Living By the Land and Rivers of the Southeastern Missouri Ozarks

submitted by

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INTRODUCTION

Historians, geographers, and folklorists all make much of the hardships inherent in living in the southeastern Ozarks of Missouri. Here, the terrain is said to be difficult to traverse, the land poor for farming, and other resources inadequate to justify exploitation. Yet the families of the region, most broadly delimited by the geographical area surrounding and including the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR), have evolved traditions that not only make survival possible but also make regional cultural character unique and satisfying to its practitioners. The ecological setting within which this North American subculture developed thus takes on special meaning to those who make a living and a way of life in it. The report that follows describes the historical and contemporary lifeways of southeastern Ozark families with particular attention given to the values and traditions that explain why the land, the rivers, and related features of the southeastern Ozarks landscape are called "home."

To explore the relationship between southeastern Ozarkers and the landscape, the study posed a simple question: why does the Ozark region matter to those who live there? The answer lies in economic, social, and emotional attachments to people and place. These attachments create a sense of "rootedness" born of several variables: the region's settlement history wherein families adapted to the demands of the environment, built homes, made a living, and established communities; contemporary patterns that preserve, modify, and symbolically enact traditions in response, and sometimes in reaction to changes in the social, economic, and institutional landscape; and perceptions of social and economic security found where integrated kin networks complement a tradition of self-sufficiency and survival dependent on the land and rivers. Rootedness is enacted through continuity of residence; through storytelling, which binds people in the present to each other, to particular and often named places in the landscape, and to people and landscape in the past; through work and play

in which people directly interact with the non-built environment; and through shared values: family, community, autonomy, work, private property, and pragmatism.

The research also shows that the rootedness felt by southeast Missouri Ozarkers has been historically mediated by formal and informal political and economic institutions. Most significantly, insitutional mediation can be identified in settlement incentives; the changing timber industry; depression era conservation programs; development and management of state parks; the establishment of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways under the management of the National Park Service (NPS); and tourism. As political and economic institutions have intervened, the ways and means by which people have made a living, raised their children, and built their communities have been altered, and the ways people have thought about and interacted with the non-built environment changed.

Memories of self-sufficient ancestors and communities stand in dramatic contrast to local perceptions of conditions extant in the region. The early settlement experience of direct management and exploitation of rivers, forests, soils, and wildlife is today re-enacted and kept alive in altered form through managed and regulated hunting, fishing, farming, and recreation. The contemporary, mediated relationship between residents and the landscape, coupled with the demand for cash that pulls people into wage-work, has paradoxically alienated residents from their ancestral "home" while fortifying a regional identity embedded in shared memories of it. This regional identity has grown out of resentment and resistance to mediating institutions, especially the National Park Service.

The report begins in Chapter 1 with a discussion of the methods employed in the study. The chapter will address some basic conceptual issues as well as such methodological concerns as site selection, sampling, data gathering techniques, and study limitations. Data presentation follows in Chapters 2 through 6, beginning in Chapter 2 with the history of settlement and adaptation to the southeastern Missouri Ozarks through WWII. Chapter 3 charts the living memories of residents through 1964, and, through the stories they tell, elucidates locally held values and remembered experiences. Chapter 4 discusses contemporary life as it manifests

areas of continuity with and changes from the values and traditions of the past, and Chapter 5 reports on trends that may provide indications about the area's future. Because the establishment of the ONSR, one among a number of institutional changes in the region, so strongly colors the community/landscape relationship today, the report devotes much of Chapter 6 to that subject. Chapter 7 summarizes the study's findings and concludes the report with a series of recommendations. These include suggestions for natural resource managers to enhance effectiveness in working with residents of the ONSR region, and suggestions for future research. In addition to the main body of the report, appendices contain interview protocols, a list of cultural resources, and suggested interpretive topics.

CHAPTER 1

IDENTIFYING THE COMMUNITY AND OTHER METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The Problem of Identity

Identity is both a subjective and objective matter. In its subjective sense, this means that one's group membership depends on how one sees oneself in relation to others as well as on how one is seen by others. Identity can be an objective attribute insofar as membership criteria are agreed upon and ascribed, a process commonly used by sociologists and geographers, among other scholars. Thus, identity has an insider-outsider dimension as well, one in which insider criteria and classification may not always accord with outsider systems of identification. So it is the case in the southeastern Ozarks of Missouri.

Official histories and geographies describe the population of the southeastern Ozarks region as "Scotch-Irish," a term designating a particular ethnic ancestry. Yet very few study participants claimed identification with this term; instead, most identified their ancestors as American migrants from Tennessee, Kentucky, the Carolinas, or other states where, again, ancestry is often officially linked by outsiders to Scotland and Ireland. Ethnicity is itself a problematic term, describing a variable combination of biology, culture, and geography shared by a group of people. Because the meaning and content of "ethnicity," like all metaphors, is subject to change and manipulation, it lends itself to political purpose better than to scholarly analysis.

An official ethno-historical designation of the region as Scotch-Irish follows the works of such notable scholars as Carl Sauer (1968) and Russel Gerlach (1976; 1986). While both identify the predominant population of "Old Stock Americans" who came mainly from Tennessee and Kentucky, they also note the presence of other "ethnic groups" such as German and Mennonite populations in Shannon and Carter counties. Complementary to these outsider

designations are subjective, insider conceptions of identity. These, we believe, are more likely to produce both valid and relevant results since the primary question of the research deals with human relationships to a particular contemporary North American landscape rather than to an historic Scotch-Irish one. Furthermore, local conceptions of history, people, events, and places— out of which identity is born—underpin the existence of a strong "community" in the southeastern Ozarks.

The majority of those interviewed identify themselves in three primary ways: they are first and foremost members of named families; they are residents of named counties; and, perhaps for the benefit of outsider researchers, they are "hillbillies," "Ozarkers," or "Ozarkians." The term "hillbilly" has been appropriated, caricatured, and commodified with all pejorative attributes intact in the southwestern Ozarks. By contrast, and in direct response, it has been reclaimed by southeast Missouri Ozarkers as a term of regional identity and pride. Such phrases as "I'm just a hillbilly and proud of it" connote an awareness of the negative meaning attached to the term, detach the speaker from the negative stereotype, and insist on a positive meaning for the identifier. The people interviewed in this study define hillbillies as those who live in the hills, who have worked hard to tame the land, who are independent and self-sufficient, and who are good neighbors. A Van Buren woman tells this story:

> Let me tell you what they used to do to me. (A man) who had a bed and breakfast down river, when he would have his guests—and they were judges and lawyers and even Riverways employees staying down there—he used to bring them up town here and he would say, 'Now, I want you to meet a real live hillbilly.' And I would look at the people and I'd say, 'He's correct. I am a real live hillbilly. I was born and reared in the hills and I do claim to be a hillbilly.' He really thought he was making a bad pun at me, but I think it's wonderful here.

Those who have yet to reclaim the term "hillbilly" as a mark of regional pride prefer the terms "Ozarker" or "Ozarkian." These terms most clearly designate identification with the wider region. In addition, a small number in our sample claimed Scotch-Irish ancestry, and some claimed a Cherokee identification. These categories do not exhaust the range of

possibilities, especially because identity is highly situational. Nor are categories meant to convey discreet and bounded sets of traits. Rather, any self-ascribed term should be treated as one among a set of possibilities from which individuals may choose. As the data show, labels are only one of the many ways people in this study from the southeastern Ozarks recognize themselves as members of a larger community.

Site Selection

The concept of community, like identity, is also problematic. By what criteria is a community defined and delimited? Should it be defined geographically? If so, how should one draw the boundaries around it to include some and exclude others? Should the community be defined historically? If so, how far back should one look? Should the community be defined socially, that is, with reference to the views of those who claim to live within it? In this study, we have defined "the community" in terms of these criteria as they apply to the area that interests us as investigators. Of primary concern is the population of immigrants and their descendants who have made the area in and around the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways their home. This definition allows inclusion of recent migrants as well as those who can trace their ancestry in the region to the early 19th century. It delimits an area geographically within five counties: Texas, Dent, Reynolds, Carter, and Shannon Counties with the majority of the physical area and the population concentrated in Carter and Shannon. And it designates an area whose majority residents know and recognize each other through shared memories and present knowledge of people, events, and places. Yet the degree to which relative newcomers see themselves and are seen as members of a community varies by length of residence and by individual. Communities are never fixed populations or places; nor are they defined by fixed sets of attributes. Rather communities express the tension between continuity and change, especially in those attributes their members value.

Questions and Hypotheses

Why does the area in the vicinity of the ONSR matter to the people who live there? More succinctly, how do residents relate to their landscape? This question implicates the past *in* the present, and, because management strategies need to anticipate regional cultural change, it also implicates the future.

We hypothesized that differences in people's relationships to the landscape would be related to tenure in the region, described by age and migration history, and to the positioning of residents vis a vis the park, in particular, the extent to which social and economic position mean personal investedness and benefits or costs related to the park's presence. The sample was developed with these hypotheses in mind.

The Sample

The National Park Service now owns the land surrounding the rivers, with the exception of two mile stretches on either side of Eminence and Van Buren, so there are few families remaining near what were once river-front farms. Thus the communities studied and discussed herein are primarily concentrated in Shannon and Carter Counties and in and around Eminence and Van Buren, their respective county seats. Though researchers lived in Shannon County, the sample is split fairly equally between the two areas. From Shannon County, N=59, with 50 concentrated in and around Eminence and another 9 residents from the more sparsely populated northern stretch of Current River and the upper end of the Jack's Fork River. From Carter County, N=47.

We focused first on those over sixty-five (N=46) who have been in the area most of their lives. Starting with these "old-timers" offered several benefits. First, since most were retired, they were usually willing and available to talk with us. Second, they could give us a broader historical perspective and establish a link to past generations in the area. Finally, they could speak about significant changes with long-term perception and comprehension.

Young people constitute another important component of our sample. In gathering the youth perspective, we spoke to individuals, held focus groups at both Eminence High School and Van Buren High School, and we took advantage of information published weekly in *The Current Wave*, the Eminence-based newspaper that printed profiles of all students in the senior class. Focus group discussions proved to be highly effective. Six students participated at Eminence High School and eight participated at Van Buren High School. The students ranged from sophomores to seniors, ages fifteen to nineteen.

We included 17 newcomers in the sample as well as three realtors. These two groups helped illuminate why people move to the area and what implications recent migration to the area might hold for its future. The sample also included business people divided between a subset of concessionaires (N=7) who controlled over half of the total number of concessions operating on the rivers, and non-concession business owners (N=22). Local entrepreneurs taught us about the economic development of the region and the contribution the ONSR brings to that development. Finally, our focus turned to extraction laborers such as miners and loggers and their employers. Though they make up a large portion of the work force, these men were the most difficult to contact because of their unusual and demanding schedules. N=8 for this group. Because individuals fall into more than one category, totals exceed our sample size of 107.

Research Methods

Researchers employed a suite of ethnographic methods to answer project questions: archival research; participant observation in community activities and public sites; formal and informal interviews with area residents; and focus groups. Oral history interviews conducted by the National Park Service in the late 1970s were also transcribed and incorporated into the data.

Formal interviews to gather information were the major component of the field research. Formal interview protocols can be found in Appendix A. We developed the sample

with a snowball sampling method. Starting from several initial contacts, Park Service personnel, and community acquaintances, we worked through a varied list of informants and conducted eighty-eight formal interviews (some involving couples) and two focus groups, for a total of 107 participants. The interview process was extensive, with interviews lasting from one to four and a half hours each. Interviews were taped for accuracy and transcribed with names omitted for data analysis. In addition to the formal interviews, living in the community and interacting with its members brought important opportunities to observe social interactions, to listen "outside" the formal interview context, and to improve our understanding of both special events and everyday life in the southeastern Missouri Ozarks.

The research schedule was divided into three stages. Researchers spent three months becoming familiar with the existing literature, gathering relevant data from these sources, and conducting preliminary assessment trips to the field site. In mid-January of 1999, two researchers moved into the community and began approximately four months of resident fieldwork, conducting interviews which continued until early May. Interview transcription, data analysis, and the report write-up were done subsequently at the University of Kansas.

Study Limitations

Although the four months of on-site research were extremely valuable, there were certain factors which made the study more challenging. One of the most significant issues was the time element. To compensate, we targeted population subgroups and sought in-depth interviews with key informants within selected subgroups. We chose lengthy and detailed interviews at the cost of a larger sample size to get better and deeper information. Related to the time factor comes the problem of seasonality. Although preliminary trips were made in the Fall and researchers were in residence during the Winter and Spring, the majority of tourist-related opportunities and conflicts occur in the Summer. We were unable to observe these directly and so may have missed some details. Additionally, timing outside of this intensive tourist season could have affected the character of interview responses. At the same time,

however, concessionaires, whom we deem an important sampling subgroup in the study, would likely have been much less available in the high season for the interviews we solicited.

Another study limitation relates to the use of snowball sampling and relatively little time devoted to field research. Interviewees are most likely to recommend people similar to themselves for further research and so may shape study findings along particular lines of thought or experience. Additionally, this method made it more difficult to get to isolated parts of the community. We repeatedly found ourselves referred to the same few local historians or "celebrities" and had to work harder to reach the general, less easily accessible population. To overcome these limitations, we pursued multiple sampling "lineages," drawing from diverse subgroups. Nevertheless, more time devoted to field research would have produced a larger sample size, possibly more variation in experiences and points of view, and so improved validity.

ONSR personnel warned us of widespread tension in the area between the Park Service and residents, so we worried that people would find it difficult to trust us. Indeed, the potentially sensitive nature of some of the issues we approached made this more difficult for some individuals. Though we never felt anyone's hostility, two people declined to be interviewed, and occasionally people expressed caution in answering some questions. We experienced particular difficulty in trying to interview youth through the high schools. Few "permission slips" were returned by students, a fact they themselves explained several ways: that they didn't have time; that the Park Service wouldn't listen anyway; and that they suspected that we would treat them "like hillbillies with dirt floors." Apart from this disappointment, the majority of residents invited to participate in the study welcomed us warmly and generously shared their families' stories and experiences.

An additional limitation is that, while we do attend to institutional mediation as it is experienced by Ozark residents, we were not asked to study those institutions. In particular, we did not study the Park Service, its personnel, ecosystem management philosophies, and interpretations of historical events. Consequently, any reader should proceed with an

awareness that these voices cannot be heard in this report whose primary audience, the National Park Service, is assumed to know itself without our reflection. Other readers who do not already know the Park Service, in particular its history, philosophy, and mission as applied to the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways, may wish to read about these subjects in conjunction with this report to provide a fuller context within which to interpret it.

At this point, a few final caveats are warranted about the nature of "facts" and "perceptions." This report is written as the result of data analysis stemming from interviews with residents of the southeastern Ozarks. It reports the world—often in their own words— as they understand, experience, and interpret it. These are the facts as residents have constructed them *for us*. This statement in no way diminishes the veracity nor validity of their points of view. All facts, those of social scientists as well, are mediated truths. We recognize that our presence in the region at the invitation of the Park Service positioned us in such a way that some residents may have seen us as advocates for the Park Service while others may have seen us as an opportunity to "speak" to them. What they said to us, we believe, are their facts, constructed out of local experience and discourse, but, like all truths, they are partial and perceptual, and they were produced in the presence of outsider researchers under contract to "the government."

The notion of "tradition" illustrates the subjectivity of facts. How old must a practice be to be considered "traditional"? Who ought to judge the authenticity of a tradition? In the final analysis, all traditions are invented by someone at some point in the past, and perhaps the older they are the more widespread their adoption is likely to be and, consequently, their recognition and acceptance as such by outsiders. Yet traditions may be recent inventions that are widely practiced, or they may begin with smaller groups such as families. In the southeastern Ozarks, "backroading" is said to be a tradition of youth, one that cannot have predated the arrival of the automobile in the region, and so it has a local, small-scale character. Like constructed facts then, traditions must be understood to be what their practitioners say

they are, whether or not the associated practices are very old or only recently invented, and whether or not outsiders know and recognize them.

Compounding the complication of sorting out competing truths is the metaphorical nature of language. An example may make this clear. In the southeastern Ozarks, the term "locals" contains different meanings as different groups apply it and as it is applied to different situations. Insiders, those who were born in the region, and so had ancestors there, use the term to refer to themselves and to exclude those born elsewhere, even if they arrived half a century ago as small children. The most recent migrants in the region use the term to refer to established residents inclusive of many who arrived long ago from outside the Ozarks. We, as outsiders, use the term more broadly in our analyses to include permanent residents in the region, except where we have identified a specific usage in the text. And when established residents say they want more locals involved in Park Service decision-making, they do not mean to include newcomers but rather those residents with histories sufficiently long in the region to "know what's going on."

Finally, we have tried herein to make our focus and epistemological position clear to leave intellectual space for competing truths, those of residents we never met and interviewed and those of ONSR personnel who are also, now, residents of the region but outside the scope of this study. We are confident that we presented ourselves honestly to study participants, and that they knew of our determined neutrality. From any other position, we might have found ourselves caught between the government organization with whom we contracted to carry out the project and the local community whose relationships to the landscape we found to be significantly mediated by government administration of the ONSR.

CHAPTER II

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SOUTHEASTERN MISSOURI OZARKS

With rare exception (see, for example, Pennington 1971; Oakley 1970), the history of the southeastern Ozarks has been written by scholars from outside the region who approached their projects with a particular set of assumptions. These assumptions have profoundly influenced the stories geographers and historians tell, and so they have shaped stereotypes and policies that have affected the people of the region ever since. These assumptions regard the proper state of human development, one in which "progress" and "success" are measured in the marketplace, and the world is divided into forward-looking modern people and backward-looking traditionalists. Carl Sauer, for example, described residents of the region in terms which relegate them to a backward past.

> In short, whereas the people of the Ozark borders live much in the fashion of the surrounding prairie states, the interior is still in many respects a remnant of the frontier and has preserved conditions of life which in most other regions belonged to past generations. In this respect it is similar to the hills of Kentucky and Tennessee, but as the isolation of the Ozarks has been less effective the degree of retardation is less. The backward condition of the interior regions is heightened by the fact that the settlers came originally from eastern Tennessee or Kentucky, and were in a backward state at the time of their immigration to Missouri (Sauer 1968:207).

Sauer then attributes conditions of wealth and poverty to a presumed relationship between culture and personality.

> In the hill sections there is a sharp difference between the farmer of the larger valley and the farmer of the hillside or small cove. The former usually enjoys a reasonable prosperity, the latter too commonly lives in abject poverty. The valley people are on the whole well built, alert, frank, and intelligent. The hill farmers are largely of the shambling, furtive, and shiftless type that is associated popularly with "hill billies." They go barefooted most of the year, old and young of both sexes smoke and dip snuff, and they marry when hardly out of childhood (ibid.)

One among many consequences of this class-centric position is to blind the observer to the logic of local life. The discussion which follows summarizes historical data presented by Sauer and other like-minded scholars, but simply by setting aside the assumptions that so heavily biased their conclusions, we found that settlement patterns, behaviors, and values established early on were well-adapted to the ecological constraints and opportunities of the study region. A core population, whose descendants remain in the southeastern Ozarks today, fared well through the end of the timber boom and the Great Depression. They were not the millionaires made from yellow pine profits, who turned their backs on the region once the largest pines were cut; they were the small-scale, diversified subsistence producers who met their families' basic needs within the limits of available resources, and who exploited additional opportunities as they presented themselves.

When outside investors, interested solely in short-term profits, intensified timber extraction practices between 1880 and 1920, waves of immigrants were drawn into the region where good farm land was already occupied. Together with the timber industry, they exceeded the carrying capacity of the land which was radically altered by the timber industry's cutting. Poor and eroded slopes failed to produce crops; erosion washed topsoils into the rivers and undermined fish populations already under pressure from the increased regional population; water tables dropped as denuded land ceased to absorb water; and the loss of forest cover meant the loss of wildlife habitat where hunters had historically fed their families. Population

declines that followed WWII's accelerated urbanizing trends returned the region to a low population density. Not surprisingly, the land and the rivers rebounded, in part because concerted efforts were made by the state and federal government to recover the damage done by the timber industry, and because the smaller resident population that remained already knew how to live within the region's capacity.

Early Settlement

Because of its inaccessibility, the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri was the last part of the state to be "settled." Sauer described it as

> ...the most hilly as well as the poorest part of the Missouri Ozarks. The hills are steep-sided, chert covered ridges, monotonous in their similarity.... Because it is the largest and most compact body of intricately and deeply dissected country, this region is the most isolated of the Ozark highland. (1920:68).

Schultz (1937:11) described the area as "an elevated and somewhat hilly island." The region's hilliness became a key factor in the ecological damage done by removal of trees and other vegetation. According to Cozzens, the topography is characterized by slopes exceeding 14% on over half of its area, a grade "too steep for cultivation" (1939:55). Nevertheless, the region offers certain advantages: the climate is generally mild with 193 frost-free days per year, a six-month growing season, winters with average temperatures of 35 degrees, summers with average temperatures of 80 degrees, and 35 inches of rainfall per year. Rainfall is rather unpredictable, however, and in addition to occasional flooding, the region experienced droughts in 1881, 1901, 1911-14, and 1935-36 (Pennington 1967).

The southeastern Ozarks is biologically diverse and supports a wide variety of plants and animals. Forests are primarily pine and oak with hickory, cottonwood, maples, and sycamore in the alluvial soils of the valleys. The area supports large and small mammals (black

bear, mountain lions, whitetail deer, coyotes) and game birds, and hunting continues to play an important role in local subsistence and recreation (Murphy 1982).

The archeological record shows similarity between the region's earliest inhabitants, around 8000 B.C.E., and the earliest 19th century settlers; both organized themselves in smaller groups that could be supported by available flora and fauna. In the early 18th century, the region was a hunting territory for the Osage and the Quapaw tribes. The Osage remained dominant into the early 19th century before the Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, Piankashaw, Peoria, and Cherokee were forced into the Ozarks by Euroamericans moving westward. The Osage ceded the region in 1808 under the Treaty of Fort Osage which relocated them in eastern Kansas. The Quapaw were the last native tribe in the region and they were forced out in 1824. Then, 11,000 Eastern Cherokee followed the Trail of Tears through the Ozarks in 1837; small groups of Shawnee and Delaware tribes, the last to live in the area, maintained a village on the upper reaches of the Current River; and reports of individual indigenous persons living in the region persisted for decades (ibid.).

The Ozarks region was colonized first by French settlers who named the Current River and exploited the fur trade and lead mining; then Spain who gained the region under the 1763 Treaty of Paris and used it as a buffer against a British attack from Canada and U.S. encroachment; and, finally, Americans. To fortify their claim, Spain offered land grants to all settlers. For $40 and some small fees, a man could claim 800 acres. Additional incentives drew migrants to the region: slavery was legal, taxes light, fur and timber abundant, lead easily mined, and Spanish laws laxly enforced. As Murphy (1982) points out, this settlement strategy on the part of Spain is the same one that backfired in Texas in the 1830s. Nevertheless, in the southeast region, only one Spanish land grant was secured by Irish pastor James Maxwell, in 1799, who received 130,000 arpents (1 arpent = 5/6 to 7/8 acre) of which 1000 were between the Black and Current Rivers in Reynolds County. The Irish settlement Maxwell envisioned never materialized (ibid.).

In 1804, the U.S. acquired the entire Louisiana Territory which included the southeastern Ozarks. The few Euroamericans who had seen the area were trappers who moved between several camps to avoid Indians, and no permanent settlement developed until after the War of 1812. Two travellers, Bell and Schoolcraft, wrote in 1819 and 1820 about the presence of settlements on Ozark streams. Bell wrote that a Mrs. Black had "a fine plantation and good accommodations for travellers" on the lower Eleven Point river. And where the Current joins the Black, migrants from Kentucky and Tennessee established another settlement called Currenton (cited in Murphy 1982:40).

Most settlers in this early period are believed to have been squatters who cultivated a few acres but relied heavily on hunting and fishing. Schoolcraft said they kept packs of hunting dogs and he deduced hunters' skill from the large quantities of deer and bear skins around their cabins (ibid). Lewis Atherton (1971) interpreted these displays as evidence that the early settlers prized their skills as hunters and trappers more than their ability as farmers. They also suggest the presence of abundant game relative to the hunter population. According to the 1840 census, the population density of Ripley County was still only one person for every two square miles (United States 1841). Ripley County was created in 1831 and encompassed the entire area of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Census data show that the region grew slowly until the Civil War, a period of "bushwackers" and "jayhawkers" who burned farms and courthouses, killed settlers, and stole livestock. Their activities set back much of the development that had occurred prior to the war. Also in this period, the area attained official "frontier area" status by reaching a population density of 3.6 in 1860 (United States 1864), and, by 1872, all counties with current borders and county seats had been established (Murphy 1982).

In 1837, the state legislature created Shannon County and a group of three commissioners selected the county seat. They chose Eminence which they named for its location just below the mouth of Sinking Creek on a promontory overlooking Current River. After the courthouse was destroyed in the Civil War, the county seat was moved 13 miles

south along the Jacks Fork where it retained its name. In 1845, Reynolds County was created out of the eastern part of Shannon County. The dividing line between the two is a ridge that separates the watersheds of the Current and Black Rivers. Benjamin Carter came from South Carolina and settled in the Current River Valley around Van Buren in 1807. Carter County, created in 1859 out of Ripley, is named for his family, and the county seat was named after Vice President Martin Van Buren (ibid.).

Early settlement, as population densities indicate, was made up of small, scattered farms; purchases ranged from 8 to 280 acres. With rare exception, all of the land sold within the southeast Ozark Region was the richest farmland located on the alluvial bottom land of the rivers and creeks. The pattern of sale indicates that the region was settled from east to west across river valleys, a pattern followed later by the big yellow pine timber companies. The years of the greatest number of sales coincide with the nation's periods of prosperity and speculation was rare, a fact supported by the coincidence of names on land titles and censuses. Also, the names of many settlers on census schedules whose names do not appear on land deeds indicates that squatting in the region was prevalent (ibid.).

The passage of the Graduation Act of 1854 changed the pattern of land sales in the southeastern Ozarks. This act reduced the price of land that had been surveyed proportionate to the period of time it had been available for sale. Land unsold for ten years sold for $1.00/acre; land unsold for fifteen years, for $.75/acre; for twenty years, $.50 acre; after twenty-five years, it sold for $.25/acre; and after thirty years, it sold for $.125/acre (Schultz 1937).

Purchases had to be in one tract up to a maximum of 320 acres, and since all public land in the southeastern Ozarks had been on the market since the early 1820s, a vast amount of unsold land became available at $.125/acre. Murphy (1982:71-72) writes:

> After news of the Graduation Act reached Missouri, land office rushes occurred at St. Louis and Jackson. Most buyers obtained the maximum 320 acres for forty dollars. At this price most of the land in the region, primarily rough hill country unsuitable for cultivation, was sold by 1859. ... Most of these purchasers were not actual settlers. Of the sixty-seven buyers, seven were recorded by census takers in 1860 or 1870. The remainder were apparently speculating on future profits from mining or timber, as profitable agriculture on these lands was impossible.

Murphy identified a large number of Irish names among the purchasers during this period: Kennedy, McDonald, Sullivan, Reilly, and Kearney for example. It happens that Irish immigrants were employed as laborers on construction of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railway south from St. Louis to Pilot Knob, twenty eight miles northeast of Carroll Township in Reynolds County. Murphy suggests that these Irish laborers may have been used by the railroad as "dummy purchasers" to circumvent the 320 acre limit (ibid. 72).

There was one genuine attempt to settle Irish immigrants in the region when an Irish Catholic priest, Father John J. Hogan, observed Irish immigrants being exploited by the railways. He sought a place where they could settle and raise their families, and he puchased land that straddled the boundary between Ripley and Oregon Counties, with Buffalo Creek on the east and the Eleven Point on the west. Though the precise location of the settlement is not known, the area today is still called "the Irish Wilderness." In 1859, 40 Irish immigrants settled on this land and built a church. Other Irish Catholics lived in the area having settled there earlier, but had joined other denominations whose clergy met Father Hogan with hostility. The colony was short-lived though prosperous; old settlers described the Irish as excellent gardeners who knew how to maintain soil fertility with organic waste. The Civil War depopulated the entire area and destroyed the settlement when Federal Troops terrorized local farmers, killing some and driving the rest out of the region (ibid. 75).

Sauer (1920) described the life-style of people in the southeastern Ozarks as an adaptation of Appalachian practices to local conditions. They most often chose a homestead in a creek or river valley at the site of a spring. Alluvial river bottoms afforded fertile soils for farming, and hillsides provided an abundance of timber, wild game habitat, and grazing areas. The arrival of Anglo-American pioneers to the region impacted the area's ecology, in spite of their small numbers and low density. Wherever homesteads were built, land was cleared and farmed; fish and wildlife were consumed; and other resources were gathered. Hall (1958) reported that the black bear became a rarity in the region by 1850, having been wiped out by hunting. However, given the methods by which such conclusions were reached in this era before population biologists knew how to measure such things, an equally plausible explanation for fewer black bear citings is the tendency of game animals to hide and become increasingly remote from human habitats. In either case, the settlement and survival of immigrants to the region undoubtedly altered the ecological balance, though low population densities and production practices are unlikely to have exceeded the region's carrying capacity before the railroads and timber companies intensified immigration and extraction processes.

Like most frontiers, the Ozark economy began with subsistence production. Because of its isolation in terms of access to commerce, this remained the pattern in the region long after surrounding areas had shifted to cash crop and other commercial food production. Healthy and abundant natural resources relative to population size and perceived needs made self-sufficiency possible. What was needed was produced and manufactured locally: wild game and garden produce added to domestic animal stocks of hogs, a few cows, goats, sheep, and chickens; shared common property resources provided adequate grazing area; a family usually had a single heifer for milk who also carried loads and sometimes people (Murphy 1982).

In their gardens, families grew corn, potatoes, other vegetables, tobacco, and cotton. They collected the perfectly adapted seed stock for the following year and stored it in gourds hung from the rafters of the house. They made their own clothing from buckskin, wool, and cotton, and shoes, harnesses and other leather goods from tanned cowhides. They made soap

from lye and fat, molasses from sorghum cane, and ointment and lubricant from pine tar mixed with animal fat (ibid.).

What they could not produce themselves, they obtained in Cape Girardeau or St. Louis; salt, gunpowder, firearms and tools, were often traded for animal pelts, beeswax, or other locally available and valued currency. After the Civil War, the railroad reached as far south in Missouri as Rolla, Salem, and Piedmont, improving the availability of needed goods (ibid.).

Settlers, with the help of their neighbors, built log cabins from abundant timber. The preferred style was a "dog-trot" or double cabin. Settlers built a fireplace at the end of each room and a door opened from each into a connecting hall. The kitchen was either built against one side of the house or in a separate building. Families stored tools, saddles, and wood in the hall, and hunting dogs also slept there (Oakley 1970:7). Flanders (1988:2) described another style, the "double pen mirror image" house which contained "two room units, presenting a symmetrical window-door, door-window arrangement when viewed from the front." The multi-purpose character of Ozark homes reinforces Flanders' astute observation that the term "dwelling" best describes, in this region, the verb, meaning "the enterprise of living in a place." In addition to the significance of the structure itself, he points to "the process of conceiving, building, and habiting the structure" (Flanders 1988:3). In this fundamental act of dwelling, that is, of interacting with place, Ozarkers laid claim to and came to identify with their homesteads and the landscape within which they enacted family and community.

Every occasion to gather with family and neighbors contributed to the growth and development of security and group identification that comes with integrated community life. Oakley wrote that neighbors could build a barn in a day after which followed a community supper and barn dance. They held shivarees to test the hospitality of a groom, logrollings to clear fields, and quilting bees to help a new wife or mother. Pioneers tested their shooting skills at any of these by "barkin" a squirrel, a contest to see who could stun a squirrel by hitting the bark of a tree just below its head. After crops were harvested in the Fall, they held camp meetings, and preachers preached over several days, beginning early and ending late. People

sang ballads, continuing a tradition in which these musical stories were passed down from one generation to the next (ibid.).

Well-being necessitated a level of interdependence expressed in inter-settlement rules and customs that bound each other "to aid and assist in helping any person who met with any misfortune in the way of sickness, death or other causes that might occur..." (Monks 1907:12). Doctors relied on herbs, teas, and a few imported drugs; neighbors also cared for the sick, made coffins and acted as undertakers when necessary. The dead were buried in a "winding sheet" on the family homestead (Murphy 1982:81).

Water power in the Ozarks was abundant and manufacturing began to develop. Along swift-flowing steams, grist mills were constructed. These doubled as social sites as farmers waited their turns to have their own grain ground. Some mills were equipped to saw logs into lumber as well. In 1860, of the eleven in the region, three were in Carter County and two were in Shannon. There was also a copper mine near Eminence in Shannon County, operated intermittently by Joseph Slater, from 1838-1857 (ibid. 88).

Dependence on hunting and trapping continued along with subsistence farming as the dominant production system until after the Civil War when railroads and yellow pine attracted large outside investors to the region. Even then, because of hiring practices, the older and more stable farmers probably took advantage of the opportunity to earn cash as unskilled laborers, but this in no way implied the end of subsistence production. Without export facilities and modes of transport, any surplus produce was marketed and consumed locally. In 1910, census records show 7109 farms whose produce was valued at $7,161,410. Of this amount, however, only $1,959,840 was actually sold (ibid. 220). Thus any capital for investment in the region would have to come from outside because of the subsistence orientation of families, but transportation would have to be developed alongside such investments to make them worthwhile.

Exploiting the Timber Boom; Surviving the Bust

While historians such as Murphy excoriate the highland Ozark population for a "primitive" and "backward-looking" worldview that, he claims, retarded "progress," the remoteness of the southeastern Ozarks is directly related to decisions made to invest elsewhere. These decisions were made in the context of a value system shaped by the profit motive. Additionally, settlement and transportation decisions centered on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers treating land routes as supplementary. Decisions to connect to selected regions by railroad were thus based on the needs of existing settlements such as St. Louis and Jefferson City and on desires to exploit known natural resources such as lead, iron, and timber.

Gradually, railroad and timber interests converged, and lines began to connect various parts of the southeastern Ozarks. Lumbermen from as far away as Pennsylvania bought tax-delinquent land at the lowest prices and built mills of different sizes and capacities, planning and building railways into new areas as old ones were exhausted. Among the largest were the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company at Grandin in Carter County and, later, West Eminence in Shannon County; the Ozark Land and Lumber Company at Winona, and the Cordz-Fisher Lumber and Mining Company at Birch Tree, both in Shannon County. When these companies closed down, they did not quit the timber industry. Rather they participated in the extension of the lumber frontier south and west, and in the years after the turn of the century built mills in Louisiana and on the Pacific Coast (Murphy 1982).

The consequences of railroad penetration and timber extraction in the southeastern Ozarks have been well documented and will only be summarized here. The number of sawmills increased from 20 in 1870 to 187 in 1900, and steam power increased production from 3.9 million board feet for all mills in 1870 to over 60 million board feet for each of the large operations in 1909. Though the number of mills actually declined to 160 by 1920, the value of manufacturing peaked at $4,092,220 that year (ibid.).

With hopes for higher wages than in northern lumber operations, immigrants arrived in the Ozarks in great numbers throughout this period, bolstering the growth of such mill towns

as Grandin, Winona, and Eminence. With towns came newspapers, banks and other businesses, and growing interest in schools. Population density tripled in the region between 1870 (3.76 people/square mile) and 1890 (10.5 people/square mile), and peaked between 1910 and 1920 at 14.6. In 1920, the population of the region exceeded 81,000 when exploitation of the largest yellow pine was finished and smaller companies, following market demand for different products manufactured from different tree species, bought the rights to oak, hickory, and the remaining smaller trees. Eventually, all were removed in this multi-stage process within which each succeeding wave of extraction businesses selectively cut what was in demand, and held to a philosophy that all forest is simply farmland waiting to be exposed (ibid.).

In spite of such benevolent claims, however, wage and salary scales tell the tale of the colonial model at work in the region, one in which the natural wealth is exported instead of being locally invested. Managers and skilled laborers were usually imported by company owners. Locals were hired as unskilled workers and wages were paid according to the importance of the job held. Just after the turn of the century, the general manager, the highest paid, usually earned a salary of $5000/yr. Timber "cruisers," those who searched for new areas to cut, and estimators received from $2000 to $2,500/yr. Sawyers and filers were the elite among skilled laborers and received about $3/day; common laborers started at $1/day and rarely reached $2 (ibid.).

Workers had no union and labor trouble was rare, even though abuses were widely reported. Workers were paid usually in cash once a month, but a system of coupons developed to the advantage of company owners. Coupons could be redeemed for merchandise only, and companies typically owned company stores and practically all other businesses in company towns where merchandise could be purchased with coupons at inflated prices. Abuses were sufficiently rampant that the coupon system was outlawed in Missouri in 1912. Nevertheless, companies built houses and rented them to married employees, and provided

painted framed houses for company officials. Foremen and skilled workers occupied more modest houses, and common laborers lived in rows of unpainted shacks (ibid.).

Increased immigration also meant more farms in the region, but as better lands were claimed, migrants were increasingly pushed onto marginal slopes. The poorest farmland in the region was in Shannon and Carter Counties where population increased dramatically between 1880 and 1890. Shannon County increased more than 250% to 8898, and Carter County more than doubled to 4659 inhabitants. After the biggest mills closed, the market for railroad ties made from hardwood oaks afforded another economic opportunity for a population, many of whom were now pressing against the limits of the ecosystem. After tie-hackers took the oaks, demands for cooperage, wheel hubs, and handles took their turns. Toward the end of the process, as the lumber industry declined, workers who were forced to farm rocky soil resorted to "timber scrapping," cutting and selling any tree on their land which would bring a price to help them eke out an existence (ibid.).

Cattle became increasingly important as indicated by the number of cows and market value. Farm labor was scarce, cattle grazed freely on open range, and hay grew easily even on poorer upland soils (Sauer 1920:196-98). Cattle production became the region's most profitable farming activity, yet the region ranked low in this area; Carter, Reynolds, and Shannon ranked in the lowest category of one to two head per square mile (Murphy 1982). Similarly, the number of improved acres and value of crops increased in general, but land in Shannon and Carter Counties was the poorest in the region as reflected in agricultural production. In spite of the overall trend showing production increases, the southeastern Ozark region ranked lowest in the state. Carter, Reynolds and Shannon Counties were among the lowest in the state for percentage of land in improved and unimproved farms, and average land value in Shannon County, $9.94/acre in 1910 was the third lowest in the state (ibid.).

These data have been interpreted within the paradigm of progress, measured by commercial success, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Indeed, if a family depended solely on the income from a tiny farm and a few cows, their health and well-being

might be at risk. However, the history of the southeastern Ozarks teaches the values of diversification, ecological awareness, and production for people instead of for profits. Vulnerability increases when species depend on few resources, the loss of any one of which can cause calamity. Greater security comes instead from the ability to obtain one's subsistence from multiple and diverse sources. Families in the Ozarks produced from small gardens and raised a few cows, pigs, and chickens, and they also hunted, trapped, fished, gathered wild plant foods, and worked for wages when such opportunities became available. The low market value of production from the region does not reflect commercial success, but it does suggest a highly adaptive strategy, one whose success depends on intimate knowledge of available resources—herd size, for example, must take into account the quantity and quality of available pasture—and the skills necessary to exploit them. As the timber industry came and went, those who had turned exclusively to wages for security found themselves unemployed. But those who worked the timber as part of a flexible and highly diversified subsistence strategy were able to shift attention to other opportunities, thereby securing their families' well-being through troubled times.

One other employment opportunity arose in the region as surface iron ore was discovered. Some mining took place between 1900 and 1920 when the Shannon County Mining and Development Company, a subsidiary of Cordz-Fischer, extracted hematite. By 1903, this company was annually shipping 300 to 400 cars of ore containing an average of 58% iron to St. Louis. Missouri Lumber and Mining Company dug 402 pits at 27 locations and found a plentiful supply of ore, but it was low grade and unprofitable. They stopped mining in 1912. The town of Midco grew up at a large mining and smelting operation of the Mid Continent Iron Company. The mine had a capacity of 100 tons of pig iron per day and began operating in November 1918. Interestingly, what remained of nearby forests was clear-cut to supply the furnaces with charcoal, and the US government had the company construct a chemical plant to recover wood alcohol and calcium acetate from the wood being burned for

charcoal. This project closed down in 1921 and Midco became a ghost town (Oakley 1970:128-135).

Those less able or willing to adjust to the consequences of transient corporate extraction industries emigrated from the Ozarks, and population dropped in the 1930 census by about 6000 people. Yet as the effects of the Great Depression were felt in areas where Ozarkers had migrated, many decided to return to the land and communities they had relied upon to meet their needs. In 1940, the number of farms in the region reached a high of 7575 with a reduced average improved farm size of 50.5 acres. As discussed above, the region's farms did support over 7000 families between 1910 and 1920, but as part of flexible and diversified household strategies. According to surviving old-timers today, many in the region continued to do quite well through the depression; their basic needs continued to be met from the land, rivers, and kin networks. In addition, diversified household economies could add government relief to the list of available resources. Yet the ecological compromise caused by large-scale and intensive extraction of timber did seriously threaten overall ecosystem health (Murphy 1982).

Removal of forest cover initiated a state of disequilibrium that rippled through all parts of the ecosystem. Cutting trees from hillsides resulted in erosion of soils, and these washed into the rivers where siltation compromised riverine health and productivity. Soils produced less, and as their ability to absorb water declined, because of erosion and because of the annual practice of burning to improve pasture, water tables dropped and springs flowed at lower rates. Wildlife also depended on forest habitat for survival, and with its disappearance, game too declined. The "progress" of intensive commercial exploitation made millionaires, produced high dollar values on statistical tables, and led writers to conclude that the region had finally been brought into the modern age. But this kind of progress resulted from exportation of natural wealth, exploitation of local people, and devastation of the environment. Clearly, southeast Ozarkers' small-scale, extensive, flexible, and diversified production system, oriented to the needs of people rather than the profits of businessmen, produced a kind of social and economic success that was far less destructive and far more enduring.

Time probably cannot heal all wounds, but with the combination of depopulation after 1940, and government programs to reforest large tracts of land, the southeastern Ozarks did rebound. Pines grew up again and game returned to the forests; streams cleared and fish stocks improved (restocking programs hastened natural increases); new plants suggested by agricultural extension agents, improved soil fertility; and government work programs offered another wage-earning opportunity to be incorporated into diversified household economies. How old-timers remember this and later periods is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

LIVING MEMORIES

The research which underpins this chapter, and its heavy reliance on oral history, are explained by a view that knowledge is necessarily plural. Simply put, there are *knowledges*, multiple ways of knowing—Western science and ethnoecology of the Ozarks, for example—and multiple ways of conveying what is known. Oral histories, displays of material artifacts, and other cultural performances store knowledge which can be conveyed in the acts of story-telling and showing, both of which open windows on the lived and remembered experiences of performers.

Stories people tell are important for several reasons. The act of storytelling bridges the distance between the past and present, between the dead and the living, and between the "there" and the "here." The naming of people, places, and events in stories brings them into the here and now, making the story's subjects part of the listener's experience and knowledge. Stories also become significant for what they include, because such decisions reveal what is important to the tellers. Here one finds a rich mine to which family and community members return to reclaim people, places, beliefs, and values. And because the stories people choose to tell matter to the storytellers, the emotional content of the stories binds its elements together, imparting the significance of subjects to listeners, and binding them in turn to the people and places shared in the telling.

Stories passed down within families of the ONSR region contain vital information about what was and still is known and valued by local people. Trials that ancestors endured as they homesteaded and worked to make a living resulted in social and economic arrangements that carry meanings which shape the present and future lives of local people. The stories that follow reveal a seamlessness between work and play, between the world in which people interacted to meet basic needs and one in which they socialized and enjoyed each other's company. They also tell of interdependence within and between families balanced against an

ethos of self-sufficiency and autonomy. And their stories tell of specialized skills and an intimate knowledge of the natural world, expressing a rootedness in the landscape, born of ancestral accomplishments and claims to its bounty and its beauty.

Homesteading

Homesteading stories abound among the long time residents of Carter and Shannon Counties. A particularly important aspect of these stories and those of life during the 19th and early 20th centuries involves the innovation and resilience necessary for survival in the Ozark wilderness. Creative ecological adaptations made this life possible. These included strategic locations of homesteads; food production and storage practices and technologies; and strategic use of naturally occurring resources such as timber, water, game, fish, and wild plant foods.

Old-timers participating in our study can tell when and where their family came to the area. While some have knowledge of their families' migration from Scotland, Ireland or England, most tie their ancestral homes to parts of Kentucky, Tennessee or North Carolina. A few also claim Native American ties to the Cherokee Tribe acquired during the infamous Trail of Tears. In addition, some old-timers know their ancestors to have come from other states such as Nebraska or Texas.

Many of the original families are still prominent in the southeastern Missouri Ozarks. Their populations have grown and sometimes the genealogies of husbands and wives cross as extended kin networks grow larger with time. Several study participants were members of at least third generation Ozark families who could site the year of arrival and the particular tract of land on which their ancestors homesteaded. It is not unusual for an old-timer to have been born and still reside, if not in the original house, on a section of the original homestead. One rural couple in their 70's described his grandfather's arrival and purchase of the farm on which they currently live. The man's grandfather left Kentucky in "18 and 55" and came initially to what used to be called Birch Valley, now known as the city of Birch Tree in Shannon County. In addition to being a cattleman, his ancestor was a judge, minister, merchant and father of 14

children. The grandson still farms and runs cattle on the original homestead. Though the woman was unclear as to exactly when her family homesteaded in the area, she was born and grew up across the creek from her husband, and their family lineages crossed two generations back. One participant, "Mike,"[1] is a third generation Shannon County descendant of all four grandparents. He is a fifth generation descendant on his maternal grandmother's side, and he grew up in the house that her grandfather built in the 1840's. Now he lives in a different house, but it is built on the same spot as the original homestead.

Mike's ancestors were farmers and timberers. One set of great grandparents moved in the 1860's to homestead a farm on a cliff overlooking the Jack's Fork River. They came to the area with Republican Party sentiments during this Civil War period and were reputedly burned out by bushwackers for their political leanings. He shows that strong political sentiment and activism have deep roots in the Ozarks as he relates his own understanding of the story which led to his great-grandmother's death from pneumonia.

> They wore masks. Most of them had a sugar sack or a flour sack over their heads, holes cut for the eyes, so you couldn't see their faces. But they came in. Grandpa had left. He thought it was just him they were after, and "if I'm not here, they won't bother the family." And I don't know if he'd gone to Rolla or where. And his son, my great-grandfather, was the oldest child in the family. He was sixteen, and they was at home. What they did, they came in and moved the whole family out. Grandma, my great-great grandma was in bed. She'd just given birth to twin boys. They picked the feather bed up with her and the babies on it and carried it out and set them in the yard. They gathered up the wagons, the teams, and loaded everything that they wanted out of the house and the barn, and burned them. And they left driving sheep and some cattle and a hog. Two wagons of them. And they got down to that first crossing above Alley, the first one below the house, and one wagon broke an axle or something and they just set it

[1] All personal names in this document are pseudonyms except that of Luther Rowlett, Herb Ellerman, and the Gates brothers.

> afire and burned it too. It all goes back to politics. Cause my great-grandpa and some of his brothers later on told their grandchildren, ". . . no way are you voting for a democrat, cause them's the ones that killed our mother."

"Annabelle" described the arrival of her paternal grandfather's family from North Carolina by way of Kentucky during the same time. They settled originally in Dent County and moved around to escape the strife of war. When the Civil War ended, they moved into Shannon County. Her grandfather, a widower with three children, was motivated to move to Shannon County in order to marry a woman who was reputed to be ". . . one of the most beautiful girls in the country." The couple settled on Story's Creek and had six more children. When Annabelle's father was born, they moved to Big Shawnee where Annabelle was born. There is a history of longevity in Annabelle's family. She reports that when her father applied for his old age pension, he needed another person to verify his identity so he took his father!

Farming, Gardening, Herding, and Gathering

The area of Shannon County where Annabelle grew up is one of the few suitable for intensive agriculture and her family raised wheat there. Most farms in the area, with the exception of those in the bottom lands, were described as small, subsistence level farms. Families depended year round on gardens for fruits and vegetables they raised during the summer. Summer canning and food storage were necessities for survival through the winter. This self-sufficient lifestyle created a degree of independence that was often unknown in urbanized parts of the country. A Carter County woman recalled how small farmers in the area operated, and she hints at the introduction of market dependence.

> Well, as it's mostly hills, we never did have too large farms. But people did raise a lot of corn and they raised their hay and wheat. We had a grist mill that ground flour into meal. . . People don't farm like they did. They don't try to. A lot of people don't even make gardens like they used to you know. I always thought it was kind of funny to see a farmer come into the store and buy milk when they used to have their cows.

Because of their self-sufficiency, Ozarkers fared better during the depression than most; they claim that their unique ability to live off the land meant they were largely unaffected by global market calamities. The father of a Shannon County woman left home during WWI and eventually married and settled in San Francisco. When the Great Depression hit, rather than stand in food lines, he and many others reasoned that they should move back to Shannon County where they could live off the land and have plenty of food. The story below follows this pattern and comes from a 1979 interview carried out for the ONSR.

> Back then they didn't need much because they had all they wanted to eat raised there. Didn't take too many clothes. They didn't go nowhere, hardly. And everybody was just alike, and they didn't worry about having a car and going a long ways and all this stuff.. . They had time to go fishing, and they put out a little crop and raised enough. They raised for the breadstuff; everything. Meat and everything. Well, had to buy salt, of course, a little sugar and coffee and that's about it . . . we raised our own potatoes, our own green beans and canned them, and tomatoes, radishes, and lettuce and onions, pickles, put up our own. About anything you think of that you'd buy at the store, why we'd have it put up. Our own milk and our own butter and our own meat. Own eggs. Well, a lot of places, they had springs, they'd put it [dairy products] in them. But the ones that didn't, they'd dig a cellar down underground. It'll keep. It'll do real good. Put their fruit in there, won't freeze in the winter. On a lot of these places round here, they had a spring real close.

To earn extra money, women churned and molded butter, and sold milk and eggs in local stores. A Shannon County man described weekly trips to town to sell farm produce and buy necessary supplies.

> We only went to town not more than once a week if that often. And we would go in, we didn't have a car, we'd take a team and wagon. Leave early in the morning. We'd go to town on Saturday. And we'd take crates of eggs, cans of milk, cream, sometimes live chickens, drop them off at the produce on the edge of town. Then we'd spend most of the day, we'd leave early so we could find a shady spot to tie the team. If you were late, you might have to put your team out in the sun somewhere. We always put hay in the wagon. You'd ride on hay going in until you tie the horses. And you didn't go to just one store. . . Afternoons you'd go do all your shopping. Back in those days it wasn't self service. You'd give the clerk [a list of] what you wanted, and he'd gather it up and set it back. When we got ready to go home, we'd go get the team and get up around the south end of town. We'd start driving down the street picking up stuff. Of course, every visit, stop at the gas station and get a can of kerosine, and sometimes all your gas for lamps or whatever.

Cattle provided the milk, butter, and cream these families took to the market. Most old-timers fondly recall the days of free-range livestock in Shannon and Carter Counties. There were occasional problems with cows getting lost and getting into yards and gardens, so free-range herding necessitated cooperation between families living in rural areas. One woman described how this system worked.

> We lived on a hundred and sixty acres, but it was mostly woods and hills. But there was lots of hollows. We called them 'hollers' back then. And you could hear. Most everybody had a bell on them and they would be out maybe hunting those cows, because they'd come by and [ask] "Have you seen my cattle lately?" and we'd tell them when we'd seen them and what direction they were headed. ... You kept your milk cows up usually, but sometimes they'd get out and take off with a herd. ... Back during the open range there were lots of cattle and sometimes a cow would come in and you could tell she hadn't been milked for days. And Daddy'd go out and milk her and then turn her, you know, chase her off with the rest of the cows because it was long distances those cattle traveled in, in this open range then. Most of the time they didn't brand them; they notched the ear. They either had a round hole in the ear and one notch or two notches or the rights or the left, but everybody knew and cattle will stay with their herd pretty well...

The land also volunteered produce which could be gathered, eaten, or sold, as the two excerpts below reveal. Children did most of this work and enjoyed some of its rewards.

> Some years we'd pick walnuts and hull them and take them to market. Nearly always we picked and hulled for our own use. Depended on the market if you were getting a good price, the kids always liked to sell them. And sometimes they were so cheap by the time you picked "them and hulled them you couldn't find a market. ... I had a young man to go dig me a Ginseng root and he just brought me a little piece. $3.50 and that wasn't a very big piece. You'd find a throwed out field where it used to be farmed and then they'd quit farming it and let the fences fall down and all. It was free for anyone to pick berries. And there were a lot of fields like that. We called them throwed out fields. And so we picked blackberries. Kids charge $5 a gallon now. I used to sell them for 40¢ a gallon. Mostly I canned them. But if somebody, the children and other people who picked the berries would take them immediately to someone who wanted them. Because you can't just let them sit in the store for a day or two; they'd ferment.

Hunting, Fishing and Life on the River

The seamlessness of work, play, and social life in general extended into other realms as well. Nearly all old-timer men and women reported having learned to hunt and fish as children.

> I didn't have a boat of my own, but everybody used to have an old one, tied up. Everyone who lived on here had one or more boats tied up for their own use and if you needed one . . . the problem was they didn't have any motors on them. But we spent a lot of time, me and my cousins, a lot of time on the river, swimming and fishing. And I had four cousins, three other cousins, we'd go fishing and float. . . fishing and hunting was the two main ... it was sport. A fellow enjoyed it, but it was also part of your subsistence.

By the 1940's, hunters observed that deer and turkey stocks had become scarce, and old-timers explained these observations as the result of over-hunting in the 1920's and 30's. Because of the scarcity of these larger animals, many old-timers have childhood memories of hunting and trapping smaller game. Young boys learned to hunt and trap as children and their catch provided extra money and food for the family while their fathers worked as hired laborers. One man talked of earning spending money: 9¢, 15¢, and 20¢ for trapping rabbits. He hunted possums and skunks with the family coon dogs on his way to school.

> The possums I caught I would skin. Had an old boy that lived down there about 3 miles, if anybody was at home or not, he'd pick them up and leave you a bill and come back by and pay you for them. That's all the income kids had; no jobs. Most of it back then was timber.

A Shannon County man told how as a child he supplemented family subsistence with squirrel hunting.

> I had a squirrel dog and I'd go squirrel hunting... Any time—I don't care if we was right in the middle of hay harvest—if it come a rain and a good time to go, I could quit. The only one in the family that could, and I'd go squirrel hunting. I'd bring in, at best, six or eight squirrels, you know, and that was our meat for the table... I've always run a trap line even when I was teaching school... I started trapping with [T] and [W]. They were trappers and would trap along the creek. Well, when I'd see them coming, a-running their traps, I'd join them. And then I learned how to catch mink and possums... I'd ship the hides out and that was my spending money. Yon when I was teaching, I'd have a trapline between me and the schoolhouse. I had one in the Fall, and in Spring, I'd have a squirrel dog that'd go with me. I'd kill squirrels and bring them home...

Fish stocks in the rivers are said to have been much more plentiful in the past, and stories of gigging for fish on the Current and Jacks Fork Rivers can be told by all serious fisherpeople.

> It's called fire fishing...You gigged of a night. ... If you get good enough then you could kind of start gigging of a day. It's kind of like going from high school to college; movin' into daytime. I strictly went to daytime gigging. And so, it's, you know, more challenging. You don't kill as many fish and you've got to get a lot better to kill 'em in the daytime... because the fish can see you. Of a night, you're gigging with a set of lights on the front of the boat, with a shield out over these lights, and it's just like lightin' up the river bottom. But the fish can't see past the light and the shield. So they don't see your motion... You anticipate where the fish is gonna be, not where the fish is at. So you've got to take that refraction in the water... When a pole goes in it looks like it's bending and you've got to allow for all that and you've got to throw it. Well, you can hang onto it. And if you miss, just as it hits the end of the string, if you'll just jerk right hard, you can catch it nigh and throw it again. So it's a fast-action sport. Now at night, you're a little slower, the light blinds em, they don't move as fast. But of a daytime, you've got to get down and get serious.

Before electric lights were used, giggers built fire boxes in the middle of the boat. "Fire fishing" produced a beautiful and fondly remembered scene of the river illuminated at night by john boat fires. Another Shannon County man described how fire fishing evolved:

> Every time I could influence somebody to take me gigging, I'd go. I used to go up to a place called Cave Springs. In the afternoon, we'd pole that boat up the river, maybe a mile and a half or two miles and build us a fire in that firejack. And as we came on down the river, in order to keep us a light going, we would find the pine knots we'd split that day and put in the firejack... That was the only light you had was from the fire that burned in the center of the boat...
>
> Then we graduated to old gasoline and what they called bunson burners in which you have a can of gas and then a pipe that ran out here with these burners on it... They manufactured those things where they'd generate and spew out fire on both sides of the burner, and then from there we kinda went to electrical lights and now it's all electrical lights.

An integral part of the history of gigging for fish on the Jacks Forks and Current Rivers involves the practice of fishing in locally built john boats. (Most local people did not and still do not fish from canoes.) Building john boats remains a highly prized skill to which a few well known builders apprentice. Old-timers vividly describe their memories of being on the river at night, maneuvering up and down the river through a process of poling first one end of the boat and then the other. Showing cooperation, expertise, and local ecological knowledge, a Carter County man, reknowned for his skill in building john boats, describes how he got around on the river as a child.

> One guy'd get in the back and the other one up the other end poling and everybody else would sit down and let them two men do it. They'd change off you know. It would take two men that know how to handle a boat. [They'd be] more good than a dozen men a trying, one working against the other. Where they knew their business, they would work together and this fellow up here he'll keep you pushed off the rocks in front. This fellow [on the other end of the boat] you were the power, going up the river. . . you just watch the snags you know, course pretty near everybody knows where they're at you know anyway...
>
> I lived a half mile from the river. Kept a boat all the time and when we wanted to go gigging, we'd go down pretty early and get in the boat and push up the river maybe two or three mile and float back maybe four or five mile on below where we lived and push back... I guess the farthest I ever poled a boat ... was a way below Gooseneck it was; well halfway was from here to Doniphan. We stayed all night. This boy lived up there and he'd left his boat down there. Well, that summer when it got warm, why, him and me went down after it. We stayed all night with a fella there where he was from and we got up next morning about 7:00 a.m. Why, we left his house, walked down to the river, got in that boat and we just had some old short paddles that he left to a gravel bar, and we landed up and cut us some poles about 10 feet long, and we started out. And we poled that boat right on up the river and jumped out there at my dad's about 12 o'clock. They were setting down to eat dinner. It's about, well generally it's 20 miles. And that was pretty good with those crooked poles.

In addition, a few people were known for crafting the iron gig used to spear the fish. As a measure of their worth, many of the older gigs made by particular craftsmen have become collectors' items. A Shannon County man took great pride in showing and telling about a prized gig from his collection:

> This is a Herb Ellerman gig and brand new. I'll probably never put that in the water... It's like holding a, let's say, a savage gun versus a Weatherbee. When that goes in the water, it's true; it throws straight and slices the water. It's well-balanced and you could throw it like shooting a rifle.

Among the rewards of successful gigging were fish fries and family gatherings.

> When I was a kid, almost every season or every Sunday that there was a squirrel season, gigging season, rabbit season, the whole family got out and killed these fish or caught these fish and killed the squirrels, and you met on the riverbanks at my granddad's farm. And there'd be a hundred, two hundred people there... and you know, all the friends from church. And everybody went to church. Then after church it was, "Meet at granddad's because we're having a big fish fry. Bring a dish." You had the best eatin' in the world, and the kids could swim in the river and play. And that was almost a Sunday event, so we was raised up hunting and fishing.

Children swam as another favorite past-time, and old-timers often speak of having "lived on the river." One special place, Button Rock, was a favorite boys-only swimming hole in Eminence. It was also known as "Naked Hole" after boys' preferred swimming attire. Many old-timers remember that, as children in Eminence, they were taught to swim by Luther Rowlett, a local eccentric who scoured the river bottom for treasures lost in boat mishaps. Luther formally referred to himself as a "Retriever" and seems to have been a welcome addition in the community.

> Luther had never married, wore an old pith helmet. And Luther taught us all to swim. He made diving gear for us, put glass in the bottoms of buckets and did all sorts of stuff. Our parents actually sort of paid him some money occasionally because he was kind of like the Pied Piper. The town babysitter actually. ...

> He came back from the army and I don't think he ever had a job here after that. And in the winter, he would leave and go to Florida, hitch hike to Florida, and then he'd come back in the Spring. He was sort of self taught. We all loved him to death. He wrote little newspaper articles for the paper and occasionally someone would come down the river with a canoe of very expensive things and turn over. And Luther of course would rescue, find all those things. He could hold his breath longer than anybody. We used to sometimes think he'd drowned because he'd been under so long.

Camping was another integral part of people's lives on the river. The following story, told by a Shannon County man, illustrates how his childhood memory wove together affection for his grandfather, special places, and pleasurable activities.

> Whenever I was just real small, why he [my Grandad] would take me fishing and we'd stay all night. And we'd walk all the way down this creek and down to the mouth of Big Shawnee and then we'd go back up Jack's Fork about a mile to Powell Springs across the river from Alley Spring. And we'd take a quilt with us and we didn't have reel and rods back then. We used sycamore poles for fishing poles and he'd set those poles. And I was probably only eight or nine years old and he just took me right under his wing. I can remember we'd catch the awfullest bunch of fish. We'd stay all night. We'd take some biscuits and stuff and jelly and butter and stuff to eat, you know. We'd catch enough fish down there and I can't believe some of the big fish we'd catch. I'd be asleep at night and I could hear those old poles hit that water and he'd jump up and say, "We got one!"

Education

While children's contributions to social life and subsistence were significant, providing, food, income, and the rigorous informal education necessary to survival in the region, parents and children together made sacrifices to integrate formal education into children's lives. Those over forty who grew up in rural Carter and Shannon Counties recall

having attended a one room country school house for at least part of their schooling. When children reached high school age, if the local country school did not go beyond the eighth grade, parents often made major sacrifices to send them into town to attend high school. Students also paid their own room and board by working for families with whom they lived, providing childcare and other services. After graduation, older siblings pitched in to make schooling possible for younger ones. Two residents tell how they managed these problems.

> I worked for my room and board to get through high school because there was no transportation from out on Blairs Creek. So, I came to town and did the housework and the cleaning and the taking care of the kids for whoever I stayed with for my room and board and 80¢ a week for my lunch. And that's all I got.

> At that time, after, you could take the state teachers' examination and start teaching school after high school. So, each one, as they graduated, would help the other kids. I remember the brother just older than me made sure I had galoshes to wear in the wintertime and they all helped. I was the last one, so I didn't have anyone to help, but I did help pay off bills and help milk after school. We'd get up early and go milk about twelve cows and Mom sold cream and made butter. There was a milk plant about four miles up the river. And she would take butter and eggs and cream and our produce and sell it there. And then, when they'd go to college each summer, they would go to summer school and in the Fall they would go back to teach.

Accessibility of schools presented additional challenges to compound the burdens of cost. The dispersed settlement pattern and the region's terrain added to the difficulties of getting an education as two study participants describe below.

> My mother went to Sutter Creek. Time she went, it was a one room school. Time I got to it, it was two. . . four grades in each room. One year we had sixty-some children. A lot of them came from the other side of the river. Come here, they'd walk maybe two, three miles up the river, then have to paddle across the river and go off to school. But the school wasn't too far from the river. You can imagine, they don't allow children to do that today.
>
> There was no high school bus to town, so my mother had to rent rooms in town and the kids—she was the youngest of 16 siblings—that was in high school stayed there through the week. And then on Friday after school, then you'd walk home. Now [if] they went one way, it was eight miles; if they went the highway, it was twelve. And you'd go back on Sunday afternoon. And we got our education the hard way.

One woman who retired after 42 years of teaching in Shannon County Schools recalled the process of becoming a certified teacher.

> I went to Story's Creek School when I was a child and when I was a sophomore in high school I taught the Angeline School and then I went and finished high school. At that time you didn't have to go to college, if you could pass the teachers examination you could teach. So I worked hard at it and I got a third grade certificate, and I worked a little harder the next year and got a second grade certificate and when I got a first grade certificate, I thought I had done wonders because to get a first grade, you had to have three years of experience and you had to make an average of 90% in 16 subjects.

Community Gatherings

Schools also served as sites for community gatherings such as pie suppers to raise money for the school, readings, and plays. Community gatherings serve a variety of purposes: they break up routines and provide entertainment; create opportunities for information exchange; and they build and reinforce community networks vital for survival. These

networks are "vital" because they mitigate risks related to economic shortfalls which can occur for any number of reasons: an insufficient land base, crop failure, or illness and death (Frankenberger 1998). The degree to which risk is mitigated by network members depends in large measure on the observability of problems. Opportunities for community members to gather are opportunities to seek or give help and thereby ensure the availability of such support in the future should it be needed.

The difficulty of travel in areas with few or no roads resulted in isolation from all but the neighbors living in one's hollow, so the opportunity to come together for a festival of some sort often meant an overnight stay even if the actual distance from home was only a few miles. The annual Fourth of July celebration in Van Buren was one of many such occasions.

> We'd have a big picnic over here in the river bottom. It wasn't grown up then like it is now. There was our picnic grounds and of course people came in their wagons you know to feed their horses. Usually they had a political speaking and of course the dance floor, square dancing and we would dance all day and all night, and serve lemonade out of great big tubs. They had ice. ... They just sliced lemons and put them down in there you know and a lot of sugar. And those that sold the lemonade just held a cup up in one hand and the dipper and if you wanted to bend down over in the tub, well that was alright too. But it was a great day, that was all. It was the Fourth of July Picnic which we just don't have anymore.

Carnivals also drew the community of Van Buren together.

> I can remember when the carnivals come to town, over in the baseball park, over by M.C.'s, where her home is now. Had a big baseball park there, and they'd have carnivals every year. And I can remember when they'd come to town and they'd walk the big elephants all the way through, you know, through the country. And we'd have big carnivals, big get-togethers, and have big baptizings. I don't know. There were just more gatherings and more love and more care for each other.

The community at Alley Springs was a favorite site for festivals and get-togethers through the early part of this century. People went to the spring to get their corn ground, to shop and visit at the mill store, and to attend community picnics.

> They visited around every night. They'd ride their horses in. There was a lot of people camped there for three or four days at a time to get their grinding done. Oh, I went to lots of picnics at Alley. The last one I went to, the Gates brothers had their old steam merry-go-round... It was in the parking lot in other words now. Right there in the corner. You could ride for thirty minutes for one nickel! That wasn't bad! They didn't care for you hopping on and getting a free ride. He said, "I'm going to get every nickel that's in the country anyhow before it's over." Well the picnic was right straight across from the shelter hole, over in that little island . . right across the bridge . . .They had a bandstand there. It was round and had glass windows all the way around, and they sold out of that during a picnic. Firecrackers and everything like that that goes with a picnic. They had a cold drink stand, but it didn't have no roof over it...

Music and Dance

Formal community events were not the only occasions for people to enjoy music and dance. These activities became the focus of informal community gatherings as well and served as opportunities for young people to court, for locals to share information and fun, and for all to escape from hard work. Usually one or more members of a family played the banjo, the guitar, or the fiddle, the minimum instrumental requirements for a square dance. These dances were often held in private homes and everyone in the hollow attended. All the furniture was moved out, people ate and drank outside, and they went inside the empty house to dance until dawn.

> There was lots of music around here. It seems like there's more talented people here than they have anywhere. It used to be my favorite pasttime, square dancing. The real old square dancing... that's what my grandad did. He told me he knew 102 steps. My dad was pretty good. People all around us when we was growing up, different ones would decide to have a square dance at their house and they'd move everything out. Right when I first come out of the service we paid a guy five dollars to come out and play... And all everybody poured in and we had a square dance next door. My mom and dad was in it. They enjoyed everything. Each one called their own sets. It would be more or less in tune with the music.

One man described how his youthful desire to attend these parties required that he travel a great distance on horseback. He said his damp clothing sometimes froze to his body during the trip home early the next morning.

Particular styles of dance developed which became identified with specific towns. "Ozark hill music" and "old fashioned square dancing" mark unique styles performed in the Ozarks. In contrast to Western Square Dance in which one caller calls the movements for the entire floor, old fashioned Ozark square dancing requires a caller in each circle who calls a different dance pattern to which individuals "jig step" through the circle. Ozark hill music was described by an accomplished fiddler as faster than performances of similar music in places such as Tennessee, and traditional performances seldom involve singing. From her interview with Bob Holt, arguably the patriarch of Ozark Hill Music, Kathleen McCrite wrote that the music is "fast paced, intense, and physically exhausting for both Bob and the dancers. The music has a different emphasis and different timing. Dancers and fiddlers can't really define exactly what makes the music what it is, but they know it's right" (McCrite 1999).

Family Heirlooms and Art

Adding to the evidence of regional rootedness through storytelling, music, and dance is the variety of materials which people openly display. Photographs, quilts, embroidery and lace, scrimshaw, and woodcarvings also played important roles in the lives of people, and their existence continues to link the present to the past in living memory. Nearly all of the homes visited in this study contained prominently displayed photographs of ancestors as well as living family members. In addition, we were frequently shown pictures of the various Van Buren bridges or the infamous rope bridge near Eminence over the Jacks Fork. Storytelling was often accompanied by photographs of the persons and places about whom the stories were being told. Furthermore, because many family histories are integrated, people have often copied and shared photographs with others. The result is that different families in different towns display the same photographs and tell similar stories. These pictures and stories therefore bind people to their past by providing physical references and reminders, and they also connect people to each other in the present.

> That picture in the middle is his mom and dad. And that girl there with them two kids is our baby daughter, and that boy is the one that graduates this year. This little girl over here is the one that her mother died whenever she was three years old. These pictures all along there is my grandsons and their deer.

In addition to photographic representations of history, Ozark families collect and maintain furniture, dishes, quilts, lace, gigs, tie rafting implements, john boats, and other items of material culture which embody local history. An Eminence woman proudly showed us a Victorian china cabinet that had been made for her mother by a man in Mountain Grove. An Eminence man displayed a scrimshaw fox horn made by his father. An emigrant from the region currently preparing to move back to Carter County for the remainder of his retirement

years showed a framed arrangement of different pieces of intricate lace, each belonging to the wedding dresses of his mother and aunts. Many women displayed dishes that had been passed down from their grandparents. Quilting was a commonly practiced art form among local women who typically learned from their mothers during a time when quilting was a domestic necessity. Traditionally, quilts were hand-stitched, and might include embroidery and applique. Particular quilt patterns had themes and commemorated special events or life transitions.

Timber Boom and the Cash Economy

The arrival of the timber industry and merchants who expected to gain from the newly stimulated flow of cash in the region signaled a major change in the region's social and economic life. There can be no question that increased opportunities to earn money made possible the acquisition of many of those things that would later become family heirlooms.

Nearly all of the people interviewed either worked in the timber industry themselves or had a relative who did, and most worked as tie hackers. This allowed a man to cut as many logs as he could in a day, take them to a tie yard where they were stacked along the river until lashed together in elaborate barge configurations of 600 to 1000 ties. There was also a market for raw logs, and log drives occurred as well until they were outlawed. Men would float down the river riding the ties, which were then loaded off the river in West Eminence or Chicopee (South Town, Van Buren) to be shipped by rail to the market.

With the exception of ownership, locals worked in all stages of the lumber process. A Carter County man described his experiences in the log and tie rafting business.

> About 1912, when I really made my first good log drive, I was just an amateur, that was all, you know, and I stayed under a lot more than I did on the log that one drive... And of the few drives that I made, we made drives every year there for several years, and I got about to where I was riding along just the same as any of the river men there.

> We were out on one side of the river while the logs were on the other. Why, we got us a big pile of logs and we rode them across, like you would a boat. But I got a many a spill before I ever learnt to ride one . . .
>
> We'd make a drive anywhere from a half a million feet up to a million feet of pine logs. And they'd be taken out there at the Chicopee Mill . . . And we had a boom across the river, or two-thirds across the river with a pier sitting out in the river which I got a picture of that here now.
>
> I remember we went to Blairs Creek, I believe it was 1915, and we made a drive there, and we transferred it then to Big Creek, and we drove Big Creek, and then we transferred and we drove Sinking... And I remember being in the Sinks ... shoving them ties through ... you know, punching them through. Had a little sharp pike pole to push 'em through ... I believe [in the big drive of 1915] they estimated that was about 350,000 ties in that drive.

Various tasks were required during the tie or log drive process: some men rode the ties or logs; some walked the banks to keep the ties positioned in the river; and crews scavenged for the "dead heads" that sank to the bottom. At the end of the drive, African American crews from Springfield loaded the ties from the river at Van Buren or Chicopee onto a boom called the "Endless Chain" which transported them to railroad cars for shipment.

In order for crews to move with the timber as it was cut down, workers set up their families in tie camps made of small shacks or portable tents. A Carter County woman remembered moving around with her family when her father was employed as head sawyer

> We moved quite a bit because it was Depression times but this [Eminence] was home base. My grandparents were here and we came back quite often. And they lived on this farm and it was a big two story house—I have pictures of it— it was the original and they had built a small house on the farm that was for us whenever we would come back. I can rememer this real well although I was pretty young. We went to a Mexican ranch in New Mexico and Dad's brother and wife and their son

> and my parents and my sisters, we lived in a tent down by a rancher's home. They were going to sell his timber that was off on the mesa. My cousins and I were the only white children; the others were Mexicans... It was a happy time for me when I lived in mill camps because there was children that we moved from one camp to the other with.

Some men in the area, who had been part of the timber boom, left with the large timber companies for tie camps in Colorado or New Mexico where the next big forests were cut. A Shannon County woman recalled the living arrangements of her grandfather's family.

> My grandfather, since he worked with the saw mills, moved a lot. They'd move into a place where there was lots of trees. They'd cut the trees. He was head sawyer. Then they'd move onto another span somewhere else, so their houses weren't fancy. They'd just throw up a house and live in it and move on ... Those little houses were all just alike, 3 rooms.

When managers moved on, they took the money made from wage labor with them. Boom towns went bust and people left the area looking for work. In a 1978 oral history interview, an old timer recalled what happened when the lumber mill in Eminence shut down in 1927.

> This Eminence was a pretty thriving town. They had passenger trains and they had two engines in town all the time... The mill closed the tenth day of June in 19 and 27. And the tenth day of June in 19 and 28 they started wrecking the town. ... [Workers] left here just about as fast as they could get away. They knew they had to. They had to work for a living. They went to Granite City, Illinois, a lot of them did, and the rest of them went west.

There had been virtually no investment in infrastructure by wealthy timber barons that would allow the local area to be sustained once the timber resource was depleted. Some exceptions to this were the construction of roads and rail lines. In order to transport logs,

roads had to be built through the forest to connect with rail lines and to be shipped out. Roads and rail lines allowed people to travel within and outside the area as never before. Because of this, people became aware of the outside and external standards of living. Values changed as they "shared a little of the increase in general wealth of an industrializing nation—for them jobs, some money and a new abundance of necessary goods, especially hardware and tools of iron and steel ... (Flanders & Morrow 1985:34). As a result, money and the goods it would bring altered perceptions of needs and views of work.

> The change came right after the war, because the people and the kids had all gone to the service and left the country for awhile and they saw what was going on in the outside world as compared to here... The economy changed completely. It took more money and jobs weren't plentiful. Open range was taken out and they didn't have a place to put their cattle and hogs... They found out that they had to move because the economy was such that they couldn't make a living on that ground anymore. Well, it used to didn't take much for them to live. They had enough to eat and a place to go hunting and that was all they wanted. Eventually they wanted a car, and then they wanted a TV set, and then the REA came in and gave them electricity, so they wanted a radio and a washing machine and it snowballed on them. Well, they couldn't produce enough money so they moved out. It was an evolution of the people. It was inevitable.

The lumber companies simply moved to new forests in other parts of the country, often taking local workers with them. These experiences were for many people, the first opportunity to travel outside the area, and when they returned, as the speaker above says, they were different people.

Migration: Work and War

At different times since Euro-American settlement in the area, population increases and declines occurred as a result of war and war-time production as well as the work-related migration described above. People in Carter and Shannon Counties exploited diverse opportunities requiring a broad range of skills which allowed them to be employed seasonally and at more than one job simultaneously. This was often necessary for survival. It meant that not only might a family maintain the subsistence level farm with livestock, selling surplus produce and dairy products, but men might also hack ties part time, go on tie drives, work in a mine, and do blacksmithing. Sometimes, entire families migrated to the west coast as itinerant farm workers during the winter or they traveled with the lumber industry.

The abandonment of the region by the timber industry coincided roughly with outmigration stimulated by the outbreak of WWI. People held ceremonies to say goodbye to the soldiers, many of whom were leaving the county for the first time.

> People were very patriotic, of course everybody was sad and worried about it, but we sure didn't have any burning of cards of anything like that. We had great rallies and when our boys would leave they would just take a lot of our boys at once and we would have a salvation to see them off happily and of course we weren't very happy you know, but we had to pretend that we were. And then we had these liberty drives and I remember one time they brought in one of these big tanks in here and a lot of the soldiers with it to get us all enthused about buying liberty bonds and the people were! We didn't have the feeling that we have had in the last war or two; we weren't happy about the war, but we weren't unpatriotic either.

Many who left the area after the timber boom, or as soldiers during WWI often returned to the area during the Great Depression because they knew that they could make a subsistence level living here.

My parents moved here from San Francisco, California in 1930. I would have been about one and a half, almost two in April. We were raised way out in the country called Blairs Creek. We lived off the land. At the time, it was during the big depression and Daddy didn't have a job in San Francisco, and he was from here. He said, "We will not stand in the soup lines in San Francisco; we'll go back to the Ozarks where we can make a living out of dirt,"— in other words, farming— "...and find something to eat."

Mother was a city woman, so moving back here was moving to 'the outback' you might say. She had no idea of what life would be like. She adjusted. She learned to dig roots and make a garden and do all the things that a country wife would do. No electricity, no telephone, no running water, and an outside bathroom and everything. That was all new to her when she came here. Of course, back in those days, people in these outback areas were considered poor, but we had no idea we were poor. Kids grow up and as long as you have plenty to eat and a warm bed to sleep in, you're pretty happy.

The next great migration out was during WWII when men left for war and women left to work in St. Louis in the munitions plants.

There was a time when people who lived there [Blairs Creek] were born there. They raised their children there; they married there; they died there. It was a big community, but it was close knit. And you ended up marrying second and third cousins a lot of the time. And yet there's lots of good people that came from there; don't get me wrong. Probably WWII is what brought them out. People left the Ozarks and went to the cities. Women did something else besides work in the home. I was from the old school where they had those male chauvinist—I'll not finish that sentence. But anyway, the woman's place was in the home, pregnant and barefoot...

> And when the war started, women got out of home and started working in factories because the women had to. They made money and there was a lot of different things that you can do when you have money.

In short, population rose in the southeastern Ozarks just after the Civil War period, again during the lumber boom in the early part of this century, and during the Great Depression; it declined when men left during WWI, with the closing of large yellow pine mills, and during WWII. What is significant here is that so many returned.

Summary

An analysis of the oral histories, other cultural performances, and material in the southeastern Missouri Ozarks reveals values which constitute part of the region's cultural tradition. As modes of communication, they impart those values to new generations. Stories of family survival during the homesteading period reveal commitment, hard work, independence, and pragmatism. Stories about farming, gardening, herding, gathering, hunting, and fishing describe an intimate knowledge, specialized skills, and cooperation to transform natural resources into a livelihood and a way of life. Stories about work and play and about community activities show an indispensable capacity for flexibility and creative opportunism, tempered by a sense of obligation to others. These underpin success where members of a society must rely on individual skills, the generosity of neighbors, and capricious Nature to meet basic needs. Storytelling, cultural performances, and material displays about past people, places, and events are testimonials to a deeply felt rootedness in the southeastern Ozarks and to contemporary ties among those with whom memories are shared.

As the next chapter shows, however, much has changed in the Ozarks with the arrival of new people, new technologies, and new ideas. The result is tension between a known past, remembered fondly for the security of close knit families and communities, the changed and changing present, and an unknown future.

Chapter IV

LIVING BY THE LAND AND RIVERS TODAY

How do people make a living today? How are values of family and community reproduced? Are the values of autonomy, self-sufficiency, private property,and hard work still maintained? How so? How do the people living around the ONSR today relate to the rivers and the land? How can we explain areas of change and areas of continuity?

The stories people tell, the people and places they know and with whom they interact, and the heirlooms they cherish are all part of what ties the people of the ONSR to their unique past. Living in the area today builds on this heritage, and it also adds to it, bringing new faces, new ideas, and creating new memories for future generations. The area has become a cultural mix of business interests, resource managers, law enforcement, politicians, and tourists, and residents must balance the desire to preserve the rich historical traditions and values of the past with the complex challanges and opportunities of modern tourism: public recognition, visitation, and management intervention. Trends in population, income, employment, occupation, and education offer a rough measure of their ability to meet these challenges. This chapter first examines demographic trends in the southeastern Ozarks. It then considers areas of continuity and areas of change.

Demographic Trends

Population

The 1998 total population estimate for Carter County was 6,387 and 8,252 for Shannon County (Resident Population of Missouri Counties: 1980-1998: 1998: 1-3). Since 1990, the population of Carter County has increased faster than the population of Shannon County, and both counties have increased faster than the state rate. For the State of Missouri it

was 5.6%; Carter County showed a 15% increase while Shannon County has increased by 7% (Population Trends, Carter County: 1997: 1; Population Trends, Shannon County: 1997: 1). Yet these figures are still lower than those for 1920 when Carter County had 7482 residents and Shannon had 11,865 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1920:1348-49).

In both counties, the population is characterized by large numbers of dependents, that is, children from ages 0-19 and seniors 65 and over. Assuming 44 years in the work force from ages 20-64, roughly 54% of the population of Carter County supports the other 46%. In Shannon, 55% supports the other 45%. Like the state as a whole, large percentages of residents between the ages of 20 and 44 leave both counties, 53.4% of total emigration from Carter County (1985-1990, Migration Profile, Carter County: 1990: 1) and 49.2% of total emigration from Shannon County (1985-1990, Migration Profile Shannon County: 1990: 1). This demographic phenomenon is explained locally as the result of large numbers leaving the area for work after high school. However, immigration to Shannon County for this category (48.6%) and overall is roughly equal to the number of persons leaving (1985-1990: Migration Profile Shannon County: 1) while the number of persons immigrating to Carter County in this age category (39.6%) and overall is lower than those moving out (1985-1990, Migration Profile Carter County: 1).

Despite the numbers of persons reportedly retiring in the area, population continues to decline in both counties beginning with the 50 to 54 age bracket in Carter County and the 45 to 49 age bracket in Shannon County. (Total Population by Age by Sex: Carter County: 1998: 1; Total Population by Age by Sex: Shannon County: 1998:1) However, between 1985 and 1990, more people over 65 moved into Carter County (98) than left it (81) (Migration Profile Carter, 1985-1990: 1990: 1) while more left Shannon (127) than moved to the county (112) (Migration Profile Shannon, 1985-1990: 1990: 1).

In summary, Carter and Shannon Counties are growing and have recovered some of the population lost after WWII, but are still below their 1920 levels. Both counties lose population in the age brackets succeeding high school graduation, but, with the exception of the over age 65 category in Shannon County, are growing in the age categories from 45 and older.

Income, Employment, and Occupation

Income and poverty data describe a population having difficulty supporting itself. The percentage of children reportedly living in poverty in 1993 was 35.6% in Carter County (Kids Count Carter 1998:1) and 36.8% in Shannon County (Kids Count Shannon 1998:1). Per capita income in the two counties is $13,825 for Carter County where adult unemployment in 1996 dropped to 6.7% from 9.3% in 1992 (Kids Count Carter 1998:1) and $12,425 for Shannon where adult unemployment dropped from 8.5% in 1992 to 8.1% in 1996 (Kids Count Shannon 1998:1).

A word of caution about these data is warranted here. They suggest potential for strain on those residents in their productive years to support sizeable numbers of children and elderly people, particularly in Carter County which may be a preferred retirement destination. On the other hand, without careful study of the multiplicity of creative ways residents of these counties have met their basic needs throughout their history, one should consider population, migration, and income data as only a partial picture of production potential.

A vast majority of persons in both Carter and Shannon County live in unincorporated, rural areas. As of 1996, population density in Carter County was concentrated in three incorporated towns; Ellsinore, population 448; Grandin, population 233; and Van Buren, population 987. The remainder of the population of Carter County 4,491 live in unincorporated rural areas (Missouri County Fact Sheet-Incorporated Place Population, Carter County: 1997: 1). In Shannon County, the population density was concentrated in four incorporated communities; Birch Tree, population 610; Eminence, population 602;

Summersville, population 115; and Winona, population 1,084. The number of persons living in unincorporated areas of Shannon County is 5,565 (Missouri County Fact Sheet-Incorporated Place Population, Shannon County: 1997: 1). The combined factors of a mostly rural population that pays the lowest tax rates in unincorporated areas holds important implications for the ability of towns and counties to invest in schools, roads, and other incentives that could attract employers to the area.

From an ethnographic perspective, significantly lower levels of income may have a variety of consequences beyond the most obvious differences in standards of living as compared to the larger population. They might include adaptive employment strategies and value systems which result in different lifestyle innovations. Income and employment statistics in Carter and Shannon Counties suggest the need for such adaptive strategies.

In 1990, the total number of employed persons in Carter County was 2,111 or 38% (N=5,515) of the total. Of the employed population, 890 or 42.2% were women (Basic Demographic Trend Report: Carter County: 1996: 1-2). In Shannon County, the 1990 figures show that 3,290 persons (43%) were employed (N=7,613) of whom 1,495 (45.4%) were women (Basic Demographic Trend Report: Shannon County: 1996: 1-2).

Manufacturing employs the largest number of individuals in both Carter and Shannon Counties with 607 and 1,177 persons respectively. "Selected Services" employ 514 and 676 persons in Carter and Shannon counties respectively. The third largest category of employment in each county is Retail Trade with 202 persons employed in Carter County and 277 persons employed in Shannon County (Number of Persons Employed Industry by Sex:Carter:1999:1; Number of Persons Employed, Industry by Sex: Shannon: 1998: 1).

Additional categories of employment worth noting are Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries and Mining and Construction. Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries employ 79 persons in Carter County, its sixth largest category of employment, and 226 persons in Shannon County, its fourth largest category of employment. Construction employs 118 persons in Carter County and 204 persons in Shannon County representing the fifth largest

category of employment in each county. Mining employs 22 persons in Carter County and 13 persons in Shannon County, the seventh and eight categories respectively (Number of Persons Employed Industry by Sex:Carter:1999:1; Number of Persons Employed Industry by Sex: Shannon: 1998: 1).

Women constitute the majority employed in Manufacturing and Selected Services accounting for 63% of all employees in Manufacturing in Carter County and 51% in Shannon County; and 64% of all employees in Selected Services in Carter County and 66% in Shannon County. (Number of Persons Employed Industry by Sex:Carter:1999:1; Number of Persons Employed Industry by Sex: Shannon: 1998: 1). These numbers reflect the national trend in which women joined the workforce in larger numbers after WWII.

Compared to Shannon County, Carter County has a higher per capita income, and a lower unemployment rate. At the time of the 1990 census, Shannon County exceeded Carter County in terms of the numbers of persons employed in manufacturing, a statistic which has undoubtedly changed with the recent closure of manufacturing plants in both counties, particularly for women. Furthermore, tourism ranks third in both counties as an employer of persons.

Education

The table below provides comparative data on education in the study area. Carter County is divided into two school districts: Van Buren District R-I (018050) and East Carter R-II (018047) (Carter County School Districts: 1998). The focus area of this study includes only the Van Buren R-I District in Carter County. Shannon County contains five school districts: Mountain View/Birch Tree District; Summersville R-II; Eminence R-I; Bunker R-III; and Winona R-III (Shannon County School Districts: 1998). Eminence R-I is the only district contained completely within Shannon County and the focus area of this study.

Educational Investments and Outcomes
School Year 1998-99

Indicator	Eminence R-I	Van Buren R-I	Missouri
Total Enrollment	335	576	895,604
Rate of Attendance	92.5	95.4	92.9
Dropout Rate Grades 9-12	2.7	2.5	5.4
Graduation Rate Senior Class	100	83.9	77.8
Expenditure per pupil	$5913	$5714	$5906
% Students Eligible for Free/Reduced Lunch	53.5	65.6	36.3
Average Teacher Salary	$23,736	$25,670	$34,806
Average Years Experience	17	13	15
% with MA or more Education	24.06	39.71	42.51
Average Administrator Salaries	$45,510	$52,512	$59,341

(Source: Modese Annual Report of School Data, 1999.)

How each of the two districts, Eminence R-I and Van Buren R-I, fared in the 1998-99 school year is indicated by attendance, dropout rates, graduation rates for their senior classes, each school's expenditure per pupil (based on average daily attendance), the percentage of students eligible for free or reduced lunches, and education, average salaries, and years of experience among faculty and administrators. In general, the table can be summarized by the observation that children in the two districts are far more likely to come from low-income

households than their peers in other parts of the state, yet they attend school at rates comparable to or better than those of their peers and graduate at significantly higher rates. These outcomes are especially interesting in light of the historical investment in children which, for the four years preceding school year 98-99 reported in the table, averaged over $500 less per child than in other Missouri schools. Furthermore, teachers and administrators were paid significantly less. Lower salaries may be explained in part by the higher education among faculty at other schools, but lower salaries also explain the inability of the schools in the Eminence and Van Buren districts to attract teachers and administrators who have invested more in their own training.

Choices for post-secondary education and employment upon high school graduation for the 1996-97 school year in the Van Buren R-I School District (n=39) indicate that 56.41% entered a 2 or 4-year college or university, a rate comparable to the Missouri state average of 56.56%. Another 28.21% entered the work force compared to the state average of 33.21%; 7.69% entered the military; and 5.13% entered "some other field" (Graduate Analysis, 1994-1998: Van Buren R-I: 1998: 1).

The statistics concerning post-secondary education and employment after graduation from the Eminence R-I School District indicate that of high school graduates for the 1996-97 school year (N=27), 25.93% entered a 2 or 4 year college or university, a rate half that of the state (51.56%); 7.41% entered a post-secondary, non-college institution; 40.74% entered the work force compared to the state average of 33.21%; 7.41% entered the military; and 7.41% entered some other field (Graduate Analysis, 1994-1998: Eminence R-I: 1998: 1). Without further investigation, one can only speculate that the cost of higher education and the reduced availability of government grants and loans more severely impacts education of young adults in poorer counties.

If completion of high school reflects the value of education in a community, then both Carter and Shannon Counties place a higher value on education than does the State of Missouri overall. However, while the largest percentage of Carter County students go on to college in

some form, the largest percentage of Shannon County students enter the work force. Because of the limited opportunities for employment in Shannon County and the lack of post-secondary educational institutions in Carter County, a majority of students graduating in both counties must leave to fulfill their educational and occupational goals.

Much has changed in the southeastern Ozarks of Missouri since homesteaders arrived in the 19th century. The demographic trends discussed above show a population whose numbers have fluctuated during the 20th century but which are today roughly at turn-of-the-century levels. The population, by conventional measures of income, unemployment, and dependency can be described as economically poor. In addition, outmigration of youth and their preferences for work over higher education suggest little chance that this group will alter these trends. On the other hand, counterveiling trends can be found in immigration, growing participation of women in formal employment, and in the growth of tourism.

Areas of Continuity

Unconventional measures of a population's well-being might tell a somewhat different story about residents of the southeastern Ozarks. While the sociological, psychological, and health consequences of relative deprivation in a country driven to overconsumption cannot and should not be trivialized, it is at least as important to examine how "poor" populations adapt and what they may gain or preserve by living with less. In spite of political, social, and economic changes in the areas surrounding the ONSR, residents maintain many of their ancestors' values, beliefs, and practices. These links to the past are integrated in the everyday lives of modern citizens where they operate as successful practical strategies and satisfying beliefs and values that connect them incontrovertibly to the land and rivers, to each other, and to the generations of ancestors who made it their home.

The Value of Family

The importance of cohesive, mutually obligated families remains intact today. From youth to old-timers, the presence of family is the most common explanation given for staying in the area in spite of limited opportunities for work. This attachment reflects more than the fact that parents live here, but often the idea that grandparents and great-grandparents live or lived here. Residents of the ONSR feel pride in the generations of kin who came before them, who worked the land and, in some cases, whose names designate landmarks and roads.

The importance of family is evident in both official and unofficial names in the area. Streets in the town of Eminence bear the names of families who inhabited and continue to reside in the area: Rayfield Road, Searcy Street, and Faulkenberry Way, for example. Historic landmarks and areas also to bear the name of the families who owned them or lived near them, such as Chilton's Creek, Maggard Cabin, and Kelley Bluff. Countless other sites, some of whose original names have been altered or lost in an official capacity by time and changing administrations, are still referred to by their historic family connections. Some examples include the Bunch Farm (officially named Jerktail Landing), the Broadfoot place, Stuart's Landing, Grubb Hollow, and the Kelley cemetery. Naming is a way to lay claim to people, places and ideas; that ONSR area residents continue to use traditional names is an assertion of historical claims to place.

It is not uncommon for residents today to live on the same land their grandparents or great-grandparents homesteaded. This brings an added level of meaning to the idea of place. One man explained of his home:

> I was here with my grandparents all the time. That's one reason its so special to me, because you know, since I was seven years old or so, I was here every weekend. And I helped my grandad redo this old cabin. We broke the garden.

Family histories live on in part because they are embedded in physical and social landscapes. Homes provide basic shelter and are sites for pooling and consuming resources,

but they are also filled with memories that connect people to each other in the present. As discussed in the previous chapter, people display what is important to them, and the most common interior decorations among study participants were pictures of family members. Very often, entire walls in living areas were covered with pictures of great-grandparents, grandparents, parents, siblings, children, and grandchildren. There were pictures of men with their deer kills and prize fish, posed pictures of family reunions, and school photographs or candid shots of grandchildren playing. Study participants were quick to explain pictures and speak with pride of their family. A typical photo tour always includes past and present generations.

The display of family pictures additionally serves as a reminder of the contemporary support system that is part of the strong familial ethic of the region. One woman surveying her walls of photographs concluded, "I've got a very nice family. [If] I need them, they'll be here. Every month that I needed them, they were here." Standing as protection against rapid social and economic change, family remains something dependable, a source of security for residents of the ONSR region.

The lasting connection to family is manifested in many ways. Though young people have been forced to leave the area out of economic necessity, circular migration is a frequent phenomenon. Residents also shared their impression that many students who go away to school return after a few years, and some who leave return to retire in the community where they were raised. Those who will not or cannot return to the area permanently may still visit on a regular basis.

Though there are several reasons for return visits to the river and family, two occasions were mentioned most often by study participants: organized family reunions and deer season. Reunions remain important and well attended events among families in our study sample. Family members return from all over the country to meet with relatives and kin in a place of meaning for all of them. The most common places for reunions were in the park, namely Big Spring and Alley Spring. It is not uncommon for families to have been meeting in these spots

and on the same weekends for decades. Though the reunions were mostly social celebrations, many families also participated in the ritual cleaning and grooming of family cemetery plots. Often an all day affair, this work, combined with the reunion of kinfolk from across the nation, is a major event and a reaffirmation of the bonds of family, past and present. One older woman recalled her most recent family reunion.

> We planned a program. We had speeches. We had contests.... We all ate together every meal. We put all our food together and had a dinner on the ground.

The other major reason for absent family members to return to their homes is hunting, particularly deer hunting. Deer hunting is a major cultural event in the Riverways, and it is family-oriented. Schools, in fact, dismiss for a period of days during deer hunting season in support of this activity. Though most hunters are men, the entire family is involved in the planning and excitement. Most significantly, deer season brings those who have moved away back to the prime hunting ground of the region and their families. Young men return home and retreat to the woods with their fathers and brothers to set up deer camps while those women who don't hunt use the time to catch up on family affairs.

Of course, many residents do not leave the area, but choose to stay with their families and "home." Often, this choice involves a conscious decision to sacrifice better, higher paying employment in other areas in order to remain. Thus staying in the ONSR region can mean exchanging economic security for the assurance of kinship and the connection to place.

Aesthetics

The predominant motivation at work for those who choose to make this sacrifice is not monetary but social, historical, and aesthetic. They stay because of their commitment to and comfort taken in present and past kin, and, not coincidentally, they stay because the landscape is beautiful and interesting to them. A woman explained how her husband, whose family is

from the area, feels about the Ozarks. In her telling, she links his aesthetic appreciation to his family's history of laboring to make the Ozarks home.

> He has no desire to go anywhere else because just around the next ridge there's something new and different that he might not have seen before. And most people walking this area would say, wow, it kind of looks the same to me. It's the subtlety of the landscape that fascinates people here. It's the fact that they worked hard to make a living in this kind of an environment, and they've done it without the need or the desire to relate too much to the outside world. It's [that] they've earned it. It may not be the best place, but it's their place, and they've earned it.

A middle-aged Carter county man also explained how the physical characteristics of the region contributed to his decision to remain in the area.

> In the Ozark region, you can use all of it. There's nothing so bad that you can't do something with it. Yet, it's kind of mountainous and hilly. It's got nice scenery. There's no other rivers like the rivers we have here that I know of anywhere.... It's a beautiful, wonderful region. It really is.

An Anti-Government Tradition

Another area where the connection to the past remains vivid is the continued anti-government sentiment of residents. This American tradition, which began with the colonies' liberation from England and includes the participation of thousands of Missouri volunteers who fought on the side of the Confederacy, resurfaces whenever "the government" is perceived to betray local people and their interests. Study participants cited evidence of betrayal in certain wars, collusion with the United Nations, and the use of eminent domain in the formation of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. This feeling is fortified by strong government presence in the area and the substantial quantity of land under state and federal control. Most study participants do not distinguish between different federal and state institutions or divisions, but referred to all of them collectively as "the government." Often the National Park Service takes

the brunt of the discontent because it is the most prominent government entity in the area whose personnel wear conspicuous uniforms, badges of authority, and, sometimes, guns.

There is a pervasive feeling among residents in the area that the government and other powerful interests trammel on citizens' rights. One disillusioned veteran explained.

> God, I hate this government. I mean, I do. I really do. Anything the government's for, I'm against. I've gotten several bad deals. There's no way for a little man to get ahead, unless you're a crook. An honest person hasn't got a chance in hell. I mean, you gotta hook somebody or lie to somebody, or do something to make the big bucks. You can't do it being honest. I wasn't raised to be a liar or a thief, and, therefore, here I sit.

The park expropriation of farms surrounding the river continues to be a focus of this resentment of government interference in personal matters, and contributes to the idea that the government is out to get the average citizen. Even the most enthusiastic supporters of the Riverways and the Park Service admit that the initial land acquisition was harmful. According to study participants, this bitterness remains a part of everyday relationships with the park, and it does not seem to be something that is easily forgotten. As one man remembering the process put it, "Them using eminent domain the way they did when they first came in here, I'll never forgive them for that." Thus, the history between the park and the people justifies for residents the mistrust of government institutions, and the park comes to represent the government as a whole, becoming a major focus for anti-government feelings.

Though it is the target of most criticism, the Park Service is not the only focus for local hostility toward the government. Proposition B, a proposal on the Missouri ballot in the Spring of 1999 to allow the carrying of concealed weapons, was defeated in the state but received overwhelming support in Carter and Shannon Counties (Wager 1999). Supporters saw the "right to carry" as a logical extension of their Constitutional right to bear arms. The

fact that it was voted on at all, and that it failed, is seen as a challenge to one of the most cherished values in the region: personal freedom.

Autonomy and Self-Sufficiency

The value of personal freedom directly links people to each other and to the ONSR region. It is a phrase heard often, and one of the most fiercely guarded rights of the individual. This value is strengthened by locally perceived threats to it, particularly by "the government," which locals say limits rather than protects it. This regard for personal freedom stems from the independent legacy of the area. Residents continue to be proud of the fact that they have the ability to take care of themselves and use the land for their survival. Self-sufficiency remains a virtue used to describe the character of the typical "hillbilly" resident of the past and present.

> The Ozarkian people here are survivors. They can survive on nothing, which they do. What they make their living on here is the timber and practically everything that pertains to the land. My sisters, they also live in the Ozarks, but they always told me if we were to ever have a food shortage, we'd come to you because you'd feed us out of the woods.

This sense of self-sufficiency has taken on new expression in recent months as several of our participants explained how effectively they could cope with any "Y2K" complications. They had wells and wood-burning stoves and still knew how to live off the land. This view of themselves brings a sense of pride in ability and accomplishment. Though the area is impoverished in economic terms, one man explained that the low income level did not translate into low morale or esteem.

> People who work in the timber industry, for example, most of them are working for low wage. Yet they are very proud people. You know, you think low wage, low self-esteem. That's not necessarily true here. They get low wages, but it's high self-esteem. What they do, they do well. I think that's distinctive, compared to other places.

Locals do not believe, however, that the Park Service shares this opinion. One man explained:

> The thing that irates people here the most, I think, is that we lived here. We've lived here all our lives. Our ancestors lived here. We've always known how to take care of the land. We always took care of it. The reason the Park Service has what they have now is because the people who were here before them took care of the land. They farmed it, but they took care of it. And now they feel like the Park Service doesn't think they have enough sense to know what they're even doing.

The arrival of the new management agency was seen by some residents as an attack on their ability and aptitude, and many take it as a personal attack on their lifestyle. One of our interviewees explained, "We didn't need nobody else. But the Park Service come in here and thought us dumb hillbillies needed them. We didn't need them, and we didn't want them."

Hunting and Fishing

As in the past, hunting and fishing are both recreation and subsistence strategies, although most agree that the need to supplement household diets with game or fish has diminished over the years. A pragmatic "anti-waste" ethic still remains and was articulated by all of our interviewees: "If you kill it, you eat it." Hunting especially may be a sport, but indiscriminant hunting and waste of meat is held in contempt.

Avid hunters in the area pursue a variety of game, including squirrel, rabbit, and raccoon, but the most celebrated seasons today are for turkey and deer. Turkey season is in the Spring, and deer season is in the Fall. Both are major events in the area. As the weather warms in the Spring, turkey hunting offers a chance for outdoorsmen to get into the woods. Turkey hunting is an early morning experience. Generally, hunters are in the woods by 6 a.m. and finished by around 9 a.m. Hunters call up male turkeys by using hand-held or whistle-like turkey callers which imitate the sound of turkey hens. It is a sport requiring patience and skill.

Turkey hunters collect from their kills the turkeys' beards, long tufts of hair growing from the chest of the turkey. These beards are often displayed in homes on decorative boards.

Turkey callers themselves are special and individualized tools of the hunter. There are several craftsmen who hand-carve turkey callers in the ONSR area, and each has a unique style which makes his callers identifiable. These callers are not only beautiful and intricately designed, but they are practical and necessary instruments for a successful turkey hunt.

Turkey hunting is important in the area, but deer hunting is undeniably the favorite season and one of the favorite pastimes of most residents. As one man put it, "Everybody goes out for deer season." Relatives and strangers alike return from across the country to participate in the hunting. Deer camps become centers of social activity, where rough conditions predominate and traditions and social bonds are strengthened.

> Bonding, I mean, the camp is the focal point. And the uglier the camp... I've got a friend in Eminence, they've got an ugly camp and an old bus. And he drives all new cars and lives in big houses. You're bonding with your brother, your group, there.

Deer camp is where children go to learn about hunting from their fathers, uncles, and grandfathers, often before they are old enough to actually participate themselves. Though it is mostly men, women are not excluded from the camp or the informal training and preparation. One thirteen year old girl explained:

> I go to Big Creek. I hunt and fish down there with my dad. My dad and my uncles and all them. I'm the only girl down there, but still... I don't have my license yet. I haven't taken the hunter's safety course. I go down there; I go with them and stuff. Other than shooting them, I haven't done that yet. But, getting to see the inside of a deer's body, yeah, I've done that.

Successful deer hunting is a matter of status as well. "Did you get a deer this year?" is a common question for both men and women. Bucks with especially impressive antler racks are prominently displayed in homes and businesses, often with the gun that killed them. Though wasteful hunting and indiscriminant killing is generally considered to be dishonorable, out of season hunting is not quite as taboo for some local residents. One man explained it as a traditional practice: "Why, I hunted in and out of season, year after year after year." This is likely a determined holdover from a historic practical use strategy that has now taken on additional symbolic value as a form of resistance. As one informant put it:

> There're people who poach here, and everybody's philosophy when I was a kid was poaching is not bad because if you need to eat meat... And then, most people who wanted to poach needed the meat.

According to this resident, though poaching is usually no longer a subsistence strategy, it remains a common phenomenon in spite of, or maybe because of, increased regulation. He explained that he felt the current appeal of out of season hunting was the increased difficulty of the activity: "With the government? With law enforcement? I'm sure it was a challenge."

While deer and turkey hunting offer sportsmen a chance for personal confrontation with wildlife, there is another form of hunting in this area of the Ozarks in which people are weaponless and the prey usually escapes unharmed: fox hunting. This traditional activity remains extremely popular among the older generation of men and requires a well-honed sense of hearing and a special relationship with hounds. Fox hunting by the local method involves several men releasing their dogs into a fox pen designed especially for this purpose. Pens are large, fenced areas, stocked with foxes and sometimes coyotes, and equipped with escape routes for the animals. Several dogs are released into the pen together in the early hours of dawn, and the ensuing chase, called a race, is closely monitored by their owners. It is an aural experience, with the fox and the dogs only rarely making a visible appearance. By listening to the baying of the dogs and by having the keenly developed ability to distinguish between their

voices, the attending men can determine which dog is winning. The fox is only rarely caught by the dogs, and the goal of the hunt is not its capture, but the chase itself and the sharing of the experience with the other men and their dogs. Fox hunters are proud of their dogs and the continuation of this unique tradition, although many fear it is disappearing. A Shannon County man and his wife describe the fox hunting tradition.

Husband: Now this morning, I heard a race back here and I've got a good area and I heard a coyote howl. I got up about daylight. Directly it come over a little further right in behind the house over there and he howled again, and then I went down and let my dogs out. And I was having a race and directly I heard a race develop where that coyote was at in that area.

Wife: And these fox hunters can tell whose dog by their barking, you know, who's ahead, which dog is the closest to the fox. And they know when they loose it and they know when they find it. They can listen to this race and they know exactly what's going on.

Husband: It's a race just like that Indianapolis 500. We can tell which dog is in front and one that might not be over 20 foot behind, but we can tell. Our ear's trained for that and we knew by the note or the voice. We call it "the mouth" of every dog. Just like in a choir. The conductor, there can be 30 people in there, and if one of them makes a mistake, he'll know it.

When asked if the dogs ever caught the foxes, the man replied:

> No, we didn't want them to. I never killed a fox in my life. I hunted all my life but I never would kill one. This is just for the sport of the chase. Sometimes they'd catch a fox, but we preferred that they didn't.

Hunting in all forms is popular in the ONSR area, but fishing on the rivers is a ritual of its own. Although some fishing occurs year-round, bass season is in the Spring and gigging season runs through the winter. Gigging is an especially important tradition, and time gigging on the river is time highly valued. As explained in Chapter III, gigging has a long history in

the region, one which is proudly recounted by old-timers. It remains an important social activity today.

One significant attribute of gigging is that it can only be done in areas with clear water such as that found in the Jack's Fork and Current Rivers. That make this area one of the few places in the country where gigging is practiced regularly. Because gigging takes place in the Winter, that is, in the low tourist season, it is a purely local mode of fishing. It has been elevated to an art form, one requiring talent and high standards of workmanship. Expert giggers obtain an elevated status and are widely admired for their skill, especially those who can gig in the daytime. Stories of gigging off bridges or in the deep waters of Current River near Doniphan are told with pride and amazement. One man spoke of his friend, "one of the best giggers in the country," and bragged, "He can run the boat with one leg and gig with the other." Similarly, avid giggers can recognize individual gig-makers' work and usually have preferences. Even among the non-gigging folks, gigs are sometimes displayed in homes or businesses.

Although gigging, as with hunting, is primarily a male activity, gigging is also a social event for the entire family and often the community. The culmination of a Saturday evening spent gigging under the stars is often a fish fry on a gravel bar for the whole family and the neighbors as well. Generally, the entire event is orchestrated by men, with men gigging, cleaning, and cooking the fish. One participant explained:

> Gigging is a social gathering event. It's a male thing. I just went to a couple of gigging events this past year, and you're just down there, lying to everybody, telling stories, and drinking beer. It's great!

Fishing and gigging draw people to the river where they congregate to socialize and relax. Most people living near the river own a boat and navigate the rivers, stopping at gravel bars or favorite swimming holes. While children swim, parents socialize, have fish frys, or play games. Young people use the river as well, either boating or just lying in the sun with

friends. Favorite riverside hang-outs include the old KOA campground (now Deer Run) for Van Buren youth and the old Pickin' and Grinnin' campground (now Jack's Fork campground) in Eminence. The river is still the center of summertime recreation for many ONSR residents.

Knowledge of Local Ecology

Expertise in local ecology has been passed down from one generation to the next, and today's residents know how to use herbs and plants found in the area. They can tell you when to harvest them and how to prepare them. Though the older generation has a more practical understanding of this undertaking, even the younger residents know of the resources in the woods and rivers around them. Two loggers in their thirties explained the benefits of sassafras tea and how to make it. An older woman listed for us some of the edible plants of the area.

> There are what they call potatoes. The dandylion is good to eat; there are wild carrots. There are greens of all kinds. When you fry Cat Tails it tastes like cucumbers and watermelon and then you use the top part for flour.

Ethnoecological knowledge is still widely used in the area. People continue to gather polk greens for their dinner table. Morel mushrooms cause a stir in the Spring when everyone is hunting for them and guarding their secrets for locating the tiny delicacies. Ginseng has a renewed market, and serious gatherers sell it to retailers in Ellington.

The connection to the land lends itself to an uncanny understanding of the seasons. In terms of natural cycles, months mean very little, and even the time of year is sometimes secondary to nature's cues. For example, several people told us, "The dogwoods bloom when the suckers are shoaling." However, though months are not always critical in correlating natural events, hunting seasons are. When asked when wild orchids bloomed, one study participant replied, "During turkey season." Rather than months and dates, residents of the

southeastern Ozarks understand the intimate seasonal rhythms of multiple and connected life cycles.

This view of the natural world extends to resident hunters as well. They see themselves as responsible actors whose activities contribute to a natural order. One avid trapper explained:

> You know, animals, it's a funny thing. When you're out there with them, and you're killing them or whatever, there's a natural balance. With anything. If you don't take so many of them, disease will come and wipe them completely out.

It is this belief that they must play a role as active participants in the creation and management of the landscape that allowed locals' ancestors to survive. Though cultural, ecological, and institutional conditions have changed, it is a view that continues to occupy a prominent place in the local culture of the ONSR area today. A Carter County man put it this way:

> I think we are different from animals. We have the ability to think and have relationships and think on our own. We are a different being from the animal that is out there. God said he gave the animals for us. Not to be brothers to them, but to take care of them. ... We are to be stewards of the land. ... We're going to take care of it. ... The resources are here for the purpose of man and his survival. So I'm not going to feel guilty about using resources.

Economic Strategies

Historically, residents in the area of the ONSR had to be experts at many things in order to carve out a living and support a family in a harsh environment. This strategy of economic diversification within households remains a prominent one in the area because many forms of employment are low paying or seasonal. It is not unusual for an individual to exploit

numerous methods of generating income throughout the course of the year. Some individuals work seasonal jobs, often tourist-related in the Summer, and add carpentry, construction, or other wage labor in the Winter. However, the more common pattern is that regular jobs are supplemented by additional labor. This supplemental work can include raising cattle, hauling canoes on summer weekends, or trapping on the river. Most of our study participants agreed it was difficult to make a living in the area working only one job. Sometimes government assistance is part of a household's diversified economic strategy as well.

As in generations before, young people continue to explore their own economic pursuits at an early age. All of the children in the study sample held some sort of full or part-time job in order to earn their own spending money. Whereas in the past, children trapped animals or gathered berries and nuts for extra income, today's youth hold positions in sawmills, canoe rentals, grocery stores, restaurants, and they sometimes work as babysitters.

Women's Work

Women have always worked and played a key role in family subsistence in the Ozarks, and that continues to be the case today. However, instead of supporting their family through labor at home and on the land as early settler women did, most women today have entered the remunerated work force. As indicated earlier, women were drawn into the formal sector during World War II. Today, in the ONSR area, jobs such as timber, mining, and construction still go mostly to men, and women work predominantly as support staff for these positions or in factories. Some women, however, own and manage local businesses as well.

Women find additional ways to make money for their family, often in very traditional activities. Quilting is still common, especially among the older generation, and a hand-made quilt can sell for around $600. In addition to providing extra income, quilting provides a social opportunity. Though the quilting bees of the past are uncommon, the chance to display work in craft fairs and occasional collaboration on pieces brings women together.

Gardens commonly supplement household grocery purchases, and these are usually women's responsibility as well. The fresh produce from gardens and what is canned and preserved are still parts of many family diets.

In addition to these economic activities, women generally have the role of raising children in the family. This fact positions women as the culture-bearers of society in the ONSR. As one woman put it:

> It appears to me that the females are the glue. They keep the lifestyle going, the lives going, the children going.... And the fact is in your face that she's working and she's cooking and she's cleaning and she's taking care of the children and her mother is helping take care of the children and maybe her grandmother is.

Though the contributions of women are significant, families and community in the ONSR remain male dominated. One woman who is not native to the area, but who married a local man, described this "incredible male framework." She spoke of how women's identities were tied to their husbands and the frustration that can create:

> She's not going out and having hobbies and play time or some kind of other fun feedback, and if the male, generally the husband, tends to turn her down, she feels worthless. And it's incredible to me that something as in your face as that can be so twisted and turned around that the woman is worthless.

Following the view of this woman who married into the region, women make substantial and often primary contributions to household subsistence and cultural continuity through child-rearing, but do so in a context which places higher value on men's activities and occupations. It is significant, however, that this view was not expressed by those women interviewed who are native to the region, a fact which could be interpreted to mean they deemed it inappropriate to express such an opinion, or simply that they do not hold this view because nearly half of the remunerated workforce is made up of women. In either case, it is a

view that may not account for changes in self-perception that are almost always associated with the movement of women into the wage labor force, particularly those in managerial and entrepreneurial positions. The fact that a view of oppressed women exists alongside counterveiling trends in work suggests a fertile area for future research on women's changing roles, self-perceptions, and the implications of these for the inculcation of values and behavioral norms in future generations of the region.

Timber, Mining, and Farming

Land remains fundamental to area employment. Logging, mining, and farming are all traditional occupations that have continued to provide cash and food to the region. The timber industry still provides jobs for loggers, truckers, sawyers and other mill employees, mill owners, and manufacturers. An average-sized mill owner in our study estimated the impact of his mill on the community:

> Either directly or indirectly, I'd say there's probably twenty-five people involved. Twenty-five families. Because you take all the loggers that work out here, that are involved here, they basically depend on this sawmill for their income, their livelihood. And there's other truck drivers.... It's hard to say how much we either completely take care of them, supply income to them, or just add to their income. So there's a lot involved in just one little business like this.

Though timber industry employment numbers are not as high as manufacturing numbers, there is a general perception among residents that timber is what keeps the area alive. One man speculated, "Everybody here, basically some part of their family, somewhere or another, is usually in the timber business." As a man in Van Buren said, "Timber is what keeps this town going."

In answer to concerns over destructive logging, every timber man in this study, whether mill owners or laborers, repeatedly stressed the fact that timber work was not

necessarily environmentally harmful. They practice selective cutting, cutting only the largest trees so that they can cut on the same land again. As one mill owner explained:

> Loggers have a bad rap. They think people in the timber industry are these people that are just wanting to go out and kill everything. It's like, "Kill it. We don't care. Devastate it." Whatever. That's not the truth. If a guy's looking for a future in this industry, you can't do that. One of my partners [has] been logging probably twenty-five years, and we went back and cut tracts he logged the first time.
>
> This timber, in most instances, on most stands, you can probably harvest it about every fifteen to twenty years, if it is managed right and if it is harvested right. If it's not just slicked off, cleaned off, and it's just cut. You let timber grow too old and it's not managed correctly, you go in there and cut one time and it will be fifty or a hundred years because all the old timber, it makes this high story that kills out all the younger timber underneath. It's just like managing a crop of any kind. That's the way timber has to be managed.
>
> I don't understand. People think that loggers and timber people are not environmental people, but on the opposite side, they really are. They're concerned with the environment. I'm concerned with the environment.

An anti-environment reputation troubled all of the timber men in our study. They felt it was unfair because their job security depends on the conditions of the woodlands. Thus they are especially concerned about the coming of the chipmills into the area. Chipmills can process wood of a much smaller dimension than existing sawmills, so they are more likely to clear-cut a section of land than to selectively cut it. Timber men are concerned that the environmental backlash against the chipmills will affect them as well.

> The saw millers are the guys that have basically been here for a hundred years in this community. They're the ones basically getting squeezed out in the middle... The problem is, on the environmental front, they list us as one bad egg over here and they say, "We've got to stop it. Everything." There's no medium. There's no happy medium.

Most loggers feel that chipmills are a threat to their jobs both because of their unsustainable cutting and the environmental response they fear chipmills will bring. However, though timber men are quick to point out the conservation ethic that is a part of their job, even referring to Missouri Department of Conservation policies on occasion, they suffer no delusions about the hardships of a life in the timber. The work is weather-dependant; the pay is low; the risks are high; and there are few, if any, benefits. One sawmill owner told us about his employees, "The only benefit they have here is they get to work steady. A lot of sawmills don't work steady in this area." Many young men who wish to remain in the ONSR region work in the sawmills for minimum wage. An ex-mill employee remembered:

> Oh, sawmills! I tried that for years, you know, so I could stay around here, and I like to starved to death. You can't do that. If you want to live and have absolutely nothing, I mean, you can afford to eat, but that's it.

While sawmill jobs are generally low-paying wage labor, the higher paying positions of contracted loggers and drivers are dangerous and unpredictable.

> When you work in the timber, you're pretty much on your own. See, I was cutting logs after I quit the mines and broke my foot, and I just had to bite the bullet.... No insurance at all. Log cutters and skidder drivers, basically, they're on their own. I mean, they make good money when the weather's permitting, but it's a dangerous job. There's people always getting hurt. Like I say, when you're down, you've got to rely on your family or somebody to help you out.

While timber provides an important resource and employment opportunities, many people in the area felt that mining was a better job. There are no mining opportunities near the Riverways, so most miners must commute to their jobs, often to the lead mines in Ellington. Nevertheless, most who worked in mines agreed, "That was a great job. We had good benefits." Because of the pay and benefits of mining jobs, most of our study participants regretted the withdrawal of a new mining proposition for the area near the Eleven Point River. One man discussed the situation.

> Well, the lead mines in the Irish Wilderness, they were going to core drill to find out where these lead deposits were. They knew they were there, so they were going to go in there and core drill. So the environmentalists went over and said, "Oh no, you can't do that." Which, you take a lead mine in that area, you know, chances are you'd never see any effect of it on any of the rivers, as far as that goes. But how many jobs did that do away with? Good jobs for this area, you know? And that's a major thing around here. That's like me, I can't stay here and make a living, so I go away every summer and work.

Mining means jobs, of which people in the area all feel they need more. However, as with timber, miners recognize the limitations of their jobs. One former lead mine employee recalled an incident where a huge chunk of the mine roof dislodged and fell where he had been standing moments before. He quit soon after that incident.

While safety is an issue, the miners interviewed in this study were happy to have their jobs. A Shannon County man and his wife talked about how mining and mining companies have changed the community they lived in previously.

> They have excellent schools. They have recreation areas. They did so much for the area. Not the least of which is that they provide jobs that allow you to sustain your family in a decent lifestyle. The quality of life is just so much better.

> There are so many people here on welfare. I'm not saying it's right, but I can understand someone not wanting to toil hard for a $12,000 a year—if they're lucky—income when they can go get it out of their mailbox and also have food stamps and have some measure of insurance, you know, through Medicaid. And not have to drive...
>
> We did all we could do to get mining in this area. It would have created great jobs for people. And the damage to the land is so very minimal, but you get these extremists who put out so much propaganda. Of course when you read it you think, "Oh no, we don't want our fish to die and we don't want the water in our area to be contaminated, and all this and that," but there's so much hype involved. The truth is so far away from what you read in the Post Dispatch and things like that.

Farming economically complements mining in the ONSR though the soil in the region is generally poor. Most farmers we spoke with asserted that the best farms were along the rivers, so the remaining farms are not as productive. One man whose family bought another farm after their riverfront land was sold explained.

> We tried farming it. We had a cow/calf operation. And the ground was just so much poorer than the river bottom that you could raise more by accident on the river than you could seriously farming out at (the new farm).

Cattle are the main farm commodity in the area. Though we did not interview any people who made their living from beef ranching alone, several of our study participants raised cattle in addition to their full time employment elsewhere. In addition to cattle ranching, most of our acquaintances in the ONSR area kept gardens and truck patches of vegetables of every imaginable sort. Many women continue to can and preserve their produce as their mothers and grandmothers did before them.

Though farming is not as critical to survival as it used to be, the view of oneself as someone with the skills to survive under difficult circumstances is still highly valued.

> All of my children love to bring their children back here and leave them with me because somehow or another, not intentionally, but I instill those values in them: self-sufficiency. In fact, I had a little grandson come over about a month ago and say, "Grandma, I have to make a report at school about somebody, somebody who lived through the Great Depression and how it affected their lives." So, I mentioned all this stuff, self-sufficiency, independence, and I think that it's the character that was in the people that adjusted to and accepted it as a way of life and survived.

Areas of Change

While many traditional beliefs, values, and practices have maintained continuity with the past in the southeastern Ozarks, the region has also experienced change. Some changes are brought about by the globalization of modern technologies; others arrive with newcomers to the region, including conservationists, the National Park Service, and tourists.

Major changes which coincide with shifts across the nation are a result of developments in communication and information technologies. The area is no longer isolated from the outside world, but rather is exposed to it in countless ways every minute of the day. The Internet, television, and radios are only some avenues for the assertion of mass culture all over the country.

One of the most significant changes, stimulated by mass media, is conversion to consumerism as ideology and practice. Coupled with general economic growth across the country, consumerism has changed Ozarkers' perceptions of what constitutes a "good living." This process began shortly after WWII when more residents of the region incorporated wages into their household economic strategies. Consumerism redefined "need" to include more kinds of things formerly irrelevant to Ozark subsistence. In the following excerpt, a Shannon County woman reflects on changes in her own expectations as she shared them with a probably disappointed group of would-be frontiersmen.

> The good old days—I've been asked about that. Can you remember when they had back-to-earth types of people? They were wanting to come off down in here and try to learn to live off the land. Well, they had me come to several talkings that somebody was having and then they would have people that had lived out in these areas, living off the land, to talk to them. One of the first questions was, "Why do you think people left those areas, because they are abandoned now? No one lives there. Very few." ... And I said, "Well, they just reached a point where they could no longer make a living." And they argued with me real fast because they said they were making a living off the land. I said, "Well, your definition of a living is different than mine. My definition of a living was a pretty good car, a trip to Springfield occasionally, a telephone, a refrigerator." I mean those are all the good things that I didn't have so I think those might have been the good old days, but I don't want to go back to it.

As in the rest of the United States, standards of living have been changed to include more material commodities and services, and the ramifications for the community are significant. People are no longer satisfied with a life earned from living off the land or the now-perceived poverty of such an existence. It is not enough to survive Winter on the fruits of a Summer garden and hand-cut firewood. In current terms, "making a living" involves having money for labor-saving devices and less utilitarian things as well. Youth spoke about this desire in terms of "being able to pay your bills and have money left over," "being comfortable and not living off each paycheck," and "having a decent house, a decent truck." This altered expectation for " a good life" contributes to the out-migration in the area, especially among young people.

While this change has occurred nationwide, other, more specific changes occurring in the area of the ONSR can be attributed to more recent additions to the communities' social fabric. One of the more locally controversial newcomer groups can be called "conservationists." Though the area has always attracted those with an appreciation of nature

and a desire to protect it, in recent years the concentration of organized conservation groups has grown. The Nature Conservancy and Sierra Club have made their presence felt in the area. Though in some cases our study participants supported the work of these conservationists, most spoke of the "bug-huggers" with aversion. They are seen as non-productive nuisances who get in the way of honest folks who want to work. As one man put it:

> Personally, I don't have any use for environmentalists. I think they would like to just take everything. You know, they want to live in a fancy wood home, but they don't want to cut a tree. They want to eat steaks, but they don't want to kill the cow. Where is their stand? What do they stand for, other than somebody just out there to march around and hold a sign up and draw a big paycheck from somebody who tells them to do it?

The rancor between local residents and conservationists is explained by continued dependence in the area on extraction enterprises such as timber and mining. The situation is made more volatile when organizations like the Sierra Club become involved in defense of the local non-built environment with seeming disregard for human consequences. The current controversy over the Indiana bat, an endangered species found in caves in the ONSR area, is one such issue. The following commentary comes from a local timber man.

> They found a few bats in the bat caves. Some cave down on the Eleven Point River, just a few bats. The environmentalists, what they do is they look for a proxy to stop things. They look on a list, there's this endangered species list, and they look up here, Indiana bat. Well, basically the format of the government is when there's an endangered species, they'll stop with everything until they can see if this is going to cause this species to become extinct. Well, then they decided that this bat hung in trees or something, I don't know, did something like that. So now they went around and every place they'd find a little place like that with timber of a certain size, they shut it down. But what it amounts to, the Forest Service went and got them a third party basically, which was the U.S. Wildlife and Fish.

They're doing a study to see if cutting timber in the Ozarks is detrimental to the habitat of this bat. They're assessing that. Well, in the meantime, they shut all these sales down. They shut all these people out of work over this one little thing... Didn't even think that it probably impacted 1500 people or 500- 1000 families and their livelihood.

So we had this tornado which blew this timber over, and they said they couldn't cut this timber because they think that the Indiana bat could be there. (The timber was) already down, blowed down by a tornado. So what it amounts to is that set out there and rotted and they didn't get anything for it. One of his judgements, he said it was proven to him, he thought, that the operation of chainsaws and skidders anywhere, the noise from that would disturb the sleep of the bat and cause him to lose weight. Is that reaching to the extreme on that?

If you've been around here very much, you notice the Air Force do their practicing and flight here. All the sonic booms... does that not disturb the habitat of the bat? And the caves are right next to the rivers. You don't think the boats will disturb them? And all it amounts to is they just were looking for something. They look for something to stop it. They don't want you to cut one tree, yet they use faxes and paper. They print across that... That is basically the story. That's what's going on. In fact, I've got two table units and one chipper sale they shut down because they say the tree density was just right for the habitat of the bat. They don't know if there was a bat within fifty miles of it.

Issues such as this one widen the gulf between organized conservation efforts and local people because the conservationists are seen as hypocritical, wasteful, and insensitive to the needs of people. In a society where resources are used and waste is reviled, letting timber rot while families are out of work is unthinkable.

Though conservationists have had a major impact on the area, by far the change most present and visible to local residents is the arrival of the National Park Service and the creation

of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. In the next chapter, this subject and its correlate, tourism, will be discussed as significant forms of institutional mediation between the region's residents and the land and rivers.

CHAPTER V

THE OZARK NATIONAL SCENIC RIVERWAYS AND OTHER INTERVENTIONS

How do external influences affect or "mediate" the relationship between people in the Southeastern Ozarks and the land and rivers?

Many internal and external mediating factors shape the relationships between people and the physical world they inhabit. Internal influences, that is, those intrinsic to the people and their society, include such things as cultural values (What kinds of housing or foods are preferred?), expectations of the relationship (Are people stewards, parasites, or one among competing species in the landscape?), social structure (How do people relate to one another? Who should do what kind of work? How should work be distributed?), skills (Are settlers good hunters? good boat builders?), and tools (Is available technology readily manufactured on site, simple or complex, energy intensive, or an extension of the human body?). Intrinsic to the region are such things as the natural resources within it, climate, and topography. Frontier settlement is thoroughly mediated by all of these though one observes a seemingly direct relationship between settlers and the landscape.

By contrast, frontier areas are relatively free of extrinsic institutional mediation such as markets, tourism, and laws, though local rules and relationships develop quickly. This chapter focuses on those forms of external institutional mediation which have significantly altered the contemporary relationship between Ozarkers and the land and rivers. Of particular interest are the timber industry; the creation and management of the State Parks at Alley Spring, Round Spring and Big Spring; creation and management of the ONSR; and tourism.

Impact of the Timber Industry

When incentives were sufficient to outweigh the risks and costs of migration, the landscape of the Ozarks was transformed by homesteaders from an alien region into "home." Here, the earliest modes of institutional mediation were internal: kinship, cultural values and practices, topography, climate, and available natural resources. The first major external interventions, after the Civil War, were the timber and railroad industries.

The history of timber extraction in Carter and Shannon Counties has undergone considerable change during the last one hundred and fifty years. Initial timber harvests by early settlers involved clearing land to build houses and outbuildings and, where feasible, to plant crops. These tasks required considerable physical strength, determination, skill, a relevant knowledge and experience base, and an ethic of self-sufficiency complemented by a willingness to cooperate. Settlers established social networks through which people traded their labor and produce, and so built social and economic security based on reciprocity. In this context, human ecological relationships were defined by necessity; that is, people should take what they need, and that need was mediated by the demands of kin and community obligations.

After the Civil War, investors from outside the area viewed the forests of the southeastern Ozarks as an opportunity for profit in a site where, in the name of progress, the primary resource could and should be harvested until it was no longer profitable to do so, or until the resource was depleted. Some migrants who came for the opportunity to work year round became dependent on timber companies for income. Others incorporated wage labor into diversified household economies. The yellow pine industry infused money into communities until the 1920s when producers of wood products dependent on smaller pines and other tree species assumed this role.

Whereas homesteading, farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering all directly tie households to the landscape, extraction industry employment does so indirectly. Both process and product of the early settler-hunter were literally and figuratively in his hands. By contrast, the logger's work was controlled by his employer, and the logger was rewarded with cash or

coupons rather than the timber he cut. Cash-earning activities also changed workers' time allocation so that less time was available for direct food production and the social sharing that accompanied it; the difference in food availability had to be made up with food purchases dependent on cash or coupon earnings. In addition, the nature of wage work implicates a different kind of production relationship, one in which work becomes an activity distinguished in time and space from play and other social activities. The tie to the landscape as experienced by extraction industry employees in the context of that work was quite different from other household production activities and is seen retrospectively as having brought important economic benefits to Ozark families. From the worker's point of view, however, work, whether for wages or the products of one's labor, was still intended to satisfy the needs of people, and the perceived benefits of cash income to laborers clearly outweighed any perceived costs for old-timer residents of Carter and Shannon Counties.

By contrast, the tie to the landscape experienced by industry owners, as expressed in their practices, was tenuous and transitory and oriented to profit rather than people's needs. A study published in 1927 described the guiding principles of the lumbermen:

> The big lumber operators were concerned only with the profits of their industry. They had no apparent link with the region. As their holdings were cleared of merchantable timber they intended to pass on to other fields. What became of the cut-over lands was of little concern to them; they expected to sell them for what they could get, and at the worst, were prepared to abandon them, an operation which in most cases involved very little write-off of invested capital... (Fairchild and Chapman 1927:5).

Workers who remained in the region as the timber declined saw things somewhat differently, as they were indeed encouraged to do by the timber companies, the popular press of the day, and the U.S. government. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in 1913, "Thousands of acres have been cleared in the last ten years and are quickly being turned into

thriving farms..." (Missouri 1913:477). In 1929, the newspaper in Ellington predicted that when, in the next few years, the timber companies will have completely exhausted the timber, the money economy will continue on the basis of fruit trees and scientific farming (Ellington 1929). The 1927 study cited above showed how residents of the region had internalized these views:

> To other elements of the community the future appeared rosy, on account of prevailing optimism as to the agricultural future of cut-over lands. In other parts of the United States a flourishing agriculture had followed in the wake of the virgin forests... This spirit of optimism was naturally fostered and taken advantage of by those who had lands to sell (Fairchild and Chapman 1927:5).

Fruit orchards, dairy farms, ranches, and poultry farms all failed. As Murphy put it, "the law of diminishing returns had set in: The more intensively the region was cropped and pastured, the less it produced" (Murphy 1982:248). This outcome stood in stark contrast to the traditional agriculture of the region in which farm families produced what they needed with extensive practices oriented to meeting families' basic needs. Murphy (1982:267) described the region in the 1930s:

> The region's environment had been seriously damaged and most of its resources destroyed. Much of the region was a biological desert. The timber had been cut, the soil eroded from the hills, valley lands depleted, wild game killed off and the once-clear streams silted... As the environment of the region declined, so did the economy. Manufacturing nearly disappeared. Agricultural production declined despite the efforts of more farmers than ever before.

Yet the region did recover, in part because population densities dropped after 1940 to levels within the environment's capacity to support those who remained. Another part of the explanation lies in the cooperative efforts of government agencies: the Missouri Department of Conservation, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the USDA Forest Service. The Forest Service purchased large tracts of land for the purposes of timber production, flood control, recreation, demonstration of intensive forest practices and unemployment relief. In the 1930's, Mark Twain National Forest was established in Carter and Shannon Counties with the purchase of more than 3 million acres of land; 44 percent of the land in Carter County, and 19 percent of the land in Shannon County (Stevens 1998:4; Murphy 1982:270-279). Opposition to such large purchases stemmed from concern that local governments would be rendered impotent, that the restoration of game was designed for the interests of city dwellers, and that traditional practices such as Spring burning and open-range grazing would be eliminated (Murphy 1982:275). There continues to be concern over reduction of the private property tax base, creating a hardship for school systems in the area. Nevertheless, the Forest Service employed many people and, with the cooperation of the CCC, they built roads, fought fires, worked on state parks, and began timber stand improvement (ibid:278). The Forestry Division of the Missouri Conservation Commission also worked to prevent fire on private land and developed a program for wildlife restoration in cooperation with the USDA Forest Service and the CCC.

What locals feared did come to pass with regard to burning and grazing cattle on public lands. With so much land now controlled by government agencies who built roads, lookout towers, and telephone lines, the Spring burn was reduced from 33 to 1 percent of the forest. Before 1965, when open-range grazing was proscribed altogether in Missouri forests, grazing required a permit for forest use. The payoff for this direct intervention was, however, significant. Some 5000 men found employment with the Forest Service. As Murphy put it, "This employemnt, along with the educational programs and friendliness of the rangers, went a

long way toward overcoming the resentment of the people toward outside interference in the region's affairs" (ibid. 277-78).

The intervention of these agencies also mediated the way residents of the region thought about the land. Local people adopted agency views and practices which, ironically, were entirely consistent with traditional, pre-timber industry practices. Workers in the timber industry today are quick to emphasize that their forests must be maintained through selective cutting, something they learned through "the conservation." Selective cutting, however, is not new to the Ozarks, nor was it introduced by "the conservation." It describes the practice of homesteaders who took only what they needed from the landscape.

In summary, local involvement in the timber industry beginning after the Civil War and continuing today under the management of the USDA Forest Service has fostered dependence on wages. Unlike the earliest corporate extraction however, the Forest Service and Missouri Conservation Department are commited to sustainable harvests of the resource, an approach that curries favor with community beneficiaries.

As the southeastern Ozarks recovered, fish and game rebounded and thousands of people came to the region for the hunting, fishing, and boating (ibid. 268). To encourage this new economic development, the state created formal tourist destinations in state parks that included Round Spring, Alley Spring and Big Spring.

Creation of the State Parks

Big Springs, Alley Spring, and Round Spring were all purchased by the State of Missouri and established as State Parks. There does not seem to have been major local opposition to State control of these areas. This may have been because state control would guarantee future local use and maintenance of these sites. Regardless, the management strategy the state used in the parks met with local approval in part because it mirrored local images of what "parks" should look like, and residents used and enjoyed the parks for frequent gatherings. Stories about Big Spring abound. People went to the lodge for dancing, and they

went to the spring branch to dangle their feet and cool off. The old folks bought ice cream and watched the tour boats come and go while children swam. A Van Buren man described the popularity of Big Spring.

> When I was a kid, they took over Big Springs State Park. [When it was a State operation] we were used to driving down there on Saturday evening. That was just a thing people in town did: they drove down there to see how many people were camped at Big Spring. And they drove down through the loop and looked at all the camps. Everybody did this.

Another Van Buren man recalls how the State Park aesthetic matched that of locals.

> We used to, you know, people would show up down at the Big Spring and cool their water melons in the spring branch. You were just down near the water when it was hot. So everybody was down near the water. You ended up getting along with everybody . . . These three state parks were well manicured, they were open, mowed areas. . . We all lived here in the woods, we all lived here in the trees, and to go to an area of open space is a unique thing, and some of those open areas are only provided in a state park.

State parks fortified certain aspects of the existing relationship between people and landscape. It affirmed the value of hard work associated with creating open spaces suitable for habitation, and it affirmed the local landscape aesthetic. Most importantly, through the creation of well-maintained, small-scale communal sites, local state parks promoted a sense of ownership of these public areas as residents incorporated them into family and community activities and, ultimately, into their identification with place.

Creating the National Park: Ozark National Scenic Riverways

In 1964, the ONSR became part of local history, bringing new faces, new rules, physical dislocation and profound changes in the relationship between long term residents and the land and rivers. Ironically, changes in use patterns and reduced access have intensified place identification, incited rebelliousness, and fortified local solidarity around a regional identity in opposition to park administration.

Local sentiment concerning the establishment of the park was mixed. A group of business people worked to establish the park, claiming that the ONSR would stimulate an economic boom for the area. They also argued that the rivers needed to be preserved because they feared if the ONSR were not established, the rivers would be destroyed by the construction of dams. Given that the State of Missouri had already procured Alley Spring, Big Spring, and Round Spring, and were operating them as very popular state parks, for many people it was a logical next step for the federal government to protect the rivers which are fed by those springs. A Carter County woman recalled this point of view.

> Used to you'd go up the river before it was all settled, and it would be "No" to the federal park. But the federal park to me has been alright... There were several influential people here, if you can call them that, that went to Washington D.C., and they wanted the park. ... They influenced the park coming here. But they said if it hadn't been that [the park], they would have dammed [the river].

Local opposition centered around those riverfront land owners who did not want to sell their farms and who believed the law of eminent domain to be an abuse of their private property rights. They believed that their history of having utilized and cared for the land and rivers for over a century was proof of their ability to properly manage the land and the rivers. There was also local debate over whether or not the proposed park, or "monument" as it was called, should come under the auspices of the National Park Service or the USDA Forest Service.

Whether people initially did or did not support the coming of the park, today there seems to be a general consensus that some riverfront farm owners were treated unfairly by the National Park Service in its procurement of land for the ONSR. Those sentiments exist for a variety of reasons. First, many people claim that those who cooperated with the park when they were first asked to sell, received much less money for their land than those who refused to cooperate and ultimately sued the government for higher compensation. This fostered a pattern of behavior in which cooperation was perceived to beget disrespect and exploitation, while non-cooperation produced greater financial gain. These beginnings also established the basis for persistent distrust of park management.

In many cases, land owners were hard-working ranchers, farmers, and timber workers who trusted their government to be ethical and fair. With few exceptions, people believe that no one was adequately compensated for their land, particularly those that had to sell good riverfront bottom-land farms, the best farm land in either county, and by far the most productive. The basis for this belief stems from reports that when sellers tried to buy farms outside ONSR boundaries, they did not have enough money to pay for them, and what they could afford was insufficient to make a living. Long term residents also complained that after they moved, the park either demolished their homes or rented them out to park service employees. Today, many who were forced to sell, can either find no trace of the homes and outbuildings built by their ancestors, or they find strangers living in their family homes.

A middle-aged, Carter County man conveyed his family story and the loss of their 340 acre riverfront farm. They had been self-sufficient there for three generations, raising cattle and hogs, wheat, barley, corn and hay. They had their own sawmill and cut their timber through the winter months. His mother raised a big garden and canned all summer long, and he remembers digging potatoes for her. The only thing they had to buy were clothes.

I was born down on the farm there. Then while I was in the service, I came back from Vietnam and didn't have a home. The park had it. Of course, some people took easements, but we are hard-headed, and we didn't want anybody telling us how we could farm our land. Actually, our farm down there, they took it away from us, and then they leased it to other people and let them raise hay and stuff off it. Wouldn't let us do that. Not even in an easement. They had so many ideas they didn't know what they were doing. All they knew, they wanted the land. And they came down there, I remember it was about '65, the guy came to the house. This is after he'd already appraised it and everything. And he was an overbearing, arrogant sonofabitch. He just said this is what we're going to offer you. Then dad just escorted him right out the door and into his car. Of course, my dad's a big man, 6'4", 210, something like that. But anyway, every time they'd come down there, they'd up their offer a little bit. But their attitude was like, you've got to take this. You've got to take this.

And my grandpa, he was living with us, and they scared my grandpa to death. Grandpa would have sold at the first offer. And dad, he let them condemn us, and took them to court, and of course he got more money. Well, I knew what was going on, and of course, there's nothing they could do. They did all they could. You know they just wrote letters and kept me updated. They just gave up there at the last. They knew they was screwed and there was nothing they could do about it. You know, you don't want to lose the place where you grew up. You put a lot of hard hours into that place. But still yet, $120 thousand back then was quite a bit of money, but for that farm now, $5 million wouldn't buy that farm.

Yeah, like I say, we didn't need nobody else. The government was going to get it one way or another. They come in here with guns a'blazing. But the way they went about it! They come in here thinking we was uneducated and needed them, and they was going to better our lives and all this. Hell, we're kind of back in the hills, but we're not stupid.

Finally, residents believe that no one should have been forced to sell any land that they did not want to sell, particularly for a project like the ONSR which is perceived to have been established purely for recreation. These feelings are underpinned by the dominant values for private property, autonomy, work, and strong bonds between family, community, and place histories in the landscape.

Certainly, there are those who believe that for some riverfront farm owners, the coming of the ONSR was a blessing. These include older folks whose children did not want to take over the farm and who felt relieved of the responsibility of owning the land. Other supporters believe the park protects the rivers today from outsiders whose behavior, without the enforcement of park rangers, would pose a threat.

> I think the park saved the river and saved the area because when a lot of people come here from away, they're getting down away from everybody and assume there's not any law, exactly as they wish. It would have been hard for the local people to have kept them in line. But by having the park service in there, park rangers to kind of keep them in tow, they've curbed a lot of the activities that they would have done otherwise I'm sure.

In short, views of the federal acquisition of the ONSR have been mixed from the beginning of the debate. Yet the predominant view of those in this study holds that creation of the park disrupted and altered traditional relationships with the land for many riverfront farm owners. In addition, residents were upset by what they perceived to be unfair treatment of these farmers. This process set the stage for the ongoing feelings of alienation from the land and rivers resulting in continued distrust of ONSR management and government institutions in general. Ironically, by separating residents from ancestral lands under terms widely deemed unfair, local claims to the region and resistance to its outsider managers were only intensified.

Identification with the region has become increasingly important in the political contestation over its management.

Changes in Management Strategies and Rules Governing the ONSR

A traditional landscape aesthetic, particular views of "management," and divergent interpretations of ONSR enabling legislation explain local dissatisfaction with NPS management regimes. This in turn fortifies the view that the area was better managed before the creation of the park, as expressed by this Park Service employee:

> We've done different management strategies over the years, the Park Service has, with different managers... They brought in their own perceptions of what should be here. But, underneath that, everybody remembers what was working here.

Shared assessments of ONSR history and management have increased community solidarity around specific issues. Residents see themselves as people who care about the land and rivers, about family and work and other community values. By contrast, ONSR managers are seen to care little for these things and various policies are offered as evidence that fuels the flame of local resentment. These are discussed below, beginning with differing interpretations of the enabling legislation that created the ONSR. This issue focuses on differing expectations of what would be preserved of the built environment, especially homesteads, roads, and cemeteries. Residents cited their organized effort to prevent ONSR from shutting down county roads which provided access to important cultural sites. A dispute also continues over ONSR jurisdiction to enforce loaded gun rules on county and state roads that run through the park. Finally, though legislation should have put the issue to rest, residents continue to resist what they see as Park Service determination to eliminate locally revered bands of feral horses from the park. While each of these examples replicates the pattern—residents construct a "we-they" dichotomy in opposition to the Park Service, affirm community solidarity, and discursively

maintain their prior claim to the Ozark landscape—the wild horse issue holds special significance. It symbolizes the community's experience as prior occupants, threatened by expulsion, yet successful in resistance to "the government."

Enabling legislation: Preservation and Access

Many residents believed that the language of the enabling legislation would preserve the watershed as it looked when it was purchased. They interpreted preservation of the area to include their homes, outbuildings, and fields, yet many were either destroyed or allowed to disintegrate after the ONSR purchase. A Carter County man described the destruction of the refreshment stand at Big Spring State Park.

> You know, they said they were going to leave it. 'Oh, we want everything to be preserved as it is.' But, they come in here, the first thing they do is pull that building down. Tore them steps out, which, that was a local hangout, you know.

Compounding these disappointments is road closings. Long-term residents, having aged, are only able to visit honored sites by car and so can no longer get to homesteads and family cemeteries. The only way to visit them is to hike through underbrush and uncleared land, a difficult if not impossible task for old timers. Those who can make the more difficult trip find them overgrown and unkempt. The following is excerpted from an interview with a Shannon County man:

> What they do, [they] haul rocks around and close these roads, they'll cut off your access to where you can't have the access that we presently have. And most of us who own these little ATVs are good people, conscientious people, and want things left in good shape. The fact that I do not have access in the manner I would like, to the places I would like to go [is the main problem for]... all my friends and peers, especially old people like me. Whenever they haul these big rocks up and down

> the road, putting them there, in the path; if an old person, especially a disabled person has to walk a quarter of a mile, which doesn't seem like much, but it's a complete block of the access. Well, they're doing it all up and down the river.

The following story, told by a fifth generation, Shannon County resident illustrates the deep and personal roots of local frustration.

> The old home place over on the Current River, that log house there, my cousin laid a farm through there, and then went through condemnation. Of course, my family cemetery is over there. My dad is buried there. My great-grandpa, and that side of the family. And it's just about, not more than two miles from here, down that hollow here. And the old county road cut down the creek, cross the river, and there was a ford you could get across and get up to the cemetery. Since the Park Service has been here, the road's been closed down, the only way into it.
>
> Like I say, you could walk, you'd be there in thirty minutes, forty minutes. Under an hour probably anyway to walk. Now it's about a 60 mile round trip drive with a four wheel drive vehicle to get in there, and sometimes that's almost impassable. And they took everything, took all our property, with the exception of one acre. They left that one acre down at the cemetery.
>
> My son and I went over there last year, and hadn't been there for years. It was unbelievable. I mean, we couldn't hardly find it. We got there, we just got out of the truck and climbed over the fence and started the chainsaw and started cutting right against the fence. We worked all day, and just barely cleared our family's graves.

Two points of contention can be gleaned from local dissatisfaction with park management stemming from different interpretations of the enabling legislation. First, locals assumed that their homesteads, other important sites, and access to these would become part of

the park, maintained as they were at the time of the ONSR purchase. Second, maintenance would thus reflect the local landscape ideology and aesthetic in which people understand the word "landscape" as a verb. That is, people relate to the landscape by taking an active role in transforming it into "productive" forms such as farms, roads, and cemeteries. Those residents interviewed in the present study find the current management strategy an affront to their crowning ancestral achievement: the homestead and community built from hard work to clear a space and make a life in and a living out of the wilderness. They view themselves as active managers of the land whose responsibility is to make it suitable for human habitation in a way that provides for basic human needs. Implicit in this philosophy are support for access and a belief in sustainable use of natural resources.

> I think that we're all in this area pretty much conservationists. To farm and make a living in this country here, you have to be a conservationist to do it. Live pretty frugal a lot of times. But I don't know of any local people here who are preservationists. There's a lot of difference in the two.

The difference between conservation and preservation, from a local point of view, is the difference between an active, practical, sustainable use strategy for the benefit of people and a protectionist management philosophy locals perceive to be indifferent to people's needs. When park managers have taken measures to protect park resources, as opposed to a "hands-off" approach, residents see a contradiction.

> They talk about natural habitat, but they don't tell you about all the wire cages and rocks they put on the bank to keep the river from taking Big Springs Park and the spring itself, because it's heading right across there toward the spring. So they don't say that. They kind of change their format once in awhile to benefit them.

According to a Park Service employee, this example describes the rebuilding of a 50-year old CCC project designed to protect Big Spring. Local residents wanted similar intervention on behalf of the environment built by their ancestors. In the words of a resident and Park Service employee: "The Park Service over-naturalized it to the point where nobody used it."

Firearm Regulations

A recent debate between community residents and the Park Service concerns whether or not the park can legally prevent people from carrying loaded guns in their vehicles. NPS regulation prohibits the carrying of a loaded weapon in a vehicle on any road which cuts through Park Service property. Apparently, while many roads going through the ONSR are county or state roads, the park regulation supercedes county and state law. As the following excerpt illustrates, some perceive this situation as a veiled attempt to harass and control them, and they view the regulation as unnecessary and unfair.

> They'll give you a ticket if they catch you with a loaded gun in your car. So I carry a gun that you just pull a pin and it falls to pieces. It's got to be unloaded or broke down, and I just pull a pin. I don't pull over for them until I've got the gun broke down. And they're always harassing, you know. They have nothing to do but bother people. And they know me. I don't hunt. I target practice. I shoot probably a thousand rounds a week. I just like to shoot. I don't kill any game, cause I don't want to clean the damn stuff. But I've always got a gun with me. Hell, I've had a gun with me since I was nine years old.

Those interviewed understand that this regulation did not originate with the ONSR and that it applies to all national parks. That ONSR managers did not promulgate the rule supports residents' desire for local autonomy with regard to park management. Park rules, they believe, should be relevant and meaningful within the local context, and this can only be accomplished

if local people and park managers are given the authority to make and enforce locally relevant rules. In this case, because hunting is allowed in the park, the proscription against loaded guns in vehicles travelling to the park for purposes of hunting seems irrational if not capricious. Enforcement with tickets and fines is thus interpreted as another attempt by government to limit the constitutional right to gun ownership.

Wild Horses

In the late 1980's, ONSR managers decided to remove three bands of feral horses roaming on park land. Trail riders (around whom a significant local industry has grown up in Shannon County), rodeo participants, and spectators are particularly fond of these bands of wild horses. In the early 90's, local activists banded together and garnered enough community support to take their desire to preserve the wild horses on ONSR land to the Supreme Court of the United States. The ONSR won a legal victory in the court, but politics prevailed in the park, and the ONSR, in anticipation of legislation, chose not to remove the horses. In 1996, a bill was passed allowing the horses to remain on ONSR land, and an agreement was entered into between ONSR and the Wild Horse League to manage the horses. Many asked us if we had heard about the wild horse issue proclaiming, "We won that one." The issue crystalized two decades of frustration and feelings of alienation from this area that is their home, and it stands today as a symbol of their struggle against what locals have come to identify as an unjust and powerful foe.

> The horses got lost. It got [to be] locals versus the National Park Service... That was even more important than the horses. Wham! Show them they can't just run us over. And they did. They really did!

A local old timer has written a poem which expresses the close identification of ONSR communities with the wild horses. Wild horses live in the landscape and so have an effect on

it. If that is sufficient justification for their removal, the poet asks, what is to protect the people who live there?

Old Man's Soliloquy

So the government wants to remove the horses
They eat too much vegetation they say,
Nibbling on tender young sprouts
Trampling down the buck brush
The farm boy use to dig out with a hoe,
Making trails on the hillside that soon become ditches.
The government goes all out to welcome black bear,
He eats something too I guess.
But he was here before the white man, so it's his country.
The government may want to remove the hillbillies
After all, we're not native here.
Came to this country in the early 1800's.
Didn't build any castles or cathedrals.
Didn't carve any statues or write great books.
Didn't make any marble monuments.
Just tilled the soil. Almost wore it out.
Cut the timber, burned the woodlands,
Fished the streams, destroyed the wildlife.
Let our livestock run free. Hogs rooting up plants.
Cattle eating on the tree branches.
Yeah, what right did we have here?
But we didn't ruin the hills after all. The rivers are still flowing.
Grass carpets the ground and the woods are dense and green.
If the pioneer with his axe and plow,
and his sons with guns and traps, and his women folk digging roots,
Raising chickens and children didn't ruin these Ozark hills,
How could a small herd of horses do it?

Law Enforcement Personnel

Residents of the southeastern Ozarks recognize the need for law enforcement. They argue, however, that park regulations frequently change, and that too many law enforcment personnel are heavy handed, inflexible, and unresponsive to the local community. In response to perceived capriciousness and bullying, Ozarkers have altered traditional relationships with the park.

> They do have rules and regulations, but you gotta have with as many people as there is... [but] there's too many rules and regulations and you never know when you break one... I'm wary of the park. We don't use the park. The natives don't use the park like they used to years ago.

A Shannon County man explained poor relations with the Park Service.

> What I find about the Park Service, the reasons they have so much trouble, most of these people with the government down there are maybe from Colorado, California, Pennsylvania; they have no idea what this country was or what it is like, or what people think. They know it all and you know nothin'.

The following excerpts are from Carter County men who describe their concerns with the behavior of law enforcement personnel:

> The major drawback of the Park Service is their law enforcement personnel. They're gung-ho. You know, you got these people carrying guns who've never seen anybody get killed. ... And the rules and regulations ... you've got to keep up on them and they'll have new ones everytime you turn around. They're always harrassing me you know, they have nothing to do but bother people. And they know me! ... They're arrogant sons of bitches. They've got them big stiff belts, them holsters up too high; they couldn't draw their gun! It's a power trip for

them. And there's one guy they've got down here. He's dangerous. He's nuts. I think he wants to shoot somebody because he's pulled a gun on several locals over nothing. A guy and his son was getting a picnic table out of a drift last spring, and he come up on them and pulled a gun on them and they said his hand was shaking, his voice was shaking, and he had a gun on this kid's head!

I think the younger rangers are just gung-ho: "We're going to get anybody we can get, and we're going to do just what we want to do. We are the power, and we'll show it." Where it used to be, the rangers were like, "We'll try and get along with you." Don't put it right in their face you know ... don't show us and tell us you're going to do something. But now they get a look ... and as far as sitting in the brush waiting for somebody to mess up, well, I don't agree with that. I think it's kind of an invasion of your privacy you know, sitting there with a spotting scope from a mile down the river watching you float a mile in an inner-tube, waiting for you to do something wrong.

A lot of them, you'll be floating down the river and they'll want to pull over and check your boat and check your fishing license, check all your numbers and everything. And it's like, it's none of your damned business. I'm not bothering nobody. Get away from me and leave me alone. But it's a power thing for a lot of them.

A Carter County man would like to see a ranger with these characteristics:

Well, he can talk to people. He's got the type of personality that he can. He doesn't just jump in and arrest you. He uses some common sense. He won't even bother you unless you're doing something.

The management strategies employed by the ONSR and the corresponding rules governing those strategies have added fuel to the fire started with the original land acquisition, and so they have only widened the gap between residents and park management. These regulations are made manifest by park law enforcement and their interactions with local people.

Conflict not only exists with some regulations, but conflict is also generated by how, when, and why law enforcement personnel choose to enforce these regulations, and each specific point of contention solidifies local opposition to park management.

Tourism

Perhaps the first "tourists" in the southeastern Ozarks called themselves hunters and trappers. Those who came later, courted by timber interests and charmed by the beautiful scenery, enjoyed the same activities. Beginning with the first homestead incentives in the region, its land, rivers, forests, and wildlife have been romanticized, "packaged," and sold. Tourism in the southeastern Ozarks was early on packaged in a particular way, one that regaled the prospective visitor with the beautiful landscape and abundant fish and wildlife, but also pejoratively caricatured the host population. Derogatory, misrepresentations of Ozark "hillbillies" proliferated, as Conrad Hammar wrote in 1935, "Frontier attitudes were in many respects those of a strong but untutored novice, who having successfully learned how to defy parental discipline, kept both hands busy in a vast cooky jar, the bottom of which was so far away that he quickly forgot all about bottoms." (Hammar 1935:3) The analogy sees Ozarkers as defiant and short-sighted children who do not know what is best for them. It ignores their history, already well established when this quote was written, of survival in harsh territory. Residents believe that these kinds of characterizations still inform external perceptions that explain the disrespectul treatment by visiting tourists.

Tourists bring noise, pollution, drugs, disrespect, and often aggressive behavior. As one interviewee put it, "Tourism, you know, it's fed me a lot of meals. I can't talk badly about it. But I don't like the people that show up here." Several people said they would not let their children near the river during summer weekends because of the behavior of the tourists. One couple lamented that their children couldn't grow up on the river as they did because, "We just didn't consider it safe enough for our children to be down there by themselves." Almost everyone we spoke to had a story of an offensive or shocking encounter with a disrespectful,

and usually intoxicated tourist. Young people in Van Buren claimed, "We get goofed on, cussed at, beat up, flashed..." A Shannon County old timer explained why he no longer takes his family to the river.

> You're apt to see anything. It's very bad. I'll just tell you it'll make your face red ... We went a-camping up on the Current River at Cedar Grove. Me and my son were taking a canoe. We went down the river and when we come back up the river there was a man and a girl on a gravel bar. They didn't have no clothes on... They don't care if the kids are there; they go to the bathroom. It's pathetic. This old man was standing on this bank fishing. Here come these canoes down and what did they do? They just come right up there where he was standing on the bank and run their boats right up. Now that was ill mannered of them. They'd done run down there where he was fishing, and then they turn back around and run up on the bank in their canoes. He wasn't bothering them. They could have went on down the river a ways and got out... It's ridiculous. They haven't got no respect for nobody.

There is also a sense that the pleasures of the park have been appropriated from local users and transferred to tourists who are preferred by park managers and privileged by park rangers. A Carter County man described the difficulty and resulting resentment:

> Since the inner-tubes have popped up on the scene, that's what all this controversy had been about because it's a big fight. You'll be going up the river, trying to be as careful as you can be, you know, to not run over anybody... Any boat owned by an individual or a canoe or anything has to be licensed and paid through the state. Got a water patrolman out there, he's checking on you. Make sure you got your numbers and your this and that... Yet an inner-tube is turned loose with no control. You can't control an inner-tube.

Residents believe that the tourist trade has changed for the worse in the last several years. They remember wealthier tourists and families coming to the state parks, and to ONSR during the 1970's. However, for the last several years, the perception is that the rivers have become "party rivers" that attract unruly individuals rather than families. "Use to, you had the very expensive tourist. I mean they came here to fish the river. And now you get the ones that want to get drunk."

Concessionaires see the tourists somewhat differently. They believe that the "party river" atmosphere is changing once again and that more families are coming to the area. As one concessionaire reported:

> Well, basically we went from what started out in the 60's and up in the early 70's from Boy Scouts, churches and college groups; we went from that to just totally wild parties in the 70's, late 70's which was too wild really. I'll admit that. If I'd been a little younger, I could have stood it better, but they got out of hand... And then we had that down trend, and now we're building back more toward families.

Different perspectives may be explained by different positions relative to tourism. Concessionaires are members of the community who benefit directly from the tourist trade. They must negotiate a difficult balance between what is good for business and what is good for their community. An older concessionaire expresses this kind of ambivalence.

> Well I think we could handle more canoes than what we've got. But I don't want to see it go to a Branson type, just total mass confusion all the time. [A researcher] out of SIU has done an ongoing study since 1973 on visitation and the visitors' perception and all this. I totally disagree with a lot of his theories, but I think the number would sort itself out. People, when it becomes too congested, they start venturing off. But the system that we've got now, the way it's set up, it's hard to survive.

Tourism today creates significant differences in the ways local people interact with their landscape because tourism and tourists intrude into spaces which were previously common property resources used by residents. Rivers enjoyed for fishing, boating, and family recreation are now taken over in the summer months by canoeists and tubers who behave very badly by local standards.

In addition to limiting where local people feel they can go comfortably and safely, tourism also interferes with scheduling of ONSR area residents' recreational activities. Residents in our sample say they will not go out on the river on a summer Saturday because of the crowds. Locals prefer to motor up and down the river while tourists prefer to canoe or float tubes, and the sheer number of tubes makes motor boating difficult. Between Memorial Day and Labor Day, locals either do not go to the river on weekends, or they avoid it altogether and use it only in the off season. A common saying by participants in our study was that, on a July Saturday, you can nearly walk across Current River on the tubes at Van Buren and not get wet. Fights among locals and tourists are not uncommon, and can often be attributed to tension between local boaters and visiting tubers. Some gravel bar brawls have become legendary.

> They had a terrible fight up here. It's been two years ago. I mean, it was like ten tourists and ten local boys, and they got out on the gravel bar, and they went at it. I mean, it was a bloodbath. And come to find out, the ten boys from Southern Illinois were trouble. And they had instigated this fight. But what they didn't understand was they bit off more than they could chew. They got their ass kicked and went home. But for months after that, they was threatening, 'There's going to be charges filed.'

Tourism has not only changed the relationship between people and the landscape by intruding into previously local spaces and interfering with local schedules of use; it has also

altered the distribution of the benefits of the park resources within the community. River access has been effectively expropriated from local residents who hunted, fished, boated, swam, and played when and where they chose. Now, it appears to residents that privileged access is granted concessionaires, tourists, and a few local entrepreneurs who serve tourists' needs. While the benefits of this transfer include more tourists' dollars circulating in the community, residents have nevertheless experienced reduced access to ONSR resources resulting in feelings of alienation from what was once theirs and their ancestors' and bitterness toward park personnel and concessionaires.

In general, one can say that residents feel frustration over what they perceive as loss of control over the area. An entrepreneur in Van Buren said, "Local people have no input. They ought to have more input than people in the northwestern part of the state should have, in my opinion, because they know what's going on. They live here." In spite of their feeling excluded from management decisions and being pushed out of the way by tourists and park rangers, most still claim the park as their own.

> They [park personnel] think of it as their land. It's not their land. It's my land, and it's your land. It's everybody's that pays federal taxes. It's their land. It's not five rangers' park. It's our park.

Summary

The history of institutional mediation in the southeastern Ozarks includes strong forces that worked to detach resident communities from the landscape: wages and consumerism introduced in earnest after the Civil War; removal of huge tracts of land from local control over exploitation beginning with timber extraction by private businesses and continuing today with the USDA Forest Service; creation of state parks and the ONSR that involved relocation of farm families under eminent domain, followed by relocation and alienation under new management philosophies and regimes; and tourism, a seasonal invasion into the Ozarks landscape. Residents do show signs that the ties that bind them to the land and rivers have

been somewhat loosened, yet counterveiling trends act to tighten the knots. Among these are, from a local retrospective view, reproduction of the local landscape aesthetic in state parks and, continuing today, the persistence of those internal mediating institutions: family, within which ancestral traditions are re-enacted in modified forms, and community, whose region-wide self-awareness grows in defense against those forces that tend to fragment it. The irony is that sources of external mediation that have worked to undermine local claims to the region have fortified those internal institutions in significant ways. External actions have ultimately induced an opposite reaction in many residents who today are reasserting their claims to the land and rivers through the voice of a new regional identity. Whether local responses will help assure a healthy future for Ozark residents and the regional landscape is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter VI

WHAT TOMORROW MAY BRING

The southeastern Ozarks has changed in some important ways. With the arrival of sawmills, mines, and other manufacturing industries, diversified household economies incorporated wage labor. Cash income and the working relationships that generate it are profoundly different from kin-based subsistence production; social relations are altered, time allocations adjust to employers' schedules, basic necessities formerly produced must now be purchased, and commodity availability and marketing redefine "needs" to include more of the wide array of things that can only be acquired with the exchange of dollars. Among these new commodities are life-changing technologies, particularly the automobile and mass communications through television. Exposure to a bigger, more class-stratified consumer society catalyzes the orientation to money and things, and even recreation need no longer involve family or community. What defines "a good life" changes to include the symbols of affluence, and, to purchase these, the definition of "a good job" must also change.

The loss of job opportunities with the closing of manufacturing plants coupled with population growth in Carter and Shannon Counties suggest that the coming years will provide many challenges for residents concerned about the economy of the ONSR area. A consequence already patterned in the region is the emigration of young people, a particularly ominous sign not only for the economy but for revered traditions, family and community cohesion, and regional character. Only to the extent that enough youth stay and returning migrants remember local values and traditions will the region, in the long run, avoid its worst fear: transformation into "a Branson." Outmigration of youth is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for such transformation, however, as local abandonment would need to be conjoined with substantial investments in infrastructure and advertising as well. At present, economic investment, like youth, seems to be leaving the region.

The frequently vocalized perception that "Our biggest export is high school seniors" is substantiated by the statistical reality of population trends. Both counties experience a population decrease beginning in the 15 to 19 age bracket and continuing into the 20 to 44 age bracket, with a 53.3% emigration rate for Carter County and a 49.2% emigration rate for Shannon County. Locally, the explanation for this trend is that students leave for college and work opportunities which are not available in the area. Adults and youth alike view this lack of employment as a serious problem whose consequences include alienating young people from their heritage. One man who recently returned to live in Eminence suggested:

> I'd like to see some things that the kids could do that we could educate them for here so that everybody could stay here and be a part of their roots here. That's why I wasn't raised here, because there was nothing to do.

Complementing this perception—that young people leave because there is no economic opportunity for them in the area—is the notion that young people would stay if the opportunities were there. Though youth in this study indicated a fairly typical wish to spend time away from home, they unambiguously expressed the desire to remain in the area. One Van Buren senior claimed, "I would stay if there was good jobs here." Four of the eight students in the Van Buren High School focus groups and two of the four students in the Eminence High School focus group agreed with him that they would stay in the ONSR area if they could make a living there.

In spite of this desire to stay, students believed that having that chance is unlikely. One young girl in Eminence explained why she believed it would be impossible to stay in the area by saying, "Basically, you can't make a living here... I've been here too long. I mean, you just can't do it." Every young person in our study acknowledged they would probably have to leave the ONSR area, even if many of them would prefer to remain where their family roots were planted. All eight of the Van Buren focus group students planned to go to college.

Continuity of Tradition: From the Past into the Future

Though young people may not be able to stay in the area, those interviewed continue to share many of the values of their ancestors. Perhaps most prominently among these young people, family, hunting, and the river retain their traditional places of importance.

In the past, the maintenance of family ties was necessary for survival; for young people in the ONSR today, families still provide a valued support system. In focus groups at both Eminence High School and Van Buren High School, family was mentioned as a major reason why the area was important to the participants. Young people know their family histories and ancestral connections—seven of the eight Van Burn students had grandparents raised in the area—and they know the history of the ONSR. Though many said they would leave, all asserted they would come back to visit family and favorite places.

Eminence High School publishes a profile of one member of the senior class each week in the local paper, *The Current Wave*. These individual profiles further revealed the important position family holds in the lives of the young people in Shannon County. We examined thirty-three senior profiles from the classes of 1998 and 1999. One question asked, "If you could spend time with anyone in the world, living or dead, who would it be?" Of the thirty-three interviews, ten would rather spend time with a family member than anyone else, most commonly a grandfather. Another question asked, "Who is your hero?" Twelve mentioned family members as personal heroes, and these were usually parents. An additional question asked, "What are you most proud of?" Rather than personal accomplishments, eleven seniors said they were most proud of their families or of a specific family member.

Economically and culturally, family continues to be the core unit in social structure of the ONSR region. This is evident not only in the recognition of value for family observed in the younger generation, but in the role family plays in the development of other values and traditions. Hunting is one such example of a tradition which is reaffirmed through family bonds. Because hunting is an activity that is passed down, usually from father to son, the young people in the ONSR share the hunting legacy of their parents, and hunting promises to

be important to area residents for generations to come. Fathers teach their sons, often by example, how to use a gun and dress the animals. One boy explained how the training and supervision worked in his house.

> My dad, he used to let me go out by myself. He went out with me the first few times, and then he said I could go out by myself. Until I told him I almost shot somebody, and he goes with me now!

Young men especially are generally enthusiastic hunters, both for sport and for food. Furthermore, game meat continues to be appreciated among some youth as part of a household diet. One young man in Eminence explained.

> Wild meat, it's a lot better for you than store-bought meat. You know where it came from. That's why at my house we usually butcher our own through the summertime and freeze it.

In a direct relationship with the love for hunting, a practical anti-waste ethic is also learned from older generations. Boys in our Eminence focus group condemned the idea of hunting only for choice portions of deer meat.

> What I don't like about the way most people hunt is they'll just take the best meat of the animal and leave the rest of it. Like the tenderloins and the ham and that's it... That makes me mad because, you know, there's people that could take that.

Additionally, there is a general view that it is usually outsiders who are hunting indiscriminately. "My family, we hunt for food, just for the meat. But most people now just came in from all over, they just hunt for sport. They shoot at anything."

The hunting tradition is one which is deliberately cultivated in the younger generation of ONSR residents. Hunter safety courses can be taken at the age of fourteen, and a hunting license can be acquired at the completion of the course. The love for hunting and the places to

hunt are something the older generation hopes will be available to their children and grandchildren.

> Oh, what I would like to have, if I was able to do it, would be a big piece of land, and I'd fix it to where they'd have some hunting grounds. They all love to hunt. That's what I'd like to leave them.

Rivers are also a source of recreation and pride for the youth of the ONSR as they were for their ancestors. According to focus groups in both Van Buren and Eminence, they are among the best things about living in the area and one of the reasons they will return, if only to visit. In this way, the rivers link the past, the present, and the future. They remain sites where families and other groups congregate and renew their social bonds. One young girl at Eminence High School explained her time on the river with family and friends.

> Whenever my mom's side of the family comes down like on the Fourth of July, and we do fireworks here and stuff because we can, you know, down here. ... They'll stay a few days, and we usually go down to the river and swim and stuff. ... Our church has gone. We get these people to go and we go floating or something like that.

Youth interact with the river in other ways as well. As mentioned earlier, riverside hang-outs attract swimmers, boaters, sun-bathers, and just those looking to socialize with their friends. Many youth fish, and some young people, especially young men, gig as well. Gigging, like hunting, is usually something learned from older male relatives. One boy told how his father taught him to gig: "My dad just said to get up on the front of the boat and try not to fall in the river."

The river is also a link to the heritage of the area and a way for young people to explore an interest in their past. Two young men in Van Buren are working on a john-boat project for a high school history class. One of their fathers built john-boats, and, as the boys said, "We figured if we'd do a history project, we'd better be interested in it, so that's what we're doing. We talked to Dad."

Because of their connection to the river, there is a conservation ethic present among the youth in our survey. The young people in the ONSR area are very protective of the rivers, and each focus group lamented the fact that they felt tourists, and sometimes local residents "trashed" the river. In a discussion of how they felt people should interact with the river and the park, the Eminence focus group voiced their frustrations with the lack of respect for the environment.

Boy #1 Make the people stop trashing it. You know, if they're going to party, that's fine, but the least they could do is clean up their mess.

Boy #2 It's not mainly us, but it's the tourists, you know, coming down here and throw a beer here and a can here. If they want to do that, then they ought to pick it up at the same time.

Girl #1 I think it's sad that people throw their stuff everywhere, and it just brings the beauty of everything down.

Though the value youth share with their parents for family, hunting, and the river keep them connected to the area, there is another connection to home: a sense of stability and safety that comes with rural life, and this makes leaving difficult. Even those who wish to leave find that it is not as simple as it seems. One high school senior in Van Buren articulated the ambivalence she felt.

> This is what I realized. Because I drove past Chattanooga Tennessee like three weeks ago by myself, because that's where I want to move to go to college. So I drove all the way down there, and I'm like, I hate this place. I really don't like Van Buren. I can't wait to get out. But, when I was down there, I realized that I kind of really do like it here. And it's not the people, and it's not what the town has to offer me, it's just the security of knowing everything's going to be the same. You don't have to wake up in the morning and think, am I going to get shot walking to the Jolly Cone? Or is somebody going to break into my

> house and steal my TV if I leave my front door unlocked while I go to the grocery store? Or, when you go to the post office, you know everybody who's in there, and you can say hi. It's just the security of knowing that everything is going to be the same.

Part of this hesitancy to leave the area stems from an old and persistent distrust of outsiders. This distrust stems from unfamiliarity in a place where familiarity, as the young woman explains above, means security. One rural Shannon County man described his view of newcomers.

> Take a lot of people. California, for instance. You don't know your next door neighbor, and they've got the same opinion when you move places. They don't want no neighbors, no friends, or nothing. Kind of like the friend over here. He didn't have no neighbors, no friend, or nothing, and didn't want none. But he soon found out what the people was like here, and in about two years, (he's) altogether different from what he was when he first came here. A lot of the old ones here are pretty close, used to be pretty close. But a lot of new people [are] moving in here.

The fact that there are indeed "a lot of new people" moving in means that the tight-knit and interdependant communities of the past are changed and will continue to evolve. The area attracts retirees and others captivated by its beauty, thereby changing the community's social character. In particular, as newcomers arrive with new ways of thinking and being, the sense of community that coheres around shared history and knowledge is undermined. Though immigrants to the area may provide an economic boost, the social impact of a growing outsider presence will continue to change the area's character and social dynamics.

The experience of realtors in the area concur that the major part of the real estate market is in rural areas where buyers want 5 acres with hunting and or fishing access. The largest number of properties sold are to people who are retiring and or moving back to the area. They typically have made their income elsewhere and want to retire in a scenic area or to "return home". There is a market for higher priced homes (in Carter County, homes ranging from

$250,000 to $300,000) which have river front access on the two mile stretch within Van Buren, but a realtor estimated that this comprises only 5% of properties sold. In addition, many nicer homes at the upper end of the market are purchased and sold by ONSR employees. In addition to these groups, few newcomers to the area include, "a lot of Y2K fearing folks; people looking for a place at the end of the road with a spring."

New Technologies and Potential for Changed Expectations and Values

Young people agree that life is very different for them than it was for their parents and grandparents. Technology has been a major part of that shift. Television, the Internet, print media, and improved transportation have all played a role in exposing youth to a bigger world and much more information than past generations had to assimilate. The youth in our survey understood how important that technology was to their experiences, as they explain in this focus group excerpt.

Girl: We've practically grown up with it, you know. We've grown up with computer technology. It's a big thing now, and then it wasn't as much a part of people's lives as it is now.

Boy: On television they have, like, National Geographic, and you can learn off of that. ... With computers you can learn how to do stuff different than what they had because if they made a mistake, they lost their job or something, and we can go back and fix a mistake.

Boy: I think also computers help us by, like, if you work on cars and stuff, they more or less tell you what's wrong and what's going bad.

New technology and the knowledge of how to apply it is something which distances some of the youth in our survey from their parents. As one boy said, "Well, my dad, he doesn't like all the new technology. He's 48. He's old. He thinks it's bad for you." Technological advances do tend to set youth apart from the generations before them, in part by

altering social experience. Young people explained the differences resulting from these technological changes in several ways. "We learn things a lot younger." "We'll probably experience more of a variety of things." "I think we deal with a lot more things now, like earlier. Like things that they dealt with in their early twenties, we're dealing with now." "Things are more publicized now than they used to be, so we see a lot more than maybe they saw." "We're just more aware of what is going on."

Technological changes allow youth of the ONSR to observe opportunities away from the place in which they were raised. At the same time, as explained earlier in this section, the lack of job opportunities, made more dramatic by recent factory closings in the area, make it nearly impossible for young people to stay in the area and produce the lifestyle they desire. This combination of push and pull factors is responsible for the 'exportation' of high school seniors that distresses so many community members.

Tourism and Conservationists in the Region

In the future, the mixture of conservationists, concessionaires, tourists, locals, and park personnel which contributes to the intriguing complexity of social and ecological relationships in the area is likely to become more tangled as new issues arise and ideologies continue to clash. Though fundamental differences in management philosophies and objectives probably make further conflict inevitable, the value for conservation of the area's unique resources could unite all these factions in common cause.

The complicated interactions of the many groups involved in the ecological affairs of the region, as well as the unpredictability of recreational patterns themselves, make it difficult to speculate which direction tourism development will take. With industry failing, tourism brings needed revenue and jobs to the area, and some feel that it can truly benefit the towns of Eminence and Van Buren. Others feel that the additional tourist traffic will destroy what is attractive and desirable about the area. A newcomer conservationist explained.

> I think at least along the Scenic Riverways, the one thing that is really going to help this area is the fact that we have one of the most beautiful, untouched places to go and enjoy nature. It's also going to be the thing that is absolutely going to ruin it. ... I mean, you can love a place to death.

It is perhaps the concessionaires of the ONSR whose interests are at the heart of the question of the future of tourism in the area. They have a lot to gain financially from increasing the number of visitors to the park each year, but, for many of them, the issue is not so straight-forward. There are several factors they say they must consider. First, many of the concessionaires in our survey were raised locally, and they have concerns with local issues of heritage, access, and user rights. Second, they are dependant on the National Park Service and tourism for their livelihood, and so they depend on the health and beauty of the rivers. Third, they are businessmen who need certain levels of river traffic to make their seasons profitable. One concessionaire on Current River explained the conflict of interest he felt about future tourism development in the area.

> We have something very rare, this clear water, and the river and stuff. It's very unique. As far as the potential of tourism, we could develop. It could be developed into a Branson, if we wasn't careful, so we need that balance. We need the balance that the Park Service controls, although sometimes I don't agree with their controls. But, I see the need for that, to keep the business person from over-commercializing. But it's hard to look at it from a business standpoint, because most business people, including myself, never seem to get enough. You know, you always want to be bigger, and more... I think we could handle more people, if we could spread them out more.

Although many concessionaires claimed that tourist numbers had fallen off since the peak in the late seventies, several study participants raised the question of whether more people would help the area, or if a different kind of tourist was necessary. This is an area where the philosophies of conservationists and concessionaires mesh. As mentioned before, the tourists

to the area generally spend very little money because they camp and bring their own supplies. Even those whose main objective is conservation rather than profit realized that in order to be protected, the area needs to be valued and utilized. A conservationist who studied economic projections explained the dilemma.

> We have four kinds of tourist here, and not a single damn one of them spends very much money on average. We have people come down and do trail rides. They have money, and they drop money at the trail rides, but they don't really spend money anywhere else because they're self-contained. You have the windshield tourist, you know, driving through. They don't spend money. You have the floaters on the river, and most of them don't spend any money, as we didn't when we were coming down here to float. You know, you bring most of your stuff with you, and we bring our own canoe, you're not even renting a canoe, and you camp on a gravel bar... So anyway, it seems to me that as long as our approach to tourism here is to increase numbers, we're not going to do anything. And I also would be more emphatically against any kind of major fancy resort or Branson kind of deal or anything like that as anybody. But it seems to me there's some middle ground. If we're going to have our economic future tied to the resource base in this area, we've got to increase the tourism dollar without, say, doing a Branson or a Lake of the Ozarks.

This vision of the future, one where tourism expands to help the community but does not "become another Branson," is common ground shared by both conservationists and concessionaires. However, the fact remains that tourism benefits are unequally distributed in the community, and the non-tourism dependent resident of the area is not compensated for the loss of access to the resources of his ancestors. Though this will not likely change in the future, several interviewees mentioned that they hoped tourism would develop to include a larger part of the community. Concessionaires, not surprisingly, generally felt that to encourage tourism development in town and beyond the summer season would be positive for everyone. A lower Current River concessionaire revealed his hope for the future.

number of areas, including cemeteries, locally valued heritage sites, and places along the rivers where local people, particularly the elderly, can no longer visit. (See Appendix B) Because inaccessibility is interpreted locally as Park Service indifference to resident history and sentiment, we suggest a follow-up invitation to identify and reopen those sites to which residents have a felt need for access.

10) The presence of local people in Park Service management positions increases confidence in management decisions. At present, the Park Service hires locals into maintenance positions, and many rangers and one unit manager are from the region. The ONSR offers important employment benefits to resident populations, but hiring patterns have not affected the perception that management decisions are made without significant local input. We suggest more local people be hired and trained for management. In particular, local young people should be cultivated as future managers in the ONSR through the continued development of part-time and internship positions. The park could further encourage this group, while simultaneously improving local relations, by offering scholarships to high school graduates to study in areas relevant to park management.

11). Recommendations for Future Studies

We suggest a study of the potential for mediation between NPS administration in the ONSR and local communities. Our study has found significant evidence of distrust and hostility for the NPS. Yet we also found common ground between the interests of the Park Service and those whose lives have been affected by its management. A study that focused specifically on areas of contention and agreement, historically situated, would provide the necessary information to mediate local conflict such that park management and local residents could come together in mutual support of each other and the park. Such a study, especially because it would be carried out in this hotly contested area, could set a precedent and stand as a model for park managers nationwide.

A correlary study necessary to develop mutual understanding in the region is a study of the Park Service in the ONSR. While the present study opens a window on local points of view, opinions, and experiences, it does not presume to speak empirically about the Park Service. Recommendation #6 above, as well as the previous recommendation to study the potential for mediation, could both benefit from a study of "Park Service culture." This study could include the history of both successful and failed programs that attempted to involve local participation as a way to better predict success in future programs. It might also compare former NPS employees who are originally from the region, NPS employees who migrated in and stayed, and NPS employees who migrated in but transferred out. Such a study could help identify successful employee characteristics as well as NPS management strategies as these affect employee retention.

Another study we recommend is a study of women in the region. The stereotype of overworked and underappreciated subordinate women in the Ozarks is contradicted by this study's preliminary observations of many women's entrepreneurial and other professional activities. A study of historical, stable, and changing roles of southeastern Ozark women (long-term residents as well as more recent immigrants), and implications for enculturation of the next generation, would shine a light on this half of the population as well as on the future of the region's culture.

Appendix B

INTERVIEW FORMAT

I: Family History in the Region

A. Arrival:

When did your family come to this area? Where was your family from before they moved here? Why did they move to the ONSR area?

B. Occupations:

What forms of formal and informal employment did your ancestors pursue? Farming? Hunting? Fishing? Timber? Is there a line of work that runs in your family? What work did the women in your family do?

C. Social Activities:

What were celebrations and gathering events in the community you remember from your youth or from ancestors stories? Where were these held? Were there family events as well as community events? What did young people and adults do for entertainment? What role did the river play in social events? Music and dance? School functions?

D. Stories/ Songs:

What stories do you remember and would you like your grandchildren to know about your family here? Are there songs that were important to you and that youíd like to pass on to them?

E. Special Places:

Do you know where your family homesteaded? Do you visit the site still? What are other sites of significance to your family? Gravel bars? Cemeteries? Park areas?

II. Contemporary Life in the ONSR

A. Family:

Who in your family lives here now? How often do you see each other? Do those who have moved away come back to visit? Family reunions? What occupations do your family members pursue? Do any of members of you family work for the Park Service or have they in the past? Any concessions in the family? What kind of things do you do together as a family? Are there places that are important to your family?

B. Personal Financial Strategy:

How do you support yourself/ your family? Employment and other financial enterprises and ways to make money? Informal sector opportunities? Spouse employment?

C. Use of Land and Rivers:

Do you go to the river? When do you go and what do you do? Do you use the Park? When and how and with who? If not, why not? Do you keep a garden? Do you can/ preserve your produce?

D. Hunting and Fishing:

What do you hunt/fish for? Who do you go with? Who taught you to hunt/fish? Do you fish or hunt for food or sport? Do you gig? Stories?

E. Other Activities:

Boating? Hiking? Story-telling? Music? Sports?

III. Areas of Change and Future Trends

A. Relationship with Land and Rivers:

How is your relationship to the landscape different from your ancestorsí? How has the relationship changed in your lifetime? Are there activities you no longer participate in? Are there new activities? What are some causes of these changes? Regulations? Park management? Local/ State/ Federal government? Economy? Tourists? What role do environmentalists play in the community?

B. Other Changes:

What have been some other changes in the area since your ancestorsí time or more recently? Positive or negative? How do these changes effect your ability to make a living here? Remain in the area?

C. What would you like to see for the future?

What would you like to see happen in the community? With the park? Development of tourism? Industry? What opportunities do you want your children/ grandchildren to have?

D. What do you expect for the future?

Is what you expect to see different from what you hope to see? How and why?

IV. Culture

A. Conception of Ozark Culture:

Do you think there is a distinct culture here? How do you describe it? Are their particular material markers? Art? Architecture? Language? Music?

B. Identity:

Who is an Ozarker, i.e. what members make up Ozark culture? What values are important to Ozarkers? Identification with place? Difference in insider/outsider definitions of Ozarker? What does the term "hillbilly" mean to you?

C. Cultural change and continuity

How has Ozark culture changed? How has outsider perception of Ozark culture changed? What do you see for the future?

V. Supplemental questions for Business Owners

A. General Description of Business:

Describe your business. Who is your clientele? Who are your suppliers? How would you describe the fiscal health of you business?

B. Dependence on Tourism:

How dependent is your business on tourism? On the ONSR? Are you a concessionaire? If so, for how long? What challenges do you face when reporting to the park? Would you like to see more tourism development in the area?

C. Role in Community:

What do you see to be your role in the community? Providing jobs? Stimulating economy? Do you buy locally? Are you involved in local government or Chamber of Commerce? What do you perceive to be the main economic concerns and hopes of the community?

VI. Supplemental Questions for Youth

A. Future Plans:

What are your plans for the future? College? If so, where? Job? What kind of employment? Will you stay in the area? In Missouri? Why or why not? If you could get a good job here, would you stay? Why or why not? What make you want to stay? What makes you want to leave?

B. Areas of Continuity and Discontinuity

How do you think your generation is different from your parentsí generation? What opportunities do you have that they didn't? What problems? How do you think you are the same? What about values, are they the same or different? How is the way you use the land and rivers similar or different?

Appendix C

CULTURAL RESOURCES

As a result of our study, we have identified various places significant to residents of the southeastern Ozarks which they would like to see restored or protected, or which could be considered for development as new cultural resource sites. The first of these is restoration of the former state parks at Alley Spring and Big Spring. Residents, particularly in Shannon County, have fond memories of visiting Alley Mill. Currently they believe it to be in disrepair and maintained well below the standard employed when it was a state park. They would like to see it restored as a working mill complete with demonstrations such as the liquor making exhibit and the simulated pioneer school. They are aware of plans to carry out restoration of the mill, but because they've been waiting many years, they believe the project to have been abandoned.

Residents would also like to see the walkway behind Big Spring restored. If the dangers of falling rocks cannot be mitigated to make reopening safe, it may be possible to address the local sense of loss by encouraging the development of Big Spring in other ways. They would like to have greater use of the Spring Branch in order that the site could once again become a place for local people to gather. Specifically, they recall and would like to see restored a building next to the branch where ice cream was served, and a series of steps leading down to it where older people could sit, eat ice cream, and watch the tourists and young people swimming.

Additional cultural resources that could be developed and maintained are cemeteries and the roads leading to them within park boundaries. Many people would like access to Blairs Creek, which is currently inaccessible by car. These areas figure significantly into the living memories of local people and they are focal points around which the history of the region is maintained.

Appendix D

INTERPRETIVE TOPICS

Our data suggest that the following topics could be developed as educational tools to benefit both tourists and Park Service employees.

1. Description and explanation of local fishing techniques and technologies. This could include a history of fire fishing, of john boat building, of gig spear making and various other fishing techniques. It should also include corresponding forms of fishing etiquette; e.g., how does one approach, or not, a fisherperson while canoeing or tubing on the river.

2. Presentations on local traditions of self-sufficiency including descriptions of how Ozark families provided for themselves and for their communities. This should include an explanation of the diversity of household income strategies which incorporated food and livestock production with timber work, blacksmithing, mining and other income resources to sustain the household. Corresponding local ecological knowledge of growing and gathering techniques, forestry, hunting and fishing, and household maintenance are a part of this story. Local activities including Fourth of July festivals, family reunions, barn raisings, and square dances are also important to local tradition. An emphasis on the cultural continuity of local values over time, and a representation of local people as a unique community who still maintain the core values of that tradition would support and promote regional pride in the positive attributes of the "Ozark hillbilly".

3. Local ethnoecology and the corresponding folk wisdom which it reinforces, e.g. traditional medicinal value of plants in the area. Residents who bear this knowledge could be hired to share it with tourists and the Park Service.

4. Continued emphasis on women's work both in an historical and contemporary context. This would include descriptions of women's roles as caretakers, gardeners, cooks, seamstresses, partners in logging, and the transition those responsibilities have undergone as women have become employed outside the home. An interesting focus for this kind of topic would be the history of quilting with a title such as "Stitching the Social Fabric: from Quilting Bees to the Production of Quilts for Market Exchange."

5. Foxhunting, an aural experience

6. Gig manufacture and gigging

7. Whittling, especially ornate turkey callers

8. Ozark Square Dancing and Hill Music

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