associates, Inc., Lowell, AR, and on file with County Judge, Baxter County, Mountain Home, AR, December 2007.

179 Robert H. Lafferty III, et al., *Archaeological Investigations at the Wolf House Site: Volume II – Excavations Under the South Pen and Dogtrot*, 234.

APPENDIX D: 36 CFR § 65.4 National Historic Landmark Criteria

The criteria applied to evaluate properties for possible designation as National Historic Landmarks or possible determination of eligibility for National Historic Landmark designation are listed below. These criteria shall be used by NPS in the preparation, review and evaluation of National Historic Landmark studies. They shall be used by the Advisory Board in reviewing National Historic Landmark studies and preparing recommendations to the Secretary. Properties shall be designated National Historic Landmarks only if they are nationally significant. Although assessments of national significance should reflect both public perceptions and professional judgments, the evaluations of properties being considered for landmark designation are undertaken by professionals, including historians, architectural historians, archeologists and anthropologists familiar with the broad range of the nation's resources and historical themes. The criteria applied by these specialists to potential landmarks do not define significance nor set a rigid standard for quality. Rather, the criteria establish the qualitative framework in which a comparative professional analysis of national significance can occur. The final decision on whether a property possesses national significance is made by the Secretary on the basis of documentation including the comments and recommendations of the public who participate in the designation process.

(a) Specific Criteria of National Significance: The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

(1) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

(2) That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

(3) That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

(4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an

architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

(6) That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

(b) Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for designation. Such properties, however, will qualify if they fall within the following categories:

(1) A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

(2) A building or structure removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit, or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(3) A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(4) A birthplace, grave or burial if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists; or

(5) A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, or from an exceptionally distinctive design or from an exceptionally significant event; or

(6) A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived; or

(7) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance; or

(8) A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

APPENDIX E: National Park Service Management Policies 2006: 1.3 Criteria for Inclusion

Congress declared in the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970 that areas comprising the national park system are cumulative expressions of a single national heritage. Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in their own special way to a system that fully represents the broad spectrum of natural and cultural resources that characterize our nation. The National Park Service is responsible for conducting professional studies of potential additions to the national park system when specifically authorized by an act of Congress, and for making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior, the President, and Congress. Several laws outline criteria for units of the national park system and for additions to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System and the National Trails System.

To receive a favorable recommendation from the Service, a proposed addition to the national park system must (1) possess nationally significant natural or cultural resources, (2) be a suitable addition to the system, (3) be a feasible addition to the system, and (4) require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector. These criteria are designed to ensure that the national park system includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources. These criteria also recognize that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

1.3.1 National Significance

NPS professionals, in consultation with subject-mat-

ter experts, scholars, and scientists, will determine whether a resource is nationally significant. An area will be considered nationally significant if it meets all of the following criteria:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
- It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
- It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or for scientific study.
- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.

National significance for cultural resources will be evaluated by applying the National Historic Landmarks criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 (*Code of Federal Regulations*).

1.3.2 Suitability

An area is considered suitable for addition to the national park system if it represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

1.3.3 Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, an area must be (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park

boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the Service at a reasonable cost.

In evaluating feasibility, the Service considers a variety of factors for a study area, such as the following:

- size
- boundary configurations
- current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
- landownership patterns
- public enjoyment potential
- costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
- access
- current and potential threats to the resources
- existing degradation of resources
- staffing requirements
- local planning and zoning
- the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
- the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a unit of the national park system

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the National Park Service to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility will be made after taking into account all of the above factors. However, evaluations may sometimes identify concerns or conditions, rather than simply reach a yes or no conclusion. For example, some new areas may be feasible additions to the national park system only if landowners are willing to sell, or the boundary encompasses specific areas necessary for visitor access, or state or local governments will provide appropriate assurances that adjacent land uses will remain compatible with the study area's resources and values.

1.3.4 Direct NPS Management

There are many excellent examples of the successful management of important natural and cultural resources by other public agencies, private conservation organizations, and individuals. The National Park Service applauds these accomplishments and actively encourages the expansion of conservation activities by state, local, and private entities and by other federal

agencies. Unless direct NPS management of a studied area is identified as the clearly superior alternative, the Service will recommend that one or more of these other entities assume a lead management role, and that the area not receive national park system status.

Studies will evaluate an appropriate range of management alternatives and will identify which alternative or combination of alternatives would, in the professional judgment of the Director, be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing opportunities for appropriate public enjoyment. Alternatives for NPS management will not be developed for study areas that fail to meet any one of the four criteria for inclusion listed in section 1.3.

In cases where a study area's resources meet criteria for national significance but do not meet other criteria for inclusion in the national park system, the Service may instead recommend an alternative status, such as "affiliated area." To be eligible for affiliated area status, the area's resources must (1) meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to units of the national park system; (2) require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs; (3) be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to units of the national park system; and (4) be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the Service and the non-federal management entity. Designation as a "heritage area" is another option that may be recommended. Heritage areas have a nationally important, distinctive assemblage of resources that is best managed for conservation, recreation, education, and continued use through partnerships among public and private entities at the local or regional level. Either of these two alternatives (and others as well) would recognize an area's importance to the nation without requiring or implying management by the National Park Service.

APPENDIX F: Public Comment Report

Public comment is an important part of the Special Resource Study process, providing an opportunity for NPS to understand resources and communities around them in new ways. The earliest phase of public input for a project is called public scoping, and seeks to draw out concerns or additional information the public may want to contribute before specific plans are created for public review. The National Park Service sent newsletters describing the SRS process with a postage-paid comment card to approximately 300 recipients, sent press releases to dozens of news outlets, and invited the public to a meeting on April 20th, 2010 to hear about the SRS process and gather public comment. Comments could be made via the postage-paid comment card, at the public meeting, or online using the NPS Planning, Environment, and Public Comment (PEPC) website.

In requesting public input, we asked the following questions:

1. What kinds of experiences do you want to have at the Wolf House? What do you think would need to be done at the site, if anything, to facilitate these expectations?
2. Do you have ideas or concerns about preserving and interpreting the Wolf House? What are they?
3. Which organizations do you think should be involved in preserving and interpreting the Wolf House? What should they do?
4. Do you have any other ideas or comments you would like to share with us?

Thirty-eight comments were received via the comment card and PEPC, and approximately 100 people attended the August 2010 public meeting in Norfolk. While the following summary cannot be said to reflect public opinion broadly, the comments submitted do reflect the opinions of those who have an interest in the study, and their comments shed light on the topics the NPS wanted more information about. This information will be summarized below in topic paragraphs: **Visitor Experience and Interpretation**, **Preservation Concerns**, **Organizational Involvement**, and **Other Suggestions**.

Visitor Experience and Interpretation: This was the most frequently addressed topic. The most popular suggestion for visitor experience at the Wolf House was for guided tours to be offered, followed closely by the suggestion that period furnishings be on display. Several people in written comments and at the public

meeting expressed a desire to see costumed interpretation, recreations of period activities like blacksmithing, and other “living history” activities, with several commenters mentioning the emulation or participation of the Ozark Folk Center State Park in Mountain View, Arkansas. Others felt that the addition of historic photographs and other interpretive displays would facilitate good visitor experiences.

Opinions about the intensity of operations and interpretation needed at the Wolf House ranged widely among commenters. Some commenters said that the house need only be open seasonally or on weekends, while others expressed a desire to see it accessible year-round. One commenter was of the opinion that nothing more was needed than a single knowledgeable person to tell visitors about the history of the Wolf House and the area; others advocated for regular costumed interpretation and craft demonstrations, which would require a more intense presence at the site.

Among the interpretive topics suggested, Wolf House as a place to learn about early courthouses, frontier life, and the important role of trade and transportation of the rivers were all mentioned by commenters. Many commenters were interested in the Native American connection to the history of the area, and expressed a desire to see that story as part of the interpretation at the Wolf House. One commenter said, “I would like to see special programs honoring and tributing[sic] to the American Indian tribes who lived in this area and interacted with Major Wolf. Special programs about and by tribal members would add interest and historical education to the role of the Wolf House.” While several commenters, in advocating for a broad “frontier life” experience with traditional costume and crafts, seemed to desire an expansive but generic interpretive program, one commenter suggested that the focus should be on the courthouse, as that is what Wolf House represents that few other sites do.

Perhaps not surprisingly for a building well known in the community but that has not had interpretation and education associated with it for years, there were a few misconceptions and misunderstandings about the history of the house and Jacob Wolf expressed in the comments.

Preservation Concerns: The preservation concern expressed repeatedly by commenters was security. (Currently, access to the site is unrestricted but the building interiors are padlocked.) Some comments felt that there could be a threat of vandalism, and that if the building were furnished it would need additional pro-

tection. Artifacts and furnishing that were in the Wolf House prior to restoration are now being stored off-site by the county. One commenter did note that city police drive past several times a day.

A few commenters also mentioned vigilant maintenance as a need, but because of the recent restoration of the building and its good condition, no concern for resource deterioration was expressed as an urgent need. At the public meeting, concerns were expressed for “wear and tear” on the building should it once again be open to visitation.

Interestingly, few commenters noted the need for any infrastructure additions, though some noted that adequate restrooms could be a concern. No new construction or acquisition of land beyond the current boundaries of the site for operational or visitor use purposes was contemplated in written comments, though at the public meeting the need for viewshed protection and possible acquisition of adjacent properties for that purpose was brought up.

One commenter opined that the Wolf House was a “total waste of resources.” However, this is the exact opposite of the sentiment expressed by the overwhelming majority of comments. Much more common were comments that the Wolf House should be preserved by any means necessary, and that the building was a treasure and an irreplaceable part of history was a common refrain.

Organizational Involvement: Fifteen commenters via comment card or PEPC explicitly supported NPS involvement. Nearly as many also suggested the involvement of the Baxter County Historical Society, the State of Arkansas, and/or volunteers. Few commenters were specific about the role a particular organization might play, but one commenter expressed the belief that federal involvement would bring the necessary funding, skills, and knowledge. One commenter advocated federal oversight, but also offered that “If we could get some financial help from the State of Arkansas or the Federal Government, I think we could come up with some local volunteers to help with this project.” Another commenter noted that volunteers could staff a gift shop, and there was also a variety of additional suggestions for groups like garden clubs, Civil War reenactor groups, and Native American tribes to run education programs. From the variety of suggested organizational participants, it appears that commenters believe there is broad interest in the Wolf House and its story and a variety of groups with some capacity to assist in its preservation and interpretation.

In addition to these operators and partners, several commenters mentioned their desire to see local chambers of commerce involved, highlighting the importance of the economic development aspects of site development to some.

Other Suggestions: Some comments and suggestions that fell outside the categories above were too specific to address in this plan, but the vast majority of commenters used the space for additional ideas and comments to convey how important they felt the Wolf House was to history and posterity, and that it should be more widely known and interpreted for the public. “This is one of those unknown treasures in this country,” one commenter said, “I’m sure there are others. The thing is we can still salvage this great treasure but we need help in doing so. With a little imagination and determination we can do something SPECIAL with the Wolf House.”

Also notable was the evident personal or familial connections to the Wolf House. Eight people who made comments via comment card or PEPC noted a personal connection to the Wolf House, often through relatives, or having had experiences there as a youth.

