A Homeland and A Hinterland

The Current and Jacks Fork Riverways

Historic Resource Study
Ozark National Scenic Riverways

Donald L. Stevens, Jr.
National Park Service
1991

Cover Illustration By: Tracey Outlaw

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Donald L. Stevens, Jr.

National Park Service
Midwest Region
Omaha, Nebraska

1991

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Last, I hope that Mary, Sarah, and Laura can better see why research sometimes takes me away, and I thank them for making the house on the hill such a nice place to come home to.

Location of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways

Introduction

In 1964, the 2nd Session of the 88th Congress enacted and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law legislation establishing the Ozark National Scenic Riverways along 134 miles of the Current and Jacks Fork Rivers in southeast Missouri, to be administered by the National Park Service (NPS) of the U. S. Department of the Interior. Proponents of the park, as well as NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., emphasized the recreation and wilderness value of the new area. Development and conservation interests wanted to boost the tourist trade and to preserve the free flow of the Current River and its natural resources. The cultural heritage of the Ozark upland and the many cultural resources of the area were little noticed until the new park began to inventory and to manage the properties. This Historic Resource Study interprets the settlement and development history of the region to aid in the management and interpretation of the cultural resources.

The Ozark upland stands as a "hilly island" from 500 to 2,000 feet above the plains between the Appalachian and Rocky Mountains. It spans approximately 60,000 square miles in four states: Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. As a geographical region, the Ozarks evolved from a series of at least three crustal uplifts between 100 million and one million years ago.[1]

The Current and Jacks Fork rivers meander through the Courtois Hills, the most rugged landscape in the Missouri Ozarks. The hills rise at a steep grade 500 to 700 feet above the valley floors. Oak trees dominate the forested ridges and chert (flint) covers their limestone and dolomite surface and renders the upland soil infertile. In the Courtois Hills, the rivers and streams have eroded an intricate maze of narrow hollows and valleys between the steep ridges.

Large and small springs feed the swift flowing Current River. Geologists date the origins of the Current to the Cretaceous period some 60 to 120 million years ago. In the beginning, it flowed through an eroded peneplain where its winding channel developed. The Current, like many Ozark streams, maintained a meandering course during the crustal uplifts that created the hills over a long geologic time period. Inside the meander loops, sediment deposited by the river formed "gently inclined slipoff slopes" or terraces that Native American and European descendents favored as settlement sites.[2]

The Current River originates at Montauk Springs at an elevation of 1,000 feet above sea level and drops an average of five feet per mile to 250 feet at its mouth. Hundreds of springs empty into the Current and supply more than 60 percent of its water. They range in volume from

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[1]Milton D. Rafferty, The Ozarks Land and Life (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 20-22; and James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 14-15.

[2]Rafferty, The Ozarks, 8; Harbert Leslie Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology of the Southern Courtois Hills, Missouri, 1820-1860," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973), 44; and Leonard Hall, Stars Upstream: Life Along an Ozark River (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 9. See Clendenen for the quotation.

a few gallons a day to an average of approximately 279 million gallons a day at Big Spring. A number of other springs daily pump more than 25 million gallons of water into the river. In the 1920s, the state of Missouri established parks at Big Spring and several other large springs, including Montauk, Round, and Alley springs, because of their natural scenic beauty.[3]

Development of the Current River region involved its growth as both a homeland and a hinterland. Homeland describes a place of one's native or longstanding residence. The river strongly influenced the nature of the homeland, for the geography in large part dictated the location of settlements and attracted a fiercely independent people content to live on the fringe of an increasingly complex civilization. The river and hilly landscape restricted settlements to the terraces above the floodplain (slip-off slopes) and hollows. Close-knit communities developed within the deep valleys or hollows, but the terrain, to a degree, isolated the populated hollows from one another. During the early American settlement, Scotch-Irish descendents brought a strong tradition of individualism and economic self-sufficiency to this Ozark river country.

A hinterland refers to an undeveloped area that supplies raw materials for trade or manufacturing in developed areas. For example, at the time of initial European exploration, Native Americans used the Ozark Courtois Hills as a hunting ground. The French and then Americans moved in, extracted lead, and searched for other minerals. In the late nineteenth century, large corporate commercial interests harvested much of the white pine timber. The extraction of the natural resources altered the homeland by increasing the population, introducing new transportation and communication technologies, depleting its resources, and in general reducing the area's isolation.

This study focuses on the enduring frontier character of the Current River homeland and how the hinterland dynamic has altered, but has not extinguished, the Ozark frontier. After a brief summary of the prehistoric occupation of the area and its importance in delineating the cultural landscape of the valley that remained significant throughout human history, the study examines the initial settlement of the Current riverway by white Americans and the subsequent adaptation of the homeland to the major forces of change: federal land policies, transportation innovations, corporate lumber development, and government intervention.

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[3]Carl O. Sauer, The Geography of the Ozark Highlands of Missouri (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1920), 13, 68; Rafferty, The Ozarks, 11, 16; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 17; Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 38-40; Hall, Stars Upstream, 8-11, 19; and J. D. Vineyard and G. L. Feder, Springs of Missouri, Missouri Geological Survey and Water Resources, Water Resources Report 29, 1974, 83.

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Prehistoric Presence in the Riverways

Before 12,000 B.C., ancient hunters roamed parts of Missouri in search of the great mastodons and other game. There is very little evidence of human occupation in the Current River basin before the development of the Dalton cultural tradition 4,000 to 5,000 years later (see Table 1). A few signs of the early nomadic Paleo-Indian hunters exists, like the discovery of a Clovis point at the Two Rivers Site. Recent archeological research, however, demonstrates a rich Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian heritage along the Current River.[1] In fact, a significant body of research has defined an emerging Mississippian culture in the Current River basin and in other sections of the southeast Ozarks centuries before the fullblown development of this cultural tradition in the Mississippi valley.[2]

Prehistoric people appeared along the Current in greater numbers after the extinction of the great mammoths and after people began to routinely subsist on foraging for nuts and berries in addition to the old reliance on hunting. A transitional "Dalton" period of approximately one thousand years introduced the transformation in Missouri. The settlement and social patterns of of people in the Dalton era resembled that of the Paleo-Indians. People continued to live in small nomadic bands, consisting most likely of related families, and moved frequently in the quest for food. Yet the Dalton people adapted their method of subsistence to a world without mastodons. Instead of hunting big game, they hunted small animals such as deer, rabbits, squirrels and raccoons. They also gathered wild vegetables and fruits. At Dalton sites, a relative abundance of materials such as mortars, manos, grinding slabs, cupstones and hammerstones suggest a greater dependence on nuts, berries, and other plant food.[3]

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[1]Carl Haley Chapman, The Archaeology of Missouri (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), 25; Mary Lee Douthit, et al., Overview of the Cultural Resources in the Mark Twain National Forest, Missouri, Report to the Forest Supervisor Mark Twain National Forest, Rolla, Missouri, Prepared by the Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 1979; and James E. Price, et al., Archaeological Investigation in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1984-1986, conducted for the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, by the Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 1987.

[2]Mark Lynott, "Mississippian Archaeology of the Upper Current River, Southeast Missouri," Southeast Missouri Archaeology, 1 (1982): 1-18; Mark Lynott, Susan M. Monk, and James E. Price, "The Owls Bend Site, 23SH10: An Emergent Mississippian Occupation in the Eastern Ozarks, Southeast Missouri," Missouri Archaeological Society Quarterly, 1 (Jan.-March, 1984): 12-14; Mark J. Lynott and James E. Price, Shawnee Creek, An Eleventh Century, Emergent Mississippian Occupation in the Upper Current River Valley, Southeast Missouri, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1989; and Mark J. Lynott, An Archeological Evalutation of the Gooseneck and Owls Bend Site: Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Southeast Missouri, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1989.

[3]Chapman, The Archaeology of Missouri, 25; and Douthit, et al., Overview of Cultural Resources, 80-81.

Table 1
Prehistoric Periods

Early Man	prior to 12,000 B.C.
Paleo-Indian	12,000 to 8,000 B.C.
Dalton	8,000 to 7,000 B.C.
Archaic	7,000 to 1,000 B.C.
Woodland	1,000 B.C. to A.D. 900
Mississippi	A.D. 900 to 1700

Source: Chapman, The Archeology of Missouri, 25.

Along the Current and Eleven Point rivers, the discovery of serrated knives and Dalton points at several prehistoric sites, including Akers (23SH23), Powder Mill Visitor Center (23SH74), Alley Spring (23SH93), and Jerktail Landing (23SH121) suggests that people of the Dalton tradition inhabited the region. By 7,000 B.C. the inhabitants of southeast Missouri developed a more a sophisticated culture that archeologists identify as the Archaic tradition.[4]

Spanning an estimated six thousand years, the people of the Archaic period introduced more specialized foraging and more complicated social organization. Archeologists divide the period into three phases: the Early Archaic, 7,000-5,000 B.C.; the Middle Archaic, 5,000-3,000 B.C.; and the Late Archaic, 3,000-1,000 B.C. During the early phase, foraging practices supported a semi-nomadic existence with family groups traveling from camp to camp in small defined hunting grounds where they selected campsites based on the seasonal availability of different plant foods. The Early Archaic people also fished and collected shellfish.[5] Changes in material culture distinguished the Middle Archaic phase. Tools and garments, such as small side-notched projectile points, grooved axes, and twin fabric sandals, were introduced.[6]

The lifeways of people in the Late Archaic period differed in northern and southern Missouri and illustrated the importance of geography in settlement and subsistence patterns. Climate change, a warm and dry weather trend, spread prairies eastward and into the area now part of northern Missouri. The south, however, remained forested. As a result, in Missouri most of the cultural traits distinguishing the Late Archaic period occurred first north of the Ozarks where people adapted to the changing environment. In the prairies, people settled in

[4]Douthit, et al., Overview of the Cultural Resources, 83; and Mark J. Lynott, Archeological Survey of Development Areas, Ozark National Scenic Riverway, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1981, 111-129.

[5]Douthit, et al., Overview of the Cultural Resources, 84-85.

[6]Ibid., 89-92.

larger groups in campsites of one to four acres and developed more complex social organization. They also reduced their emphasis on hunting and turned more to plants, such as roots, the cambium of trees, and prairie potatoes, for sustenance. In the southern forest, the Late Archaic population continued to settle in small groups, and their material culture suggests that animal food remained dominant in their mixed hunting and gathering economy. Small, chipped-stone dart points and plant collecting tools identify the period in the southern Ozarks.[7]

The Current River valley was widely inhabited by Archaic people. These groups as well as later bands of Woodland and Mississippian people commonly settled the terraces above the flood plain of the major streams of the region. For example, prehistoric groups populated Round Spring (23SH19), Akers (23SH23), Owls Bend (23SH10 and 23SH81), Chub Hollow (23CT104), and scores of additional sites for two or more millennia before Europeans entered the Ozarks. Humans occupied the Current riverway throughout these centuries, as their cultural development progressed from one definable stage to the next and, throughout these years, the second and third level terraces remained the best habitation sites. People apparently lived on the lower, first terrace level above the floodplain during the dry years of the Middle Archaic period when the Current shrunk to a fraction of its previous and later size. As a result of the continued settlement of the terrace lands, only a few sites inhabited during the Archaic era had gone unoccupied by later people. One in particular, Logyard (23SH100), displayed "extensive Archaic occupation" through an array of the material culture, including projectile points, bifaces, ground stone, and lithic debris, still present there. Overall, the population of the Current valley greatly expanded during the Late Archaic period.[8]

The next major cultural advance of the people of the Current reflected the Woodland tradition. The territorial border of the Woodland culture primarily stretched east of Missouri to the Atlantic coast and from central Canada to east Texas. Across this vast region, the Woodland era featured increased sedentariness and population density. The central Woodland culture had limited contact with the Current River region. The advent of ceramics, horticulture and an extensive trade network encouraged the centralizing tendencies that predominated in the Early (1,000-500 B.C.) and Middle (500 B.C.-A.D.400) Woodland periods. The appearance of the first ceramics defined the Early Woodland culture and encouraged a sedentary trend since pottery facilitated the storage of food and water and since the "permanent less portable possessions" restricted mobility. In addition, the construction of mounds and earthworks, an illustration of "elaborate ritual life," required a sizable labor force and suggested a greater degree of social

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[7]Ibid., 91-94.

[8]Price, et al., Archaeological Investigation, 1984-1986, 45-46; Lynott, Archeological Survey of Development Areas, 111-129; and James E. Price and Cynthia R. Price, Interview, January 5, 1989, Naylor, Missouri.

organization than existed in previous periods.[9]

The Middle Woodland, or Hopewell tradition, had a far reaching cultural influence on North American prehistory. The Hopewell culture developed a trade network that reached west to the Rocky Mountains and south to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico. Along with extensive trading, the major cultural traits that defined the period included farming and large ceremonial earthworks. The Hopewell culture also developed craft specialization and created elaborate ground and chipped stone, ceramic, and copper objects. The Ozark upland was on the periphery of the dominant culture and only some trade goods, small burial mounds, and evidence of small village agriculture reflect a Hopewell influence.[10]

In the Late Woodland phase, the central power of the Hopewell declined while more distinct local cultures increased. This followed a rise in the dependence on agriculture for food and the introduction of the bow and arrow. During the period, Ozark villages grew larger and more isolated, and the inhabitants developed some horticulture. Yet the Ozark people continued primarily to subsist from hunting and gathering throughout the Woodland era.[11]

Woodland people occupied sites up and down the Current and Jacks Fork rivers. They created limestone-tempered cordmarked ceramics and left behind remnants of their pottery at many sites such as Round Spring (23SH70) and the Round Spring Grotto (23SH96), Powder Mill Cave (23SH75), Limekin Hollow Shelter (23SH109), and Akers Ferry (23SH23). As in the early period, many of the Woodland sites were occupied by groups from other periods and, again, this is most common on the terraces above the flood lines. The terrace lands provided easy access to the river throughout human habitation of the Current valley and such places as the Kelley (23CT1), Partney (23CT2), and Campbell (23CT3) farms contain evidence of Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian occupations.[12]

The rise of the principal Mississippi cultural tradition followed the congregation of people and ideas from a large section of middle America. The complex political organization probably developed at Cahokia and the central Mississippi lowlands; some of the art came from the area of western Tennessee and Alabama; and the region of southeast Missouri contributed shell-

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[9]Douthit, et al., Overview of the Cultural Resources, 95-101.

[10]Ibid., 97-99. The extent of farming in the Hopewell tradition is not well documented.

[11]Douthit, et al., Overview of the Cultural Resources, 95, 99-101; and Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 58.

[12]Lynott, Archeological Survey of Development Areas, 111-129; Mark Lynott, "Mississippian Archaeology of the Upper Current River," 1-18; and Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 50-55.

tempered ceramics.[13] These people settled in villages along rivers and streams of the Mississippi valley, where they fished, farmed, and hunted. They depended foremost on the cultivation of maize but also raised squash and beans. First refined in central Mexico, these three cultigens were North America's major crop contributions to the world. Deer was the principal animal hunted. Mississippian society established a rigid social order of nobles, commoners, and slaves under the leadership of ruler-priests. Its village communities developed around religious ceremonial centers, such as Cahokia-St. Louis. The preeminence of religion in Mississippian culture is evident in the construction of large mounds as ceremonial temples. These temple mounds and complex ceramics represent the most significant remains of the culture. Mississippian influence declined before the arrival of Europeans.[14]

During the emergence of Mississippian culture, a thriving population resided on the Current River and the eastern Ozarks. These people of the southeast Ozarks appear to have developed two distinct Mississippian characteristics, shell-tempered ceramics and short-stemmed arrow points, approximately 100 to 150 years before these traits spread to Cahokia and to other areas traditionally interpreted as the homeland of the Mississippians. The pottery found at the Owls Bend and the Gooseneck sites indicate the development of these cultural traits beginning around A.D. 700-750 on the Current. This period parallels Naylor and Hayti phases of Mississippi development in southeast Missouri and the Big Lake phase in northeast Arkansas. The shell-tempered ceramics of the Gooseneck site resemble the emergent Mississippian pottery of the Naylor, Hayti, and Big Lake phases. They have recurved rims and no appendages. The Owls Bend group, however, was a different style with flat bottoms and vertical rims.[15]

Along the Current and Eleven Point rivers, archeologists have identified three kinds of Emergent Mississippian sites--ceremonial centers, small villages, and temporary campsites. About thirty miles above the confluence of the Eleven Point and Black Rivers, Pigman mound is the largest ceremonial center. A number of villages once occupied terraces along the Current and some existed by A.D. 700. Sedentary or semi-sedentary in nature, these settlements probably contained, at the most, a dozen dwellings. Small Emergent Mississippian villages were located at Shawnee Creek (23SH11), Round Spring (23SH19), Isaac Kelley (23CT111) and Owls Bend (23SH10), and Gooseneck (23CT54) sites. A Mississippian cemetery at Round Spring, along with shell-tempered ceramics and expanding-stemmed arrow heads, indicates that the area housed a sedentary or semi-sedentary village. Archeologists uncovered evidence of Emergent Mississippian structures at Isaac Kelley and Shawnee Creek. The residents of Shawnee Creek

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[13]Interview with Price and Price.

[14]Douthit, et al., Overview of the Cultural Resources, 103-105.

[15]Lynott, "Mississippian Archeology of the Current River," 16-18; Lynott, et al., "The Owls Bend Site," 14, 20; Price, et al., Archeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 43-44, 47, 58; Interview with Price and Price.

lived in retangular wall trench houses like those common in the Mississippi River alluvial valley southeast of the Ozarks.At the latter site, two refuse pits contained much cultural material, including shell-tempered and limestone-tempered ceramics. The co-occurence of the two types of ceramics revealed that the early Mississippian group at Shawnee Creek was in contact with the Woodland Meramec Spring people on the upper Current River valley and Salem plateau during the eleventh century A.D.[16]

The Owls Bend site lays on one of the larger terraces along the Current River. Its Emergent Mississippian population manufactured and maintained tools at the site and embellished some of their ceramics with tool or textile impressions. The Gooseneck village site features a midden deposit with animal and plant remains and reflects a very diverse hunting and gathering subsistence pattern. The people of this Emergent Mississippian village, occupied between A.D. 700 and A.D. 1000, took full advantage of the local plants and wildlife. They hunted everything from mamals--like deer, raccoons, and squirrels--to birds, fish, and reptiles. They cultivated small gardens of native plants such as knotweed, maygrass, sunflower, little barley, and sumpweed. Some maize production also supplemented their diet.[17]

Mississippian groups also used alluvial terraces as well as colluvial beaches and caves as temporary campsites. The absence of shell-tempered ceramics at some campsites suggests that they were locations of specialized activity. Occupied in the Mississippian period between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1350, the Akers Ferry sites' (23SH23 and 23SH22) materials stretch over two small areas and pose a periodic occupation of short duration. During this period the locale appeared to have been something of a periodic Mississippian industrial site used for the processing of foodstuff and raw materials. Few of the hills and hollows beyond the river terraces have been investigated for a Mississippian presence.[18]

In the Ozark Uplands, the contacts between prehistoric groups generally occurred along the river valleys and their drainage basins. As a result, during the Woodland and Mississippian periods, the Caddoan people and their precursors influenced the culture of the southern and

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[16]Lynott, "Mississippian Archaeology of the Upper Current River," 10-16; Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 51-55; and Lynott and Price, Shawnee Creek, 29-33. Lynott and Price point out that evidence of only two Mississippian structures of the rectangular wall trench type have been discovered anywhere in the Ozarks.

[17]Mark J. Lynott, "Mississippian Archaeology of the Upper Current River," 10-16; Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 51-55; Lynott, et al., "The Owls Bend Site," 12-14; Interview with Price and Price; and Lynott, Evaluation of the Gooseneck and Owls Bend Sites, 53-55.

[18]Ibid.; and Cathy Masters, "Akers Ferry Archeological District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1990, 8-3, 8-4.

western Ozarks; the American Bottom people of the St. Louis area exchanged cultural traits with the population of the northern and northeastern Ozarks; and the prehistoric groups along the Current River basin exhibited cultural habits consistent with the lowland populations of southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas. The Current River drains into the western lowland of the Mississippi valley and, through the prehistoric times, the populations of the two regions experienced the same cultural stages with similar subsistence patterns and technologies. Recent archeological research consider the Current River Archaic and Early-Middle Woodland populations relatively isolated from people outside of the Ozarks or southeast Missouri. For example, little evidence of a Hopewellian influence in the riverways exists.[19]

Cultural distinctions, however, appeared even within the Current River valley. A technological difference distinguished the Woodland populations of the upper and lower Current River. Woodland people along the Jacks Fork and upper Current made and used limestone-tempered ceramic while their contemporaries on the lower Current, below present day Van Buren, produced sand-tempered ceramics. Several stone burial cairns near Pulltite and Akers, on the upper Current, are associated with the former group. In general, the cultural material of the Woodland inhabitants demonstrates their dependence upon local resources. Few trade goods came from outside the region, and it was likely the prehistoric groups from the lowland Mississippi valley sites extracted hematite, galena, rhyolite, and basalt from the Ozarks, The relative isolation of the valley's prehistoric groups declined during the Mississippi period; however, the cultural difference between upper and lower Current River populations continued.[20]

The presence of the two ceramic industries on the Current River at Owls Bend and Goosneck marked separate phases of the development of Mississippian culture that occurred simultaneously and again identified separate cultural traditions on the upper and lower Current. In fact, farther north in the more isolated rough terrain in the upper reaches of the Current, a Woodland culture relying on limestone ceramics continued while the societies down river displayed the Mississippian traits. The people along the Current, however, soon began to leave the riverway.[21]

During the eleventh century, Mississippian cultural groups began abandoning their villages on the Current River, as the population of the Ozark upland shifted to larger settlements in the lowlands of southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas. Between 1275 and 1400, the Mississippian culture grew and prospered in the central Mississippi alluvial valley. There is very

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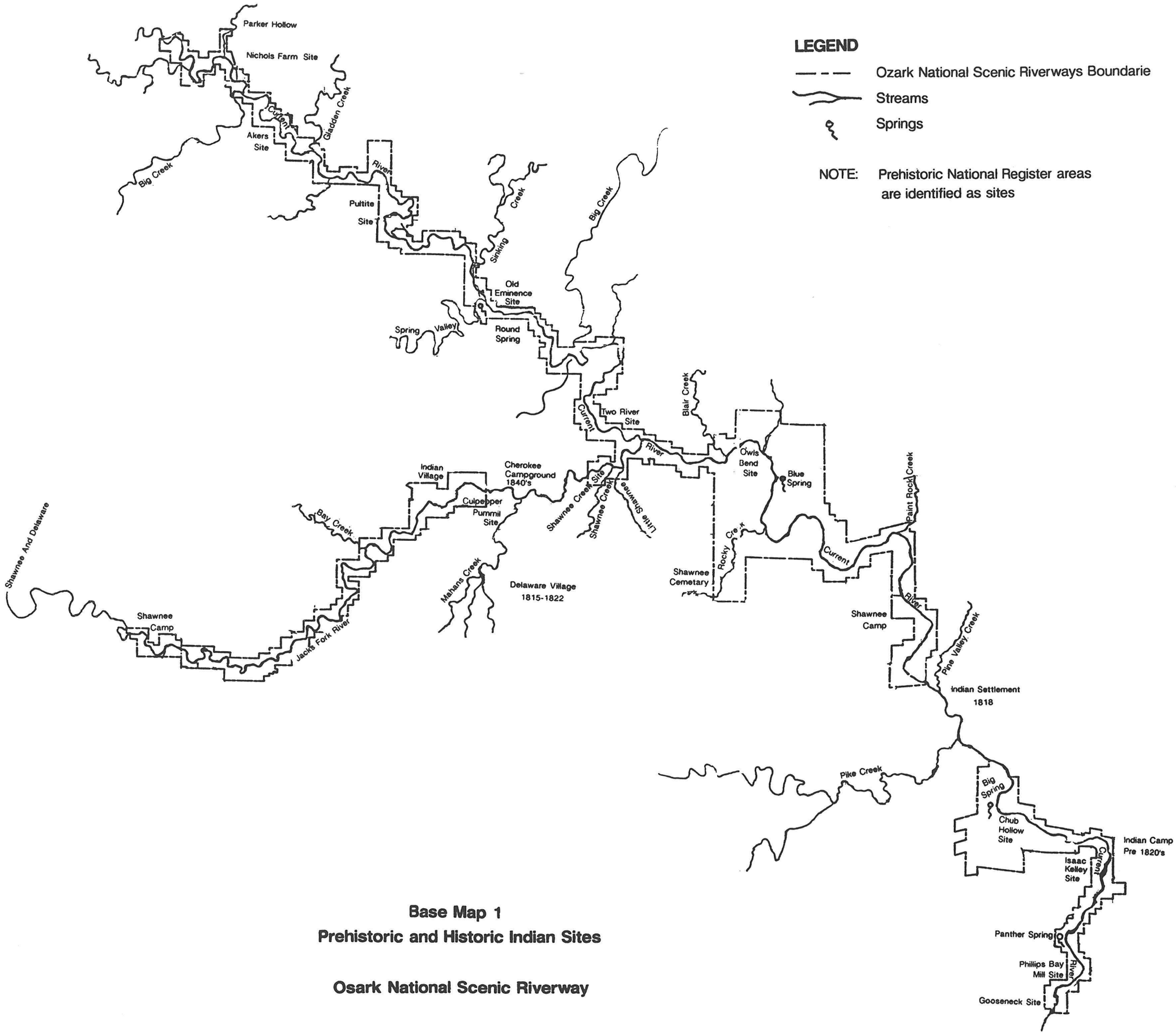
[19]Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 46-47.

[20]Lynott, Archeological Survey of Development Areas, 82; Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 45-47; and Douthit, et al., Cultural Overview, 102-103.

[21]Lynott, "Mississippian Archeology of the Current River," 16-18; Lynott, et al., "The Owls Bend Site," 14, 20; Price, et al., Archeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 43-44, 47, 58; Interview with Price and Price.

little evidence of the Mississippian people near the Current River after A.D. 1250. The Mississippian inhabitation of the Granite Quarry Cave (23CT36) left evidence of this later stage of occupation. Soon after 1350, almost two hundred years before Hernando De Soto entered northeast Arkansas, the Mississippian culture disappeared from this region. The southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas Mississippian society probably evolved into the Quapaw nation. Several willow leaf arrowheads found in the Current river basin imply that Native Americans used the area as a hunting ground between 1500 and 1650 when Europeans began exploring North America.[22]

[22]Price, et al., Archeological Investigations, 1984-1986, 42-44, 57; Interview with Price and Price.



Base Map 1
Prehistoric and Historic Indian Sites

Osark National Scenic Riverway

2

Early Native American and European Contact

Native Americans made only temporary forays into the southern Courtois Hills between the end of the thirteenth century and the initial settlement by white Americans. Little archeological evidence suggests any occupation along the Current and Jacks Fork rivers in the immediate centuries after the Mississippian people moved southeast of the riverways. The sixteenth and seventeenth century records of Spanish and French explorers note a relatively dense Indian occupation along the Mississippi River and the most southeastern section of the present state of Missouri. Villages also existed in the Ozark hills east of the Current River basin, but only hunting or war parties most likely traversed the latter region. By the early nineteenth century, at the time of the first white American settlement, the area of the Current and Jacks Fork was a small part of an extensive trade network between white traders and Indians migrating from the eastern United States.

The first recorded evidence of Native Americans in the Ozarks began with the Spanish exploration of Hernando de Soto. In 1541, when De Soto's army crossed the Mississippi River, it found well established agricultural societies in northern Arkansas and southeast Missouri. Fear and violence characterized the first meeting of the cultures. The Spanish encountered the people of Pacaha near the Mississippi River and overran their village. The Indians quickly succumbed to the mounted, musket-bearing conquistadors and their war dogs and offered the invaders supplies and gifts. After this skirmish, other bands in the region followed the example and sent the invaders supplies and other tokens of friendship. The head of the Casqui, a chiefdom on the St. Francis and Tyronza rivers in Arkansas, tried to establish an alliance with De Soto against the Pacaha and gave the Spaniard his daughter. The rival chief of the Pacaha trumped his adversary by giving De Soto one of his wives, a sister and a third woman of high social status.[1]

Some sources claim De Soto and his troops marched north, in search of precious ores, up to the town of Coligoa near the headwaters of the St. Francis or Black rivers. Unable to find any riches, they turned around and headed toward the Arkansas River where they camped for the winter before exploring lands to the southwest. The Spanish invaders, despite the violence and disease accompanying them, also left a more positive legacy in their introduction of the horse and hog to North America. Moreover, violence was by no means one-sided, as the Spanish suffered a number of surprise attacks from the Indians. Fighting and disease killed approximately one half of the 620 members of De Soto's army.[2]

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[1]David H. Dye, "Death March of Hernando De Soto," Archaeology 42 (May-June 1989): 28-29; Charles M. Hudson and Joyce Rockwood Hudson, "Tracking the Elusive De Soto," Archaeology 42 (May-June 1989): 34; and Edwin C. McReynolds, Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 3-7.

[2]McReynolds, Missouri, 3-7.

French explorers, traveling in small groups during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, made a more significant contact with the Missouri Indians and left a more detailed record of these Native Americans. The tribes most common to Missouri descended from the Siouian linguistic group. They included the Osage, Kansas, Ponca, and Mahas (or Omahas) who for years lived near the mouth of the Missouri River. Yet they had moved west by the time the French traders entered the area. After 1763, when the Spanish controlled Missouri following the French and Indian War, the commander at St. Louis reported the Osage, Missouri, Otoes, and Mahas inhabited the Missouri River district. Many of these tribes received gifts and annuities from the Spanish government and established a regular trade with the Europeans at St. Louis.[3]

The Osage nation dominated much of the territory south of the Missouri River. They claimed to control an area from the Missouri River south to the Arkansas River and from within the present day state of Kansas east to the Mississippi River. Three separate societies of Osage, the Great Osage, the Little Osage, and the Arkansas Osage, existed at the time of their first encounters with white explorers. In 1673, while exploring the Mississippi River valley, Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet located Osage villages up the Missouri River. More than 130 years later, an American expedition led by Zebulon Pike identified the principal town of the Great Osage on the headwaters of the Little Osage River in southwestern Missouri and, a few miles south, the Little Osage occupied a village. The Arkansas Osage were centered about sixty miles from the mouth of the Verdigris River. The tribes led a semi-sedentary existence; they occupied permanent villages but traveled to various hunting grounds throughout the year. The hunting trips extended across Missouri and into the surrounding states, as the Osage went west after buffalo and south and east for deer and bear. These hunting expeditions routinely crossed into the eastern Ozarks. In 1818, Henry Schoolcraft discovered an empty Osage hut just west of Potosi in southeast Missouri. Ten years earlier, the Osage had ceded to the United States their claim to the eastern three-fourths of Missouri; however they continued to hunt and trade in the region. Fear of the Osage among settlers south of the Current River prevented Schoolcraft from obtaining a guide to lead him southwest into the Arkansas region.[4]

While frequently hostile to white settlers, the Osage were also in a perpetual state of war with a number of Indian nations. For decades, they waged an ongoing conflict with the Sac and Fox to the north, the Pawnee to the west, and the Caddo to the south. In the early nineteenth century, they frequently engaged Cherokees and other tribes migrating across southern Missouri and northern Arkansas from the east. These conflicts heightened after the Cherokee population on the lower Arkansas River, a favorite hunting ground of the Osage, rose to approximately three thousand after the War of 1812. The Indian wars continued with few interruptions until the

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[3]Martha May Wood, "Early Roads in Missouri," (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, 1936), 5-6.

[4]Wood, "Early Roads in Missouri," 5-7; McReynolds, Missouri, 7-8; and Alan Banks, Indians of Upper Current River (Eminence, Mo.: Alan Banks, 1978), 42-45.

Osage ceded their land, totaling forty-five thousand square miles in Missouri and Arkansas, to the United States in the Treaty of 1825. They agreed to settle on a reservation along the Neosho and Verdigris rivers twenty-five miles west of the Missouri state line. Facing few alternatives, the Osage accepted the unfavorable treaty because of mounting war casualties and, most importantly, because of their growing impoverishment. Like other Indian nations in contact with the westward-moving whites, the Osage had become dependent on an intercultural trade network with the Americans and on annual annuity payments from the federal government. The United States reduced or withheld the annuity payments and paid the money for damages in suits brought by white settlers and other tribes against the Osage. The loss of funds left the Osage destitute.[5]

A regular trade between the Osage and whites began soon after the early contact between the two and represented a common pattern of exchange between the cultures on the frontier. Despite their often hostile treatment of white settlers, the Osage early developed a relative amiable relationship with the roving French trappers and traders in the early eighteenth century. It was common for French traders to marry into the Osage tribe, which enhanced the business connections. As a result of the trade, the Indians received guns, ammunition, blankets, and other goods. Their dependence on trade with whites continued after the Spanish won the southern Louisiana territory from the French, and in 1769 the Osage were among the nations receiving gifts from Spain. The Osage, however, as allies with the French, were hostile toward the Spanish, and Spain outlawed trade with them in 1780. Reflecting a growing dependence on white manufactured goods, the Indians simply redirected their trade to the Americans east of the Mississippi.[6] The trade continued and precipitated the loss of the Osage's independence.

A major trade route of the Osage to St. Louis crossed the lower Current River in Ripley County. It was part of a circular route that began from the main villages of the Great and Little Osage near the Little Osage River. On their annual hunting expeditions, the Osage frequently followed a trail south to the Verdigris and Red rivers in the Oklahoma and Arkansas territories. From here, the hunting parties headed east and connected with the Vincennes-Natchitoches trail that they followed northeast, through southeastern Missouri and up to St. Louis. They hunted along the way, including in the southern Current River basin, and traded their furs for goods in the city.[7] By the early 1800s, and after the Osage gave up their Missouri and Arkansas hunting grounds, eastern tribes, the Cherokee, Delaware, and Shawnee, dominated the white traders

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[5]Banks, Indians of Upper Current River, 46-47; and James B. Christianson, "Early Osage--'The Ishmaelites of the Savages,'" Kansas History, 11 (Spring 1988): 9-14.

[6]Christianson, "Early Osage," 5-6; and Banks, Indians of Upper Current River, 44-45.

[7]Wood, "Early Roads in Missouri," 22-24.

lucrative Ozark trade network until approximately 1830.[8]

Three periods of migration mark the westward movement of the Cherokee, Delaware, and Shawnee: (1) the years of Spanish colonization after 1763; (2) the years of American ascension after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803; and (3) the years following the War of 1812 up to the Cherokee "Trail of Tears" of 1837. The Spanish solicited eastern tribes to move west of the Mississippi to buffer the white settlements from the hostile Osage and other western tribes. These Indian groups also crossed the Mississippi to profit from the growing commerce in furs and foodstuffs. They found an expanding market for their surplus animal products and food crops among the white settlements and travelers on the Mississippi River. Along with these factors pulling them west, the eastern Indian nations were being pushed by the increasing white settlements on the American side of the Mississippi. In 1765, the Kickapoo crossed the river and settled west of St. Louis; in 1784, Shawnee and Delaware had villages around the Cape Girardeau area of southeast Missouri; and in 1785 a group of Cherokee arrived on the St. Francis and White rivers after the Treaty of Hopwell. After the turn of the nineteenth century, the Spanish convinced two thousand Cherokees to move to the Arkansas Ozarks.[9] The presence of the Shawnee and Delaware had a greater significance in the history of the southeast Missouri Ozarks, including the Current River basin, than had the Cherokee.

Large land grants awarded by the Spanish government to two experienced Indian agents stimulated the influx of several thousand Shawnee and Delaware into the Missouri Ozarks during the 1780s. Following the American Revolution, Pierre Louis Lorimer briefly settled in the Ste. Genevieve district. A French-Canadian, Lorimer was an Indian interpreter for the British during the war and, after the colonists' victory, he found it advantageous to leave the American states. He soon moved to the Cape Girardeau district where the Spanish appointed him as an Indian agent. Lorimer had a wife of mixed Shawnee and French ancestry, and he had a history of contact with many Shawnee and Delaware before his arrival in Missouri. Ambitious to resume a lucrative trade, he convinced a group of Shawnee and Delaware to come to the Cape Girardeau area. The Spanish government supported his business ventures by granting him two large tracts of land and also by awarding land grants in the Apple Creek watershed to 1,200 Shawnee and 600 Delaware.[10] Within a few years of their arrival, the Shawnee and Delaware established three villages between Cape Girardeau and Ste. Genevieve. They cleared and fenced in fields to

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[8]Lynn Morrow, "Trader William Gillis and Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri," LXXV (January 1981): 151.

[9]James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 20; and Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "An American Indian Gateway: Some Thoughts on the Mirgration and Settlement of Eastern Indians around Early St. Louis," Gateway Heritage 11 (Winter 1990-91): 45. The Shawnee and Delaware were of the Algonquin language group.

[10]Morrow, "Trader William Gillis," 150; and McReynolds, Missouri, 26-27.

protect them from animals much like the white American settlers.[11]

Spanish officials also provided a large tract of land for the New Madrid colonial enterprise that attracted large numbers of eastern Algonquin Indians to enter southeast Missouri. George Morgan, a Philadelphia land speculator, planned a colony with initial Spanish approval about twelve miles below the mouth of the Ohio. Although settlers began to arrive, Morgan's role in the venture ended after the Spanish decided his loyalty to the American states was contrary to Spain's colonial interests. Morgan also lost interest in the project after a great flood, in 1790, inundated most of New Madrid. Yet the settlement of the New Madrid area continued and expanded the southeast Missouri frontier trade network and, in turn, attracted more Delaware and Shawnee. The Algonquin people eventually moved into the St. Francis River area where they raised livestock and crops. They also hunted to furnish bear oil and furs to the river trade revolving around New Madrid, Little Prairie, and Point Pleasant.[12]

The United States assumed control of the area soon to become the Missouri territory after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. American pioneers marked the new period by moving west of the Mississippi in larger numbers and hostilities increased between the Osage and immigrant bands of Cherokee, Shawnee, and Delaware from 1805 to 1808. The federal government adopted an Indian pacification policy that initially resulted in the signing of the Osage Treaty of 1808. Treaty negotiator and fur trader Pierre Chouteau impressed upon the Osage the vast power of the Americans and convinced them to sell their claim to most of their Missouri land. Louisiana Territory Governor Meriwether Lewis said that "the land was needed for white hunters and intimately friendly Indians."[13]

Amiable relations between the Delaware and Shawnee and white settlers apparently existed around Apple Creek in southeast Missouri. Pioneer family reminiscences recount incidents of Indian and white children playing together and tell of horse racing events and festivals involving the two cultures. Moreover, intercultural marriages commonly occurred during the early decades of the nineteenth century and seeded Ozarks culture with an Indian heritage. During the War of 1812, the overall relations soured as the Shawnee, Delaware, and Creek bands east of the Mississippi sided with the British.[14]

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[11]Usner, "An American Indian Gateway," 46.

[12]Morrow, "Trader William Gillis," 150-151; McReynolds, Missouri, 27-28; and Lynn Morrow, "New Madrid and Its Hinterland: 1783-1826," Missouri Historical Society Bulletin, XXXVI (July 1980), 241-250; and Frederick Merk, History of the Westward Movement (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1978), 138.

[13]Morrow, "Trader William Gillis," 151; and Banks, Indians of Upper Current River, 46.

[14]Morrow, "Trader William Gillis," 151; and Merk, The Westward Movement, 155-161.

Conflict between Indians and whites in the western and southern states had repercussions in the Missouri territory. In Indiana, preceding the war, the rise of Tecumseh sparked an Indian war. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, descending from a mixed Shawnee and Creek union, tried to consolidate the Indian nations to stop the persistent treaty concessions. United States regular troops and Indiana militia eventually overpowered Tecumseh and the other bands that sided with the British in the War of 1812. The uprising, which Tecumseh led from the Shawnee homelands in Indiana, sparked tensions between the American and the Shawnee and Delaware settlers in southeast Missouri. After the war these tribes began moving west and southwest as both white settlers and more eastern Indians pushed west.[15]

Leaving eastern Missouri, the Shawnee and a few Delaware concentrated in the upper and lower Gasconade valley while larger groups of Delaware went to the James River valley and northern Arkansas. The James River became the principal reservation for the Delaware nation during the 1820s. The head chief of the Delaware, William Anderson (who had an American father and Delaware mother), arrived on the James in 1822. By this time, Chief Anderson had lived all of his life among whites and had grown dependent on annuities from the United States government and white traders. Over his long life, he negotiated with the American government over the removal of the Delaware from Ohio and Indiana through the 1795 treaty at Greenville and the 1818 treaty at St. Marys respectively. The latter treaty awarded the entire Delaware nation a yearly payment of $4,000; the cash annuity then attracted white traders to follow the Indians across Missouri.[16]

It was during this third period of Delaware and Shawnee migration through Missouri, 1812-1837, that some Delaware established villages for a short time on the Jacks Fork River southwest of present day Eminence. In the years 1815-1822, the Delaware lived and hunted the Upper Current River basin and participated in the Ozark Indian trade network. Chief William Anderson, while on his way to the James River reservation, camped at the Jacks Fork village in 1821-1822. The Delaware complained to federal authorities of horse thieves in the area. During the chief's brief stay here, American trader William Gillis made one of his early field contacts with Anderson's Delaware. At the time, Gillis was a partner of the powerful Menard-Valle interests of Ste. Genevieve; however, he befriended Chief Anderson and then established his own trading post near the James River after Anderson's arrival on the reservation. Capitalizing on the relationship, Gillis married a Delaware woman and grew wealthy from the Indian trade.[17]

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[15]Ibid.

[16]Morrow, "Trader William Gillis," 151-152; and Banks, Indians of Upper Current River, 49-50.

[17]Morrow, "Trader William Gillis," 152-154, 159. Like many white traders, Gillis had a number of Indian "wives" over the years.

The principal westward Indian trade route across the Ozarks, however, passed north of the Current River basin. It began at Ste. Genevieve and went through Farmington and the location of present day Steeleville; it then turned southwest along the "great interior highway," passing through the modern sites of Waynesville and Marshfield and from there down the James River valley to the Delaware reservation. By the third decade of the nineteenth century, St. Louis replaced Ste. Genevieve as the leading shipping point to the west. Yet William Gillis and his associate, Joseph Philibert, marketed their trade goods in the Arkansas, White, Black, St. Francis, and a number of other Missouri and Arkansas river valleys. In addition, historian Lynn Morrow, who has widely researched the Delaware trade and migration through Missouri, noted that Gillis and Philibert "occasionally rendezvoused at Hicks Ferry on Current River and then followed the Natchitoches Trace into the Black and St. Francois River valleys." Here, in the southeast Missouri Ozarks, they dealt with the Shawnee, Delaware, and Creek who had remained in the area.[18]

By the 1830s, most of the Delaware and Shawnee had departed the Ozarks, but they left a lasting mark on the Current River and Missouri Ozarks. The federal government removed Chief Anderson and many of his band to a reservation in the Kansas territory in the years 1829-1831. This largely ended, except for small wandering groups, periodic Delaware hunting trips to the eastern Ozarks. Yet Delaware and Shawnee place names are the most visible reminder of their early nineteenth century presence in the Current River valley. Just a few miles west and southwest of Eminence, a small community and a township are named Delaware. Shawnee and Little Shawnee creeks, flowing northward into Jacks Fork a little east of Eminence, recount this tribe's contact with the area; however, little information is available about the Shawnee activities. More Shawnee might have passed through the Ozarks after the Delaware left because many had not given up their Ohio homelands until the early 1830s.[19]

A Delaware and Shawnee blood line in portions of the Ozark population and an illusive archeological record represent less visible remnants of the eastern Indians' presence. Historical maps and other literary sources report at least ten Indian camps and villages in the Current River valley during the first decades of the nineteenth century. While half of these were associated with the Shawnee, they also include Delaware, Cherokee, and Choctaw bands. Most, but not all, were reported near the Jacks Fork River.[20] Archeological surveys in the mid-1980s, however, have not located any archeological evidence of these sites although local artifact collections include

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[18]Morrow, "Trader William Gillis," 154-155, 159. Gillis eventually settled on the site of Kansas City, Missouri, when Chief Anderson's Delaware moved to Kansas, and became a founder and leading citizen of the city.

[19]Banks, Indians of Upper Current River, 49-51.

[20]Cynthia R. Price, "Reported Historic Period Sites in Ozark National Scenic Riverways 1981/1982," Contract No.: CX-6000-1-0054, Submitted to National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

arrow points and "unusual" gun flints, unlike those found on American eastern Ozark sites. The vague site locations of the primary and secondary literature provided little help in the archeological search.[21]

[21]James E. Price, et al., Archaeological Investigation in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1984-1986, Conducted for U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, March 1987, 65-69.

3

Early Settlement
Rural Community on the Ozark Frontier, 1815-1850

The early white American settlers in the southern Courtois Hills of the Ozarks, for the most part, were native-born Americans of Scotch-Irish ancestry. Part of the westward movement of the upland Southerners, they adapted their "stockman-farmer-hunter" economy to the wooded hills of the Current River basin.[1] Before the invasion of land speculators, the Civil War, the railroads and large-scale corporate lumber, the southern uplanders planted their hill and riverine communities with little contact from the outside society. Although far from shut off completely from the "civilized world," they largely defined the nature of their isolation before 1850. The difficult, dissected Ozark terrain made movement in and out of the region arduous, and the early permanent settlers built communities with close kinship ties that reflected their uplander heritage adapted to the Current River environment. The homeland developed a frontier culture on the Current that resembled but very much differed from the highlander societies of Appalachia. Even along the Current itself, the nature of the dispersed open frontier communities varied. The frontier quality of the Current reflected the isolation of this rugged hill country and the character of the people that it attracted. The area was largely bypassed during the early populating of Missouri and the Middle West.

Ever increasing numbers of white American settlers pushed into Missouri after the War of 1812. From 1814 to 1820, one year before Missouri gained statehood, the population swelled from 26,000 to 70,000 people, and by 1850 the state boasted a total population of 682,044.[2] Geography and the imprint of previous cultures and pioneers shaped a disjointed pattern of settlement across the state. Americans first congregated in Missouri's two principal river valleys, first the Mississippi and then the Missouri. Next, they moved into the Springfield prairie. This westward movement resettled a land previously occupied by a succession of prehistoric and historic Native American Indians, the French, and other Europeans. It formed an arc around Missouri's rugged Ozark hills where only a few equally rugged individuals and families filtered into these secondary river valleys on the upland fringes of Missouri's booming population centers.

The first American settlements developed in a well known area of the Mississippi valley settled earlier by the French. This stretch of the Mississippi stood out as a transportation crossroads, providing riverine access to the Great Lakes, the Gulf of Mexico, the Old Northwest (Ohio valley), and the Rocky Mountains and western plains. The French were also attracted by

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[1]John Solomon Otto, "Migration of the Southern Plain Folk: An Interdisciplinary Synthesis," Journal of Southern History LI (May 1985): 188.

[2]Edwin C. McReynolds, Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 51, 163.

the native Indian population whom they befriended to expand their vast fur trade. In the early decades of the eighteenth century, they began establishing permanent settlements, such as Kaskaskia (1700) on the east side of the Mississippi and later Ste. Genevieve (1735) on the west side. The later town primarily grew as a distribution center for lead and salt from the Ozarks. Lead and salt mining made up the major economic activity, for few farmers accompanied the French pioneers. Ste. Genevieve also developed as the center for a regional fur trade although St. Louis soon rose to dominate the trade because of its position at the confluence of the great Missouri and Mississippi river highways. The mining activity concentrated in the upper St. Francis river region of the Ozarks, and the French transported the lead overland to Ste. Genevieve.[3]

As with the late eighteenth century Lorimer and Morgan ventures, American settlement in the western Mississippi valley began under the Spanish regime. Those first American settlers were attracted by the Indian trade, on which Lorimer's migration especially focused. Settlers arriving after the Louisiana Purchase flocked to the Mississippi valley and the mining region of the interior. The Americans knew of the French lead works and, as they moved into the St. Francis and Washington county areas, introduced improved mining techniques that out produced the more primitive surface mining of the French. Two new towns, Cape Girardeau on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi just up from the mouth of the Ohio River and Jackson in a rich farming region inland from the Mississippi, became the basic distribution centers for the American settlers in southeast Missouri.[4]

The next line of settlement followed the Missouri River along the northern border of the Ozark uplands. These settlements first developed around the early French and Spanish communities near the mouth of the Missouri. Many Americans, however, followed the lead of Daniel Boone and his family who settled a little west of the present city of Columbia. Boone received a Spanish grant at the end of the eighteenth century, and Americans soon began to fill the countryside around Boonslick and Boonville, where salt springs and fertile prairie and timber lands provided the necessities of pioneer farming. Large slave-owning planters also moved into the fertile valley. In 1811, sixty families occupied the Boonslick area and, by 1820, the number had grown to eight hundred.[5]

The third major direction of Missouri settlement focused on the Springfield plain of the

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[3]Carl O. Sauer, The Geography of the Ozark Highlands of Missouri (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1920), 74, 83-87; and McReynolds, Missouri, 16-17.

[4]Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highlands, 92-93, 103-106; and James R. Shortridge, "Expansion of the Settlement Frontier in Missouri," Missouri Historical Review, LXXV (October 1980): 74.

[5]Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highlands, 109-112; and Shortridge, "Settlement Frontier," 70-73; and Frederick Merk, History of the Westward Movement (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 138.

western Ozark plateau. The town of Springfield, settled by white Americans in 1822, developed into the center of trade in this rich agricultural region. It was situated around a number of springs and other sources of water power. Prior to the arrival of white settlers, Indians hunted and farmed in this district, and the Delaware continued to live here until the end of the decade. The farming focused on raising cattle and corn and, by 1850, the county ranked first among the Ozark counties in the production of foodstuffs. In addition, at mid-century, the discovery of rich lead deposits stimulated further migration to the area.[6]

The largest surge of the early nineteenth-century settlement of Missouri, then, passed around the steep Courtois Hills. Yet groups of Americans did move into this rough Ozark land and laid down rural communities along the rivers and streams and mining towns in the hills. The lead mines, of course, inspired American entrepreneurs and laborers to travel overland into the St. Francis Mountains of the eastern Ozarks.[7] One of the most enterprising of the Americans, Moses Austin, came to Mine-a-Breton in 1798 when the Spanish still controlled the territory. This mining community, founded in the 1780s about forty miles due east of Ste. Genevieve, was the earliest white settlement this far into the Ozark interior. Austin laid out an operation above Breton and introduced more productive lead smelting and mining techniques. The town of Potosi developed around the mines and grew into a leading community that, in 1813, stimulated the creation of the first county of the Missouri Ozark interior. A number of high-cultured Scotch-Irish families from western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee also established farms in the nearby fertile Bellevue valley, where the prosperous rural town of Caledonia was platted in 1818.[8]

Farther south, in the vicinity of the established trade route of the Natchitoches trace, pockets of rural settlements grew as former residents of New Madrid and then migrants from the border states and the upland south carved out farmsteads. Small rural villages, such as Greenville near a ford on the St. Francis River, sprung up along the waterways. During the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, these settlements took hold in the southern Missouri where the river valleys widened near the edge of the Ozark escarpment.[9]

While the populations of the lead mining district and the southern St. Francis River valley grew between 1815 and 1850, a few individuals and families ventured farther into the Ozark

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[6]Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highlands, 138-143.

[7]Shortridge, "Settlement Frontier," 74-75.

[8]Robert Flanders, "Caledonia," Gateway Heritage, 6 (Spring 1986): 35-38.

[9]Cynthia R. Price, "An Investigation of Settlement Patterns and Subsistence on the Ozark Escarpment in Southeast Missouri During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," Report submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1977, 6-8; and Shortridge, "Settlement Frontier," 74-75.

interior and established farms and rural communities along the waters of the Black, Current, and Eleven Point rivers. The size of the riverine populations, however, diminished north and west of the lower St. Francis River. In 1840, the population of Wayne County, including the lower Black River, totaled 3,403, while the larger area of the upper Black, the Current, and the Eleven Point rivers, as well as the rest of the recently formed Ripley County, numbered 2,856 people.[10]

Up to 1850, 98 percent of the people who moved into the southern Courtois Hills followed three basic migration paths: a central route from Kentucky and Tennessee, a northern one from Illinois and Indiana, and a southern one from Alabama and Arkansas. Most of the settlers traveling from the northern or southern routes, however, originated elsewhere. For example, about one-third of the people came from Indiana and Illinois, but only about 16 percent of the 1850 population identified these as their states of birth. Even fewer originated in Alabama and Arkansas. Three-fourths of the adult settlers migrating to the southern Courtois Hills during the 1840s were born in the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. Only the Tennessee and Kentucky migrants, composing about two-thirds of the 1850 population, traveled predominately from their native states. This was especially true of the individuals and families from Tennessee who largely originated in the territory between the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers.[11]

A large German population of about 95,000 also resided in Missouri by 1860. An early German or "Whitewater Dutch" colony developed at Whitewater Creek at Cape Girardeau at the end of the eighteenth century. Between 1830 and 1850, many more Germans entered the state but settled mainly in the Missouri River valley and plains north of the Ozark hills.[12]

Records of the pre-1820 size of the population on the Current River are sparse. During his 1818-1819 excursion through the Ozarks, Henry R. Schoolcraft generally commented that "many plantations and farms" occupied the banks of the Little Black, Current, Eleven Point, and other rivers of the area.[13] Only a handful of settlers, hunters, and prospectors apparently lived in the region now known as the Ozark National Scenic Riverway. Yet the dual homeland and hinterland dynamics underlying the settlement and development of the Current were already visible. These first "pioneers" included Isaac Kelley, Zimri Carter, and Thomas Boggs Chilton, whose families became long established and prominent along the riverway. Local histories

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[10]James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 47, 53, 60-65.

[11]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 12-27.

[12]Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highlands, 165-172.

[13]Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, (New York: Arno Press reprint of 1819 edition, 1972), 236.

suggest that Kelley was the first American settler on the Current and that he entered the region during the first decade of the nineteenth century. He established a trade with Indians in the area. By the mid-1820s, he planted a farm on a wide alluvial terrace at a large bend in the lower Current midway between Gooseneck and Van Buren. Up and across river from Kelley, Zimri Carter located his farm just below the present site of Van Buren. Carter County, organized just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, was named after him. In 1818, Thomas Boggs Chilton arrived at the Current River and eventually developed a farm on Owls Bend approximately eight miles below the mouth of Jacks Fork.[14] These early settlers occupied some of the best farmland along the riverway and developed into commercial and political leaders of the area.

Another prominent, though less durable, inhabitant was William H. Ashley. A entrepreneur/explorer from St. Louis, Ashley discovered an abundance of saltpeter in caves near the headwaters of the Current. By 1814, he developed a lucrative gunpowder industry from the saltpeter mined in the largest of these caverns, Ashley Cave, located about five miles from the mouth of Cave Creek (now North Ashley Creek). Henry Schoolcraft camped at Ashley Cave and called the operation "very extensive." This early mining activity illustrated the hinterland character of the Current River hill country whereby raw goods were removed to facilitate developments and the accumulation of wealth elsewhere. Years later, in the early 1820s, William Ashley increased his wealth and prominence by organizing a new method of fur trapping. Fur trading, as mention in the previous chapter, ranked with mining as a leading extract industry early on in the Ozark hinterland.[15]

Between 1820 and 1840, more settlers moved into the Current River valley as the Ripley County population crept towards 3,000. Several concentrations of settlements are discernable from surveyor and land office records. On the lower Current below present day Van Buren, Zimri Carter's son, Benjamin, developed a farm on the west side of the Current a few miles south of Big Spring. A Chilton family member settled roughly four miles south of Isaac Kelley's property. Above Van Buren, four or five families, including another member of the Chilton clan,

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[14]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 62-63; James E. Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1982-1983, conducted for the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1984; and Cynthia R. Price, "Reported Historic Period Sites in Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981/1982," Submitted to: The National Park Service, Midwest Archaeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1983.

[15]Schoolcraft, Lead Mines of Missouri, 171, 204-208; William G. Breckenridge, "Early Gun Powder Making in Missouri," Missouri Historical Review, 20 (1925): 88; and Merk, History of the Westward Movement, 253. Ashley organized a fur trapping operation out of St. Louis and helped to introduce the brigade system that transformed the nature of the fur trade. The new method involved sending a party of Americans into the wilderness to trap for a season and then meeting at a pre-defined site to sell the pelts to company agents. This replaced the Indian fur trade that had fostered some mutual intercultural dependency between Amerindians and Euro-Americans. His fur company operations, however, focused on the Rocky Mountain and western plains.

clustered on both sides of the river bend near the mouth of Chilton Creek. Woods Mill was located about two miles below these families, and another mill probably existed farther north and up Rocky Creek.[16]

In 1833, the village of Van Buren was founded as the seat of Ripley County. The little community developed around an old Indian trails crossroads and, during the late thirties and early forties, it contained a store, a grist mill, a log courthouse, and little more than a handful of residents. West of Van Buren, a group of seven or more families built homes along Pike Creek.[17]

On the upper Current River, settlements became more concentrated between Owls Bend and Round Spring and west along Jacks Fork River. A few settlers built homes several miles up Blair Creek just north of Owls Bend. Between the confluence of the Jacks Fork and Current rivers and Owls Bend, Thomas Coot Chilton, a cousin to Thomas Boggs Chilton, settled a spread near Coot Hollow.[18] Northward on the Current between the mouth of Jacks Fork and the first site of Eminence, by 1840, ten families had selected homesites averaging one to two miles apart. About two miles upstream from the mouth of Big Creek, one of these early residents, Alfred Deatherage, settled around 1830, and a Deatherage store stood a little north of his cabin by the 1850s. Yet another Thomas Chilton purchased a farmsite on the upper Current. Thomas T. Chilton bought a farm from William Green on the east side of the river about a mile south of Round Spring. He became a postmaster and his home served as a post office for the surrounding countryside. In 1841, the first site of Eminence, the seat of Shannon County, was founded about a half mile above Chilton's place. Settlers also located around Round Spring, a large spring across the river from Eminence, and another group positioned itself several miles up Spring Valley west of the spring.[19]

Farther up the Current, another rural community developed around the site of present Akers ferry. During the 1830s and 1840s, several settlers congregated near the mouth of Gladden Creek, and a dozen or more developed homesites up the creek. Small plots also were settled, about seven miles north of Gladden, along Big Creek. A few even more isolated families

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[16]Murphy, "Southeast Ozark Region," 62-63; Cynthia Price, " Historic Period Sites"; and Harbert L. Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology of the Southern Courtois Hills, Missouri, 1820-1860," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973), 63.

[17]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 62-63; Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 63; G. Oakley, The History of Carter County (J. G. Publications, 1970), 34; Leonard E. Brown, History Data Base Ozark National Scenic Riverways, (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 12.

[18]Additional discussion of the Chilton kinship relations on the Current River appear on page 51.

[19]Cynthia Price, "Historic Period Sites"; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 60-63; and Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 63.

or individuals lived along the creeks and hollows, such as Ashley Creek and Parker and Inman Hollows, north of Big Creek. By sometime in the 1850s, a hamlet or small trading center across from Welch Cave and near Akers reportedly included a store and a molasses mill.[20]

An additional concentration of settlers extended west along Jacks Fork. In 1840, a few settlers lived at the mouth of Jacks Fork River and, in the 1850s, someone built a small store here. Upstream from the mouth of Jacks Fork, two more pockets of small farms were distinguishable. The first extended from Shawnee and Little Shawnee creeks to the present site of Eminence. The relatively wide alluvial terraces near the mouths of Shawnee and Little Shawnee creeks were especially popular. A Col. Thomas Chilton established a farm at the mouth of Shawnee; Fursman Spring Mill stood on Little Shawnee; and other settlers, such as the Thomases and Wests, settled between the creeks and along the opposite bank of the Jacks Fork. Other homesites dotted the landscape on both sides of the river near the future location of Eminence. One of the earliest white American settlers on Jacks Fork, James McCormack, probably arrived in the 1820s and located near Alley Spring. A second pocket of settlers developed near the spring.[21]

A variety of important factors, chiefly geographic constraints, the self-sufficiency nature of the economy and social ties, influenced the selection of homesites. The topography of the Current River country, and much of the southern Courtois Hills in general, deterred the settlement of the upland areas. Here, the chert covered soils and steep hill grades were inhospitable to cultivation, and the inaccessibility of water, except for a few locations with springs and sinkhole ponds, detracted people from these higher elevations. Along the Current, the American settlers judged the terraces above the flood plain as more attractive locations. Identifying this pattern in his doctoral dissertation, Harbert Clendenen noted that these sites had "easy access to water, immunity from flooding, gently inclined, tillable slopes, and an unlimited upland for grazing and foraging stock."[22]

This preference for terrace lands was evident up and down the river, and it duplicated the known occupation patterns of prehistoric and Amerindian cultures. Early settlers, such as Isaac Kelley and Thomas Boggs Chilton, developed relatively large farms or plantations on such terraces, where these slipoff slopes broadened near wide river bends. Both the Kelley site on the lower Current and the Chilton site farther north on Owls Bend bear evidence of a series of habitations dating to the Archaic period. The Akers and Round Spring areas, between 1820 and 1850 the most populated regions of the Current River above Jacks Fork, also were places where

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[20]Ibid.

[21]Cynthia Price, "Historic Period Sites"; and Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 63.

[22]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 57-58.

sedimentation accumulated and created relatively wide terraces. The immediate and surrounding geography of Akers and Round Spring, however, was more diverse. These two sites had a scattering of smaller farm and house sites around the large floodplains, terraces, hillsides, and nearby creeks and hollows. They too were occupied by prehistoric groups over several thousands of years.[23]

Between 1820 and 1840, the preponderance of homesites were scattered in an area bordering to the north and south by Round Spring and Owls Bend on the Current and to the west by Alley Spring on the Jacks Fork. The concentration of settlements here not only reflected the area's favorable geographic features but also centered in the region recently vacated by the Delaware and Shawnee. The early white American settlers probably had some prior knowledge of the resources of the Jacks Fork region through the trade between whites and the Indians. In addition, they certainly would have found the area attractive because of the improvements left by the latter. The Delaware and Shawnee, along with a few Creek, farmed, raised livestock, and hunted here. Their lifeway, in short, resembled that of the white Ozark frontier settlers and, as historian Lynn Morrow stated generally, squatters tailed the migrating eastern tribes and benefited from the land and building improvements abandoned by them along the trek westward.[24]

The settlement pattern also reflected a basic difference in the economic pursuits between the upper and lower Current inhabitants. Along the upper Current, above Van Buren, a frontier self-sufficiency prevailed whereby the backcountry plain folk typically got a living by herding, hunting, farming, and trading. In short, they were economic "generalists." They most often occupied small forty- to eighty-acre farmsteads with several acres fenced off for crops. In 1820, the cultivated fields averaged about ten acres and, over the next two decades, the average rose to almost twenty acres. Within the fences, they raised mostly Indian corn for the family's consumption.[25] Their horticulture strategy involved planting two or more fields of corn at different elevations to guard against the total destruction of a crop in the event of extremes in weather. For example, they reasoned that in a wet year crops on the hill might survive whereas in a dry year the hill crop would tend to burn up but the field in the valley could still produce.

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[23]See Chapter One for a discussion of the prehistoric occupation of these sites; also Roger Saucier, "Geomorphological Studies," in James Price, et al., Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1984-1986, conducted for the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, by the Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 1987, 128; and Mark J. Lynott, Archeological Survey of Development Areas, Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1981, 67-68.

[24]Lynn Morrow, "Trader William Gillis and Delaware Migration In Southern Missouri," Missouri Historical Review, LXXV (January 1981): 150-153.

[25]Robert Flanders, interview with author, Springfield, Missouri, 12 April 1988; Otto, "Migration of the Southern Plain Folk", 188; and Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 151.

They would plant the upland crops in the early spring and the lowland crops in the late spring.[26] The Ozark uplanders fenced in their fields to keep out the livestock, for the southern hillmen migrating here fervently believed in the open range.

These economic generalists relied on meat from domestic livestock and to a lesser degree from wild game. They raised both hogs and cattle, but hogs were the staple foodstuff. In 1835, a relatively genteel traveler in the southeast Missouri Ozarks, George Featherstonhaugh (pronounced "Fanshaw"), noted in condescending terms the backwoods appetite for pork:

> With them the ceremony of eating is an affair of a few moments; the grand object is to fill the stomach as quick as possible with the usual food . . . the same disgusting coffee, pork, bread, and butter three times a day, as long as they live.

As Featherstonhaugh also observed they lacked meadows of hay and other cultivable resources for fodder, except for the leaves of the cornstalks, and depended on the forest mast (nuts that accumulate on the forest floor) to feed the stock.[27] In the tradition of upland southern plain folk, the Ozark settlers practiced a rather leisurely method of woodland herdsmanship that left the hogs and cattle alone to forage for food in the woods. It proved an effective inexpensive means of herding and provided the foundation for backwoods self-sufficiency; it also allowed considerable free time for hunting and domestic crafts.[28]

In general, these Ozark hillmen did more hunting than cultivating. The Current River basin and much of the more isolated Ozark hill country bounded with deer, bear, panthers, and other game; however, if they ate wild game at all, the uplanders only supplemented their diet with it. They principally hunted for hides and other animal by-products and to protect the livestock from predators.[29] On the upper Current for example, bear oil, animal hides, pelts, feathers, ginseng, and other herbs served as a currency in a backwoods barter network and as an extractive industry bringing a little cash into this money poor region. At trading posts, such

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[26]James E. Price and Cynthia R. Price, interview with the author, Naylor, Missouri, January 5, 1989; and John Solomon Otto and Ben Wayne Banks, "The Banks Family of Yell County, Arkansas: A 'Plain Folk' Family of the Highland South," Arkansas Historical Society XLI (Spring 1982): 155.

[27]G. W. Featherstonhaugh, Excursion through the Slave States, (New York: Negro University Press, 1968 reprint of 1844 edition), 81, 85; and Sam B. Hilliard, "Pork in the Ante-Bellum South: The Geography of Self-Sufficiency," Annals of the American Association of American Geographers, 59 (September 1969): 461-480. The preceding quotation is taken from Featherstonhaugh.

[28]Otto, "Migration of Southern Plain Folk," 194-195.

[29]Lewis E. Atherton, "Missouri's Society and Economy in 1821," Missouri Historical Review, LXV (July 1971): 459-460; Otto and Banks, "The Banks Family," 159; and Featherstonhaugh, Excursion through the Slave States, 93.

as the Deatherage store south of Round Spring, the settlers often traded this wild truck for coffee, sugar, tobacco, dye stuff, and whiskey.[30]

The nature of the upland southern self-sufficiency was well suited to the resources and terrain of the upper Current Ozark wilderness. The ruggedness of the Courtois Hills, its inaccessibility, and distance from the main transportation routes and centers of population made this isolated area a haven for independent minded squatters and others of few material means or desires. For the most part, the uplanders probably gave the scarcity of fertile or even level tillable land little thought since they could support their Arcadian lifeway with just a few acres of corn and the livestock foraging on the open range. Along the upper Current, the different clusters of dispersed small farmsteads created rural settlements that afforded a degree of sociability, for those wanting the contact, as well as the space between homesites and in the near boundless hills for the men to hunt and the livestock to feed.

In the lower Current River valley, below Van Buren, the presence of larger commercial farms and some farms considered plantations marked a contrast from the upper Current self-sufficiency. The economic difference reflects a change in geography, for the Current River widened in the south and created wider more fertile alluvial valleys. Early settlers such as Zimri Carter and Isaac Kelley selected this choice land for their relatively large plantations during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The river south of Van Buren also differed from its upper reaches because of the year-round transportation potential. Unlike its northern sections, where the river becomes shallow during the summer, the lower Current was navigable for small boats and barges throughout the year. It provided access to outside markets for the crops of the larger commercial farms.[31]

Two factors, slaves and the local barter goods, underscored the difference between the larger commercial farmers of the south from the frontier generalists. First, local histories suggest that both Carter and Kelley used slave labor on their plantations; however, the archeological evidence uncovered at the Kelley site has not yet confirmed the presence of slaves. A local history of Carter County refers to a cemetery of freed slaves near the old Carter plantation south of Van Buren, and the 1850 census lists eighty-six slaves in Ripley County, which at the time included Carter County and the southern Current River valley, and only nine slaves in Shannon County.[32] Second, in contrast to the common use of pelts and other products of the hunt farther north, the settlers of the lower Current tended to trade

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[30]Interview with James and Cynthia Price, January 5, 1989.

[31]Ibid.

[32]U. S. Census of 1850, Department of the Interior, Statistical View of the United States: A Compendium of the Seventh Census, Washington, 1854, 266, 274; Price, et al. Archeological Investigations, 1982-1984, 89; and Eunice Pennington, History of the Ozarks (Point Lookout, Mo.: School of the Ozarks Press, 1971), 51.

agricultural products, such as pork and bacon, for store goods.[33]

The definition of two regional types of economic subsistence, the generalist farmer-herder-hunter of the upper Current and the commercial farmer of the lower Current, represents a simplified characterization or model of the settlement pattern along the Current. Of course, on the lower Current, there were settlers who took up small plots and lived a similar self-sufficient lifestyle as described for the upper Current. Moreover, the more wealthy settlers such as Isaac Kelley also spent leisure time hunting and at times supplemented their food supply with wild game. Their agricultural pursuits also combined crop cultivation and livestock raising, and only their commercial nature really separated these operations from those of the self-sufficient generalists who were more common in the more rugged northern Current. On the other hand, relatively large commercial farms also existed above Van Buren, most notably the Thomas Boggs Chilton spread at Owls Bend. Other members of the Chilton family, living on the relatively wide terraces near the present site of Eminence on the Jacks Fork, also occupied large commercial spreads and supplemented their commercial activities with copper mining.[34] Nevertheless, the distinction between the settlement types on the upper and lower Current reflects a predominant characteristic in the pattern of occupation apparent during this early period. It also illustrated the adaptation of the settlers to the geographic differences, the more rugged hills and the narrow valley floors with limited tillable land in the north and the wider alluvial valley in the south, in the Current basin.

Social relations along the Current River valley centered around the family, the hamlet and mill sites, and the open rural community. These social links also played an important role in the pattern of settlement. Above all, kinship supplied a fundamental cohesive ingredient in this frontier Ozarkian society and an important element in defining the Ozark homeland for families that persisted in the area. The "magnetic role [of family] in attracting" people to the river valley reflected this significance. A description of the influx of the many Chiltons to the Current River valley, taken from Clendenen's "Settlement Morphology," displays an extreme example of an extended family migration:

> Thomas Boggs Chilton, the son of a Welsh immigrant, was born in Maryland in 1782. After unknown premigrations . . . [he] removed in 1816 with his family from Rhea County, Tennessee, to New Madrid, southeast Missouri Territory. Two years later, the Chiltons moved to the mouth of Henpeck Creek on the Current River, in what later became Carter County. Thomas Coot Chilton, born of Welsh parentage in Jefferson County, Tennessee, in 1790, moved to Shannon County from Knox County, Tennessee. Like his cousin T. B. Chilton, he settled on Current River, locating two miles below the mouth of Jack Forks. A year later in 1837, his brother, Truman Chilton, joined him, having migrated from Roane County, Tennessee. From the latter

[33]Interview with James and Cynthia Price, January 5, 1989.

[34]Ibid.; and Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 143.

> county, Thomas T. Chilton, son of Truman Chilton, also migrated; in 1841 he settled on Current River near the original site of Eminence. Many other Chiltons came to the southern Courtois Hills by the early 1840s, including "Yellow Tom" and "Tennessee Tom" Chilton; the later and his family, however, "soon became dissatisfied and moved back to Tennessee." In all, nearly two dozen Chiltons were entrained to the southern Courtois Hills, principally from counties on the upper Tennessee River.[35]

A number of the Chiltons became active in local politics and, overall, many family members, succeeding in commercial agriculture and other entrepreneurial enterprises, rose to the upper crust of this riverine society. The significance of kinship ties in the early settlement of the Current River region, however, prevailed throughout the area and cut across class lines.

A simple listing of a sequence of surnames recorded in the 1850 U.S. Census manuscripts for several locations in Shannon County and in the area that became Carter County demonstrated that families tended to settle in clusters within the riverway. Two series of surname sequences from each county, Shannon and Carter, revealed this kinship bond. For Shannon County, the two sequential lists of surnames of heads of households were: Crabtree, Crabtree, Lewis, Summers, Summers, Summers, Lewis, McDonald, and Lewis; and Suggs, Rogers, Thomas, Suggs, Chilton, Thomas, Chilton, Thompson, Chilton, Conway, and Conway. The example from Carter County read: McKerney, McKerney, Epler, Webb, Hooper, Hickson, Hooper, and Webb; and Snider, Hurley, "unoccupied," Snider, Lewis, and Snider.[36]

In addition, family ties endured from this early settlement period into modern times and, therefore, continued as an important cultural feature in the Current River homeland. A 1977 study of settlement patterns on the lower Current noted, for example, that decedents of the Harris and Kelley pioneer families, both families of rather high economic status since the early nineteenth century, continued to live near the original farmsites and also spread along the river valley and creeks. A strong social connection also persisted among kin members.[37]

Small rural hamlets and mill sites, while important to the local economy, also served as meeting places vital to the sense of community in the isolated Ozark frontier. They varied little in make-up and often consisted of a store, a grist mill, possibly a distillery, and seldom more than eight log dwellings. In rare instances, they also included a blacksmith shop. Because of the basic self-sufficienct nature of the Ozark settlers, these hamlets served only a secondary economic

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[35]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 28-29.

[36]Ibid., 30.

[37]Cynthia Price, Settlement Patterns and Subsistence, 32. The Harris farmsite was located on the lower Current River outside of the present boundaries of the Ozark National Scenic Riverway. The descendants of "widow" Harris, living along the river in 1977, included the Stilwells, Robbs, McClearys, and the Cates; while those of the Kelley family included the Merrells, Colleys, and Jordans. See also Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 25-27.

function of providing them with basic staples, such as coffee, sugar, and whiskey. Therefore, the village inhabitants generally farmed and kept livestock, in addition to maintaining a store or other service, to turn a profit.[38]

There were few hamlets in the Current River valley and, for that matter, few in the entire southern Courtois Hills. By 1855, one source identified six hamlets in the southern Courtois Hills: the two earliest hamlets were located on the upper and lower Current River, three others were founded in the mid-forties on the upper Black River and its tributaries, and one, Birch Tree, was located in the uplands of southern Shannon County. The upland location of the latter community distinguished it from the more common river and creek valley locations of the other hamlets. The water source provided by a number of sinkhole ponds at Birch Tree attracted settlers to that site.[39]

The founding of the two frontier hamlets, Van Buren in 1833 and Eminence in 1841, directly followed the organization of Ripley and Shannon counties. Across the western frontier, early settlers were quick to organize a government with the power to collect taxes, to administer justice, and to make public improvements. This held true along the Current where a local committee appointed by the state selected a small settlement on the west bank of the Current south of Pike Creek as the Ripley County seat and the first frontier town on the river. They named the village Van Buren after President Martin Van Buren. Based on similar political motivation, Eminence was founded as the seat of Shannon County on a site overlooking the Current across river and just south of Round Spring. In contrast to these examples, farther north up the Current, a third hamlet at Akers developed strictly as a trading and social center.[40]

The gristmill sites, where settlers frequently visited to have their corn ground, were fundamental to local self-sufficiency. Three basic mill technologies--hand-, animal-, and water-powered mills--existed in the Current Valley. In the isolated individual Ozark homesites, early settlers frequently relied on hand-mills. During his travel through the Missouri Ozarks in 1834, Featherstonhaugh encountered hand-operated sweep-mills and, in one instance, described the operation of this type:

> They had no mill of any sort to go to, but had scooped out a cavity in the stump of a large tree, over which was a wooden pestle, eight feet long, suspended from a curved pole 16 feet in length, with a heavy weight at the end of it. A cross stick was fixed in the pestle, about two feet from its base; so putting the grains of maize into the cavity, and laying hold of the cross stick, we

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[38]Featherstonhaugh, Excursion through the Slave States, 73-74; Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 162; and K. Lewis, 228.

[39]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 159-161.

[40]Shortridge, "Settlement Frontier," 78; and Murphy, "Southeast Ozark Region," 46-50.

pounded away. . . .[41]

The water and many of the animal-powered mills were often commercial enterprises where the miller ground corn or grains for a fee or a percentage of the meal or flour. Clendenen suggested that the gristmills of this Ozark region probably were "Norse" mills, a type common to hilly and mountainous areas. In the more fertile agriculture areas, outside the most impassable Ozark hills and closer to improved transportation networks, farmers often sold their surplus grains to a miller for cash, and prospering millers marketed their flour over an extended multi-county area. In the Courtois Hills and along the Current River valley, however, the prevailing self-sufficiency relegated the mills to the service of a local and mostly noncash community market. Most families used all their corn for home consumption and, if they had access to a mill, regularly visited the miller to grind corn into meal and to hear the latest local news.[42]

These community mill sites occasionally developed into small hamlets but, in this early settlement period, they frequently stood alone. The mills were powered by a spring branch or creek off the Current River. Available knowledge of the location and dates of mills probably reflects a conservative estimate of their number in the valley. Before 1860, at least ten gristmills and six sawmills operated in the Current River valley. Ascending the river from the present southern border of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, midway between the Isaac Kelley and Zimri Carter plantations, a Chilton operated a grist- and sawmill on Benjamin Carter's former farm. Isaac Kelley might also have had a mill on his land. Another gristmill stood in Van Buren, and Woods Mill, a grist- and sawmill, could be found near the Current just a few miles above the mouth of Pine Creek. A combination grist-sawmill, the Laughlin and Whaley Mill, was twenty miles north of Van Buren. The swift waters of Rocky Creek powered the Rocky Falls Mill several miles above the creek's confluence with the Current. Thomas Boggs Chilton had a sawmill at Owls Bend. At least three more mills operated along Jacks Fork: the Fursman Spring Mill east of Eminence, and the McCubbin Mill and Stoops grist-sawmill farther west near the headwaters (see Base Map 2).

The water-powered sawmills supplied mostly pine lumber to a local and in some cases a regional market. The Woods Mill and a Kelley and Dearing Mill (Phillips Bay Mill) were examples of early commercial mills that sold to region wide markets. The Kelley family and James Dearing operated the latter mill from sometime in the 1830s until the 1860s and usually employed three workers. The laborers might have been slaves since both Dearing and Kelley owned slaves and preliminary archeological evidence suggested that slaves might have lived near the site. In 1850 the mill sawed 100,000 board feet of pine lumber and in 1860 produced 50,000

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[41]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 74.

[42]Pricilla Ann Evans, "Merchant Gristmills and Communities, 1820-1880: An Economic Relationship," Missouri Historical Review, LXVIII (April 1974): 319-320; and Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 74.

feet. They sold the lumber to customers in the surrounding community and floated some down stream to Arkansas. Like many mill owners, Kelley and Dearing did not specialize in lumber but operated the mill along with a variety of other agricultural and commercial enterprises.[43]

In the more rugged terrain above Jacks Fork, even less is known of the mill sites of the early settlement period. Aside from the Welch gristmill near Akers and the Pulltite sawmill, few other pre-1860 sites have been dated. A number of other mills, such as a gristmill at Round Spring, another on Sinking Creek, the Richardson saw- and gristmill between Sinking Creek and Pulltite, and the Heiny gristmill on the Current above Pulltite, operated during unknown time frames. Farther north, a molasses mill reportedly existed around Akers community. This mill type, however, was frequently mobile. Two more gristmills, one near Cedar Grove and another, the Baum Mill above Ashley Cave, also served this remote region at one time or another. These mill sites, whether in a hamlet or on an isolated plot, functioned as meeting places of open country communities where the settlers gathered for social exchange and to trade economic goods.

The term "open community" described the "loosely organized" social, economic, and political relations that created a sense of community in dispersed frontier settlements in the Ozarks and in other rural settlements on the edges of the frontier. These frontier communities emanated from families that persisted in an area and not from the mobile individual hunter or transient squatters.[44] They displayed a layer of social relationships, progressing from the family to the rural neighborhood up to the local county unit, the most important level of government in nineteenth century southern upland culture. Illustrating the nature of frontier rural neighborhood, a woman pioneering on the Illinois prairie remembered that "although the people were sparsely settled we would visit ten or fifteen miles distant and call them neighbors," but the visits were infrequent.[45] In the upland Ozarks, in the most populated sections along the rivers and creeks of the Current valley, the single family settlements were spaced, on average, about a mile apart, and the potential for visitations was high given the relatively unstructured workload of the adult males

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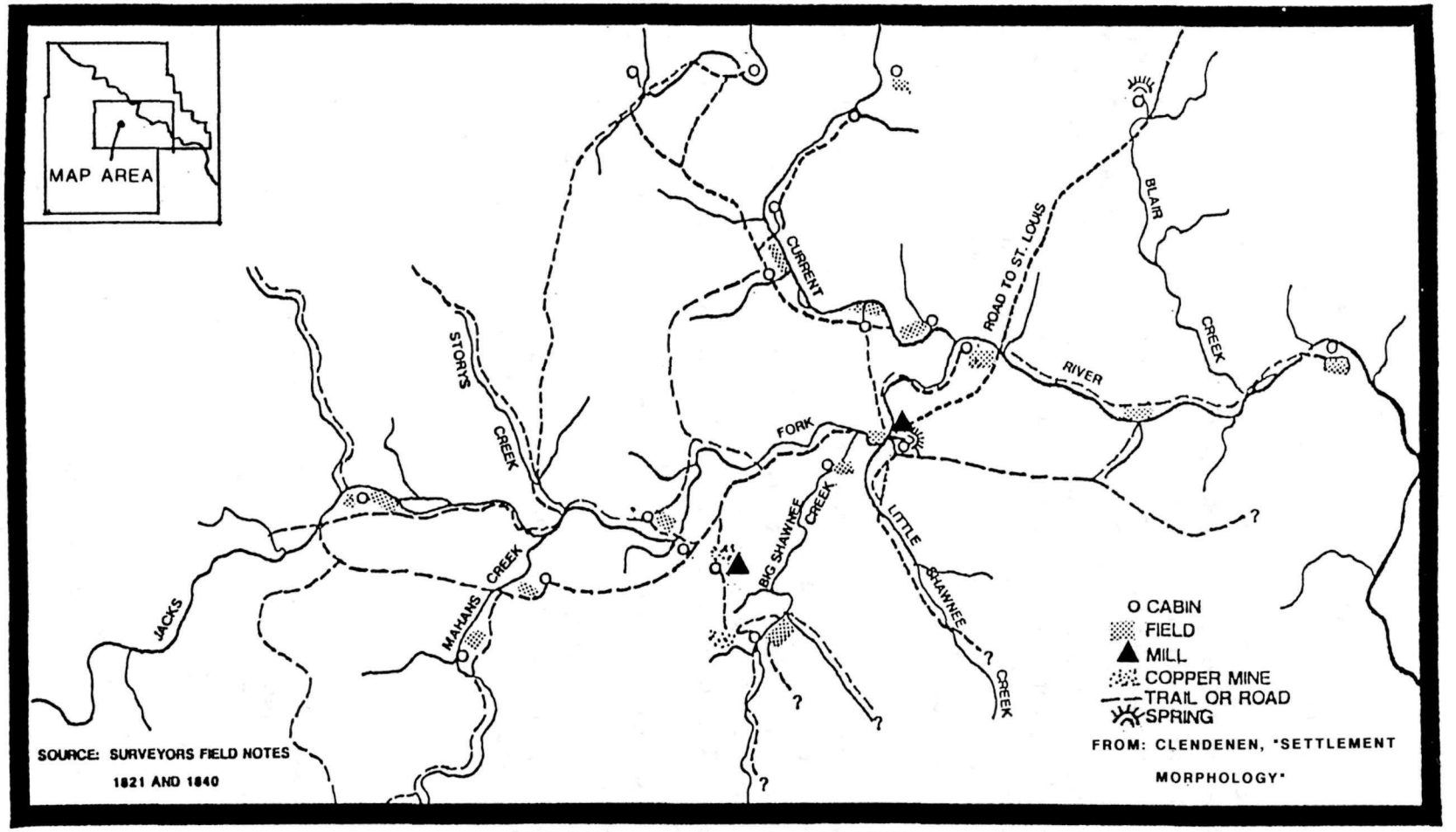
[43]Cathie Masters, "Phillips Bay Mill," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1987, 8-1. The archeological survey and much of the research for this study were performed by James E. and Cynthia R. Price. The Kelley and Dearing Mill was identified as the Charles L. Kelley Mill in the 1860 Census. James E. Price, et al., Archeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981-1982, conducted for the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, by the Center of Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 1983, 65-66.

[44]John Mack Faragher, Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 143-144; and Cynthia R. Price, "Old Eminence," Missouri Archaeological Society Quarterly, I (April-June 1984): 8.

[45]Faragher, Sugar Creek, 112.



CENTRAL SHANNON COUNTY
SETTLEMENT PATTERN
1840

0 5

SCALE OF MILES

and the pressures that women must have felt to break with their heavier daily work routine.[46]

A network of trails and roads facilitated social contact in the Current valley. In central Shannon County, the field notes of government surveyors outlined a "dispersed settlement" of homesteads scattered along the river and creek valleys. The individual settlements were interconnected by a system of trails that generally followed the creeks and rivers. The well defined routes suggested frequent social contact among the settlers.[47]

The physical layout of the community around Eminence before the end of the Civil War demonstrated aspects of the dispersed settlement and community formation on the upper Current. As archeologist Cynthia Price explained in her work on "Old Eminence," the site of the original Shannon County seat, featuring a jail and courthouse, was an "isolated political center" not a frontier town.[48] Yet a mill, store, and post office all existed within a four-mile radius of the courthouse/jail site and represented a more extreme example of an open community than existed down river in Carter County. Sometime in the three decades before the Civil War, a mill and at least one residence was built at Round Spring a quarter-or a half-mile upstream and across the river from the courthouse. The post office was in the postmaster's home about a quarter of a mile down from the courthouse. In the 1850s, the Deatherage store, roughly four miles below the courthouse on the opposite bank, served families as far as fifteen miles away. Its customers traded at the store on a regular basis; some came daily whereas some others returned every week or two. A fur press, possibly an ancient oak tree still present at the site, illustrated the barter nature of the trade at the store.[49] Van Buren, of Carter County, contained more of the trappings of a true frontier town with a mill, store, courthouse and several residences tightly clustered in a village setting.

A complicated set of dynamics contributed to the early American settlement of the Current and Jacks Fork riverways before 1850; however, a homeland with discernable cultural traits was taking shape. Scotch-Irish settlers, old-stock Americans from the upland South, dominated the early development of the region. They migrated to the southern Courtois Hills of the Ozarks in kinship groups and established open rural communities of dispersed individual homesteads. Their

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[46]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 142.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Cynthia R. Price, "Archaeological Investigations at Old Eminence: An Isolated Political Center in Shannon County, Missouri," Missouri Archeological Society Quarterly 1 (April-June 1984): 8-9.

[49]Interview with James and Cynthia Price. The Prices noted that near the site of the Deatherage store there is a "beautiful old Victorian, Ozark vernacular Victorian house. . . . It's an Ozark carpenter's interpretation of a Victorian." They believe the family in the house is named Harrison and they have some form of life lease with the Park Service on the property.

stockman-farmer-hunter way of life demonstrated a preference for a pre-modern or frontier existence rooted in the forests of the upland South. They were economic generalists and practiced a form of self-sufficiency that resisted the trend toward economic specialization and surplus production.[50] Like most of America, men dominated society in the Current homeland. The Ozark uplanders displayed a strong leisure ethic. They survived, for the most part, on small patches of corn and hogs that foraged in the open range, and they preferred hunting and fishing to farming. In the Current River basin, deep in the rugged southern Courtois Hills, the Scotch-Irish discovered an environment suited to these uplander traditions.

The nature of the settlers self-sufficiency, however, was not uniform throughout the Current valley, nor were the settlers completely isolated. Below the confluence of the Jacks Fork and the Current and especially below Van Buren, the river widened and created broader and more fertile valleys. Here, the land supported greater commercial activities, and early settlers established relatively large commercial farms and plantations. Moreover, a barter trade existed up and down the river, and most everyone traded furs, livestock, and homemade goods. They traded for staples, such as salt, coffee, flour, and whiskey, brought in from other areas. Yet before 1850, these fiercely independent settlers of the Current River region mostly defined the nature of their isolation.

[50]Interview with Robert Flanders.

LEGEND

- Ozark National Scenic Riverways Boundary
- Roads
- Houses
- Mills
- Stores
- Towns or Villages
- Springs
- Streams
- Caves

Ashley Cave
To Salem
Parker Hollow
Store & Grist Mill
Welch Spring
Akers
Gladden Creek
To Houston
Big Creek
Molasses Mill & Store
Current River
Lewis Hollow
Saw Mill
Heiny Grist Mill
Pulltite Spring
Sinking Creek
To Salem
Big Creek
To Centerville
Eminence
To Houston
Spring Valley
Round Spring
Deatherage Store
Road To St. Louis
Current River
Blair Creek
Ebb & Flow Spring
Saw Mill
Store
Fursman Mill
Blue Spring
Shed Store
Longyard
Paint Rock Creek
Jacks Fork
Bay Creek
Mahans Creek
Shawnee
Rocky Creek
Current River
Rocky Falls Mill
Ebb & Flow Spring
Stoops Saw & Grist Mill
Blue Spring
McCubbin Mill
Jam Up Cave
To Thomasville
Birch Tree
Pine Valley Creek
To Ironton
To Greenville
Woods Grist & Saw Mill
Van Buren
Pike Creek
Big Spring
Saw & Grist Mill
Keiley Mill
Current River
Panther Spring
To Doniphan
To Thomasville

Base Map 2

The Homeland

Early Settlement 1812-1860

Osark National Scenic Riverways

4

Forces of Change and the Enduring Ozark Frontier: Land Policies and Internal Improvements

During a period of widespread prosperity, from the late 1840s to the mid-1850s, a complicated mix of national forces laid the foundation for opening the Current River valley to large-scale commercial exploitation. In particular, changes in federal land policy and the spread of internal improvements, such as the coming of the railroads, encouraged land speculation and the extraction of natural resources from the developing Ozark hinterland. A rush to build railroads came relatively late to Missouri. At the end of the 1850s, trains first entered the Missouri Ozarks in the old mining region on the northern periphery of the southern Courtois Hills. The new land policies introduced in the Graduation Act of 1854, however, most changed the nature of this Ozark homeland by stimulating a speculative buying boom of large tracts of land along the Current. The changes brought a somewhat more diverse ethnic makeup to the Ozark population and a series of county reorganizations that defined the lasting county jurisdictions in the Current River valley.

The means of disposing of the public lands underwent a series of major revisions in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the fifty years following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, federal land holdings rose to more than 1.4 billion acres. Selling off the vast domain to private individuals and groups provided a major source of revenue for the federal government and became intertwined with growing sectional rivalries between the North, the South, and the West. On a more personal level, the disposition of the public domain involved a conflict between squatters and speculators, or as Roy Robbins, a leading historian on federal land policies points out, "between the poor man and the man of wealth."[1]

The Land Ordinance of 1785 set the original terms for the sale of the public domain. The law required the surveying of land before sale and the laying out of townships and sections in uniform squares. It called for public auctions to sell the land and set standards for recording titles. It also stipulated a minimum per acre sale price of one dollar and set a 640-acre minimum on the size of the tract that the government could sell.[2]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, federal land policies shifted from favoring the speculator to favoring the settler. For the average yeoman, the original land acts placed stiff terms on purchasing public lands. The minimum 640-acre tract was more land than a single family could farm efficiently, and the price was too high. Furthermore, the government required

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[1]Frederick Merk, History of the Westward Movement (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 102-103, 229-230; and Roy M. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, reprint 1962), 8-9.

[2]Ibid.

buyers to pay for the land in specie.[3] Near the turn of the eighteenth century more liberal terms were introduced. In 1800, western legislators pushed a land act through Congress that decreased the minimum sales plot from 640 to 320 acres and also created a system of four-year installment payments. Yet it maintained a high minimum cost of two dollars an acre, a price established in 1796, and private speculators often provided credit at better terms. In 1820, a more substantial liberalization reduced the minimum price to $1.25 per acre and the minimum tract from 320 to 80 acres.[4]

Later revisions of the land policies in the 1840s and 1850s focused on two interests of the West: "pre-emption" and "graduation." Pre-emption referred to giving squatters the privilege to purchase land at the minimum price before the holding of a public auction. Congress passed a permanent pre-emption law in 1841; it allowed such sales, however, only after the survey. Proponents of graduation, who Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri led in Congress, wanted to reduce the price of land left on the market after the auctions (the established policy allowed the purchase of land not sold at the auction for the minimum price). The Graduation Act of 1854 authorized the federal government to sell public land at a reduced price based on its length of time on the market. For example, it lowered the price of land unsold after ten to fifteen years to $1 per acre; land unsold after fifteen to twenty years to 75 cents an acre; after twenty to twenty-five years to 50 cents an acre; after twenty-five to thirty years to 25 cents an acre; and if unsold after thirty years on the market the rate dropped to 12 1/2 cents an acre.[5]

Paralleling the boom and bust cycle of the nations economy, three peaks in the disposition of public lands occurred between 1800 and 1860. In 1817-1818, sales reached an annual high of 6 million acres before the economic panic of 1819. In 1836, following the 1820 land liberalization measures, annual sales rose to a record 20 million acres only one year before the 1837 panic. The third peak climaxed at 18 million acres sold in 1856; this reflected the easing of terms by the pre-emption and graduation acts and also the passage of two military bounty acts granting land to American war veterans.[6]

The number of sales especially jumped after the passage of the Graduation Act and, during the eight-year life of the statute, approximately 25.7 million acres sold at the reduced rates. Most of the purchases occurred in the southwest where sales in three states (Missouri, Alabama, and Arkansas) alone involved 18.3 million acres. The Graduation Act, in contrast to the settler bias of land policies of the previous five decades, was a boon to speculators. Despite sections limiting

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[3]Merk, History of the Westward Movement, 230 and 231; and Robbins, Our Landed Heritage, 16.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Merk, History of the Westward Movement, 234-235.

[6]Ibid., 236-238.

maximum purchases to 320 acres and requiring the buyers to swear an intent to settle and cultivate the land, speculators took advantage of the vague wording of the legislation and bought large tracts at the low prices.[7]

Table 2
Average Size and Number of Land Entries
In the Southern Courtois Hills, 1821-1860

County	1821-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1860
		Average size of land entries		
Carter*	120	54	76	190
Reynolds	-	59	51	201
Shannon	160	80	93	217
Southern Courtois Hills	-	59	78	203
		Number of land entries		
Carter	3	7	10	1,021
Reynolds	-	20	14	1,155
Shannon	1	2	18	1,170
Southern Courtois Hills	-	29	42	3,346

Source: Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 60.
*The table excludes a single 320 acre land entry from territory of Carter County, 1820.

[7]Merk, History of the Westward Movement, 234-235; and Robbins, Our Landed Heritage, 170-171.

The 1854 act precipitated a land boom across the state of Missouri, including the southeast Ozarks, as squatters, new settlers, and speculators rushed to buy and record land claims. In the eastern section of the state, where public land had been on the market since the early 1820s, buyers crowded into the land offices of St. Louis and Jackson to take up land at 12 1/2 cents an acre.[8] The dramatic increase of the number of land entries recorded for the southern Courtois Hills demonstrated the impact of the graduated prices in the Ozark uplands. In Carter County, the number of land titles filed soared from a total of 30 during the first three decades of settlement to 1,021 in the 1850s alone. Shannon County reflected a similar pattern, as number of entries rose from 21 to 1,170 (see Table 2).

The land records also indicated a sharp rise, over a 100 percent increase, in the average size of tracts sold. As settlers moved into the valley in increasing numbers during the 1830s and 1840s, the average amount of land purchased climbed about one-third from 59 to 78 acres. Following the Graduation Act, during the decade of the fifties, the average size of a purchased plot increased to more than 200 acres. Settlers already present commonly added land to their holdings or, in the case of squatters, bought their sites at the reduced prices. Dr. Thomas Reed and his family, who settled on the Current River sometime in the 1830s, entered 700 to 800 acres of land under the Graduation Act by 1856. Reed was the first doctor of Shannon County, and he settled on the east side of the Current between Owls Bend and Logyard. He and his family migrated from Tennessee with his brother-in-law Thomas Chilton. In 1857, he purchased another 114 acres of land just north of their original parcels. An Ohioan, Henry B. Flanner, looking in 1856 for land to purchase in Dent County (adjacent and north of Shannon County), commented on the rush to register land. "Everyone seems anxious to enter all he can at the graduation, and that out, they lay warrants and buy at $1.25." More hill country, in contrast to the valley focus of the earlier entries, were registered during this period. Speculators took up much of the uncultivable hills, but the individual settlements continued to concentrate in the area's valleys and hollows.[9]

Comparisons of census records and the land titles revealed widespread speculation. In a single Reynolds County township, a county just east of Shannon County, the 1860 and 1870 census indicated that more than 90 percent of the land buyers between 1854 and 1859 were

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[8]James R. Shortridge, "The Expansion of the Settlement Frontier in Missouri," Missouri Historical Review, LXXV (October 1980): 83; and James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 71.

[9]Harbert L. Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology of the Southern Courtois Hills, Missouri, 1820-1840," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973), 58-61; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 71; Henry Beeson Flanner Diary, 1856, Western History Manuscript Collection--Rolla, University of Missouri--Rolla, Rolla, Missouri; and Kimberly Scott Little, "Reed Log House," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Midwest Region, National Park Service, Omaha, Nebraska, 1990, 8-2, 8-3. A Reed log house still stands on the 114 acres of land purchased by Dr. Thomas Reed in 1857.

Figure: 1

Reed Log House; Single pen log house, c.1857-1870. Rear frame addition, c. 1887. Front porch addition c. 1905-1910. Photograph taken in 1987. Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Midwest Region.

absentee owners. Next-door in Shannon County, land titles demonstrated that many people buying 320-acre tracts in 1859 and 1860 came from Massachusetts, New York, and other northern and eastern states. The buyers included agents of lumber and railroad companies. For example historian James Murphy noted that railroad companies used the laborers on the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railway, stretching south to Pilot Knob, as agents to assemble large tracts beyond the 320 acres limited by law. Many Irish immigrants worked on the Iron Moutain line and, in Reynolds County, an unusually high number of Irish immigrants holding land titles suggested that railroad capitalists used them to purchase large tracts.[10]

Some Irish immigrants, however, did settle in the Ozarks and added to the growing ethnic diversity of the region. In one case, the Catholic Church established a colony of Irish settlers in Ripley and Oregon counties. A Catholic missionary, Father John J. Hogan, concieved the idea of developing an agricultural settlement to improve the family life of impoverished Irish railroad workers and domestic servants in and around St. Louis. Beginning in 1857, Father Hogan made several trips into the southeastern Ozarks. He traveled down the old St. Louis Road along Blair Creek to the Current River and then south into Oregon and Ripley counties. With the help of the Reverend James Fox, the priest at Old Mines, Missouri, Father Hogan founded an Irish Catholic settlement along creeks of the Current and Eleven Point rivers. The territory, which became known as the Irish Wilderness, straddled the border of Oregon and Ripley counties about twenty miles from the Arkansas line.[11]

For several years the settlement grew despite the marginal fertility of this hill country. By the spring of 1859, forty families settled along both sides of the Current, with most clustering near where the priests built a small, single-story log chapel. The Irish settlement, however, lasted for less than a decade.[12]

Some prejudice against the Catholics existed in the nearby population. Father Hogan periodically visited the settlement and described the early settlers in the surrounding area as mostly friendly and morally righteous with few vices besides a taste for tobacco and backwoods whiskey. Nevertheless, several Protestant preachers near the Irish colony tried to incite anti-Catholic sentiment. The priest recalled an incident on a trip to the Irish Wilderness where a "gigantic" young farmhand hailed him to stop and then attacked him. The assault occurred on the property of a local judge, who intervened before the priest suffered serious harm. After only a few years of existence, the feuds and general unrest prevailing throughout the Ozarks during

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[10]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 61; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 71-72.

[11]Rt. Rev. John Joseph Hogan, On the Mission in Missouri, 1857-1868 (Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., reprint 1976), 39-41, 58-59; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 72-74.

[12]Hogan, Mission in Missouri, 59-60.

the Civil War, dispersed the Irish settlement.[13]

The railroad work that attracted the Irish workers into southern Missouri was part of the massive nationwide construction of internal improvements: the building of improved highways, canals, and railroads for the movement of people and commodities. These construction activities, in the years 1820-1860, reflected a national policy to bolster the self sufficiency of the United States and to support the rapid westward population movement. The trade within the United States between the interior and Atlantic seaboard rose to exceed the country's total foreign trade. In practice, however, the unprecedented increase in internal commerce was played out between private and public leaders in rival cities and regions in competition for expanding markets.[14]

The scramble to build canals and railroads revolutionized the system of transportation; it enriched some cities, states, and regions while leaving others mired in debt or rushing to catch up. The North promoted, built, and benefited most from the internal improvements. In alliance with western interests, businessmen from the northeast and Europe, along with the federal and state governments, negotiated public-private partnerships to finance and build expensive canal and railroad projects. Between 1817 and 1825, the construction and the immediate success of the Erie Canal largely sparked the rush to build canals and eventually railroads. For example, in 1824, work began on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; the latter, connecting Baltimore with the Ohio River, reached Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1853. The Illinois and Michigan Canal, built between 1836 and 1848, linked Chicago (and Lake Michigan) to La Salle on the Illinois River. In 1853, railroads connected Chicago to New York and then quickly reached the Mississippi. The national investment in railroad construction totaled almost $100 million a year by the 1850s.[15]

The internal improvements diverted much of the trade of the Northwest from the natural north-south river courses to an east-west manmade transportation system. Unlike the middle Atlantic states where streams and rivers cut openings through the Appalachians, the southern mountain range imposed a greater obstacle to an east-west transportation system. In the south, commerce continued to travel by river transit. As a result, the economy of the South suffered relative to the growth of the economy of the North, and the inequity, complicated by the controversy over slavery, contributed to the growing sectional divisions between the regions.[16]

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[13]Ibid., 60-68; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 74-75; and Russel L. Gerlach, Settlement Patterns in Missouri: A Study of Population Origins With a Wall Map (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 27.

[14]Merk, History of the Westward Movement, 216-219.

[15]Ibid., 217-222.

[16]Ibid.

Before the 1850s, Missouri's leading political and business interests, continued to rely on the major rivers for transporting commerce to wider markets and entered the competition in railway travel late. Missouri railroad promoters failed to attract funds until the profits derived from new transportation facilities in the northern midwest--especially the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the Michigan Central, and the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad-- awakened regional leaders to the importance of canals and railroads to the competitive development of the state. In 1851, Missouri's first railroad corporation, the Pacific Railroad Company, began building a line from St. Louis to the western Missouri border and reached Jefferson City five years later. By this time, a number of other railways were under construction, including a competing east-west line that would connect Hannibal and St. Joseph before the Pacific Railroad reached Kansas City.[17]

A railway, the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, first entered the Ozarks in the years 1856-1858. It stretched southwest from St. Louis through the lead mining region of Potosi to the iron mines of Pilot Knob. This line, approximately forty-five miles northeast of the Current River, did little to disrupt life in the southern Courtois Hills. Before the Civil War, railroads had very little impact throughout southern Missouri.[18]

Overland roads continued to provide the dominant means of travel in and out of the southern Courtois Hills, including the Current River valley. Most of the intercounty roads traversing the Current basin passed through the hamlets or villages. In the southern Current valley, the community of Doniphan, founded in 1845, developed where the "Military Road" intersected the Current. The Military Road, following the old St. Louis-Natchitoches Indian Trail, was a major trade and transportation route in the southeast Ozarks.[19]

Farther north, somewhat less traveled roads crossed the river at the communities of Van Buren and Eminence. By 1860, at least three roads from the east, which again often followed old Indian trails, converged at Van Buren from Irontown to the northeast, Greenville to the east, and Poplar Bluff from the southeast. These wagon roads connected Van Buren to the St. Louis market as well as the more populated Black and St. Francis valleys. Another route, largely parallel to the Current, linked Van Buren to Eminence on the upper Current and to Doniphan on the lower Current. A road out of Van Buren followed westward along Pike Creek and then turned southwest towards the Eleven Point River. Before reaching the river, it divided and one

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[17]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 113-115; and Paul W. Gates, "The Railroads of Missouri, 1850-1870," Missouri Historical Review, XXVI (January 1932): 128-135.

[18]Gates, "Railroads of Missouri," 131-135; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 114-115.

[19]Eunice Pennington, History of the Ozarks, (Point Lookout, Mo.: School of the Ozarks Press, 1971), 32; and Martha M. Woods, "Early Roads in Missouri," (M. A. thesis, University of Missouri, 1936), 104-105.

branch went west through Thomasville and the other stretched southwest into Arkansas.[20]

At least two other roads, in addition to the route to Van Buren, crossed at Eminence. A north-south road from Dent County went through Eminence and from there through Thomasville on the Eleven Point River and on into Arkansas. An east-west route came through Eminence from Irontown and Centerville to the east and on to Houston and other points west.[21]

One road, a north-south route noted by government land surveyors in 1840, did not cross through any of the hamlets of the riverway. Identified on present-day maps as the Ozark trail, it was an early link to St. Louis that ran south through Potosi, a mining center, then down Blair Creek, and across the Current at Owls Bend near the Chilton settlement. The road meandered south into Arkansas.[22]

These roads, intersecting the Current River valley, connected with a circuit of more heavily traveled routes, outlining the periphery of the rough southern Courtois Hills terrain. For the most part, the peripheral routes all followed earlier Indian trails worn along the more passable uplands and only cut across the less rugged sections of the hill country. The Military Road, which met the Current near Doniphan, was part of the peripheral circuit of rodes and was the most traveled highway in and out of the southeast Ozarks.[23]

The local and regional roads crossed numerous rivers and creeks of the Current valley. The settlers and travelers forded or ferried across the waterways, as bridges were nonexistent except for those on the Military Road. There were few ferryboat crossings. Early travelers such as Schoolcraft and Featherstonhaugh mentioned traversing the lower Current by "ferry-flat, or scow." Little evidence, however, exists on the operation of ferries, either commercial or private, before the Civil War. By the time of the war, Van Buren occupied the principal commercial crossroads along the Current above Doniphan, but whether or not a ferry operated here is a matter of speculation. During the 1860s, a ferry, possibly the Coleman Ferry, carried people and freight across the river about three miles above Van Buren near Pine Valley and Mill creeks.[24]

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[20]Pennington, History of the Ozarks, 32; and John F. Bradbury, Jr., "'This War is Managed Mighty Strange': The Army of Southeastern Missouri, 1862-1863," unpublished work, Western History Manuscript Collection-Rolla, Rolla, Missouri, see map.

[21]Bradbury, "Army of Southeastern Missouri," see map.

[22]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 143, 155-157.

[23]Ibid., 152, 155.

[24]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 157; Bradbury, "The Army of Southeastern Missouri," 3; and Cynthia R. Price, Reported Historic Period Sites in Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981/1982, Submitted to the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1983.

A similar dearth of information obscures the possible use of ferryboats at the other commercial crossroads on the upper Current, Eminence and Owls Bend. The fact that Union troops forded the river in wagons near Eminence suggests the absence of any ferry there during the war; however, the persistent partisan raiding in the area might have rendered operating a ferry a hazardous enterprise during this period. In addition, although the Powder Mill ferry operated at Owls Bend in later decades, the existence of an earlier ferry is uncertain.[25]

Fording the rivers and creeks on horseback or in a horse-drawn wagon were the most common methods of crossing. On the Current above Van Buren, where the river ran shallow and built up shoals as it meandered around wide bends, the water could be forded at a number of places above the shoals. The settlers, however, had to be weary of freshets during the rainy seasons. Spring and autumn rains quickly turned the lazy streams into small raging rivers. The persistent flash flooding added a sense of danger to moving back and forth across the streams and made the construction of bridges difficult. In some instances, the settlers laid "low-water pole bridges" across creek beds to improve the footing at a ford.[26]

The uplanders also made use of river transportation. Early on, hunters commonly used twenty-to thirty-foot long dugout canoes to transport their furs downstream. Later, as the number of more permanent settlers increased, local residents modified the shallow draft dugout design into a "plank-built gigging canoe" that they used for fishing. Yet they relied more heavily on the interconnected overland trails and roads to get from place to place in the valley. River transportation was more significant for the commercial agriculturalists below Van Buren.[27]

In Missouri, as mentioned previously, the railroad construction of the 1850s stopped in the mining region of the eastern Ozarks well north of the Current River. This improvement, though limited, lessened the shipment time of goods from St. Louis to the southern Missouri hill country. Nevertheless, the adverse condition of roads in the Current River hills, where internal improvements basically involved trampling Indian trails into wagon paths, limited their carrying power as a commercial transportation network. This initial advance of railroads probably had a marginal consequence on the volume of trade goods entering the southern Courtois Hills and on the way of life here. During the Civil War, the difficulty encountered in moving troops and supplies through the area vividly demonstrated the limitations of the road system for potential commercial development.

In the 1850s, the rate of population growth in the southern Courtois Hills decreased

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[25]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeastern Missouri," 16-17

[26]Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology," 157.

[27]Ibid., 158-159.

despite the railroad construction north of the area and the passage of the Graduation Act. During the previous decade, between 1840 and 1850, the population of the Ripley County, which then included present-day Ripley, Oregon, Carter, Shannon, Reynolds, Howell, and portions of Texas and Dent counties, jumped 236 percent from 2,856 to approximately 9,622. Between 1850 and 1860, the population of roughly the same area rose 136 percent. This represented a drop in the rate of growth even though the region experienced a greater increase in the actual number of people in the 1850s compared to the 1840s. In 1860, the population was 22,668. At this time, Carter and Shannon counties tallied close to 1,234 and 2,284 people respectively.[28]

During the 1850s, the American born Scotch-Irish uplanders continued as the dominant influence in the Courtois Hills and Current River country. For the most part, other settlers avoided the rugged hill country. Large numbers of Germans concentrated in the Missouri valley and, like other immigrant groups, they rarely ventured deep into the Ozark hills. The Irish-Catholic settlement southwest of the Current stood out as the exception.[29] The Civil War and the accompanying guerrilla-feud activities dismantled the Irish colony and scattered the Irish families to areas in and out of the Ozarks.

A significant institutional change, encouraged by the rapid rise in legal property owners after the passage of the Graduation Act, followed the population increase in the Ozarks after 1840. This was the reorganization of counties in the Current valley that resulted in defining more durable county political jurisdictions. The creation of Shannon County in 1841 and Texas, Reynolds, and Oregon counties in 1845 reduced the area of Ripley County to its present size plus Carter County.[30] In 1847, a dispute over the location of the Ripley County seat at Van Buren culminated in a group of "Southerners" convincing the state legislature to move the county government farther south to a hamlet, named Doniphan. The conflict arose between settlers upriver, probably consisting of mostly Tennesseans, and the settlers downstream, most of whom migrated from Virginia and the Carolinas. The latter group succeeded in getting the county seat more centralized in the reorganized Ripley County. At the end of the next decade, in 1859, the legislature approved the creation of Carter County (named after early settler Zimri Carter), and

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[28]U. S. Census 1850, Department of the Interior, Statistical View of the United States being a Compendium of the Seventh Census, Washington, 1854, 266-273; and U. S, Census 1860, Department of the Interior, Population of the United States in 1860, Washington, 1864, 289-297.

[29]Gerlach, Settlement Patterns in Missouri, 20-28.

[30]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 47-52; Gerlach, Settlement Patterns in Missouri, 21 and foldout map; and Gene Oakley, The History of Carter County (Van Buren, Missouri: J. G. Publications, 1970), 34, 39; In fact, by 1861, the present-day county organization of Missouri was in place. Fourteen of the sixteen new counties formed after 1850, however, were located in southern Missouri.

Van Buren once again became a county seat.[31]

Outside of the development of railroad links east and west across Missouri and into the northern Ozarks, the Current River region retained its frontier character at the end of the 1850s. The encroaching rails and the land speculation binge of that decade, however, set the stage for dramatic change after the chaotic Civil War years. The violence of the Civil War terrorized the people and their communities along the riverway.

[31]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 49-52; and "Missouri History not Found in Textbooks," Missouri Historical Review, XXII (April 1928): 409-410.

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Forces of Change and the Enduring Ozark Frontier: The Civil War

Located outside of the main transportation corridors and population centers, the southern Courtois Hills experienced no major battles during the Civil War. The Ozark uplands, however, remained anything but peaceful. Partisans waged a brutal war on the people and land of the rugged Missouri and Arkansas Ozark hills, including the Current and Jacks Fork riverways. These forces were a complicated mix of southern sympathizers commissioned by the Confederate army and given free reign in their actions, federal militia units, and assorted unattached bands of outlaws. In addition to these guerrilla groups, whose victims commonly gave the label "bushwhackers," regular Union troops occupied the Courtois Hills, including Van Buren and Eminence, during 1862 and 1863. The terror struck by the guerrilla raiders and the foraging of the regular troops depopulated and impoverished the Current valley and much of the Ozark hills. Local feuds and divided loyalties fueled violent conflict in the Current valley for years after the war and left scars in the homeland that showed for decades. The historical record of the war years provides valuable descriptions of the life and landscape of the Current region: a homeland that changed dramatically after the war.

As a border state, Missouri was placed in an unenviable bellwether role in the sectional rivalry between the North and the South. Missouri not only bordered the North and the South, but also the western frontier, and as a result, the state was center stage in the sectional conflict leading to the Civil War. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the Great Compromise of 1850 demonstrated that the state was figuratively the leading battleground in the nineteenth-century debates linking frontier settlement, statehood, and slavery. Moreover, with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the Kansas-Missouri border erupted in violence and foreshadowed the beginning of outright war.[1]

In April and May 1861, following the attack on Fort Sumter and President Abraham Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers, the people and governments of the border states divided over which side to support in the Civil War. Most Missourians supported the North; however, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson refused the president's request for troops. A political ally of the influential slaveholding region along the Missouri River, he favored secession. Jackson and leaders of the State Guard, including Sterling Price, plotted to amass munitions in support of the Confederacy. A large arsenal was located in St. Louis. The State Guard established Camp Jackson outside of the city and federal authorities considered this a threat to the arsenal. Regular

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[1]Frederick Merk, History of the Westward Movement (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 392; Edwin C. McReynolds, Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 187-195; and Robert Flanders, "Regional History," in Cultural Overview Mark Twain National Forest, Vol. 1, Mary Lou Douthit, et al., Report to Forest Supervisor, Mark Twain National Forest, Rolla, Missouri, U. S. Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, 1979, 205.

U.S. troops and the St. Louis militia, under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Lyon (soon promoted to brigadier general), captured the camp and pursued a secessionist force, led by Jackson and Price, west along the Missouri and then south toward Springfield. At Wilson's Creek just outside of Springfield, the armies engaged in the first major battle in Missouri, and the southern forces claimed victory when the Union troops pulled back after Brig. Gen. Lyon was killed. Yet on March 7-8, 1862, at Pea Ridge in northwestern Arkansas, the Union forces defeated a Confederate army led by Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn, accompanied by Price's Missourians, in a decisive victory that secured much of Missouri for the North.[2]

The state government of Missouri remained in turmoil during much of the war. The Union supporters controlled the state capital at Jefferson City while Jackson and the southern sympathizers established a government-in-exile. At Neosho, Missouri, in November 1861, Jackson's government voted to secede, and the Confederacy accepted Missouri into its government a month later. Jackson set up a temporary capital in Camden, Arkansas. Following his death from pneumonia, Jackson's former Lt. Gov., Thomas C. Reynolds assumed the governorship. Governor Reynolds eventually moved the captial to Marshall, Texas, where Missouri's Confederate leaders operated a clearinghouse for information between Missouri and the Confederate capital at Richmond. Reynold's government actively recruited Missourians into military service for the South.[3]

After the battle of Pea Ridge, the North maintained a force of approximately 10,000 troops in southeastern Missouri. In October 1862, the U.S. War Department constituted the Army of Southeastern Missouri within the Department of the Missouri. Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, who had engineered the Pea Ridge victory, commanded the latter department. He assigned the Army of Southeastern Missouri to Pilot Knob, the terminal point of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, and placed Brig. Gen. John W. Davidson, a graduate of West Point and a regular army cavalryman, in command. General Davidson's command consisted of thirteen infantry regiments led by Brig. Gen. William P. Benton, three artillery batteries led by Col. Chester P. Harding, Jr., and a cavalry brigade commanded by Col. George E. Waring.[4]

Curtis directed the army to reconnoiter enemy troop strength in southeast Missouri and

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[2]McReynolds, Missouri, 202-230, 239-242; James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 92-94; and Edwin C. Bearss, "The Battle of Wilson's Creek: Greene and Christian Counties, Missouri," unpublished report, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Wilson's Creek Battlefield National Park, July, 1960, 187-213.

[3]William E. Parrish, A History of Missouri: Volume III 1860-1875 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 46-50.

[4]McReynolds, Missouri, 239-243; and John F. Bradbury, Jr., "'This War Is Managed Mighty Strange:' The Army of Southeastern Missouri, 1862-1863," unpublished paper, Rolla, Missouri, January, 1986, 1-4.

then to prepare a route for an expedition into Arkansas. Several cavalry scouting sweeps of principal river crossings at Van Buren, Missouri, and Pitman's Ferry above Pocahontas, Arkansas, turned up only small groups of partisans in the area. Convinced of the absence of any sizeable Confederate force in southeastern Missouri, Curtis ordered General Davidson to improve transportation facilities through the rugged Ozark country south of Pilot Knob to support any future invasions of Arkansas. General Curtis wanted to establish a second front that would disrupt the Confederate threat to Springfield and southwest Missouri. Curtis, a professional engineer, sent Davidson on a bridge-and road-building campaign that failed to tame the steep hill and valley terrain for the large-scale movement of troops and supplies. In fact, as the historian of the Army of Southeast Missouri John Bradbury noted, the campaign did little more than occupy several thousand troops for over three months in a region isolated from the major military engagements of the day.[5]

Spending the end of 1862 and the early part of 1863 in the southern Courtois Hills, Davidson's troops encountered several small guerrilla groups. For example, just before Christmas, a band of approximately twenty-five partisans attacked a detail foraging for food about three miles south of the camp at Van Buren, just below the Carter plantation. Two federal troopers and a horse were killed in the ambush. The Rebel raiders belonged to a force led by a notorious Rebel partisan, Col. M. Jeff Thompson. The day after the fight, Davidson apparently dispatched four hundred men to round up the raiders, but the troops failed to find them.[6]

Thompson boasted of controlling a large force. Union sources estimated him to have 500 to 800 men at Doniphan, and federal authorities went on alert when rumors spread of his presence in southeastern Missouri. General Davidson received orders to be prepared to return to Pilot Knob if Thompson threatened the railhead. Rumors of the guerrillas' whereabouts surfaced across the region and, in response to hearsay of Thompson advancing on New Madrid, the federal garrison there hurriedly abandoned its station. Davidson's army never engaged Thompson. In general, along the Current, partisan bands, with both Southern and Northern sympathies, concentrated on harassing Union pickets and foraging patrols and terrorizing the civilian population.[7]

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[5]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeastern Missouri," 3-5, 20-21.

[6]Ibid., 9-10; and U. S. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D. C.: 1880-1901), Vol. 22, Part 1, 873-874, from notes of John Bradbury, hereafter cited as Bradbury, Official Records. A local history source placed the attack at the James Kinnard farm on Pike Creek where the federal troops were loading up corn and fodder. The raiders got away with eight wagons, thirty prisoners, and 48 mules. A graveyard of those killed in the skirmish reportedly exists in a field that belonged to Stella McSpadden. This raid, however, probably refers to another encounter just after the Christmas eve raid (see note 7). See Eunice Pennington, History of Carter County (privately printed, 1959), 31-32.

[7]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," 9-10.

The Union commanders reported that Rebel raiders were all around Van Buren. Within a week of the pre-Christmas attack and after the completion of the bridge across the Current, another group of guerrillas surprised a forage train nine miles from camp. The raiders captured seven wagons, twenty-one men, and the teamsters.[8]

The only engagement between Davidson's men and Confederate troops involved a cavalry "dash" on Batesville, Arkansas. In early January 1863, Confederate cavalry led by Brig. Gen. John S. Marmaduke attacked the Union forces at Springfield and, after failing to take the city, retreated south and east. General Davidson combined with an additional federal force out of Houston, Missouri, and moved to intercept Marmaduke. The Confederate cavalry, however, escaped into Arkansas and established winter quarters at Batesville on the south side of White River. Generals Curtis and Davidson then plotted a cavalry assault on Batesville. During the first week of February, Col. George Waring led a thousand cavalrymen south, and the horse soldiers first intercepted the southern force, Marmaduke's pickets, on the edge of Batesville. Marmaduke left only a small force guarding the ferry and town on the north side of the river. Waring charged, and the Confederate soldiers ran to the river and ferry. The federal troops captured forty of the fleeing men who did not make it across the White to the south bank. Confederate deserters then warned the Union commander that portions of Marmaduke's cavalry had crossed the White River in an effort to cutoff Waring, and the latter pulled back and returned to Missouri.[9]

Supply problems resulting from the poor roads contributed both to the beginning and the abrupt end of the Batesville campaign. Because of the almost impassable condition of the muddy roads during this winter expedition into the Ozark hills, the federal troops constantly moved their base in search of a tolerable supply route and scoured the countryside for food. Intending to supply the army from the railroad terminus at Pilot Knob, General Curtis originally sent Davidson's army to Patterson, between the St. Francis and Black rivers, where the troops established a forward supply base. The army just completed construction of a blockhouse and bridge across the Black River when General Davidson decided to transfer the base to Van Buren on the Current River. He said that the roads between Van Buren and Pilot Knob were better than those out of Patterson and were a more direct route.[10]

At Van Buren, the troops busied themselves working on the roads and foraging for food. They built a pontoon bridge across the Current. Wagons with supplies from Pilot Knob, however, continued to have problems traversing the Ozark roads, and the federal soldiers daily

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[8]JB, OR, Vol. 22, Part 1, 874; and Samuel C. Kirkpatrick Letters, 1 January 1863, in Bradbury Notes.

[9]Ibid., 11-13.

[10]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," 7-8.

foraged for food among the valley's inhabitants. Commenting on the hardship that the foraging caused to the local residents, one soldier said, "the poor devils are suffering terribly from the troops, who take the liberty of filling their haversacks from the stores of these natives."[11] The Union troops often left vouchers for the food and livestock confiscated, but the Ozarkers had nowhere to redeem the script to meet their immediate needs.[12] By Christmas, 1862, General Benton reported to Davidson that "forage [was] scarce on this side of [the] river," and that the troops would turn to the west side of the Current as soon as the pontoon bridge was completed.[13]

After the completion of the bridge, the troops began foraging on the west bank and quickly devoured the available food supply within a days ride of camp. In one week of foraging across the bridge, the patrols were traveling as much as twenty miles for supplies. The threat of partisan raids remained ever present, and Jeff Thompson bragged that the west bank of the Current was his. A three-hundred wagon supply train from Pilot Knob was bogged down in the mud, and General Davidson informed Curtis that he probably would have to move the army toward Doniphan simply to keep them fed. Instead of tramping down along the Current, however, the federal troops headed for Alton and West Plains to look for Marmaduke and food.[14]

The army lived off the land as it marched. General Davidson said that they cleared the countryside of corn and cattle from Pilot Knob to West Plains. At the end of January 1863, in a report to General Curtis, Davidson's exasperation over supplies showed in his comment: "This problem of food over such roads has put some gray hairs in my head." The army, at the time numbering nearly ten thousand men, was on half rations. Even when some supply trains reached the troops, much of the food was spoiled, and the soldiers simply threw it out and foraged for fresh meat. One trooper noted that the men stole thousands of hogs.[15]

After Waring's cavalry returned from Batesville, Davidson felt that the inability to supply the troops demanded a withdrawal and ordered the army to leave West Plains for Eminence on the Current River. The commander selected Eminence because it was midway between Rolla and Pilot Knob and, therefore, within reach of supplies from either locale. The move exacerbated the already bad morale of the troops who had trekked through 150 miles of mud only to turn back

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[11]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," 23.

[12]Pennington, Carter County, 31.

[13]JB, OR, Vol. 22, Part 1, 873.

[14]JB, OR, Vol. 2, Part 2, 17, 67; Wisconsin State Journal, 19 January 1863, in Bradbury notes; and Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," 10.

[15]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," 13-14; and JB, OR, Vol. 22, Part 2, 87; and Henry R. Strong Letters, 31 January 1863, in Bradbury notes.

without engaging Marmaduke's Confederate army. During the return to the Current River, the weather turned colder and a mixture of snow and rain slowed the march at times to an exhausting five miles per day over the muddy roads. The troops reached Eminence during the second week of February, and the infantry crossed the Current over a makeshift bridge of wagons driven into the water and trees felled into the river.[16]

Upon arriving at Eminence, however, the army found meager resources to sustain it, and the commander soon ordered the troops back to Pilot Knob. Eminence consisted of only two log buildings, a courthouse and jail. The soldiers commented that lawyers had to travel five miles for their suppers. Expecting trouble, Davidson had the men clear the trees along a hillside across the river for a field of fire and unlimbered artillery in front of the camp. The work amounted to little more than an exercise because no attack occurred and because the scarcity of food forced the troops to leave. Cutting new roads alongside the old, they headed for Pilot Knob.[17]

As a disruptive force, in a little more than three months, the Army of Southeast Missouri inflicted little damage to the Confederate troops but managed to wipeout much of the winter food supply of the Courtois Hills population. The Union soldiers generally viewed the local inhabitants as a hostile force. Cautious of spying activity, the Union commanders restricted civilian access to the camp. In the Current valley, the federal army required the local residents to prove their loyalty (often by taking a loyalty oath), and they forced some of the southern sympathizers to work on the roads. The construction of bridges, ferries, and roads was a by-product of the military presence, but whether or not the departing army destroyed the bridges or any other of their improvements is uncertain. The roads displayed little durability under the heavy troop traffic and became nearly impassable after the army moved through.[18] Guerrilla raids, by both southern supporters and northern militia groups, proved even more fearsome and destructive during, and even after, the war.

Whether loosely associated with the Confederate or Union armies or local vigilante groups, the guerrilla raiders engaged in vendettas against personal enemies as well as random robbery and violence. One such figure, Samuel Hildebrand, related his exploits as a Confederate bushwhacker in an autobiography that reads like a tawdry melodrama. Yet, despite its colored portrayal, the book provides some insight into the motives and activities of outlaw/guerrillas during the war. Hildebrand worked a farm and raised livestock in St. Francois County, where

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[16]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," 14-17.

[17]Ibid., 16-17; Samuel C. Kirckpatrick Letters, 9 February 1863; and Wisconsin Daily State Journal, 20 March 1863, in Bradbury notes.

[18]Wisconsin Star Journal, 19 January 1863, in Bradbury notes; Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," 17.

he grew up. According to his autobiography, he turned to bushwhacking after a local vigilante group wrongly accused him of taking part in the murder of a "Union man" and stealing a horse. The vigilance committee hung Hildebrand's brother and tried to capture Sam Hildebrand who shot a member of the posse and fled the area. Later, Hildebrand returned to Missouri and hunted the man who told the vigilantes where to find him. He described the episode in his autobiography:

> I took up my gun, "Kill-devil," and started on my first trip to Missouri. . . . I arrived in the vicinity of Flat Woods, in St. Francois County, Missouri, on the 12th day of June [1862], and immediately commenced searching for George Cornecious, the man who reported my whereabouts to Mellvaine and the soldiers, thereby causing me to be wounded and expelled from Flat Woods. After searching two days and two nights I succeeded in shooting him; he was the first man I ever killed; a little notch cut in the stock of my gun was made to commemorate the deed.[19]

Hildebrand received a major's commission in "the Bushwhacking Department" of the Confederate army from feared partisan Col. M. Jeff Thompson. With a command of about forty men, he stole horses and supplies, as he plundered settlements and towns in east central Missouri. He continued to harass civilians as well as federal troops near Farmington and Pilot Knob throughout the war. In 1872, an Illinois posse finally caught up with Hildebrand and killed him.[20]

As in other parts of the Ozarks, bands of raiders frequently terrorized the Current River valley of Carter and Shannon Counties. The threat of theft and violence forced families to hide provisions and often drove men from their homes. Local histories and remembrances describe widespread violence at the hands of "marauders" along the Current. One account tells of a Shannon County family on Jacks Fork. As the story goes, word of advancing raiders reached the household; the husband, a Union man, left behind his bedfast wife with their newborn twins and hid in the hills with his older children. The bandits then moved the woman and children into the yard where they died of exposure. Yet violence directed toward women and children was rare. In another incident, local "bushwhackers" killed a Carter County man, John Webb, on the pretense that Webb had murdered another man.[21]

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[19]Samuel Hildebrand, Autobiography of Samuel Hildebrand (Jefferson City: Times Book and Printing House, 1870), 54-59, 63-64; and Flanders, "Regional History," 208-209.

[20]Hildebrand, Autobiography, 63-64; also a mimeographed summary of Hildebrand's life story accompanying the Autobiography at the Current River Regional Library, Van Buren, Missouri; and Flanders, "Regional History," 209-210.

[21]Flanders, "Regional History," 210; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 103; and Michael Fellman, Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

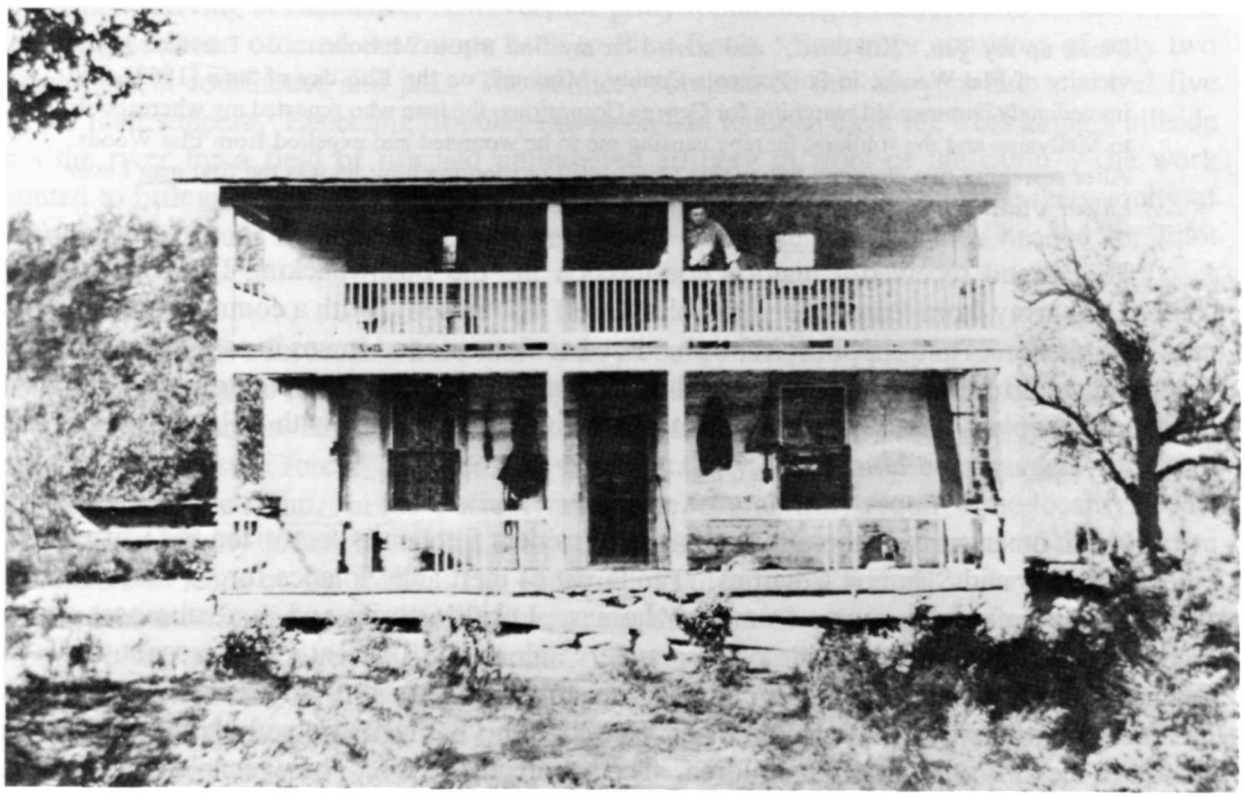

Figure 2:

View of Chilton homeplace looking northeast, c. 1920. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Available records revealed little difference between raiding activities sanctioned by the Union and Confederate governments and those undertaken by bands of independent outlaws. During the war, where mixed loyalties often divided neighbors and families, feuds and isolated incidents of violence were commonplace. This was especially true in the border states. In Missouri, a large minority of the population showed sympathy for the South; about 30,000 Missourians joined the Confederate army whereas more than 100,000 enlisted on the Union side. In the Current valley, much of the population favored the Confederacy. As a result, patrols of Missouri militia occasionally searched the Ozarks for residents who offered aid to the South or who participated in guerrilla activities against federal troops and their sympathizers. They also tried to hinder southern recruiting activities. Such state militia activities amounted to "search and destroy missions" similar in nature to the raids of guerrilla/bandits.[22]

In the summer of 1862, one militia expedition resulted in the death of Judge Joshua Chilton, the "King of Shannon County." The son of pioneer Thomas Boggs Chilton and a state senator, Joshua Chilton favored the South and was a friend of Governor Jackson and General Price. A biography of the Chilton family, however, claims that he tried to remain neutral after the Civil War broke out. The Union militia in Missouri, most likely commanded by Chilton's political enemies, considered him a recruiter for the South and a "dangerous character." Union troops killed Chilton and three or four of his associates during a patrol through the upper Current River region. As reported by a Lt. H. Reed, three members of Chilton's group were shot during an exchange of fire with the northern troops and a fourth was shot trying to escape.[23] Dr. Thomas Reed and his sons were local political rivals of the Chiltons and, in March 1865, he and two sons were taken from their homes and shot by "bushwhackers."[24]

Based on several military reports, "shot while trying to escape" was a common epitaph of prisoners taken by the state militia. A report of a militia officer of another expedition through Shannon County illustrated the "character of such raids":

> NOVEMBER 4-9, 1863.--Scout from Houston to Jack's Fork, Mo. Reports of Lieut. John W. Boyd, Sixth Provisional Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia.
>
> HOUSTON, MO., November--, 1863.
>
> SIR: In compliance with Special Orders, No. 42, issued from your headquarters November 3,

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[22]Bradbury, "The Army of Southeast Missouri," ; Flanders, "Regional History," 211-212; Richard S. Brownlee, Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1863 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 4-5; and McReynolds, Missouri, 243-257.

[23]Flanders, "Regional History," 211; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 101-104; and War and Civil War Collection, Weydemeyer Letter Book, July 14-October 6, 1862, J. W. Weydemeyer to J. M. Glover, 29-30 August 1862, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.

[24]Kimberly Scott Little, "Reed Log House," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Midwest Region, National Park Service, Omaha, Nebraska, 1990, 8-4.

1863, on the morning of the 4th instant, I started on scout with 15 men of my company, 5 men of Company B and 5 of Company G, Fifth Missouri State Militia, in the direction of Spring Valley. Marched that day 25 miles, without discovering anything worthy of note. Visited the residences of Benjamin Carter and Wilson Farrow, that were engaged in burning Houston; they were gone. Burned Carter's house. November 5, divided the scout. Sent 10 men, under Orderly Sergeant Basket, Company I, to march by way of Bay Creek to Jack's Fork. I proceeded with the balance of the command by way of leatherwood or Wollsey's trail; found fresh trail of horses; followed them on Jack's Fork to the residence of Miles Stephens and brother, Jack Stephens, whom I was satisfied were bushwhackers. Burned the house. Heard that Fred Taylor had been at Stephens' last week with 25 men. Proceeded down Jack's Fork 10 miles, having marched 30 miles that day. Camped at Widow McCormick's. Had positive evidence that the widow had kept a general rendezvous for Freeman's and Coleman's guerrillas. On the morning of the 6th, burned the buildings. Learned from the widow's son, a young lad, that on the previous evening James Mahan had got him to give news of our approach. Sent back and took Mahan prisoner. Went down to Jack's Fork to mouth of Mahan's Creek: turned up said creek on Thomasville road. Prisoner Mahan attempted to escape, and was shot by the guard. Camped at William Mahan's that night, (having) marched 24 miles. On the morning of the 9th, marched up Mahan's Creek. About 9 o'clock discovered about 20 of the enemy on the bluff above us; fired a few shots at them, when they fell back. I took 20 men up the hill and reconnoitered, expecting to find them in force to give us battle, but they had all fled into the rocky ravines and hills, where it was impossible to pursue to advantage, mounted; returned to the road, gone about 1 mile, and met 3 men, who started to escape on seeing us; killed 2 of them, whom I ascertained from papers found on their persons to be William Chandler supposed to live in Dent County, and a man named Hackley, who had in his pocket a discharge as lieutenant from Company F, Mitchell's regiment, rebel army. He also had several packages of letters from persons in the rebel army and citizens in Arkansas, directed to persons in Dent and Phelps Counties all of which are submitted for your disposal. Two miles farther on we captured William Story on a United States horse. He was recognized and well known as a notorious horse-thief and house-robber. He attempted to escape, and was killed. Camped that night at Morgan Dean's, on Birch Prairie. November 8, started in the direction of Houston; marched 5 miles, and captured William Hulsey, James Hulsey, William McCuan, and Samuel Jones at the house of James Harris, all well provided and packed, going to Freeman. One of them had a horse that was stolen some time since from one of our men; also goods of different kinds. The first three, viz, the Hulseys and McCuan, were killed. Jones, on account of his extreme youth and apparent innocence, I had brought in, a prisoner. Five miles farther, at the house of John Nicholson, a known rebel and bushwhacker, we captured the said John Nicholson, Robert B. Richards, alias Bruce Russell, and Jesse Story, all of whom were killed.

We then marched by way of McCobbin's Mill to Spring Valley, and camped at Wiley Purcel's. November 9, started direct for this post, ending [sic] a few men by way of Upper Jack's Fork, and all arrived here in the evening, all in good health, having been out six days, marched 145 miles, killed 10 men, returned 1 prisoner, burned 23 houses, recaptured 9 horses that had been previously stolen, and took 6 contraband horses and mules. All of which is respectfully submitted.

John W. Boyd[25]

The lawlessness and the accompanying social discord continued in the Ozarks after the

[25]Quotation taken from Flanders, "Regional History," 212-213.

South surrendered in 1865. Discharged soldiers returned home to find burned out settlements and villages. For example, in West Plains, the seat of Howell County, guerrillas burned every building in the small town. During the war years (1861-1865), the population of Howell dropped from about 3,200 persons to only 50 families.[26] A similar fate befell Carter and Shannon counties, as the breakdown of civil government continued in the post-war years. The courthouses in both counties were burned. In Carter County, the residents revived the court in the spring of 1866, and the people of Shannon County, while retaining the name Eminence, abandoned the razed political hamlet near Round Spring and moved the county seat to the wide valley of lower Jacks Fork in 1868.[27]

Many refugees displaced from the Current valley and surrounding region during the war feared returning to their homes in the immediate years after the official truce. In 1867, Pennsylvanian Daniel Fogle, scouting out land prospects in Missouri, traveled into the south central counties of Missouri. In the vicinity of Rolla, he encountered a number of Union veterans and sympathizers who had fled their homes in areas dominated by southern supporters. He noted that counties around Rolla and those farther south fought a "regular pitch fight during the war" and a hostile atmosphere remained. In the Ozark counties and districts with a strong southern bias, such as Texas, Shannon, Oregon and Howell Counties, it was hazardous to purchase any of the thousands of acres of land being sold for back taxes. Much of this property belonged to men who had enlisted in the Confederate army, and secret societies protected their land by running off or even murdering anyone who tried to occupy these homes.[28]

In Shannon and Oregon counties, guerrilla bands thwarted an effort to restore civil law after the war. The groups were a mixture of Union army deserters and bitter end Confederate supporters who targeted their wrath on discharged federal veterans. A guerrilla commander, Col. Jamison, led a band of about fifty men, and a group of southern sympathizers formed the Secret Order of the Sons of Liberty to disrupt efforts to restore civil law. They continued to control the counties after state authorities ordered a resumption of civil control in the area and, in the fall of 1867, Missouri Governor Thomas C. Fletcher invoked martial law. He commissioned William Monk, a leading supporter of the Union in Howell County, with the power to lead the state militia against the guerrillas. The militia quickly captured members of the Secret Order who tried to disrupt a meeting of Union veterans at Warm Fork on Spring River. Monk also organized an attack that defeated Jamison's band. In December 1867, the governor reinstituted civil law and disbanded the militia; however, several years passed before

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[26]James W. Goodrich and Donald B. Oster, ed., "'Few Men But Many Widows. . .': The Daniel Fogle Letters August 8-September 4, 1867," Missouri Historical Review, LXXX (April, 1986): 295.

[27]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 105-106.

[28]Goodrich and Oster, "The Daniel Fogle Letters," 281, 291-292.

the hostilities really subsided.[29]

During the war, an estimated one-third of Missouri's population moved out of the state. In the heavily looted counties of the southeast Missouri Ozarks, the population loss was especially marked. The town of Salem, the seat of government for Dent County, was burned during the war, and its population fell from about 75 to 25 families. In his search for land speculation opportunities, Fogle commented during his walk through the Ozark uplands that he found "few men but many widows." The governor and state legislature responded to the population decline by creating the Missouri State Board of Immigration in 1865 and embarked on an active campaign to attract immigrants from other states as well as from foreign countries. By 1870, Missouri experienced a 45.6 percent population increase, climbing from 1,182,012 to 1,721,295, during the sixties.[30] Yet the growth of the population of the Ozark region, including Carter, Oregon, Reynolds, Shannon, Butler, and Ripley counties, rose only 4.2 percent. Carter County, however, demonstrated a higher growth of 18 percent from 1,235 in 1860 to 1,455 in 1870. In contrast, reflecting the continued violence of guerrilla/outlaws, Shannon County only grew by 2.3 percent from 2,284 to 2,339.[31]

The damaged economy of the Ozark hills recovered slowly after the war. During the 1860s, the number of farms in the Ozark region, as defined above, increased but production dropped. The number of cultivated acres per farm declined. For example, the bushels of corn harvested in 1870 were 6 percent less than in 1860. Losses in livestock production hurt the region the most because the animals represented the keystone of the uplander economy and because of the relatively long time frame needed to replenish the herds. In 1870, the number of cattle in the area totaled about 7,000, a good 25 percent below that of the pre-war years. The economic data suggests that the violence during the war and its aftermath hit Shannon County particularly hard. In this county, both the number of farms and improved acres declined. The small percentage of the county's land cleared for farming before the war equalled 1.5 percent in 1860 and diminished to 1.3 percent in 1870. The war hostilities consumed so much of the livestock of Shannon County that by 1870 the number of cattle stood at only one-half the total of 1860.[32]

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[29]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 104-105.

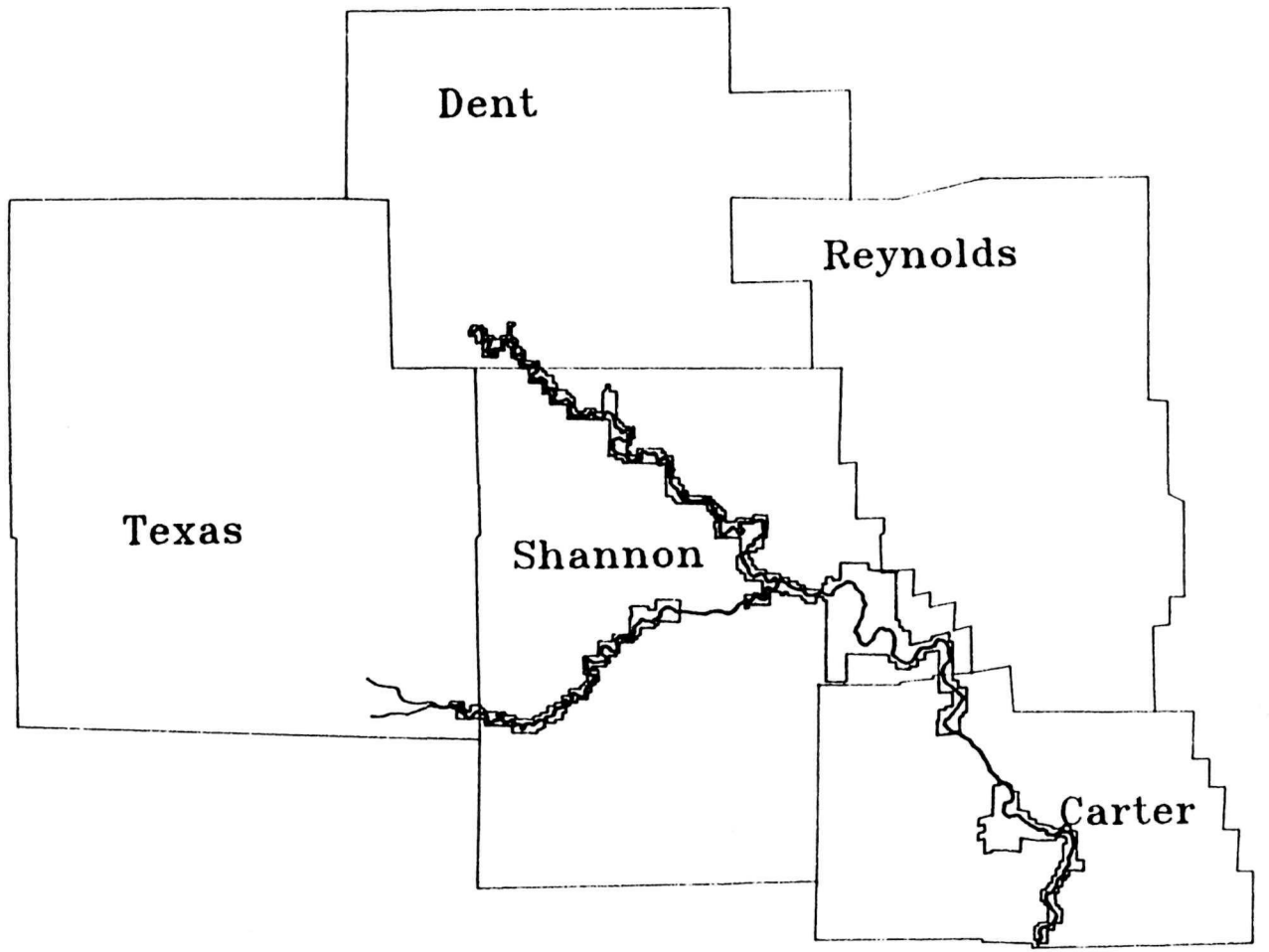
[30]Goodrich and Oster, "The Letters of Daniel Fogle," 277-278, 288; and Russel L. Gerlach, Settlement Patterns in Missouri: A Study of Population Origins With a Wall Map (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986, 33.

[31]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 107-108; and U. S. Census, Department of the Interior, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population, Vol. I, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), 43-46.

[32]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 108-109; and U. S. Census of 1860, Department of the Interior, Agriculture of the United States in 1860: The Eighth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 92.

Any lasting changes to the Ozarks culture, however, are hard to measure. The self-sufficient lifestyle described by Daniel Fogle in his trip through the southern Missouri Ozarks suggests that the upland families continued to live much as they had before the war. As mentioned previously, the durability of the road and bridge improvements made by the Union troops in the area is uncertain. The difficulty in supplying and moving the large Union force illustrated the rugged and isolated nature of the region. Historian Robert Flanders identified the deep disturbance of the pre-war sense of community in Shannon County as a significant consequence of the hostilities.[33] The knowledge distributed by Union troops of the rich forest and mineral resources of the area; however, probably had the most far reaching consequence of the war on the region. Eastern corporate capitalists took notice of the timber and soon penetrated the Ozark homeland.

[33]Goodrich and Oster, "The Letters of Daniel Fogle," 284-285, 290; and Flanders, "Regional History," 215-216.



Counties Adjacent to the Ozark National Scenic Riverways

6

The Ozark Riverways and the "New South": Hinterland Development and Exploitation, 1870-1920

During the sixty years following the Civil War, the United States developed into a largely industrialized urban nation. Governments and large commercial corporations collaborated to expand the system of railroads and organized the economy on a national scale. Historians have applied the term "New South" to describe the rising interest in internal improvements and industrial development in the South after the war. A number of politicians and capitalists, in and out of the South, worked to integrate the region into the transforming national economy. Many southern leaders wanted to capture more of the wealth generated by industrialization for their region. Transportation improvements were a big part of the economic change. Railroads, in particular, were important to the Ozarks and, as they moved deeper into this region, eastern capitalists turned to the resources of the uplands to help fuel the national industrial growth.

Large scale timber and mining interests were at the vanguard in the development of the Ozark hinterland. The hills of southeast Missouri were long noted for their mineral wealth. For more than a century, Europeans exploited the lead resources and, later, the iron ore of the upper St. Francis River valley. Since before 1840, pioneer miners also extracted a high grade of copper from what one St. Louis newspaper called "the celebrated mines" along the Current and Jacks Fork rivers. Surveyor's notes from the federal land office identified copper mines two or three miles up Shawnee Creek and west of the creek between it and Jacks Fork River.[1] In addition to the mineral resources, the area had a rich growth of yellow pine that had not attracted much outside notice before the depletion of the eastern pine forests and the movement of railroads into the Ozarks.

In contrast to the virtual absence of railroad construction south of the Missouri River during the war, railroad builders extended lines in southern Missouri soon after the return of peace. Three lines moved into the Missouri Ozarks to the east and west of the Current River valley. The St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, with the backing of eastern financier Jay Gould in 1870, began constructing a branch from the end of track at Pilot Knob to Arkansas. Its developers charted the new branch out of the St. Francis River valley southwest to the Black River valley, then south to Poplar Bluff, and continuing into Arkansas. The potential of providing transportation for local gravel operations and for town building convinced the builders to follow the Black River rather than the more developed St. Francis valley. The Iron Mountain Railroad underwent several reorganizations and, in 1881, became part of the Missouri Pacific

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[1]Missouri Argus (St. Louis), 29 May 1840; and Harbert L. Clendenen, "Settlement Morphology of the Southern Courtois Hills, Missouri, 1820-1840," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973), 143.

Railroad.[2]

A second line approached the Ozarks from the west. The Kansas and Neosho Valley Railroad, operating a line between Kansas City and Fort Scott in 1865, changed its name first to the Kansas City, Springfield, and Memphis Railroad and then to the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Memphis Railroad (KFS&M). The builders, under the new name, decided against moving into the Indian Territory and, instead, developed a rail line through Springfield and toward Memphis. In 1881-1882, the KFS&M railroad stretched southeast through Howell County and entered Arkansas from southwest Oregon County, Missouri. Later in the decade, this company extended a branch to Current River.[3]

Another railroad company, the Cape Girardeau and Springfield Railroad Company, laid track from Cape Girardeau eastward into the Ozarks. Originally chartered in 1857, Lewis Houck reorganized the company in 1880 and, one year later, renamed it the Cape Girardeau Southwestern Railroad Company. Houck built the line southwest along the Ozark escarpment to the St. Francis River and then east to the Black River, which he crossed at Williamsville. In 1889, it reached the community of Hunter in the Current River valley.[4]

Town building was a major component of the developing Ozark hinterland and was intimately coupled with railroad construction. Officials of the Iron Mountain Railroad platted a number of towns, including Piedmont, Mill Spring, and Williamsville, to support passenger and freight services on their line. In 1880, nine years after its founding, Piedmont had grown to a town of 666 residents and had become the primary shipping point for the surrounding area. Along the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Memphis Railroad, such towns as Cedar Gap, Mansfield, Mountain Grove, Willow Springs, Olden, and Brandsville sprung up. The Cape Girardeau Railroad also platted towns, and Lewis Houck assigned Indian names to many of these, such as Ojibway, Taskee, and Upalika.[5]

In the early 1870s, railroads also reached the established local market centers of Salem and Poplar Bluff. More than ten years earlier, in 1860, the seat of Dent County, Salem, was a growing community of 400 people, five general stores, and three hotels. The 1860 Missouri

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[2]James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 117-120; Leslie G. Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company, 1880-1909," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1949), 14-15; and Paul W. Gates, "The Railroads of Missouri, 1850-1870," Missouri Historical Review, XXVI (January 1932): 139.

[3]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 121; and Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 15-16.

[4]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 123-124.

[5]Ibid., 117-124; and Flanders "Regional History," 218-226.

State Gazetteer reported that the community had a female seminary and a high school. Raiding during the Civil War destroyed much of the town but, by 1865, the population had regained its pre-war total. In 1872, the Southwest Branch of the Southern Pacific Railroad (formerly part of the Iron Mountain Railroad) constructed a line--the St. Louis, Salem and Little Rock Railroad--from Cuba, Missouri, to Salem. Four years later, the population of Salem reached 1,500, and the community sported ten general stores and five hotels. At this time, the existence of two weekly newspapers reflected the prosperity of the times. The title of one paper, the Western Success, displayed a booster spirit in the community. Poplar Bluff, the seat of Butler County, reflected the pattern of Salem's growth. Located at the uppermost reach of steamboat navigation on the Black River, the town served as the local shipping point for agricultural products and iron ore. In 1860, the village housed 200 people and had one general store, but had no hotels or newspapers. The Iron Mountain Railroad reached Poplar Bluff in 1873, and by 1876 the community had grown to an estimated 800 people and had four general stores, four hotels, and one weekly newspaper.[6]

The population of the southeast Missouri Ozarks grew more rapidly as the railroads moved into the area and war hostilities cooled. In the 1870s, unlike the previous decade, the population growth of the southern Courtois Hills outpaced that of all Missouri. Between 1870 and 1880, the state's population increased 26 percent compared to a 45 percent rise in the previous decade. The number of people living in the four county region, including Carter, Dent, Ripley and Shannon counties, however, rose by 58 percent during the 1870s. The more isolated counties, those without railroads, such as Carter and Shannon counties, also participated in the accelerated rate of growth. In the 1870s, the number of people in Carter County increased 49 percent from 1,455 to 2,168, and Shannon County experienced a 47 percent rise from 2,339 to 3,441. The numbers demonstrate a much accelerated growth rate compared to the previous decade when the population in Carter and Shannon counties only rose by 18 and 2 percent respectively.[7]

An increase in the number of post offices and hamlets accompanied the population growth. The post office listings of an 1860 state gazetteer indicated that about seven hamlets existed in Shannon, Carter, and Ripley counties before the Civil War. By the mid-1870s, however, the number doubled. The new communities included Riverside, a village located thirty miles

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[6]Missouri State Gazetteer (St. Louis: Sutherland & McEvoy, 1860), 221, 442; and Missouri State Gazetteer (St. Louis: R. L. Polk Company, 1876-1877), 378-379, 600-601.

[7]U. S. Census, Department of the Interior, Compendium of the Tenth Census, 1880, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 359-360; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 134-138.

northeast of Eminence, that had twenty people, a general store, a hotel, and several artisans.[8]

Along with the additional hamlets, the county seats of Van Buren, Doniphan, and Eminence grew larger and began to demonstrate more diverse functions. Eminence exhibited considerable transformation after the Shannon County residents moved the county seat to Jacks Fork. In 1876, eight years after its relocation, Eminence developed into a town of 250 inhabitants. It changed from a political hub, with only a jail and courthouse, into a town with multiple functions. Four general stores, two hotels, two saloons, three churches, two schools, a weekly newspaper, and a variety of artisans and professionals concentrated at the location of the "new" Eminence. A forty-mile-long stage coach line linked Eminence to Salem and to the railroad at this Dent County seat. A 1876-1877 Missouri Gazetteer identified copper ore, "general farm produce," and furs as the principal exported goods.[9]

Compared to Eminence, Van Buren remained a small village in 1876. Yet despite a reported size of only 50 residents, the community added a hotel and a newspaper since the war. Founded in 1874, the first newspaper, The Vidette, was shortlived. It was followed by the Times, a weekly organized in 1876 by Tom Brown and James Moseley, which around 1884 became The Current Local. The nearest railroad to Van Buren was 20 miles east at Mill Spring in Wayne County. The primary products exported from the village included wheat, cattle, and furs.[10] In addition, Carter County residents commonly rafted logs down the Current to market in Arkansas.[11]

Doniphan, the Ripley County seat, ranked above both Eminence and Van Buren in size. In the mid-1870s, about 500 people lived in Doniphan on the banks of the lower Current River. The town contained three general stores, two hotels, a newspaper, three churches, a school, and an assortment of artisans, lawyers and doctors. It was twenty miles west of the nearest railroad, the Iron Mountain line at Harviel. The community exported tobacco and cotton.[12] The nature

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[8]Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1876-1877, (St. Louis: R. L. Polk & Company, 1876), 92, 110, 177, 191, 201, 371, 391, 396, and 615; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1860, 754, The 1860 Gazetteer also listed a post office at "old" Eminence. The archeological investigations mentioned in a previous chapter identified two structures once existing at the site. The post office was in a nearby home.

[9]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1876-1877, 92, 110, 177, 191, 201, 371, 391, 396, and 615; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1860, 754; Edith Chilton, "The Current Wave," in History of Shannon County Missouri 1986, (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1986), 42; Flanders, "Regional History," 254.

[10]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1876-1877, 641; The Current Local, 1 July 1915, As of 1989, The Current Local continues to be Van Buren's newspaper.

[11]R. A. Campbell, ed., Gazetteer of Missouri, (St. Louis: R. A. Campbell, Publisher, 1874).

[12]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1876-1877, 167-168.

of the commercial shipments from Doniphan compared to those of Eminence and Van Buren reflected a persistent difference between the economies of the upper and lower Current valley. The wider and more fertile valley of the lower Current continued to support larger commercial farms or plantations while the leading commercial products of the north, small logging operations, peltries, copper ore, and livestock, reflected a different type of economy. Few northern uplanders developed a cash crop and those participating in the commercial marketplace traded in livestock and the above extract industries.

The introduction of steam-powered mills throughout the Current River valley after the Civil War, however, reflected the shifting of the riverways' economic base toward greater involvement in the outside market place, even in the more self-sufficient culture of the upper Current region. The 1860 U.S. Census schedules on Manufacturing reported five mills in Carter, Shannon, and Ripley counties and, all water-powered. Around 1868, John Carpenter operated the first steam-powered mill in Shannon County opposite and a little downriver from Akers. The operation milled lumber, corn, and flour.[13] Sometime, between the end of the Civil War and 1874, the first steam-powered mill was introduced into Carter County.[14]

As historian James Lee Murphy noted, the introduction of railroad transporation and steam-powered mills resulted in greater production of lumber in the Ozarks. Based on the 1870 U.S. Census, twenty-three sawmills in the southeast Ozark region produced 5,575,600 board feet of lumber. Ten years later, the number of mills rose to forty-seven, and the amount of cut lumber jumped to 40,609,000 board feet.[15] Most of this lumber was sawn in the eastern part of the region near the Iron Mountain Railroad. The townships of Wayne County located in this region sawed 10,964,000 feet of lumber. A major mill, Clarkson and Company, operated out of Mills Spring township in Wayne and milled four million board feet in 1880. In three townships in Reynolds County, the amount of boards sawed totaled 7,520,000 feet. On the other hand, less lumber was milled in the western part of the region. Shannon County, with three steam-powered mills and one water-powered mill reported by the U.S. Census, produced 1,350,000 feet of lumber in 1880. Ripley and Dent counties, in the same year, sawed 1,310,000 and 625,000 board feet of lumber respectively. Within this more western area, however, Carter County stood out in 1880 by sawing seven million board feet of lumber. Three steam mills in the northeastern part of Carter County sawed the lumber, and the year-round navigability of the

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[13]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 88, 129; David Lewis, "Shannon County Grist Mills," The Ozarker, (March-April, 1981): 15-16.

[14]Campbell, Gazetteer of Missouri.

[15]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 128-131. The region defined here by Murphy includes Carter, Dent, Oregon, Reynolds, Ripley, Shannon, and Wayne counties, Missouri. If Butler County (and its seat, Poplar Bluff) were included in the region, then seven more mills and 13,280,000 board feet of lumber would be added to the 1880 totals.

lower Current River probably enabled these mills to float the boards out of the area.[16]

Between 1870 and 1880, the pace of agricultural development also quickened. In the region defined by Murphy, the number of farms and acres in improved farmland doubled during the ten years. The proportion of cleared land compared to the total land area of the region went from 2.4 to 4.4 percent. In Shannon and Carter counties, slower growth in agricultural development demonstrated less fertile soil and more isolation than in the other counties of the region. Improved land in Shannon County totaled 2.3 percent in 1880.[17]

After 1880, large-scale timber operations entered the Ozarks and, more than any other force, developed this Ozark hinterland as an integrated part of the growing national economy. The availability of quality pine timber, the expansion of railroads, and the low cost of extraction encouraged capitalists to organize large corporate lumber activities in southeast Missouri. Commercial lumbermen turned to the southern forest after depleting much of the pine forest of the north and east. The timber industry migrated westward after the intensive cutting of the pine forest in New England during the first half of the nineteenth century. To meet the building demands of the growing cities and industrial construction, the lumbermen increasingly rationalized the industry into integrated corporations and swiftly moved into western New York in the 1850s, Pennsylvania in 1860s and, by the 1870s, entered the white pine forests of the Great Lakes. During the next decade, large timber organizations moved into the yellow pine forests of the South.[18]

A number of large operations, focusing on the Ozark pine forest, were underway before 1890. In Wayne County, these included the Clarkson Sawmill Company with a mill at Leeper; the Clearwater Yellow Pine Lumber Company at Clearwater; and the Holladay-Klotz Land and Lumber Company at Williamsville and Greenville. In Shannon County, the leading mills were run by the Ozark Land and Lumber Company at Winona and the Cordz-Fisher Lumber and Mining Company at Birch Tree. In Carter County, the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company built a large mill in Grandin during the 1880s and later moved this operation to West Eminence in Shannon County. The Clarkson Sawmill Company began lumbering in the Ozarks before any of these other firms. Founded before 1870, it initially operated in Iron County near the Iron Mountain tracks, but moved to Wayne County in 1872. In 1880, it milled four million board feet of lumber. The largest of these lumber enterprises, however, and the company having the earliest and greatest impact on the Current River valley was the Missouri Lumber and Mining

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[16]Ibid., 129-132.

[17]Ibid., 132-133. The agricultural developments will be looked at more closely in chapter seven and eight.

[18]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 142, 147; and Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 5.

Company.[19]

A group of Pennsylvania lumbermen and investors created and directed the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company. Looking for an investment opportunity in the late 1860s, Pittsburgh lumberman O. H. P. Williams corresponded with several Ozark county officials about land for sale. The inexpensive land cost reported by Ripley County, Missouri, impressed him, and he purchased some timbered land in the northeast part of the county as an investment. In 1871, Williams and his son-in-law, E. B. Grandin, traveled to the area and, upon returning home, decided to exploit the Ozark timber resources. They convinced several Pennsylvania oil and lumbermen to join them in purchasing 30,000 acres in Carter County for an average price of one dollar an acre. The investors eventually employed John Barber (J. B.) White to develop the Missouri milling operation.[20]

Williams and the Grandins selected young J. B. White as the general manager based on his brief but successful career in lumbering. White, whose ancestors worked in the timber industry since 1639, went into the business himself in 1868 near Youngsville, Pennsylvania. In this first venture, he and his partners harvested their own timber and brought it to a local mill for sawing. Following several business sales and mergers, White acquired a sawmill in Tidioute, Pennsylvania, started a retail lumber yard near the town and, by 1876, added a stave and shingle mill to his Youngsville operations. White agreed to go to Missouri to build a mill in the Carter County wilderness, and he became a legendary figure along the Current River valley.[21]

Several factors influenced the Pennsylvanians in selecting southern Missouri and Carter County for a large lumbering enterprise. First, they believed that the region could provide some of the needed labor supply. Timber harvesting on the frontier generally required importing much of the labor force and indeed the small population of Carter County indicated that White would have to import most of the skilled workers and some unskilled labor as well. Yet the population of Carter County concentrated along the principal rivers, such as the Current, and the investors saw in this money-poor population an eager supply of labor. Another factor of importance was the favorable climate. In the north, because of the harsh winters, the large lumber activities functioned seasonally, but the more mild climate of the Ozarks would enable year round production. A third important factor was the proximity of the Ozark upland to the expanding

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[19]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 147-149, 152.

[20]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 9-10; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 152-153; and Flanders, "Regional History," 226-227.

[21]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 13; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 153; and Flanders, "Regional History," 228.

market for lumber on the relatively "treeless plains."[22]

An especially significant factor in beginning an operation in the Ozarks was the low cost of stumpage compared to that in the northern pine forest. Stumpage refers to the cost of harvesting and sawing timber. At the end of the 1870s, after a three-month trip to the area, Williams and White calculated the stumpage to be as low as five cents and much below the fifty cent to one dollar cost of the pine forests of Minnesota. In 1879 and 1880, White bought more land at sheriff's sales for as low as twelve and one-half and twenty-five cents an acre.[23]

To carry out the Ozark lumber operation, the Pennsylvania group incorporated the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company in Missouri at the end of 1880. J. B. White moved to Carter County, Missouri, and set up a mill in the eastern part of the county about ten miles north of Lakewood. A small community, White's Mill, developed around the site. White employed about 125 local people by 1884. The operation was about fifteen miles south of the Iron Mountain Railroad depot at Mill Spring, where White constructed a planing mill. He carried lumber from White's Mill to the finishing mill by ox-drawn wagons and then shipped the lumber out on the Iron Mountain. White's Mill had the potential to cut six million board feet a year. The gruelling overland hauling conditions prevented the mill from reaching its capacity, and White was unable to convince the Iron Mountain Railroad to build a branch to the mill. Historian Flanders suggests that the Iron Mountain refused to accommodate the transportation needs of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company because the railroad had its own timber interest and opposed the competition from White. In 1884, White shut down the mill and laid off the workers. The closing ended the recent influx of cash into the county, for the payroll had totaled approximately $2,500 to $3,000 per month.[24] In December 1884, the editor of the Current Local of Van Buren lamented the loss of the money investment in the area:

> Times are dull in this neighborhood. Many of the people find it extremely difficult to raise money to pay their taxes and buy their winter supplies. We have no definite information yet as to when the Mo. Lumber & Mining Company will start up any of their works, but sincerely hope that they or some one will start something ere long [sic] to bring some money into the country.[25]

The Missouri Lumber and Mining Company looked elsewhere to bring a railroad to its

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[22]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 14, 20.

[23]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 18; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 153-154. Stumpage equals the cost of standing timber per 1,000 estimated board feet of lumber. In other words, stumpage is the price of raw timber from which 1,000 board feet of lumber could be produced.

[24]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 25-27; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 154-155; and Flanders, "Regional History," 229.

[25]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 28.

Ozark holdings. It was anxious to harvest the pine timber on the 100,000 acres of land it owned in Carter County and the additional land in Ripley County.[26] The lumber company discovered an interested distribution partner in the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Memphis Railroad. The KFS&M Railroad formed the Current River Railroad to negotiate the construction of a branch line from Willow Springs, Howell County, Missouri, to the pineries of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company. The lumber corporation approved the contract in February 1887 and agreed to ship all the lumber going to markets west of the Mississippi River on the railroads controlled by the KFS&M. The lumbermen also agreed to have a mill operating by the time of the track's completion. After five years, either party could cancel the contract. The KFS&M commenced building a track east toward the heart of the Current River Valley, and just a few months after the completion of the contract a second railroad, the Cape Girardeau Southwestern Railroad, began laying track west toward Carter County. The two lines met at the new railroad town of Hunter in 1889, and gave the lumber company access to eastern as well as western markets.[27]

While the Current River Railroad laid track toward Carter County, J. B. White supervised the building of a large mill ten miles south of White's Mill at Tolliver's Pond near Lakewood. The natural pond, a sinkhole of about three and one-half acres, provided a ready made holding pool for approximately 500,000 feet of logs. Its location, near the upper Little Black River in southeast Carter County, also offered a river valley route along which the lumber company could build a tram line to its large timber holdings on Beaver Dam Creek. Developing this advantageous site, however, required an unprecedented movement of men and heavy machinery into Carter County. White relocated the small mill from White's Mill to the new location. He also bought a locomotive and shipped it to Williamsville, where he had it dismantled and hauled by ox team for twenty-two miles to the new mill. In similar fashion, the company moved six miles of iron rails and the machinery for the mill over the same route to Lakewood. Missouri Lumber and Mining invested $250,000 in building the new mill complex, which included a sawmill, planing mill, and dry kiln. As of 1889, the cost of the plant represented the second largest capital investment in the Ozarks.[28]

The Missouri Lumber and Mining Company also built a town to the west of the mills and kiln and named it Grandin after E. B. Grandin, one of the founders of the corporation. In 1888, there were 175 employees. Most of them came from local farms, but a few skilled workers, such as sawyers, were imported from the northern logging operations. Grandin remained an

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[26]Ibid., 27.

[27]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 30-33; The town of Hunter was named after one of the officials of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company. The contract with the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Memphis Railroad required that the lumber company layout and then turn over half interest in the town to the railroad for one dollar. Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 156; and Flanders, "Regional History," 229-230.

[28]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 33-34; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 156; and Flanders, "Regional History," 230; Flanders noted that St. Joe Lead spent $275,000 on a new mill and furnace at Bonne Terre in 1884.

unincorporated, private town owned and managed by the company from 1888-1909. A company engineer-architect laid out the community to accommodate up to 1,000 houses. Grandin was planned around a main street lined with a company store, hotel, office building, and hospital. The commercial buildings were separated by large lawns decorated with flowers and shrubbery. The logging railroad roundhouse, blacksmith shop, and several other machine shops were located down the valley west of the office building. Eastward from the town stretched the large lumberyard that came to cover approximately eighty acres and, beyond it, the pond and mills.[29] In addition to the commercial and residential structures, the company tried to influence the moral character of the town; it assisted the building of churches and forbade the presence of taverns or brothels in Grandin. The company also supported the publication of a newspaper, the Grandin Herald.[30]

In late June of 1888, when the Current River Railroad reached Grandin, the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company had approximately six million board feet of milled lumber waiting for shipment. Thereafter, production increased and the annual amount of sawed lumber grew to 32,000,000 board feet in 1892. That year, the company added two planing mills and two sawmills and, after 1895, the annual production of lumber averaged 60,000,000 board feet. The Current Local, the Van Buren newspaper, called the Grandin mill the largest in the state and claimed that in 1894 it produced more lumber than any mill in the country. By the turn of the century, the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company employed 1,000 of the 5,886 lumber workers in Missouri; in 1905, the mill's employment peaked at 1,500 workers.[31]

The lumber company relied on tram railways and waterways to transport the pine logs to the mill. The first tram line was laid down the Little Black River and into the company's extensive timber holdings in the Beaver Dam Creek valley. During the early 1890s, Missouri Lumber and Mining Company (ML&M) added fifty miles of tram tracks. The various branches extended east, southeast, west, and southwest from Grandin, and several tram lines ran off the main line of the Current River Railroad north of Grandin. One line, stretching southwest from Grandin, crossed the Current River at the mouth of Colvin Hollow and followed Buffalo and Little Barren Creeks into northwest Ripley County. Above Grandin, five miles west of Van Buren, a line began at the Current Railroad at Cummings and moved south down Ponca Hollow into and along Big Barren Creek in southwest Carter County. Another line went north from the Current Railroad at Chilton. This tram traversed the pine forests northward into Reynolds County near Ellington; it also entered Carter Creek, lower Pine Valley and Christian, Coleman, Doe Run, and Lone Star Hollows. ML&M

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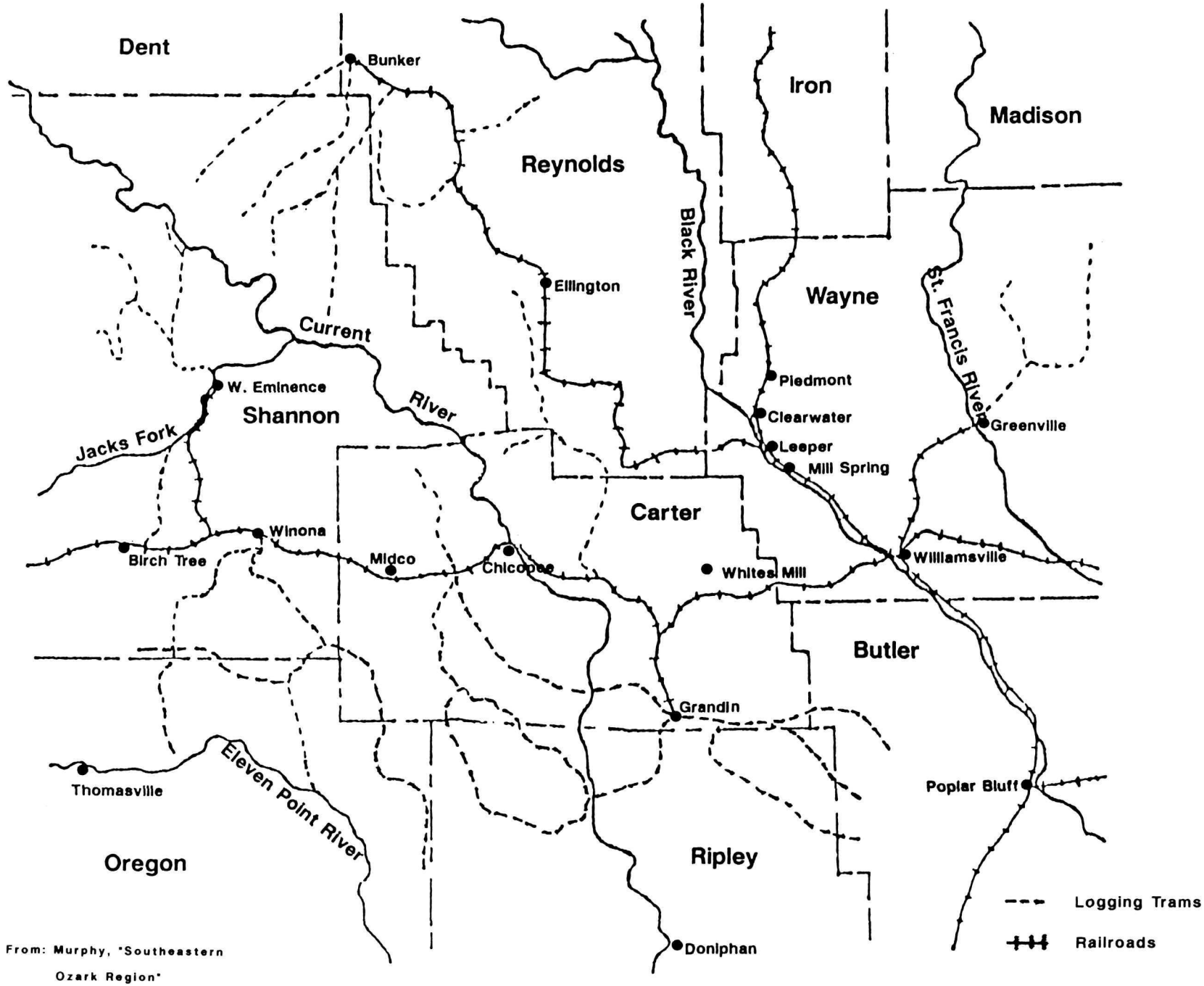
[29]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 37, 237-238; Flanders, "Regional History," 230; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 156; and Gene Oakley, The Deserted Village: History of Grandin, Missouri Home of the World's Largest Lumber Producer in 1900, 1968, 18.

[30]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 186; and Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 238.

[31]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 36, 142-143; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 174; Flanders, "Regional History," 230-231; and Jefferson City Tribune, 20 June 1888.



From: Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region"

Pine Logging Activities in the Southeastern Ozarks

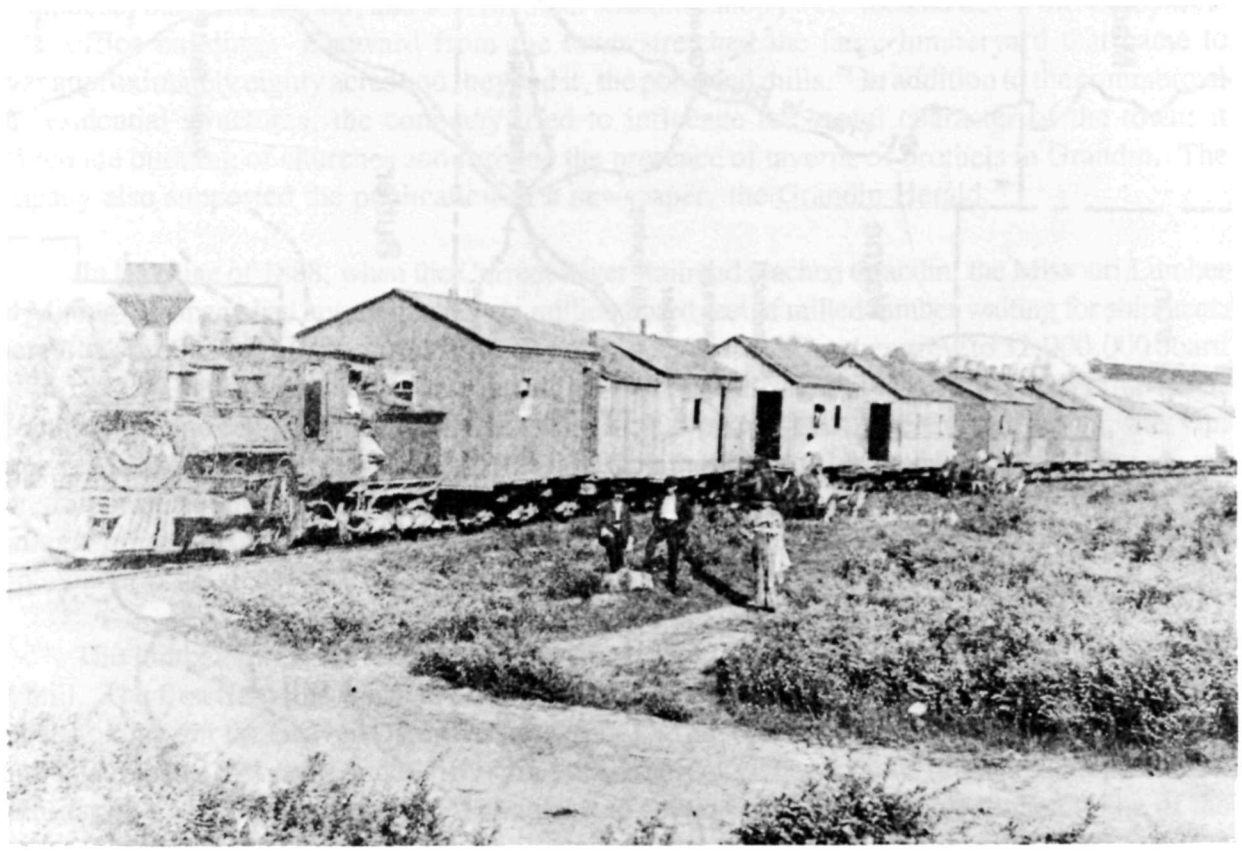


Figure 3:

Prefabricated houses being transported by rail into Grandin, c. 1900. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

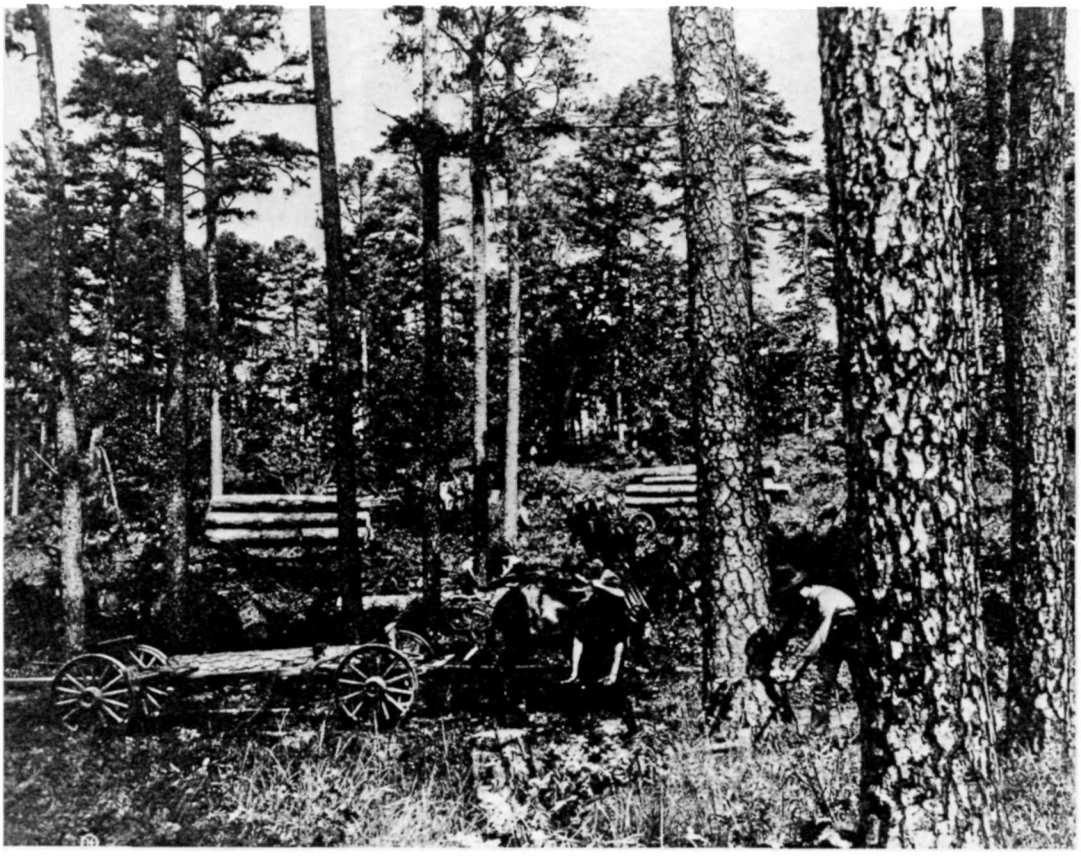


Figure 4:

Yellow pine lumbering in southeast Missouri, c. 1900. Photographer unknown. State Historical Society of Missouri.

Figure 5:

Yellow pine logging activities. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 6:

Harvesting virgin pine forest in southeast Missouri, c. 1900. Photographer unknown. State Historical Society of Missouri.

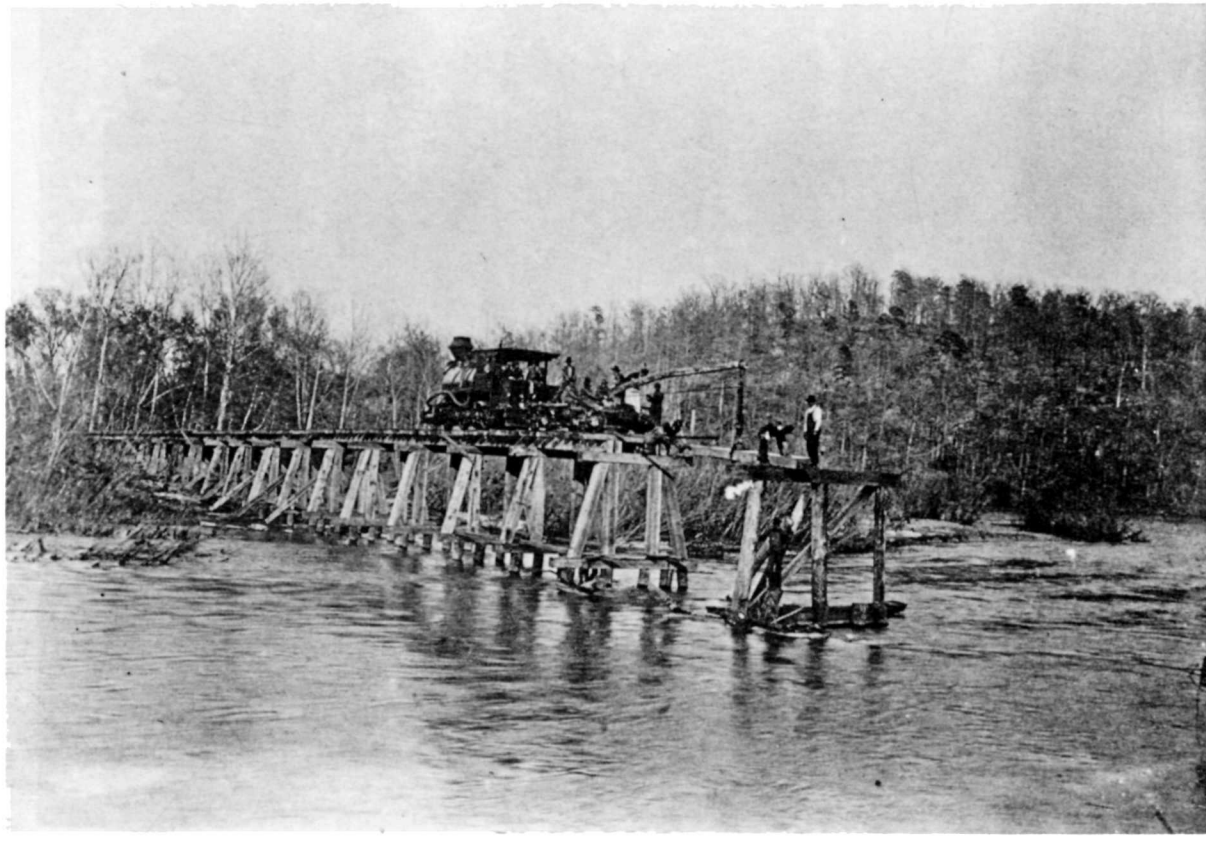


Figure 7:

Missouri Lumber and Mining Company rebuilding a flood damaged bridge over the Current River in Carter County. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. State Historical Society of Missouri.

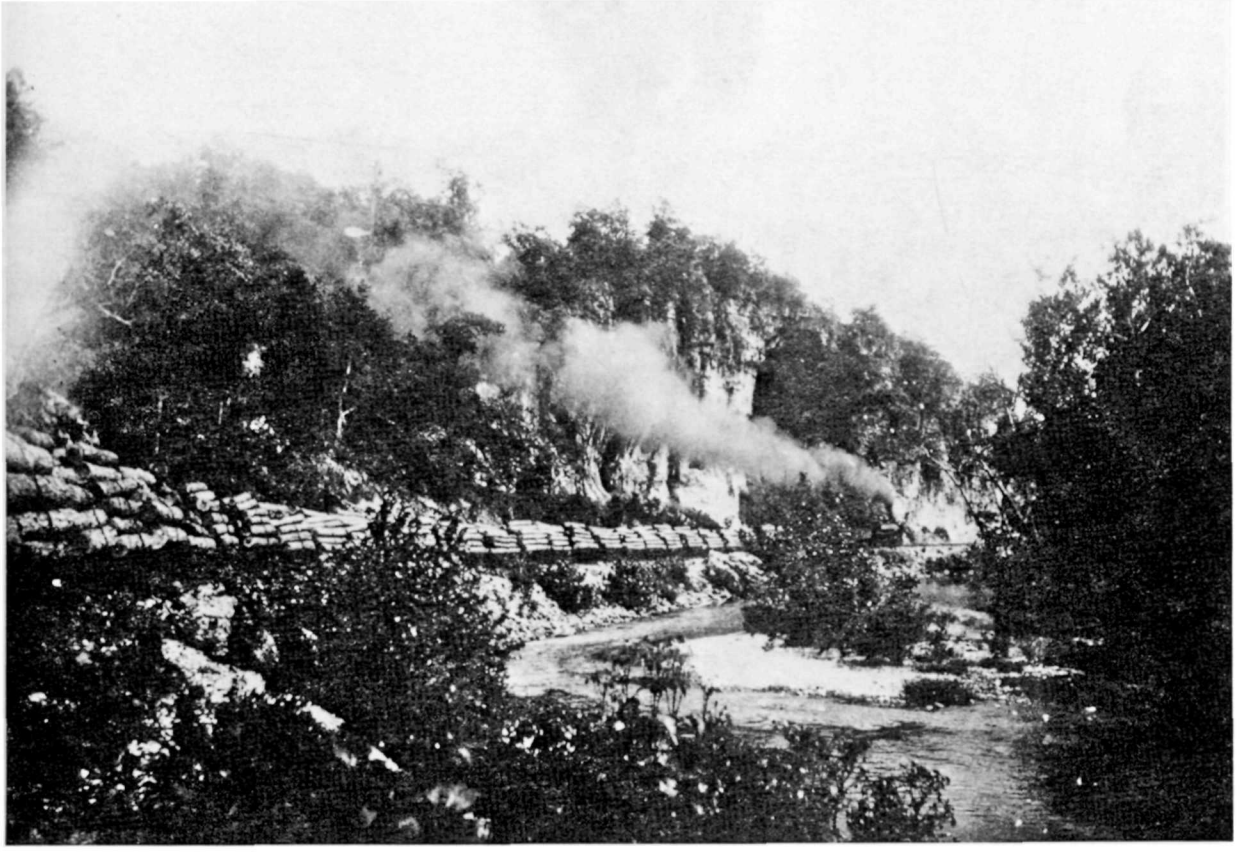


Figure 8:

Log train of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company running parallel to Jacks Fork in Shannon County, c. 1910. Photographer unknown. Norlin Library Western History Collection. University of Colorado.

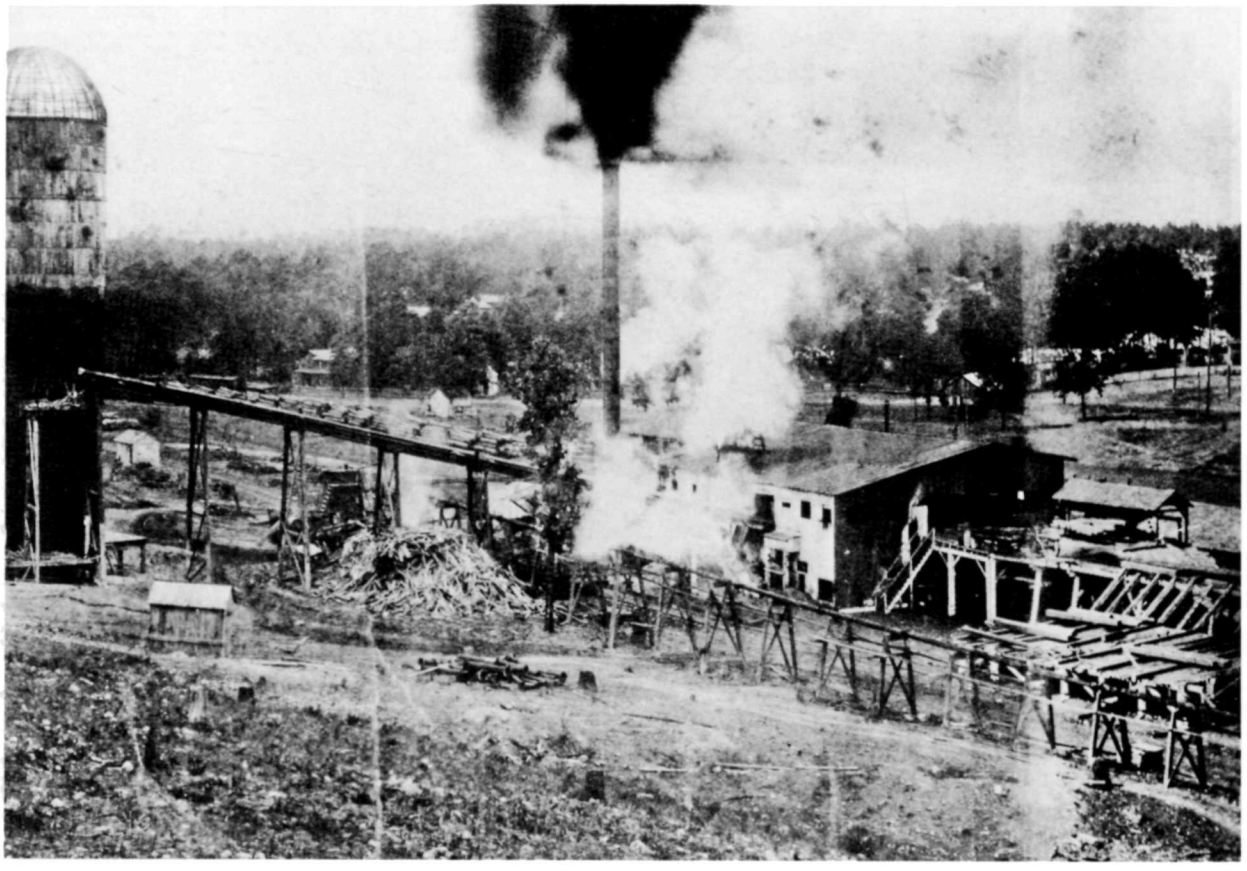


Figure 9:

Fishertown mill of the Ozark Land and Lumber Company. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. State Historical Society of Missouri.

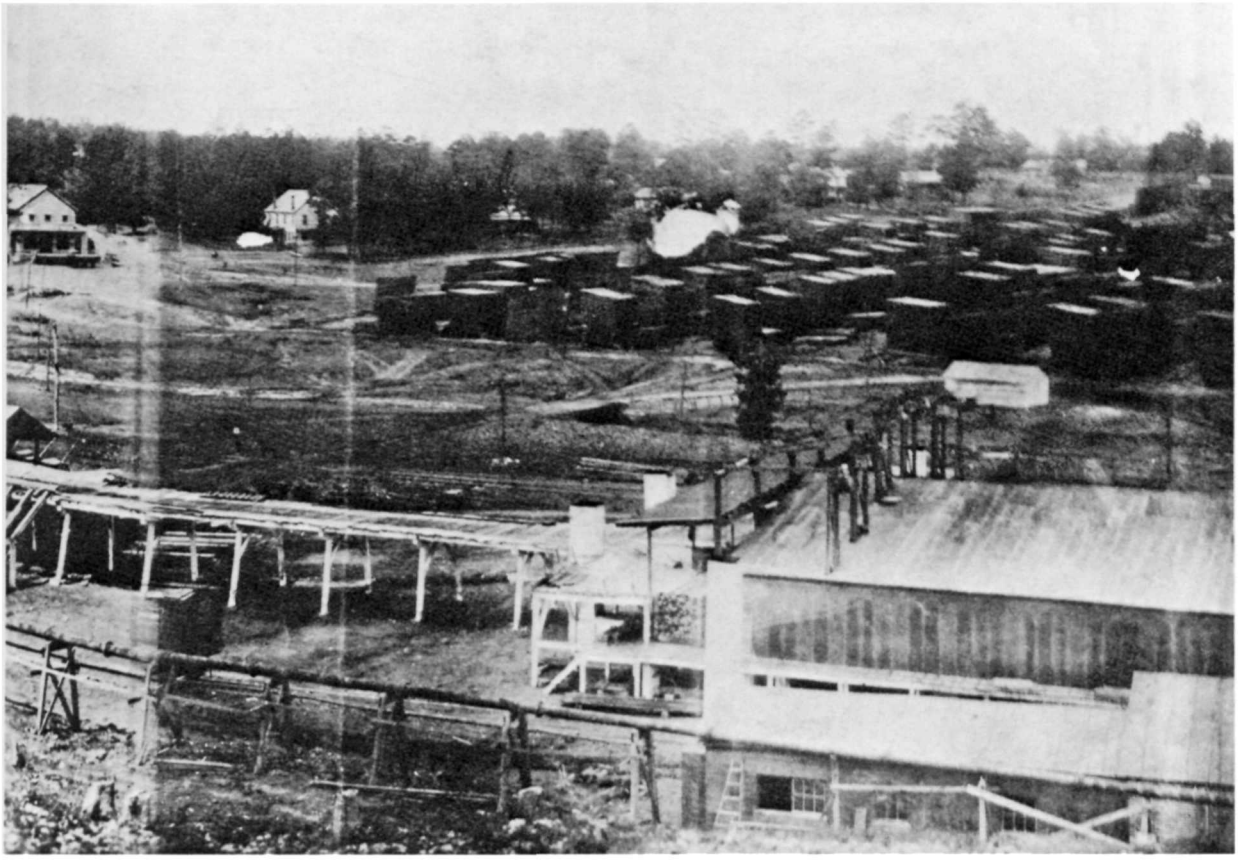


Figure 10:

Ozark Land and Lumber Company lumber yard and mill at Fishertown. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. State Historical Society of Missouri.

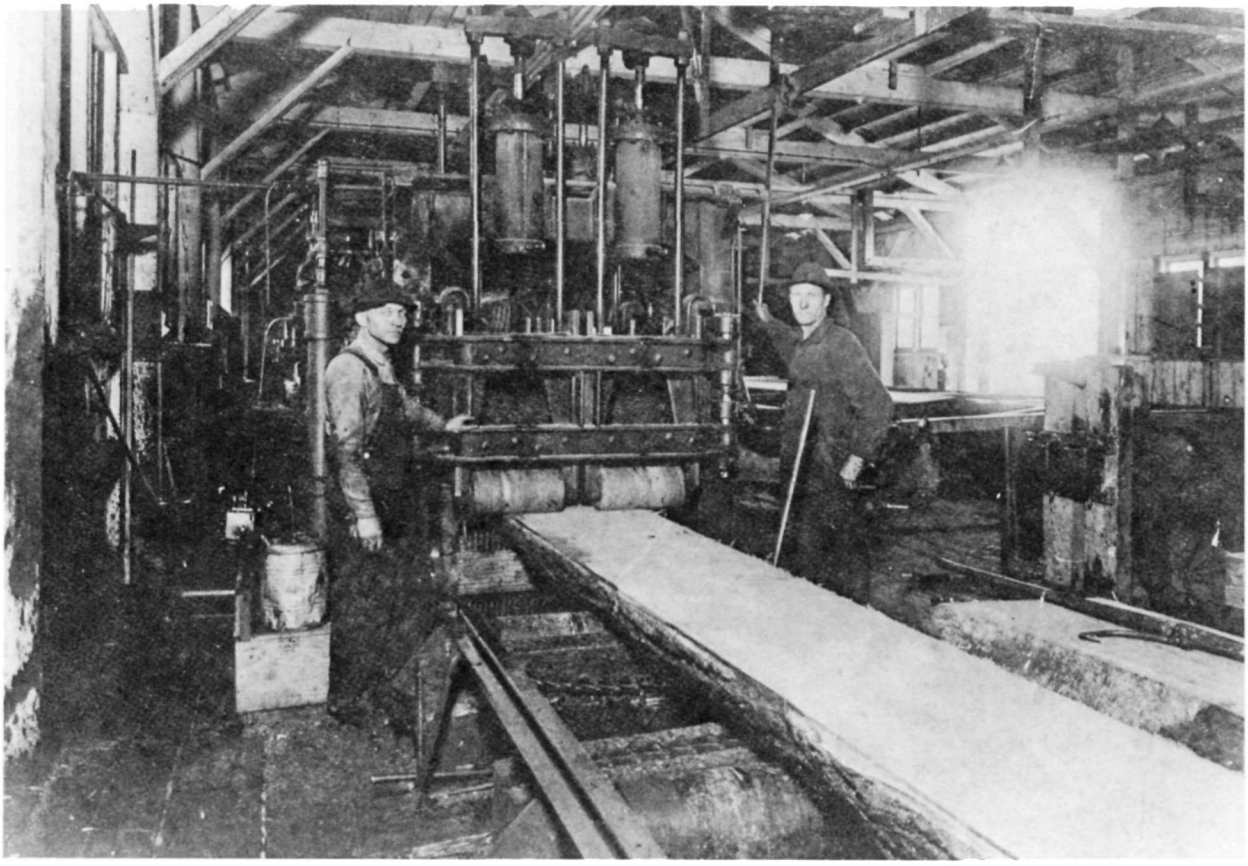


Figure 11:

Interior of the Fishertown mill. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. State Historical Society of Missouri.

Figure 12:

Some of the 475 houses provided by the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company in Grandin. The houses rented for one dollar per room per month, c. 1910. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

built the trams with standard gauge tracks to enable connections with the Current Railroad, which they used extensively in moving logs to the mill as well as finished lumber to various markets. The lumber company operated a half dozen locomotives and 300 cars to haul logs to Grandin.[32]

The Missouri Lumber and Mining Company, like other companies, also floated timber down waterways to transport logs to the mill. Near the turn of the century, ML&M relied heavily on the Current River to move the timber that was cut from their land close to the river and above the depot at Chicopee. Teamsters hauled the logs by mules to the banks of the Current and piled them along the shore. Then, crews gathered a large number of logs and, when the water level permitted, floated them downstream to Chicopee, the point just south of Van Buren where the Current River Railroad crossed the Current River. For example, in 1900 the lumber company organized two large river drives that each transported more than one-half million feet of lumber in flotillas of approximately fifteen miles long. The company did not raft or tie the timber together, but rather ran them loose down the swift-flowing and winding river. A large crew of drivers followed the timber downriver, and they were responsible for breaking up log jams, often by dynamiting. At Chicopee a boom across the river stopped the timber and a "hog chain," a chain with spikes, pulled the logs out of the water and up a V-shaped trough. Loggers with cant hooks rolled the logs away from the trough and then skidders dragged them by mule team to the railways.[33]

A number of hazards, however, made transporting timbers through the rugged Current hills by tram and down the free-flowing Current River risky endeavors. Because of the temporary nature of the tram tracks, the quality of their construction was a minimum concern; travel over the lines was rough and bridges were not always built to withstand flash floods. As a result, a swift flood could stop operations for days. Violent floods broke up log drives. They sent logs careening downstream and over the Chicopee boom and forced the company to retrieve the logs at considerable expense or to buy them back from the Doniphan Lumber Company downriver at Doniphan in Ripley County.[34] In addition to the flooding, rock slides and traffic control mistakes caused accidents, injuring crews and damaging equipment. The Grandin Herald reported two such accidents happening on the same day in February, 1909. In Carter County, a rock slide derailed a log train one mile east of Chicopee on the Current River Railroad and, on the same day, a switch engine hit a local freight train on the same line between Hunter and Chicopee.[35]

Two additional large scale corporate lumber operations, founded by outside capitalists, extracted pine from the upper Current valley in the late nineteenth century. In 1887, a group of

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[32]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 157, 173.

[33]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 37, 46-47; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 180.

[34]Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 47-48, 51.

[35]Ibid., 51.

businessmen, including Joseph Fisher, Jay Coatsworth, C. W. Goodlander, and Alfred Blaker, formed the Ozark Lumber Company in Kansas City. They built a sawing and planing mill complex at the small railroad depot of Winona in the upper Pike Creek valley in Shannon County and constructed a company town south across the tracks from Winona. They named it Fishertown after Joseph Fisher. Fisher, the first secretary-treasurer of Ozark Lumber, came from a milling operation in Muscatine, Iowa. In the 1890s, the Ozark Lumber Company merged with the Hershey Lumber Company that was controlled by Benjamin Hershey, a lumberman and banker also from Muscatine. Hershey milled lumber from the Ozarks at Sargent, Texas County, Missouri, before the merger. The reorganized company became the Ozark Land and Lumber Company and continued to operate out of Fishertown. The Ozark Company laid tram lines into their timber lands south of Winona in the Eleven Point River valley. They extended one track southwest down the Spring Valley and one southeast along Hurricane Creek. The operation was managed by J. H. Hahn and was concentrated in the timber region west of the Carter and Ripley counties holdings of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company. Toward the end of the 1890s, lumber production at Fishertown averaged 26,000,000 board feet per year.[36]

The third of the large corporate pine lumber operations emerged from a company founded by Danish immigrants, the four Cordz brothers. Landing in the United States in 1878, they arrived in the Missouri Ozarks after working four years in a small lumber business in Mississippi. They started logging near the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Memphis Railroad in the North Fork Valley in Douglas and western Howell Counties in 1882 but, about six years later, moved to Winona and established Henry Cordz and Company. One year later, in 1889, O. W. Fisher entered the partnership, and they reorganized the business into the Cordz-Fisher Lumber and Mining Company and moved to Birch Tree, ten miles west of Winona on the Current Railroad. The following year Fisher also became associated with the Ozark Land and Lumber Company of Winona.[37]

The Cordz-Fisher company harvested timber north and south of the Current Railroad. It started out buying small parcels of timberland north of the tracks and laid a tram line up Pine Hollow. In the mid-1890s, Cordz-Fisher purchased 25,000 acres of pine forest to the south.[38]

In 1897, the three large pine companies along the Current River, Missouri Lumber and Mining, Ozark Land and Lumber, Cordz-Fisher Lumber Company, and the Holladay-Klotz Company to the east on the Black River formed a marketing exchange to sell their products and to eliminate

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[36]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 157-158, 175-176; Flanders, "Regional History," 231; and Velma Allmon, "Winona," in History of Shannon County Missouri 1986, (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company in association with Friends of the Shannon County Libraries, Eminence Missouri, 1986), 11-12.

[37]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 157-158.

[38]Ibid., 176-177.

price competition among the companies. They incorporated the Missouri Lumber and Land Exchange and operated out of Kansas City. J. B. White was the secretary-treasurer and general manager of the exchange, and the remaining officers were top managers or directors from the other lumber corporations. During the first month following incorporation, the Holladay-Klotz Company complained about its market share and quit the exchange. In 1899, the Lumber Exchange marketed 133,000,000 board feet of lumber mostly in the Midwest and Southeast and, in 1907, after two Louisiana lumber firms that White had an interest in joined the exchange, the volume of sales rose to 260,000,000 board feet.[39]

The Missouri Lumber and Mining Company, the leading producer of this group, accelerated its cutting of timber after the turn of the century. The number of people employed by the company climbed from 1,000 in 1900 to 1,500 in 1905. Little choice pine timber remained near Grandin in 1900, and the company's logging operations moved increasingly northward. By 1903, ML&M pined out 213,017 of the 324,017 acres of land that it had purchased since 1888. Its land acquisitions, after 1900, were focused in Shannon County. The St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company (Frisco), which purchased the Kansas City, Springfield, and Memphis Railroad in 1901, helped to entice Missouri Lumber into this more isolated area by offering the company a reduced freight rate for lumber shipped from northwest Shannon County. In 1907, the most profitable year for Missouri Lumber and Mining, the company began laying tram lines into these northwest holdings. It constructed a standard gauge line, beginning from the Current River Railroad two miles west of Winona, north up Mahans Creek to its mouth and then across Jacks Fork and west to Horse Hollow. In Horse Hollow, the company built a logging camp named Angeline. Missouri Lumber incorporated the tram line as the Grandin and Northwestern Railroad Company, and it later became the Salem, Winona, and Southern Railroad Company.[40]

Soon after laying the tram lines into northwest Shannon County, Missouri Lumber and Mining Company shut down the Grandin mill. Shipping the logs more than sixty miles from the Jack Forks area to Grandin proved costly. A brief economic recession at the end of 1907 cut lumber prices and lumber orders dropped. The company began plans to remove its milling complex to Shannon County. In early autumn 1909, the lumber company literally packed up the Grandin mill and moved it to a site one mile west of Eminence and a short distance up Mahans Creek. It also built a town at the site, which became West Eminence and, like the mill works, the company relocated many of the buildings, such as the houses, from Grandin to the new mill town. The Missouri Lumber company continued to cut yellow pine in the region for another ten years before selling the mill at West Eminence.[41]

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[39]Ibid., 177; and Flanders, "Regional History," 234.

[40]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 198-199; and Hill, "History of Missouri Lumber," 210.

[41]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 200; and The Current Local, 12 December 1907.

Lumbering in the Ozarks involved more than large yellow pine operations. The Ozark forest, including the Current valley, contained mostly oak and hickory and the harvesting of the hardwoods was an ongoing enterprise throughout the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Small logging operations predominated in cutting the hardwood forests. Hacking railroad ties was a major enterprise among these small operators. J. B. White and many of the other big pine lumbermen also participated in tie making, but their involvement focused on obtaining ties for their tramways, and they spent little time selling ties for profit. In addition to ties, woodsmen also harvested oak for flooring, wagon wheel hubs cooperage, and other wood products. The hickory was taken out for tool handles and much of the smaller pine left by the big operators was eventually cut as well. The many small operators played a role equal to the large corporations in exhausting the timber resources of the Current valley and surrounding Ozark uplands.[42]

Large scale mining operations did not move into the Current River basin as intensively as the big lumber companies. In other areas of the Ozarks, however, large corporate mining enterprises furthered the post-Civil War development of the Ozarks as a hinterland of the more populated industrializing areas. The primary example of a large scale rationalized mining business was the St. Joseph Lead Company that developed a major corporate lead mining operation at Bonne Terre in the St. Francis Mountains. A group of eastern capitalists founded the St. Joseph Lead Company in New York City toward the end of the Civil War. After a slow start, the St. Joseph Company became one of the leading lead smelters of the world under the guidance of J. Wymen Jones, president, and C. B. Parsons, general superintendent. Its land holdings in the St. Francis region grew from the original 964 acres in 1864 to 13,000 in 1892. The St. Joseph Company worked the mining operation at Bonne Terre for over ninety years. Over all, St. Joseph and the other companies in the St. Francis region produced lead valued at $59,870,000 between 1869 and 1906 and at $85,207,971 between 1907 and 1915. In 1917, the St. Joseph Lead Company, reflecting the lead demands of World War I, mined and smelted lead ore valued at $18,000,000.[43]

Like the lumber region, the introduction of railroads and large corporate organization into Ozark mining accelerated town development. Places such as Bonne Terre grew from frontier mining towns to communities with a wide range of modern conveniences. In the southwest Missouri Ozarks, the mining town of Joplin was founded in 1870 with the discovery of lead in the region and was a city of 3,000 people within four years. Joplin continued to grow through the nineteenth century based largely on the extraction of lead and zinc. A number of mining communities, such as Doe Run in the 1890s, boomed and then went bust.[44]

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[42]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 205-207.

[43]Flanders, "Regional History," 240-243; Carl O. Sauer, The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920), 212.

[44]Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highlands, 145, 211-212; and Flanders, "Regional History," 243.

The mining of iron ore also developed more intensely in the St. Francis region, especially around Iron Mountain, than in the Current River basin. It had largely declined by the end of the First World War. In 1920, the Sligo furnace was the only major smelter still in operation in the southeast Ozarks.[45]

In the Current River basin, a Kansas City company constructed the only major iron furnace, a charcoal iron plant called Midco. Built in 1914, at the start of the Great War in Europe, the factory was located near Peck Spring two miles north of Fremont. Although it used some local iron, the plant imported most of its ore from Michigan and, at full capacity, burned as much as 240 cords of four-foot oak logs per day in the production of charcoal, wood alcohol, and pig iron. The United States government, after entering the war, required Midco to extract wood alcohol and funded much of the expansion of the plant to carry out the process. The federal government sold its part of the plant to the company after the war. The company also supported a number of improvements to its operation, including to the town buiding up around the plant. A railroad was built from Fremont, and a sizeable community of 3,000, with hotel and high school, sprung up around the factory. In the 1980s, however, ruins are the only physical remnants of Midco.[46]

The large-scale corporate pine lumber developments between 1870 and 1920 were the major catalysts of change in the Current River homeland. Commercial lumbering, however, was nothing new to the riverways. The major differences between the new lumber era and the pre 1870 lumber activities were visible in the scale and in the control of the operations. Instead of producing tens of thousands of board feet of lumber a year like the old water-powered sawmills, the corporate organized steam-powered mills annually produced tens of millions of board feet. Moreover, unlike the earlier decades, local owners did not run the large corporate pine mills for a local or regional market. Wealthy industrialists from outside the Ozarks owned and operated the modern corporate mills, and they marketed the timber on a national scale. Furthermore, the degree of change to the homeland sparked by the hinterland development of the new lumber era far exceeded the previous impacts of the earlier local lumber industry.

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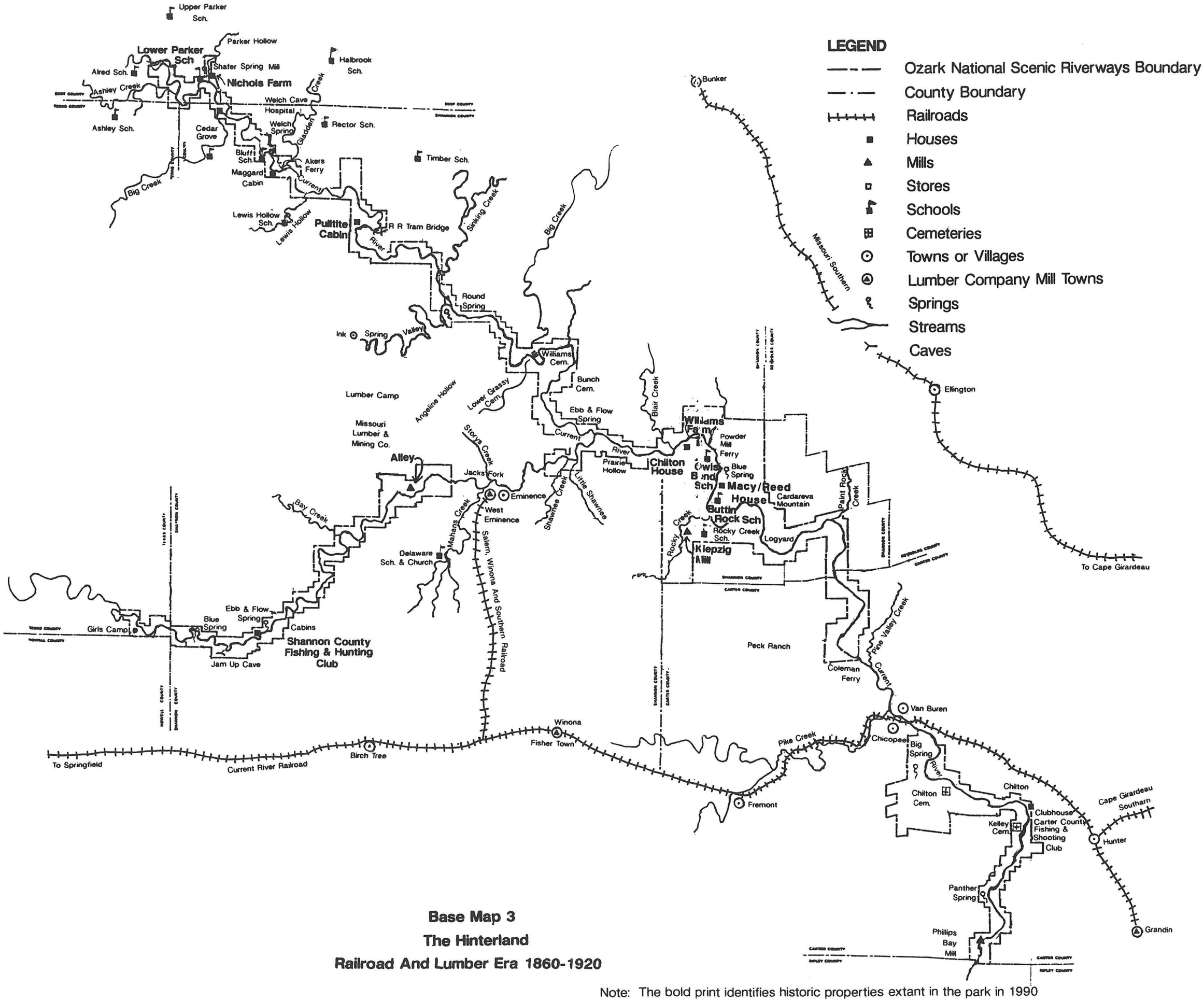
[45]Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highlands, 214.

[46]Arthur Paul Moser, "A Directory of Towns, Villages and Hamlets Past and Present of Carter County," Place Name File in Current River Regional Library, Van Buren, Missouri, n.d., 17; G. Oakley, The History of Carter County (Van Buren, Mo.: J. G. Publications, 1970), 128-131.



Base Map 3

The Hinterland

Railroad And Lumber Era 1860-1920

Note: The bold print identifies historic properties extant in the park in 1990

7

The Ozark Riverways and the "New South": Change in the Homeland, 1870-1920

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, railroad, lumber, and mining corporations developed the Current River valley into a hinterland of the expanding national economy. The transportation and extract industries grew wealthy off the mineral and timber resources of the Ozark hills. They also created thousands of jobs and fostered an unprecedented prosperity across the southeast Ozarks. Towns developed and grew as local commercial centers with general stores well stocked with goods as varied as that found in major cities. In fact, the replacement of a largely barter trade with a money-based commerce reflected a major cultural change in the Current River homeland.[1]

The lumber boom introduced a host of other changes that endured in the Ozarks. New technologies in transportation, communication, and appliances, all reflecting a quickened pace of living, remained. New institutions, such as public schools and organized churches, reflected the values of new migrants to the area. Such changes added a layer of complexity to Ozark society but, as historian Robert Flanders noted, these changes did not erase but mingled or "co-existed" with the long standing upland/frontier culture of the region.[2]

Dramatic population gains in the sparsely inhabited rural counties of Carter and Shannon were a measurable result of the railroad, lumber, and mining corporations coming to the Current River valley. After a marginal rise in population during the decade of the 1860s, the two counties rose by just under 50 percent in the post-war decade of the 1870s as railroads moved into the surrounding region. Then in the 1880s, when both the railroads and big lumber operations entered the Current valley, the number of people in Carter and Shannon counties increased 115 and 159 percent respectively. In real numbers, the U.S. Census indicated that the population of Carter County went from 2,168 in 1880 to 4,659 in 1890 and that Shannon County, the physically larger of the two, grew from 3,441 to 8,898. The growth slowed but continued upward in the last decade of the nineteenth century with an increase of 44 percent in Carter and 26 percent in Shannon counties.

Between 1900 and 1930, the fluctuations in the population of Carter County demonstrated the importance of the large corporate extraction industries to this growth. After the Missouri

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[1]Robert Flanders, "Regional History," in Cultural Resource Overview Mark Twain National Forest, Vol. 1, Report to Forest Supervisor Mark Twain National Forest from Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 216; and see Lynn Morrow, "Modernity and the Current Wave in Shannon County, 1884-1896," Bulletin (Missouri) XXXV (January 1979): 92-98.

[2]Ibid.

Lumber and Mining Company moved from Grandin to West Eminence in 1909, the number of people in Carter County fell from 6,706 to 5,504, a decrease of 18 percent. During the next decade, with the founding of the Midco iron smelting plant and its expansion with the outbreak of World War I, Carter County grew by 36 percent. The plant closed in 1921 and, by the end of the 1920s, the county population dropped 26 percent to 5503 persons.[3]

Table 3
Regional Population of Current River Counties

County	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Carter	1,234	1,455	2,168	4,659	6,706	5,504	7,482	5,503
Dent	5,654	6,357	10,646	12,149	12,986	13,245	12,318	10,974
Ripley	3,747	3,175	5,377	8,512	13,186	13,099	12,061	11,176
Shannon	2,271	2,339	3,441	8,898	11,247	11,443	11,865	10,894

Source: U.S. Census

A proliferation of advertising campaigns contributed to the new growth. The railroad company, building its tracks southeast from Kansas City, devised a number of Ozark land promotions. Fruit farming advertisements attracted many people and, in the early 1880s, as the railroad moved into Texas and Howell counties adjacent to Shannon, thousands of acres of orchards were planted near the tracks. A syndicate of speculators, the Southern Missouri Land Company, coined the popular appeal--"Land of the Big Red Apple"--that attracted a number of rural entrepreneurs like Andrew Jackson Bales. A fruit grower who came to Shannon County by way of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas, Bales raised an orchard on land cleared by the Cordz-Fisher Lumber and Mining Company in the southwestern part of the county. In 1907, the Van Buren Current Local boasted that "no other place [is] more famous for apples, the 'big red apple,' than this state."[4]

A sizable jump in the number of farms in Shannon and Carter counties illustrated the growth. In Shannon, between 1890 and 1900, the number of farms more than doubled from 680 to 1311, and in Carter they rose from 297 to 554. The number of new farms continued to grow in these two counties from 1900 to 1920 despite an overall decline in the number of farms in the five-county area composed of Oregon, Reynolds, Ripley, Carter, and Shannon counties. Nevertheless, in 1910, Shannon, Reynolds, and Carter counties continued to rank among the

[3]G. Oakley, The History of Carter County, (Van Buren, Missouri: J. G. Publications, 1970), 135.

[4]Flanders, "Regional History," 258; and The Current Local, 19 September 1907.

lowest in Missouri for percentage of land in farms.[5]

After 1880, the population moving into the Ozarks reflected a greater mix of ethnic and occupation groups than before the Civil War and railroad era. By 1890, the lower Midwest states, not the upland South, furnished most of the new migrants into the Ozarks. Illinois ranked first among the jumping-off states. It was followed by Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and then Tennessee. The migration included more entrepreneurs and progress minded families than had the early periods of settlement. The newcomers demonstrated a greater interest in schools, churches and town living.[6]

In addition, increasing numbers of foreign immigrants contributed somewhat to the growing diversity. The railroads were especially active in bringing immigrants from Europe. A small group of Yugoslavian and German-Polish families resided in Ripley County near Naylor and Doniphan. The number of foreign-born residents in Carter and Shannon counties remained a small proportion of the total population, but rose rather dramatically in real numbers from 25 in 1880 to 200 in 1890.[7]

As during the initial railroad penetration of nearby Ozark regions, growing towns altered the landscape around the Current River and brought major changes in the post-railroad homeland culture. From Ripley County and the lower Current basin through Carter and up to Shannon County and the upper Current, new towns and villages formed and served as local social and commercial centers for the rising number of people. In similar fashion, established towns grew larger and more varied in the services they provided. The towns, many with railroad connections, diminished the isolation of the homeland.

In Ripley County, a number of satellite communities surrounded Doniphan, the county seat. Some of these small villages developed from pre-Civil War post office, mill, or store sites. Places like McKinney's Mill (later Fernook), Gamburg (former Little Black), and Gatewood were located within a fifteen-mile radius of Doniphan. Similar villages, such as Pleasant Grove, Dry

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[5]James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 189-190, 218-220; U.S. Census 1890, Department of the Interior, Report of the Statistics of Agriculture in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 216-217; and U.S. Census 1900, Department of the Interior, Agriculture Part I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 285-286.

[6]Milton D. Rafferty, The Ozarks Land and Life (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 64-66; Russel L. Gerlach, Immigrants in the Ozarks: A Study of Ethnic Geography (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), 43-51; and U.S. Census, Department of the Interior, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population, Part I (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 510-511.

[7]Ibid.

Spring, and Briar Creek, were founded within the same territory after 1875. Between 1876 and 1890, these communities housed between twenty-five and 100 residents and exported agricultural goods, such as cotton and livestock, hides and lumber. Unlike the newer communities, the older villages had somewhat more diverse activities and services. For example, they all contained two or more churches, and Gamburg and Gatewood had druggists or physicians by 1885.[8] Based on listings in State Gazetteers, the communities founded after 1875 did not have churches, they reflected a somewhat more specialized commercial function. This was true of Briar Creek where two sawmills dominated the setting and of Pleasant Grove where three of the eight men listed by occupation in the Missouri State Gazetteer were livestock agents.[9]

Doniphan, already the leading commercial center of Ripley County and the largest town on the Current River in Missouri, experienced a modest growth from about 500 people in 1877 to 600 in 1890. The services available in the town, however, grew more varied and specialized. In 1884, new services included two restaurants, two newspapers, a meat market and a shoemaker. By 1890, the town supported a cigarmaker, barber, jeweler, dressmaker, photographer, music teacher, undertakers, and, even more telling of the nature of the change in the post-railroad Ozarks, a money broker.[10]

Farther north up the Current River, in 1890, at least seven small villages and towns were located within twenty-five miles of Van Buren, the seat of Carter County. A few of these communities, such as Colemanville and Pike, ten miles east and twelve miles west of Van Buren respectively, evolved from pre-Civil War mill or post office sites. The others--Ellsinore, Hunter, Chilton, and Chicopee--owed their existence to the railroads or lumber corporations. In Carter County, the coming of the railroads often resulted in a decline of the older communities as the tracks bypassed them and laid out new depot towns. For example, the Current River Railroad established a depot named McDonald after its chief engineer two miles south of Pike. In 1890, the post office at Pike moved to the new town, and Pike dwindled to a hamlet with a population of four. Even Van Buren, the leading trading center of Carter County in the 1880s, either chose against or failed to seize the full growth potential of the coming of the railroad and lumber

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[8]Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1876-1877, (St. Louis: R. L. Polk & Company, 1876), 196, 299; Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1883-1884, (St. Louis: R. L. Polk & Company, 1884), 192, 314, 362-364, 618, 769; and Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1889-1890, (St. Louis: R. L. Polk & Company, 1890), 186, 320, 359, 382, 384, 784, 944. Gamburg, sometime between 1877 and 1883, after changing its name from Little Black and moving about two miles, no longer reported having any churches.

[9]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1883-1884, 161, 192, 314, 362-363, 769.

[10]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1876-1877, 167-168; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1883-1884, 311; and Missouri State Gazetteer, 1889-1890, 315-316.

capitalists.[11]

The Current River Railroad bypassed Van Buren, after the railroad men refused to pay the asking price for the right-of-way through town, and built a station and the village of Chicopee one mile south of the county seat. Chicopee was named after the Massachusetts birthplace of the president of the Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis Railroad Company. The railroad men also established the villages of Chilton and Hunter south of Van Buren. Hunter, in 1889, became the junction of the Current River and Cape Girardeau and Southwestern Railroads and linked the Current River valley by rail to the western and eastern transportation centers of Kansas City and St. Louis. Ellsinore, a town founded 20 miles southeast of Van Buren by the Cape Girardeau and Southwestern Railroad, for a short period became the largest town in Carter County with just over 800 residents.[12]

Van Buren, even though the depot was located across the river, experienced a large increase in population during the decade when the railroad and lumber corporations came to the Current valley. The size of the community rose from fifty to 200 inhabitants between 1884 and 1890. Transforming from a village and trade crossroads to a small town, Van Buren in 1890 offered its residents and the surrounding community a wider array of services. Though smaller than Doniphan, Van Buren also housed a jeweler, music teacher, shoemaker, photographer, coroner, and barber.[13]

In Shannon County, as in Carter County, town building reflected the importance of railroads and the lumber industry. Yet, away from the railroad corridors, fewer rural hamlets developed into towns in this upper Current River region. Places like Alley, a mill site seven miles west of Eminence, or Ink and Akers, small trading locales north of Eminence, continued to function as small hamlets in open rural communities. Nevertheless, new social organization and technology accompanying the large corporate intervention influenced the character of these communities without leading to full blown town development. This was apparent in the building of a schoolhouse and the construction of a turbine-powered roller mill at Alley near the turn of the century and in the architecture and furnishings of a remodeled Alley store. The organization of a church marked a change at Ink.[14]

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[11]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1883-1884, 262, 280, 349, 587, 759, 1235; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1889-1890, 262. In 1907, the town of McDonald changed its name to Fremont.

[12]Arthur Paul Moser, "Carter County Place Names," Current River Regional Library, Van Buren, nd, 4, 14; and Oakley, History of Carter County, 72, 83.

[13]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1883-1884, 1235; and Missouri State Gazetteer, 1889-1890, 1478-1479.

[14]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1889-1890, 120; History of Shannon County Missouri, 1989, Friends of Shannon County (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1986), 13, 15.

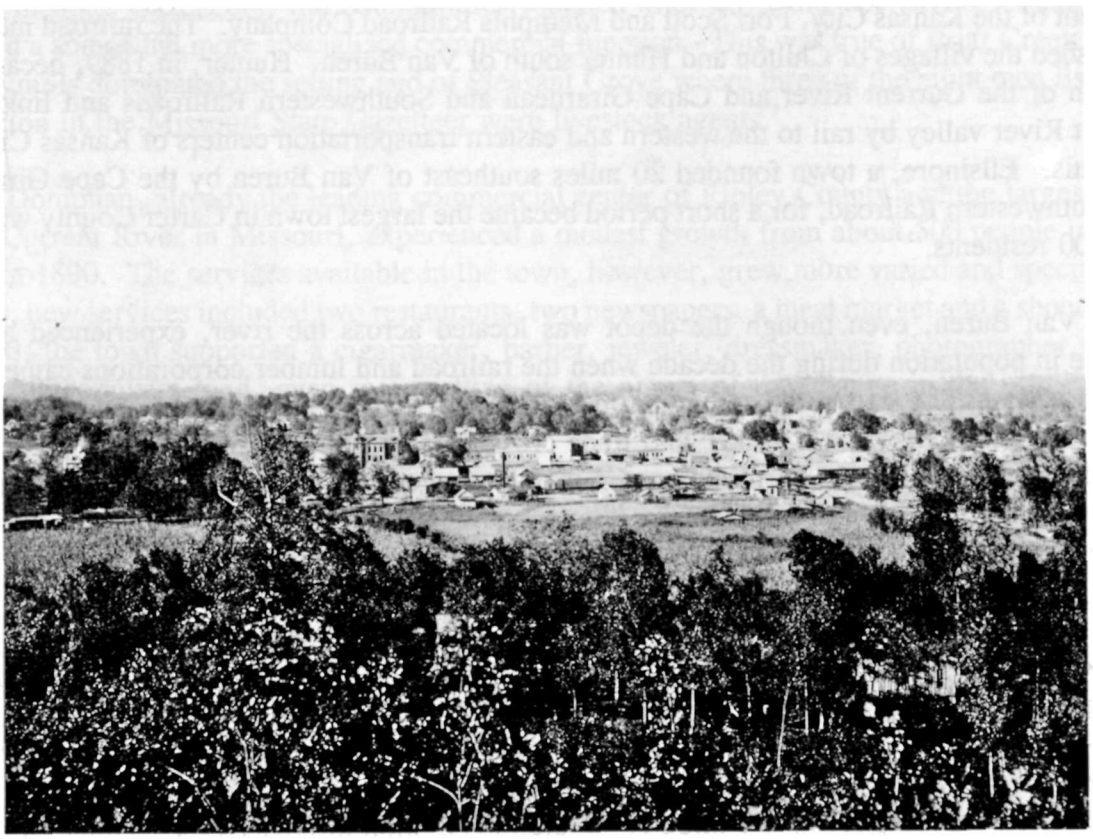

Figure 13:

Doniphan, Missouri, c. 1902. Photographer unknown. State Historical Society of Missouri.

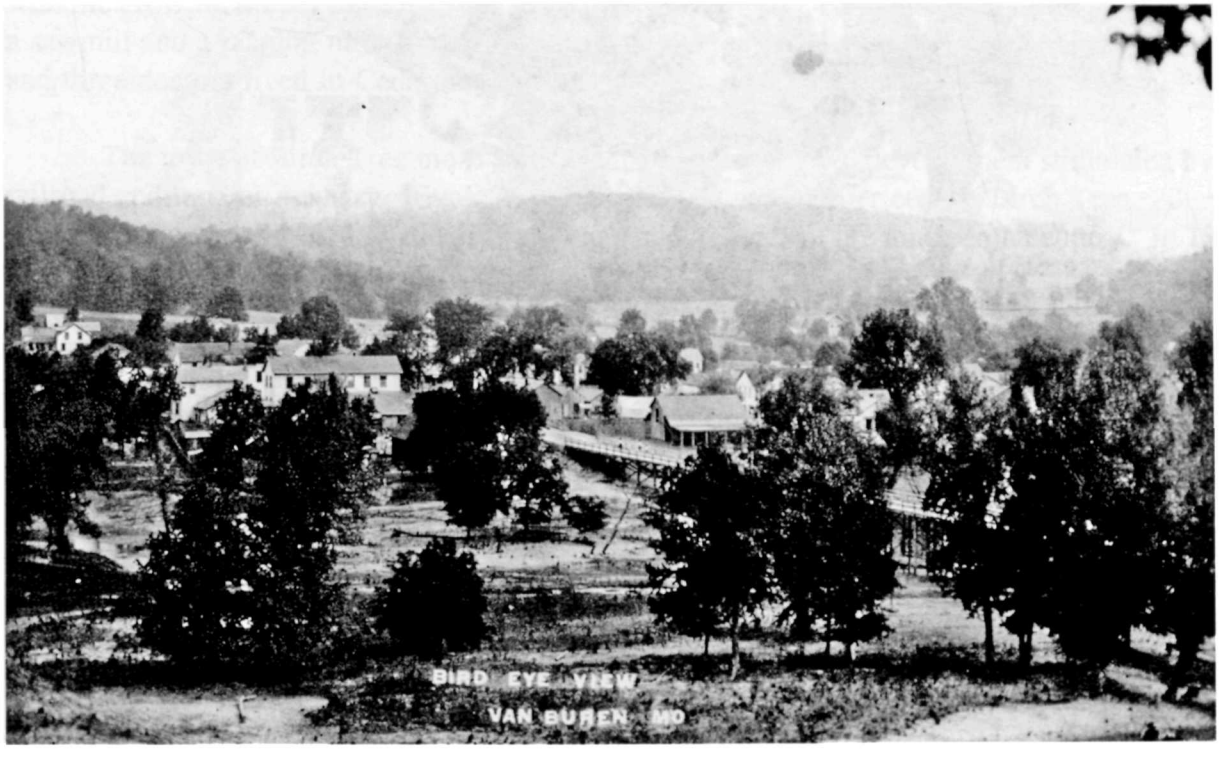

Figure 14:

Van Buren, Missouri. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Mrs. Ray Randolph Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 15:

Van Buren, "Patriot Band," c. 1890. Mrs. Ray Randolph Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

One exception to this town building pattern was Cedargrove, a little community on the Current River in northern Shannon County. Settlers first located at this place, a rolling terrace land between the Current River and Big Creek, in the late 1850s after the passage of the Graduation Act. The old Salem to West Plains road passed through here. In the early 1870s, John Kell built a gristmill at the site and George Prince soon built a second gristmill up river from Cedargrove. A small community gathered around the mills and, in 1875, established a post office named Riverside. The name was changed to Cedargrove in 1895. The village expanded with the growing timber industry. By mid 1920s, Cedargrove contained three stores, a gristmill, a sawmill and a planing mill, a blacksmith shop, a school, and a telephone exchange. A barber and three doctors lived in Cedargrove during its most prosperous years.[15]

The town of Birch Tree more reflected the pattern of town development stimulated by the railroad and lumber industry. Evolving into a railroad and lumber center, Birch Tree, 20 miles west of Eminence, grew dramatically in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In 1884, the village housed about forty people and distributed livestock and wheat from the surrounding area. In 1889, one year after the founding of the Cordz-Fisher company, the population rose to 350 and, in 1898, reached 800. By the turn of the century, the town developed the diversity of services similar to Doniphan and Van Buren.[16] It contained a "Photograph Gallery" with its own resident photographer and, in 1895, had the first bank in Shannon County.[17]

The seat of Shannon County, Eminence experienced uneven growth near the close of the century. Located close to several mines, Eminence contained 140 residents in 1884, 300 in 1889, and 200 in 1898. In 1884, the village stood apart from its political counterparts to the south because of the frontier nature of its commerce. Pelts, furs, and roots continued as important aspects of trade. In addition, the leaders of Eminence advertised the extraction of silver ore from the area, and several miners were listed as residents of the village. Although the town supported a weekly newspaper, churches, and schools, it had not developed the various specialty services available in the county seats of the lower Current.[18]

The town building and the growth of commercial services not only reflected the greater integration of the Current River with the national economy, but also accompanied a revolutionary

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[15]David Snyder, "Community of Cedar Grove," National Park Service, Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Van Buren, Missouri, Typescript, 1-3.

[16]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1883-1884, 169; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1889-1890, 159; and Missouri State Gazetteer, 1898-1899, 164.

[17]Morrow, "Modernity and the Current Wave," 97.

[18]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1883-1884, 327-328; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1889-1890, 338-339; and Missouri State Gazetteer, 1898-1899, 342.

change in the speed of movement of people and information. The completion of the Current River Railroad from Willow Springs to Grandin reduced what previously would have amounted to a one- or two-week overland trip by wagon to a four-hour train ride.[19] Information, however, traveled even faster.

The communication revolution, also shrinking the distance between the Current valley and the outside world, manifested itself in a number of tangible forms. First, by 1876, before the rail and lumber corporations integrated the area with the national economy, small town boosters founded newspapers in which they promoted local growth and published advertisements of everything from farm equipment to popular fashions. In the late eighties, the Current Local of Van Buren ran weekly columns on household hints and offered advice on such modern conveniences as cast iron stoves. A newspaper article demonstrating the recent introduction of such appliances into the area stated: "Cast iron stoves and iron ware should be heated gradually the first time they are used."[20] Moreover, enhanced mail delivery accelerated the movement of information through the Ozarks. The pattern of postal service to Eminence illustrated this, as the frequency of mail delivery changed from semi-weekly in 1876 to tri-weekly by 1883 and finally to daily service by 1889. By 1890, following the completion of the railroad to the Grandin mill of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company, the introduction of the telegraph on the lower Current, at Van Buren and Doniphan, reduced the time travel of information from days to minutes. Telephones were the next significant phase in the communication revolution. The Missouri Lumber and Mining Company built a private telephone line out of Grandin. In 1907, the Willow Springs Local and Long Distance Telephone Company extended its public long distance system to Van Buren which, as The Current Local noted, gave this community the ability "to get in touch with the outside world on short notice."[21]

Change to the Current homeland that endured beyond the coming and going of the big lumber corporations was evident in the expansion of the country store and the development of schools and organized churches. Evidence of small country stores providing basic dry goods and foodstuff and of itinerant traders and peddlers passing through the area dates back to the 1820s and 1830s. The significance of the trade between whites (Americans and Europeans) and American Indians in mapping out the early settlement of the region was discussed in Chapter Two. In the mid 1830s, Ozarkers, upon their first encounter with George Featherstonhaugh,

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[19]Current Local, 14 July 1888.

[20]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1876-1877, 167, 641; History of Shannon County, 40; and The Current Local 14 July 1888.

[21]Missouri State Gazetteer, 1876-1877, 177; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1883-1884, 327; Missouri State Gazetteer, 1889-1890, 316, 338-339, 1478-1479; and The Current Local, 1 August 1907, 10 October 1907; and Leslie G. Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company, 1880-1909," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1949), 240.

frequently presumed this traveler to be a peddler or a tailor, and Featherstonhaugh commented with wonder at the common appearance of "Connecticut clocks" mounted on cabin walls.[22] By the 1850s, several stores were scattered up and down the Current. Remaining account books from a couple of these, such as Deatherage store six to eight miles south of Round Spring and the Pike Creek store of F. B. Green a few miles west of Van Buren, suggest that they sold basic supplies. The most often listed items in the books included coffee, tobacco, sugar, salt, boots and shoes, gunpowder, and whiskey. The Deatherage store, however, offered a somewhat greater variety of goods, in particular cloth and clothing. Its records, however, also attested to the frontier nature of the local barter economy, as many accounts noted credit for pelts and roots traded for store wares.[23] The corporate development of the region greatly altered the inventories of the stores in the countryside as well as in the growing towns.

Between 1895 and 1912, the contents of the store at Alley, a popular mill site at a large spring a few miles west of Eminence on the Jacks Fork, illustrated the change. An 1899 advertisement of the Alley store, then owned by James H. Smith, boasted low prices for "prints, green coffee, granulated sugar, best light brown sugar, good brown sugar, trace chains and hames." In an analysis of Alley, Historian Robert Flanders demonstrated that before the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company moved to West Eminence in 1909, the store offered little more than basic staples. The few prepared foods included canned peaches, cookies, and pickles. After the great lumber mill opened, however, the variety of prepared goods increased and included such specialty items as sardines, chili, prepared mustard, and prepared cereals.[24]

A Pennsylvanian, John M. Knotts owned and operated the store and mill and introduced the expanded inventory as well as a new credit system. Already fifty-nine years old, he arrived at Alley an established "frontier entrepreneur" after spending most of his adult life in Illinois and Kansas. He owned and managed the mill and store from 1902-1912 and started a coupon book exchange system that established credit at cash value. As Flanders noted, country stores traditionally operated on a credit basis and provided customers "goods and services on faith." Yet items bought on credit were marked up above the cash price. Getting the idea from the lumber company stores, Knotts paid customers for their foodstuff and services with coupons redeemable at the store at cash value. For example he traded a five dollar coupon book to Dr. Isom Gann for Gann's surplus produce (eggs, ham, sorghum etc.). The coupon method of

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[22]G. W. Featherstonhaugh, Excursion through the Slave States (New York: Negro University Press and Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1968 reprint or 1844 edition), 91.

[23]Green, F. B. Collection, Reel #1, Western History Manuscript Collection, Columbia, Missouri; and Deatherage, Alfred, Account Envelopes, 1856-1857, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.

[24]Robert Flanders and Lynn Morrow, Alley, An Ozarks Mill Hamlet, 1890-1925: Society, Economy, Landscape, Prepared for the Ozark National Scenic Riverways National Park Service, by The Center for Ozarks Studies, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 1985, 43-45.

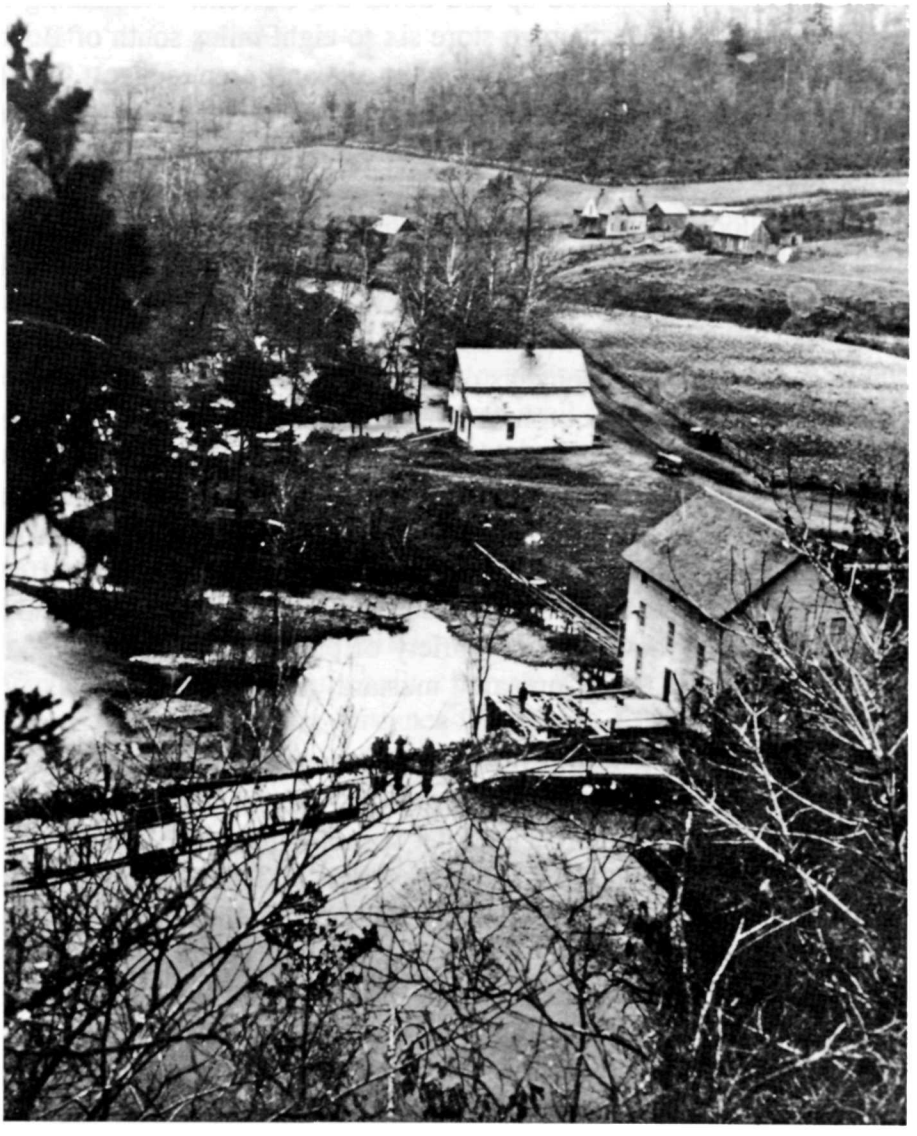

Figure 16:

View of Alley mill hamlet from the cliff above the spring. The roller mill constructed in 1893-1894 is the building in the lower righthand portion of the photograph. A general store is the building in the center, and the other buildings are residents houses and outbuildings, c. 1896. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 17:

Alley store with town-like facade that replace the old store in 1913. The store is painted white with dark green trim, c. 1915. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 18:

Interior of Alley store with local residents sitting around the soda fountain, c. 1915. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

exchange allowed the customer to purchase goods at the cash price without the use of money. Money was both a scarce and unfamiliar medium of exchange in the Ozarks and other isolated rural areas.[25]

The use of the coupon system at Alley developed a form of exchange that enhanced the local economy. It elevated the method of exchange above the traditional barter system and offered the surrounding residents an incentive to market their goods locally. Now, instead of transporting their eggs, butter, meat, or grains to outside markets for cash, the local families could redeem their surplus goods for coupons at Alley. This represented an example of the development of a commercial market place economy around an Ozarks mill site. The new store operation transformed the economic system at Alley into a market system common to modern towns "where producers received a cash or cash-equivalent price for what they had to sell, more or less at all times."[26]

In 1913, the store was torn down and replaced with a new building that featured a town style facade. John Knotts sold the land and buildings at Alley, the year before, to a Kansas City based corporation called the Crystal Spring Town-site Company headed by German immigrant Conrad Hug. The new store had two floors and displayed:

> [a] square boom town facade, straight side walls with parapeted cornice that stepped backward to follow the slope of the unseen flat roof. The cornices were decorated with jigsawn brackets. Under the front porch canopy large windows flanked a proper double doored entry. The beveled tongue-and-groove siding was painted white, and the window frames, cornices, and brackets were dark green.

The interior of the store, in addition to counters and shelves, contained a soda fountain. A new modern luxury, the fountain was fitted with the latest accouterments--including a marble counter, looped wired stools, big back mirror, and plumbing for ice cream, soda water, and flavoring. The store, however, lacked refrigeration, and the soda fountain never worked. Photographs of the inside suggest that it largely served as a social center for men. It did have a crude system of running water, a rarity in the rural Ozarks, furnished by diverting water from the spring branch to the building. The store also had electricity generated from the "dynamo" attached to the main turbine shaft of the mill. The electricity from the dynamo (generator) powered dim carbon filament lightbulbs in the store and in the mill, school, dance floor, picnic ground and two houses in the area.[27]

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[25]Ibid., 32, 45-47.

[26]Ibid., 47.

[27]Ibid., 54-56.

The stores in lumber towns, such as Grandin and Winona/Fishertown, provided a more dramatic illustration of the integration of the turn-of-the-century Ozarks with the modern nationwide trends in economics and consumerism. In Grandin, the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company built a large frame company store with 10,000 square feet of floor space and smaller commissaries at each logging camp. The main store was one of the largest mercantile establishments in the Ozarks. One former resident claimed that it contained a diverse array of merchandise comparable to a city department store. The Grandin store burned down in 1900, and the company built a larger establishment with eight departments serviced by fifteen to twenty clerks.[28] It was stocked full of merchandise purchased through a cooperative agency called the "Golden Rule Syndicate." In 1904, in Missouri and Arkansas, twenty-five stores belonged to this cooperative buying syndicate. They were mostly associated with lumber towns. The stores of the syndicate received their merchandise from large urban wholesalers: dry goods from New York, hardware from St. Louis, and groceries from St. Louis and Springfield. Fresh meat for the Grandin butcher shop came from livestock raised and slaughtered on company farms.[29]

An interest in education and the proliferation of rural schoolhouses also distinguished this era of corporate intervention in the Current valley and southeast Ozarks of Missouri. Throughout Missouri, subscription schools predominated before 1850. Those families interested in an education for their children, through mutual association, built a school and then paid an annual subscription to hire a teacher and to buy supplies. Subscription schools were common in the South where parents believed in private control over education and in frontier areas where the establishment of schools preceded the establishment of local government. The Constitution of Missouri authorized the creation of "at least one gratis school" in each township, but the state failed to support such a system with "adequate funding" until 1842. In that year, the monies awarded amounted to only sixty cents per student between the ages of eight and sixteen who were enrolled in a "qualifying" school. A statewide system of public education, however, failed to materialize until after the Civil War when Missouri enacted more substantial legislation.[30]

The timing of the development of public education in Missouri corresponded with the rise of public schools throughout the South. In contrast to conditions in the North, before the Civil War, North Carolina and Kentucky were the only southern states that had a system of public education. The Missouri state government passed a series of strong education laws in 1874. The legislation abolished township control and empowered county superintendents with the oversight of the local system. It also augmented the traditional control of individual schools by three-

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[28]Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber," 174, 175.

[29]Ibid., 178.

[30]Christabel Lacy and Bob White, Rural Schools and Communities in Cape Girardeau County, Published by The Center for Regional History and Cultural Heritage, Southeast Missouri State University, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 1985, 1-4.

director districts. This new public education initiative and the economic and population expansion of the late nineteenth century stimulated a dramatic rise in the number of rural public schools. By 1900, there were more than ten thousand rural, primarily, one-room schools in the state.[31]

The reports of the state superintendent demonstrated that public schools were slow to organize before the 1880s in the Current River region. Prior to this time, the sparse population, the disruption of the Civil War, and in general the frontier culture of the Current homeland hindered the organization of school districts. An 1857 report showed an absence of any public schools in Shannon and Ripley counties and only seventeen schools in Dent County. Thirteen years later, Shannon County reported twelve schools, Dent County reported forty-four, Ripley County reported seventeen and Carter County recorded no schools. An 1875 description of the Shannon County school resources by county superintendent W. N. Deatherage demonstrated their insignificance to the area. The entire county contained only ten scantily furnished schools, one frame building in Eminence and nine log buildings. Deatherage's report referred to the use of polk berries for ink and goose quills for pens. It also noted that people had to travel to Thomasville or Salem, forty and fifty miles respectively from Eminence, to buy school books. An 1878 report explained that eleven districts in Shannon County did not have schools. Earlier in the decade, the school commissioner of Carter County reported how geography, specifically the steep hills and valleys and many creeks and rivers, along with the small population complicated the organization of school districts. He said that the terrain required many children to hike over rugged hills and to canoe across streams to get to schools.[32]

Nevertheless, the number of schools and pupils increased as the population grew in the 1880s and 1890s, and the new stock of Yankees, Germans and other ethnic groups, who placed a high value on schooling, demanded better educational opportunities. In 1881, the number of public shools in Dent, Ripley, and Shannon counties rose to fifty-one, thirty, and thirty-six respectivley. Carter County had eleven public schools. By 1901, Dent, Ripley, Shannon, and Carter counties had sixty-seven, sixty-nine, sixty-two and twenty-seven schools respectively. The number of pupils enrolled increased in a similar fashion. In 1885, 60 percent of the 8,945 school-age children in a five county region encompassing the watershed of the Black, Current, and Eleven Point Rivers were enrolled in school. The length of the school terms was still short

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[31]Grady McWhiney, Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988), 197; Kimberly Scott Little, "Missouri Ozarks Rural Schools," National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Properties Documentation, Midwest Region, National Park Service, 1990, E2-E4.

[32]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 110-112, 139-141; Missouri, Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the State of Missouri for the year 1857, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1858, 24-27; Missouri, Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the State of Missouri for the year 1870, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1871, 658-661. In 1857, Ripley County included most of the area of Carter County. The latter was formed in 1859.

here. In Shannon County the term lasted twenty-five days, and in Carter County it spanned forty-six. In 1900, enrollment in the same region included 77 percent of the school-age children, and the terms ranged from 110 to 124 days.[33]

The journals of William Aden French, a former Shannon County school teacher and publisher of the Current Wave, vividly describes the life of one young school teacher and the nature of a rural school in the early twentieth century in the Current valley. In 1906, at the age of fourteen, French migrated with his three brothers to Shannon County, Missouri from Tennessee. From 1910 through 1913, he taught four terms at rural schools around the Current River basin--first at Pine Hollow, then at Prairie Hollow, Owls Bend, and Cotoreva schools. In 1914, he took up the printing trade and remained associated with the newspaper business, first as an assistant at the Current Wave and after 1937 as its owner. As a teacher and writer, French became a popular leader in the Ozarks. Historian Robert Flanders characterized him as:

> a ruralist, but one whose life became woven into the culture of the modernizing Ozarks village. Evidence of both worlds are apparent in his voluminous diary--farming, hunting, fishing, camping out, rural school teaching, and writing rustic romances on the one hand, and on the other, a cash-paying regular town job, formal education, music, participation with Sunday school organizations, facility with standard English, and regular attendance at the movies.

In 1911, French lived on the family farm just a few miles from Eminence when he taught at the Prairie Hollow School located six miles from his home.[34]

At the beginning of each school term, French recalled that he would scout out the locale of the school on the weekend before classes started to "get the lay of the land." On one such visit he gave an "Inventory of Schoolhouse and belongings, July 8, 1911, Prairie Hollow":

> size of house 24x18 feet, well painted and well built, having 6 windows, with screens, and one door contains inside:
>
12 desks	6 erasers
1 table	1 box chalk
1 water bench	1 teacher's box to sit on
1 recitation bench	1 bookcase, containing
1 water bucket with dipper	about 47 books
1 stove	1 broom
2 black boards	1 chart with 20 leaves

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[33]Ibid., 167, 193. Missouri, Thirty-second Report of Public Schools of the State of Missouri for the year ending April 4, 1881, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1883, 48-55; Missouri, Fifty-second Report of Public Schools of the State of Missouri for the year ending June 30, 1901, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1902, 222-225.

[34]Robert Lee, "Memories of Bill French," The Ozarker (March-April 1980): 2-3; William French, "Oral History Excerpts: Schools and Schooling," Center for Ozark Studies, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri; and Robert Flanders, "The Education of a Village Editor," Ozark Watch 1 (Winter 1988): 9.

He also entered in his journal a note of "things to do" that included organizing the library and writing to the State Board of Horticulture in Columbia, Missouri for farmer's bulletins. The note listed bulletin topics of interest such as pruning peach trees and battling orchard diseases and pests.[35] Not all schools were as nicely furnished. A former student of Poplar School on Blair Creek said that it did not have anything but desks and chairs and that they counted on the teacher to "figure things out."[36]

The 1911 term at Prairie Hollow began July 10 with four students, three of whom had the surname Fry. The pupils were ages twelve, fourteen, seventeen and seventeen and were in the third, fourth, and seventh grades. Like other rural schools, Prairie Hollow provided schooling for grades one through eight. By the end of the first month, enrollment rose to nine pupils although the average daily attendance was little more than five. Over the five-month term, the number of students enrolled each month varied from seven to fifteen and the average daily attendance per month ranged from under four to over eight students. The highest numbers occurred in November, the fifth month, after the fall crops were harvested. The monthly reports that French wrote to the county school superintendent indicated that attendance was sporadic as, on the average, five to six students missed five or more days each month.[37]

The enrollment of Ozarks rural schools varied from school to school and from term to term; however, sporadic attendance seemed to prevail everywhere. In these one-room schools, enrollment could range from one or two students to as many as eighty or more. Regardless of the number of pupils there was generally one teacher to a school and that teacher had to cope with students ranging in age anywhere from four to twenty. Because of the irregular attendance, some students were sixteen or even twenty years old before they completed the eight grades. The recollections of students who attended different rural schools in early twentieth century Shannon County pointed to priorities at home that prevented daily schooling. One woman from the Little Shawnee neighborhood remembered traveling two to three miles to school and noted that her father would not let the children go if the weather was bad. She also recalled being pulled from school by her father to help harvest corn. By late fall, she remembered that she got "to go a little at a time and none of us learned too much." Yet she was proud of the fact that she learned

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[35]Lee, "Memories of Bill French," 3; French Papers, 1877-1934, Folder 6, Western History Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri Manuscripts, Rolla, Missouri, hereafter cited as French Papers, WHMC.

[36]Pearl Lewis, "Oral History Excerpts: Schools and Schooling," Center for Ozark Studies, Southwest Missouri State University.

[37]French Papers, Folder 6, WHMC; and Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 40.

to read despite the limited attendance.[38]

A record of a day's lessons from French's journal demonstrates how he managed a classroom of students of different ages and grade levels. His lesson plan closely followed the suggested curriculum developed by the Missouri Superintendent of Schools. Like in most rural schools, French also organized the children into classes A through D, where A represented the seventh and eight grades, B the fifth and sixth grades, and so on. Under this system, teachers each year often alternated some of the grades taught. For example, class A might learn seventh grade material in 1911-1912 and eighth grade material in 1912-1913. In his diary, French described the second day's lesson plan at Prairie Hollow as follows:

9:00 Opening exercises
9:15 A Arithmetic
10:00 C Arithmetic
10:30 recess
10:45 Fourth reader
11:15 A Geography
12:00 noon
1:00 Singing
1:15 C Language
1:45 Civil Government
2:30 recess
2:45 Fifth reader
3:30 C Spelling
3:45 A Spelling
4:00 Dismissal[39]

The subjects reflected a somewhat rounded educational experience, common to rural schools, that went beyond the basic three Rs curriculum for the higher grades.

A selection from French's diary for one week in September 1911 provides a window into the life of a rather exceptional Ozarks school teacher and the early twentieth-century Current River society in which he lived. It portrays an active young rural school teacher preoccupied with hunting, reading and writing. It reflects a rich social life in a rural community near a peak period in its population. Moreover, it demonstrates the wider community function of the rural schoolhouses as social centers. French wrote these entries just after receiving his second month's teaching salary, a check for thirty-five dollars, and his immediate payment of a store bill suggested that his teaching was an important source of cash income for his family. The entries begin on a weekend one day after French received his paycheck ("warrant").

> Saturday September 2:
> I went to Eminence in morning. Went over with Peck. Took "Max," our young dog, along, aiming to go hunting later. Treed squirrel on way over and I shot its head off with Peck's . . . Winchester,--a good shot. . . . My warrant cashed. Paid D. L. Bales all the family debt--$20.03--and he made me a presant (sic) of a $1.50 hat. I bought a box of 25 12-gauge shells. Mailed

[38]Nancy Conley, "Oral History Excerpts: Schools and Schooling," Center for Ozark Studies, Southwest Missouri Sate University; and Little, "Ozarks Rural Schools," E9-E10.

[39]French Papers, Folder 6, WHMC; and Little, "Ozarks Rural Schools," E10.

my quarterly report to Supt. Webb. Bought grade cards for my School, 5 cents. Mailed the extra Volume 3 of my Encyclopedia to W. B. Coinkey Co., Hammond, Ind., . . . Mailed them a letter notifying them of the same and asking them to send me a Volume 4. Went up to McKinney's and ate dinner. Took my dog and went over to Knight's. Borrowed his hammerless single barrel shotgun and went hunting out on Big Branch. Shot a rabbit dead that was running as fast as it could go. . . . I shot at a whip-poor-will flying and at a quail flying but killed neither. Shot twice at a squirrel running, and hit it both times, killing it dead the second shot. Shot a big snake. . . . Tommy climbed a tree and pulled a squirrel out. . . . Gave Tommy the rabbit and I took the 2 squirrels to Knight's and gave them to Knight's folks. Got there at dark, 7:15. Sid was there. Ate supper there and talked to my girl til 10:20. Got home after 11 and had to help milk the cows. Got to bed at 12 o'clock.

Sunday, September 3:
Wrote up on my diary and book-keeping. Read some more in "How to Study." Stayed at home all day. A crowd here in the afternoon. Went to Sunday School, P.M., and organized it again. Hayden Crawford here; played for us on the banjo. I went over to Knights in the afternoon, about 5 o'clock. Sid there. Ate supper there. Went to church at Eminence at night with my girl. Got in home after 10 o'clock.[40]

The third month of school began the next day, and the diary entries became preoccupied with teaching activities. Two events during this week illustrated the community significance of the school. On one occasion, people in the area helped French clean the school grounds and, on another, French refers to his family and friends attending a spelling contest at a school near his home.

Monday, September 4:
I rode over to Prairie Hollow, 6:50-8:39 A.M., and began teaching my Third Month of School there. Had an attendance of 3 pupils in the forenoon and 4 in the afternoon. Had one visitor, Charlie Counts. Pretty warm weather. Clouded up, and rained some during the afternoon. I made out examination questions, getting ready to give my pupils the quarterly examination. Took up at 9:00; turned out at 4:05; made up 5 minutes of my lost time. Rode home, 4:22-5:50, most of the way in the rain. Got caught in two very heavy showers and got soaked through and through.

Tuesday, September 5, 1911:
Cloudy in the early morning. Showery, raining off and on all the forenoon. I borrowed Al Vance's slicker coat and rode over to my School, 6:46-8:33. Had a working at the School house in the forenoon. 5 men of the neighborhood gathered in and we cleaned off the School grounds, cutting the brush and dragging off the logs. The girls scrubbed out the school house. Got through before noon. Had School in the afternoon; 4 pupils. Cleared off at noon. Rode home, 4:15-5:54. Boys had been hunting; killed 8 squirrels.

Wednesday, September 6:
A fine morning. Ride over to my School, 6:58-8:39. Only had two pupils in the forenoon and 3 in the afternoon. Took up at 8:50 and turned out at 4:00, making up all my lost time. Wrote

[40]French Papers, Folder 17, WHMC.

Figure 19:

Class photograph of Storys Creek School, Shannon County, 1903. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

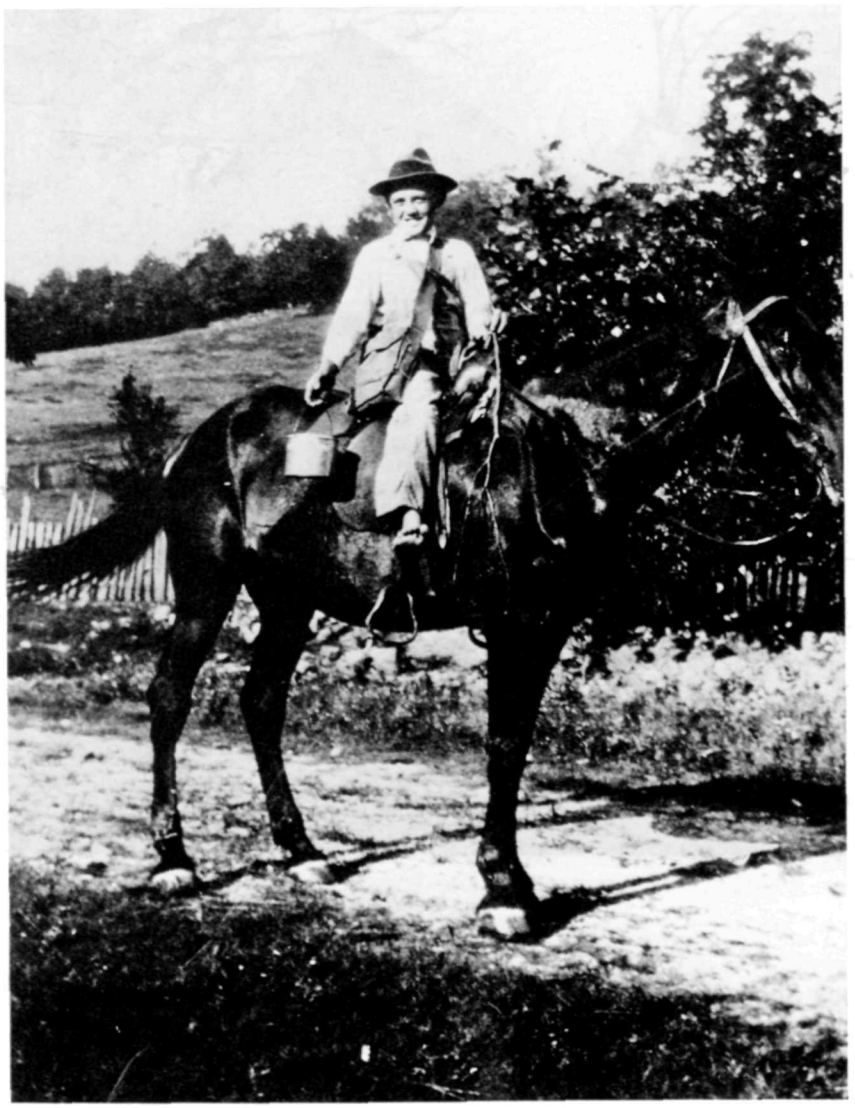

Figure 20:

School boy with a lunch pail and book bag. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Ureal Boyd Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 21:

Buttin Rock School, Shannon County, 1987. Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Midwest Region

Figure 22:

Lower Parker School, Dent County, 1987. Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Midwest Region.

some more on Chapter 27 of "The Mankiller." Rode home, 4:06-5:35 P.M. Peck cut my hair.

Thursday, September 7, 1911:
Rained in A.M. Rode over to my School, 6:54-8:32. Took up School at 8:40 and turned out at 4:10, thereby putting in 30 minutes extra time. Gave my pupils the quartery (sic) examination in Arithmetic (grades, 71, 72, and 78%), Geography (grades, 80 and 82%), and Agriculture (grades, 96 and 97%). Had an attendance of 4 pupils in A.M. and 3 in P.M. Finished Chapter 27 of "The Mankiller." Read "A Christmas Carol," by Charles Dickens. Rode home, 4:19-5:58 P.M.

Friday, September 8:
Cloudy in A.M. Rode over to Prairie Hollow, 6:44-8:24. Took up School at 8:45. Had just 2 pupils and 3 visitors. Gave examination in Spelling (grades, 80, 90, and 90%), Civil Government (grades, 64 and 66%), and Grammar (grade, [missing]). Began reading "The Arabian Nights." Wrote a little on Chapter 28 of "The Mankiller." Got through examination by the afternoon recess and turned out School at 2:30, thus losing 45 minutes. Rode home, 2:38-4:10. A crowd at home, my girl among them. They had all been to a spelling match at the home School. I took my girl home, then came back, getting home before dark.[41]

Despite the low attendance and the subsequent connotation of secondary importance given to schooling here, the broader community values that the schoolhouses assumed were evident in the clean up effort and in the spelling contest at another school nearby.

In his study of Alley, Robert Flanders noted the importance that young and old Ozarkers attributed to schooling at the turn of the century, and he emphasized the expanded social significance of the schoolhouses. He explained how the one-room schoolhouse, at once, reflected the "old" Ozark values of simplicity and the influx of new ideas in the "new" Ozarks.[42] A number of Shannon County residents who recalled attending the old rural schools bemoaned the demise of these one-room schoolhouses because of the personal attention that students received there and because the schools also served as community centers to the rural population. In fact, Flanders said that the rural school district, along with the nuclear family, extended kinship relations, and the neighborhood, represented the major social organizations, and the schools constituted the "only formal social organization." The residents of school districts regularly scheduled box suppers and other events at the schools. These often focused on raising funds to expand the school library and supplies. The schoolhouses also were used as churches and for Sunday school classes.[43]

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[41]Ibid.

[42]Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 41.

[43]Paul Faulkenberry, "Oral History Excerpts: Schools and Schooling," Center for Ozark Studies, Southwest Missouri Sate University; Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 42; and Little, "Ozarks Rural Schools," E14-E16.

The kinship ties of the students within many Ozarks rural school districts demonstrated the extent to which the one-room schoolhouses became manifestations of the Ozarks communities. Historian Kimberly Scott Little, in her study of Ozarks rural schools, revealed that Ozarks schools were both public schools and family schools. This is evident in her investigation of the students at Lower Parker School in Dent County on the upper Current River. Little wrote:

> Students who attended Lower Parker were from roughly two dozen interrelated families for a large part of its history, with the Schafers supplying the most students of any single family over the fifty-year period. . . . For example, the list of enrolled students for 1926-27 included at least fourteen children who were siblings or first cousins, all descended from the same Schafer grandparents. By surname there were twelve Schafers, one Kirtman child, two Nichols, seven Derryberrys, two Pruits, four Freezes, two Rasors, two Hancocks, and two Davis children that year. Six years later, in 1932-33 when the Schafers were finishing one generation and beginning another, the family only had six students attending plus two Davis children whose mother was a Schafer. That same year, there were five Pruits, five Leonards, three Derryberrys, three Nichols, two each of Razors, Hoodenpyles, Hancocks, and Kells (with a Nichols mother), and one Asher (a Derryberry grandchild). Almost none of these children were the same ones present six years previously; they were siblings, cousins, nieces, nephews, and sons and daughters of former students. . . . The Nichols had students in Lower Parker both the first year and the last year it was in operation. George Roy Nichols sat at a desk in Lower Parker where father and grandfather had sat before him. . . .[44]

The Ozarks one-room schools, like Lower Parker, served their tightknit communities until the 1950s. State and federal education officials promoted the consolidation of rural schools as early as the 1890s. Missouri passed its first school consolidation law in 1911, but the number of small locally controlled school districts continued to grow in the Ozarks. The consolidation policy conflicted with Ozark realities. The rugged Ozarks terrain, poor roads, dispersed population, and preference for local control insured the survival of the one-room schools until the nature of the communities changed and the state increased consolidation pressures after World War II.[45]

Mostly abandoned since the 1950s, one-room schoolhouses built near the turn of the twentieth century still stand in the Ozarks. Several such buildings, including the Buttin Rock (HS-342), Lower Parker (HS-233) and Story Creek (HS-520) schools, have survived in good condition along the Current and Jacks Fork riverways. Two of the buildings are in Shannon County and one, Lower Parker, is in Dent County. Buttin Rock School stands in an isolated wooded area on the border of an old field about two miles north and across the Current River from the mouth of Rocky Creek. Remnants of the Buttin Rock river road (HS-356) exist just

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[44]Kimberly Scott Little, "Lower Parker School," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Midwest Region, National Park Service, Omaha, Nebraska, 1990, 8-8.

[45]Little, "Ozarks Rural Schools," E5-E8.

west of the school and run parallel to the river. An abandoned house, the Reed-Macy log house (HS-351), is about a half mile north of the school, and the Klepzig mill (HS-355) is perched over Rocky Creek. Farther north, the Lower Parker School sits at the foot of Parker Hollow on the upper Current above Cedargrove. It is less than a mile down the hollow from an intact turn-of-the-century farmstead, the Nichols farm (HS-244). Unlike Buttin Rock and Lower Parker, the Story Creek School has been moved from its original location. It now serves as a museum piece at Alley Mill on the Jacks Fork.[46]

The organization of churches also defined the post-railroad Ozarks. The religious history of the area has received little attention. Few organized churches existed before the Civil War. Itinerant preachers came and went and held outdoor revivals or preached out of someone's home, but their influence generally lasted little longer than their presence. Two religious strains left a visible mark after the war: a revivalist tradition reflected in a widespread growth of Methodist, Baptist, Campbellites, and nondenominational evangelical churches, and a Puritan influence evident in the Congregational Churches established by the eastern lumber capitalists.[47] The churches listed in the Missouri State Gazetteers between 1883 and 1899 demonstrated the predominance of the revivalist faiths in the Current basin. Greater religious diversity, however, appeared in the area settled earliest, the lower Current in Ripley County. Although the revivalists--the Methodists, Baptists, and Christians--dominated the area, a large minority of Presbyterians lived there as well as a few Catholics. In Carter County, the religious minded turned almost exclusively to the Methodist and Baptist faiths. A Catholic church was built by the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company in Grandin; however, it closed for the lack of parishioners, and the church building became a public library. The corporate leadership at Grandin maintained a Congregational Church. In Shannon County, the revivalist faiths held a large majority though some German immigrants adhered to the Christian Reform church.[48]

Overall, the increased religious activity worked to introduce a new moral order in the region. Some congregations tried to impose bans on longstanding components of Ozarks culture: whiskey and dance. The former was also targeted by the Pennsylvania Calvinists at Grandin. J. B. White, the superintendent of Missouri Lumber, prohibited the sale of alcohol in Grandin and pressured local dealers to stop selling to company workers. In one case, he gave a job to a liquor salesman who agreed to stop selling whiskey. As Leslie Hill noted in a history of the

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[46]Leonard E. Brown and Merrill Mattes, "An Evaluation of the Historic Resources of Ozark National Scenic Riverways and Recommendations for their Preservation," Draft Project No. 41, National Park Service, Washington, July 1971, 5, 15-17; "List of Classified Structures," Historical Architecture Division, National Park Service, Washington, June 1988.

[47]Price interview; and Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 42.

[48]Missouri State Gazetteers, 1883-1899; Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 42; and Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company," 242.

Missouri Lumber and Mining Company, the lumber executives also cooperated with U.S. Marshals to eliminate illegal distilleries. The company carried marshals over logging trams to illegal stills. In 1904, the Current Local reported an incident involving the arrest of four people caught making corn whiskey on Buffalo Creek west of the Current River. The lumber company also prohibited gambling in Grandin and employed a town sheriff to enforce its policies. The company's ban on liquor sales and gambling was in the interest of production, not salvation.[49]

In rural areas the churches were closely linked to the schoolhouses. Preachers, including lay ministers, often held services in the schools and organized church socials there. For instance, the Alley school, at the mill hamlet on the Jacks Fork, and the Lower Parker School, on the upper Current, frequently served as churches. A few rural hamlets did have churches. The community centered at Ink, in Shannon County, built a church sometime between 1901 and 1907. Meetings were held whenever an itinerant preacher rode through, and such occasions often turned into a week-long revival attended by most of the surrounding community.[50]

The major investments in the railroad and lumber development brought dramatic visible change to the sparsely populated backwoods homeland. Within a single generation, the people of the Current River witnessed a major influx of new people, new money-paying jobs, new schools, and the growth of larger and new towns, along with the new churches.[51] The new people introduced a progressive quality to the homeland that included a taste for town living and a greater emphasis on formal education. The new jobs transferred the local barter economy into a largely cash economy, and the people of the Current River became more dependent on outside forces for their livelihoods. Yet the many changes did not eliminate all traces of the uplander-frontier culture of the Current River homeland.

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[49]Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber," 147-149.

[50]Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 42; Interview with Vernon Nichols, June 12, 1986; and "Ink, As Remembered by Artie Swiney," History of Shannon County Missouri 1986, 15.

[51]Flanders, "Regional History," 244.

8

The Ozark Riverways and the "New South": Continuity in the Homeland, 1870-1920

Regardless of the many changes in the new Ozarks, fundamental aspects of the uplander/frontier culture endured in the Current River homeland. In the hills and hollows, away from the towns, the basic self-reliant and self-sufficient way of life continued within the growing money-based commercial economy of the lumber era. The stockman-farmer-hunter generalist lifestyle prevailed with the frequent addition of hiring out for lumber related work. In addition, the perpetuation of an Ozarks vernacular architecture demonstrated the persistence of the homeland culture.

Many Ozarkers demonstrated little interest in intense commercial agriculture despite the new local and regional market created by the railroad and lumber developments. This was very much apparent on the upper Current where the rugged topography and the people that it attracted encouraged a tradition of small self-sufficient homesteads. In 1896, in Shannon County, the editor of the Current Wave bemoaned what he called the lack of a profit motive behind agriculture practiced by the local farmers. He wrote:

> The majority of farmers of Shannon County do not farm for a profit, while a great many more farm with a rifle and a pack of hounds, and others sit on a dry goods box and whittle and comment on the political status of the day.

The editor, Joshua Sholar, carefully chastised the local farmers for failing to modernize their farming methods while watching the company stores and other merchants import boxcar after boxcar of foodstuffs into the area. He instructed the farmers to manure their fields, to grow more wheat and corn, to grind it at Alley and then to sell the meal or flower at Fishertown.[1]

In the big lumber era, many hill families added some form of lumber activity to their general agricultural economic arsenal. Dent County farmer W. W. Cannon kept a diary in 1886 and in it described a rural existence that combined regular contact in the local cash exchange economy with a still predominately self-sufficient mode of life. The location of Cannon's farm is uncertain but, in the diary, he mentioned selling hay to the local mill, and this suggested that the mill was animal- not water-powered and therefore away from any spring or river.[2] During the spring and summer of 1886, Cannon supported himself with endeavors ranging from raising

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[1]Robert Flanders, "Regional History," in Cultural Resource Overview Mark Twain National Forest, Vol. 1, Report to Forest Supervisor Mark Twain National Forest from Center for Archaeological Research, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 260-261.

[2]Stephen M. Knight, "Architecture Context Study: The Nichols Farm, Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Missouri," Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, Omaha, Nebraska, 55-56.

corn, beans, cane, and wheat to hauling hay and lumber. Hay was a cash crop for Cannon. He also hauled lumber for cash. During a seven-day period August 18-24, 1886, Cannon made two trips to Rolla with loads of lumber. A round trip was a two-day affair and, during the second trip, he returned with $4.10 worth of merchandise including a pair of shoes and some salt valued at $1.50 and $1.35 respectively. On Sunday, August 22, there was no mention of any activity. He made repairs to his wagon on August 23 and 24. In September, he worked several days at making apple cider (another cash crop), hauled at least one load of lumber to Rolla, cut corn and sorghum cane, and planted some wheat.[3] Reflecting the "do-it-yourself" tradition, he also repaired his own cistern, fence, shoes, and a spinning wheel for his wife. He built hoops for barrels, shod his own horses and collected walnut bark for dye making.[4] Dent County was a much more prosperous agricultural area than Shannon and Carter counties. Its topography and soil were more conducive for agriculture, and it was closer to major transportation routes. Therefore, the commercial opportunities open to Cannon were greater than for the Current River settlers of the mid-1880s. Cannon, however, still was a rural generalist and predominately self-sufficient.

An oral history project conducted by the Center for Ozark Studies at Southwest Missouri State University and focusing on Shannon County provides further insight into the work and leisure customs along the Current River after the turn of the twentieth century. Overall, the elder residents interviewed described childhoods in lively communities along the Current and its creeks and hollows where "there was a house and family just around every corner." They frequently characterized the people as "practical," "self-supporting," and "hospitable." A woman, raised on Sinking Creek, recalled frequent visits from extended family members, especially those of her step-father, whose in-laws from a former wife often "walked across the hills from Big Creek" to call on them. A former Blair Creek resident proudly pointed out a habit of mutual aid:

> But I'm going to tell you something about them people over there. . . . But the nights never got too dark or it never got too cold when someone was sick, but that they was right there to help. And if they run out of firewood, somebody come with their saw and axes and cut the wood. And back at the time they didn't have no truck, they hauled it in wagons. So that was neighbors.[5]

The woman from Sinking Creek, though heavily dosed with nostalgia, gave a description of a community that underscored the peoples' self-sufficiency and a perception that valued simplicity in a time when life was anything but simple.

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[3]Cannon, W. W., diary 1186, Western History Manuscript Collection, Columbia, Missouri, (also located in file at Big Spring office, Ozark National Scenic Riverway).

[4]Knight, "The Nichols Farm," 56.

[5]Carl Frazier and Ena Griffith and Pearl Lewis, Oral History Excerpts, "Community Descriptions," Center for Ozark Studies, Robert Flanders, Director, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri.

> I feel like I have lived through the most important years that have ever been because back on Sinking at the time I was growing up, we were in our own little world. Horses and wagons and walking [were] the only way of getting out of there. Then of course I grew up with pioneer parents. . . . People just simply [were] self-supporting. And I learned all that. And we had the good old horse-and-buggy days. And we had lots of square dances on Sinking. Very little trouble.[6]

The mention of self-supporting, pioneer parents referred to the continuation into the twentieth century of a family survival pattern among the Ozark uplanders that relied on a few acres of crops, the open range, and working odd jobs for cash. As they had for decades, on a few fenced-in acres, the hill families basically grew corn, the staple crop, sorghum cane for molasses, and possibly a little wheat to make the traditional biscuits for breakfast. A garden produced cabbage, beans, potatoes, and other family vegetables. The variety of domestic animals frequently included hogs, chickens, some cattle, and a team of horses or mules. The hogs, still the principal source of meat, foraged on the open range as did what cattle they might have owned.[7]

Men, women, and children all contributed to the family economy. The men and boys generally tended the corn and cane crop and butchered their own meat. Over the course of the long growing season, they often produced two crops of corn. In the late spring, after the planting of the first crop, they planted sorghum cane. The men repaired fences and other items around the home after laying out the crops. They also spent more time hunting and fishing. On Sinking Creek, a woman compared the excitement among the men waiting for the fall price list from the St. Louis fur company of Maas & Staffein with that of Christmas. She commented:

> It was exciting because everybody wanted to see how much the fur was gonna sell for. If the possum hides were gonna bring a dime or [were] they gonna bring a quarter. And skunks usually brought about a quarter. And I think possums didn't bring but about a dime. But foxes and different things, they were higher. There [were not] any raccoons back in that time hardly at all. They were around $2.00. But I don't know why there [were not] so many, maybe because there [were] too many trappers.[8]

Beside the enjoyment associated with trapping and hunting, the furs obtained from these activities provided the families with some cash income.

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[6]Ena Griffith, Oral History Excerpts, COS.

[7]Ibid.; and Maude Barnes, Thomas Martin, and Pearl Lewis, Oral History Excerpts, "Environment and Economy," Center for Ozark Studies, Robert Flanders Director, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri.

[8]Ena Griffith, Oral History Excerpts, COS.

The economic responsibilities of the women most frequently centered on milking the cows, raising chickens, tending the garden, making or repairing clothing and, of course, preparing meals. Tending to the milk cows involved more than just milking; it included separating cream, churning butter, and making cottage cheese. The garden required hoeing and the vegetables, when picked, needed to be canned. Canning was a modern process developed in the 1870s. In contrast to these duties, the women, such as Ena Griffith of Sinking Creek, considered patching clothes and quilting as relaxation and often reserved these activities for warm afternoons.[9]

The division of labor between women and men, however, was not always so neatly defined. Some women plowed, planted, and helped in the fields during the harvests of corn and other grains. They also chopped or sawed wood and split rails for fences. Of course, women would undertake such "man's work" for a variety of reasons, but it probably appeared most common among young couples without children or in families where there were no or few male children. The women from Sinking Creek noted that the females of this community did not undertake much "outside work" because of the large number of boys in the families. Growing up in a family with brothers, one man remembered that, as the eldest son, he began to plow at the age of twelve while his father "worked out all [of] the time."[10] Hiring out was common among women and men looking for a source of cash income.

The uplanders, who at the turn of the century continued to practice a form of self-sufficiency, looked to a variety of ways to earn a little cash for the growing market economy in which they found themselves. For example, they often sold dairy products, eggs, or vegetables to the lumber camps and stores. The men cut ties and fence posts, hauled lumber, and sold hides and pelts.[11] Young women also hired out for cash-paying odd jobs. A Shannon County woman noted the common experience of working around the neighborhood:

> I did it because I wanted to hire out. I wanted to work. It was about the only source that a single girl at that time had the opportunity to do. It [was not] like today. You've got your factories, your many places that young people can work. Then you didn't. You lived in the community--maybe I wouldn't have a job very often. Maybe two weeks. That was about the limit. . . . I lived in the household with the parents. . . . And I did some sewing for people.

After marrying, this woman lived on a Low Wassie farm, and her husband worked for a time as

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[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.; Nancy Conley, "Hiring Out," and Thomas Martin, "Chores," Oral History Excerpts, COS.

[11]Maude Barnes and Nancy Conely, "Domestic Environment and Economy," and "Hiring Out," Oral History Excerpts, COS.

a section hand for the lumber company railroads. They periodically would live at various logging camps, such as Edmundson Camp, connected to the tram lines. At the logging and railroad camps, young women often worked at the "boarding houses," where they cooked and laundered for the section crews. Once the boarding houses closed, they frequently went back to their hill communities.[12]

The life of the Nichols family of Parker Hollow on the upper Current displayed the persistence of the frontier/uplander lifeway despite the encroaching modernization. Married in 1894, John and Susie Nichols first settled on eighty acres in northwestern Dent County but, in 1897, they traded farms with John's brother who owned seventy-nine acres of land in Parker Hollow in southwest Dent. At the time of their marriage, John Nichols was twenty-eight years old and his wife was eighteen. A major attraction of the Parker Hollow farm was a spring that the Nichols used for drinking water and to keep perishables fresh. They first built themselves a dog-trot style house near the spring with timber cut from the property and sawed at a local mill. After the birth of their three children, they tore down the first house and built a three-room home about fifty yards away from the spring.[13]

The couple practiced a self-sufficient form of agriculture, focusing on the growing of crops, livestock, and a garden. John Nichols raised corn and sorghum cane. He had the corn ground at a gristmill down river or at the Schafer Mill at the head of Parker Hollow and had the cane pressed at the latter. A water-powered mill, the Schafer operation included a gristmill, a saw- and shingle mill, a carding machine and a cane press. The Nichols also owned cattle and hogs, which foraged on the open range, as well as horses, mules, sheep, and chickens. They raised vegetables, potatoes, beans, beets, and cabbage in the family garden. John Nichols also hauled lumber either for his own use or for hire.[14]

Surviving today as a dramatic visual reminder of a vernacular Ozarks farmstead, the cultural landscape of the Nichols property illustrates the persistence of uplander/frontier culture in the early twentieth century. North of Cedargrove in the rugged and still relatively isolated upper Current valley, the Nichol's place exists about a half-mile from the mouth of the Parker Branch in Parker Hollow. Their land occupies a level terrace along the spring branch and, typical of the rough Courtois Hills, is surrounded by steep hills. The house, barn, and corncrib--the extant remnants of the farm cluster--stand more than a quarter-mile from the branch down a narrow dirt road that runs through a thickly timbered and overgrown landscape. At one time

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[12]Ibid.; Lucy Youngblood, "Hiring Out," Oral History Excerpts, COS.

[13]Knight, "The Nichols Farm," 1-2.

[14]Ibid., 61; and Mae Kell and Vernon Nichols, Interviewed by Stephen Knight and Jill York O'Bright, Houston, Missouri, 12 June 1986.

the farm complex also contained a garage and two smokehouses. The small spring, the Nichol's water source, still spills out near the road leading to the house and barn.[15]

The type of house, barn, and corncrib reflect traditional Ozarks architecture with complex roots in the culture of the Upland South mixed with some other traditions. The house features a double pen, mirror image facade typical of Scotch-Irish settlers and the most common vernacular form still present in the Ozark highlands. It is a single-story building with end cables. The most enduring feature of this vernacular type is the symmetry. Early pioneers originated the double pen configuration by making additions to one-room log cabins. They simply built a second cell (pen) on to the original structure and included a second front door for access. This symmetry in form continued as a Scotch-Irish tradition. Reflecting Ozark custom, the Nichols built their house with the common window-door-door-window fenestration pattern on a stone pier foundation of uncut native stone.[16]

In addition to these traditional features, specific aspects of the house reflected the vast changes underway in the late nineteenth century Ozarks. As originally constructed, the house lacked a chimney and included a rear ell that the Nichols used as a kitchen and dining room. The family cooked on a stove, instead of in a fireplace, and heated the home with a second stove. Such appliances were accessible to the common Ozarker only after the coming of the railroad and reflected an acceptance of some modern changes even by families closely linked to Ozark tradition.[17]

The barn and corncrib also display Ozark vernacular construction. As Stephen Knight noted in his study of the Nichols farm, the small barn is a type common to an upland South variation of German barns in colonial Pennsylvania. It has a central crib of unhewn logs enclosed in a thirty-three- by twenty-eight-foot barn with sawn board sides. The separate corncrib, while built in the early 1930s, after the barn and house, still reflected traditional construction. The Nichols built with unhewn logs, saddle-notched at the ends and supported by stone or wood block piers a foot and a half above the ground.[18]

The materials and method of construction again reflected both Ozark tradition and recent adaptations. John Nichols cut the lumber for the buildings from trees on his land and hauled logs to Schafer Mill to be sawn into boards or made into roof shingles. He then constructed the house

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[15]Knight, "The Nichols Farm," 1-4.

[16]Robert Flanders, "Ozark Dwellings as seen from the Road," Ozark Watch 2 (Summer 1988): 8-11; and Knight, "The Nichols Farm," 23-24.

[17]Knight, "The Nichols Farm," 43-44.

[18]Ibid., 27-28.

Figure 23:

Barn Building at Nichols Farm, Dent County, c. 1910. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

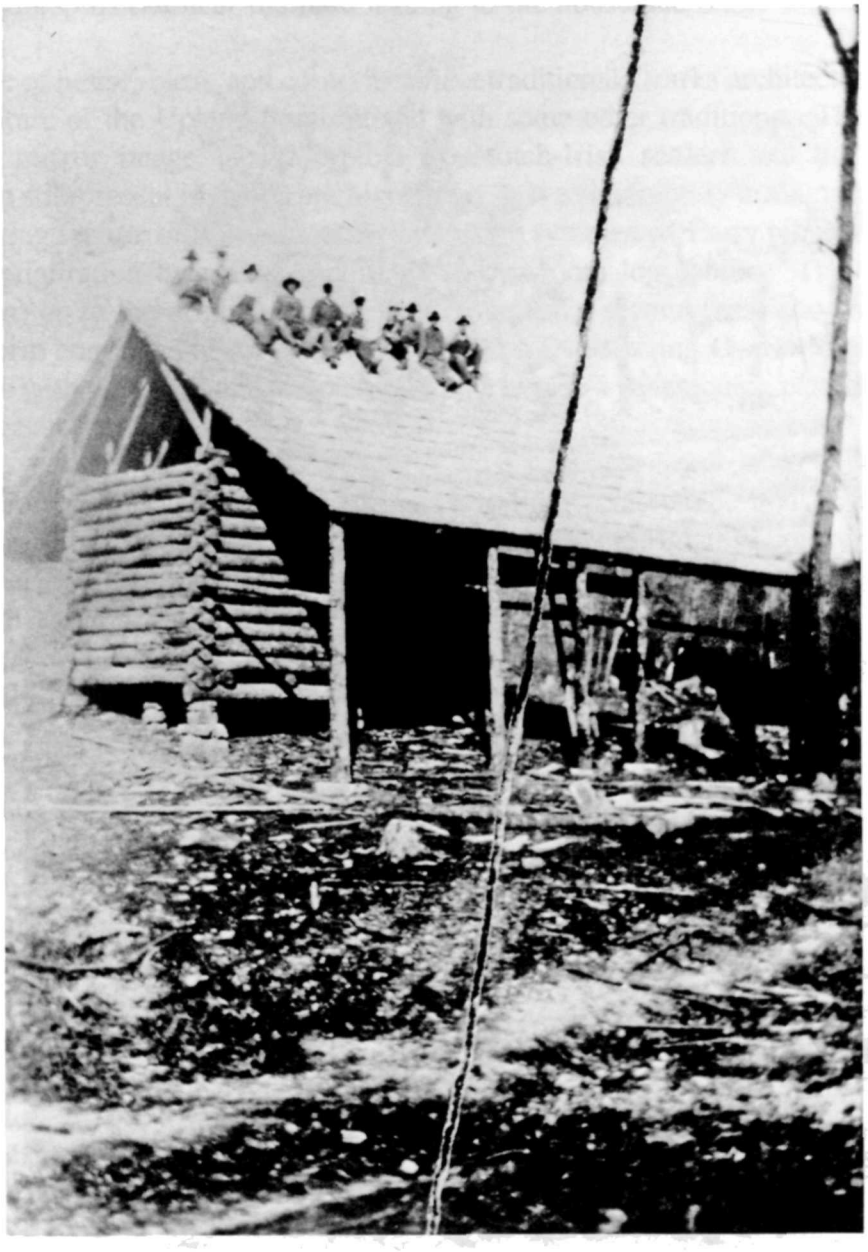

Figure 24:

Barn Building at Nichols Farm, Dent County, c. 1910. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

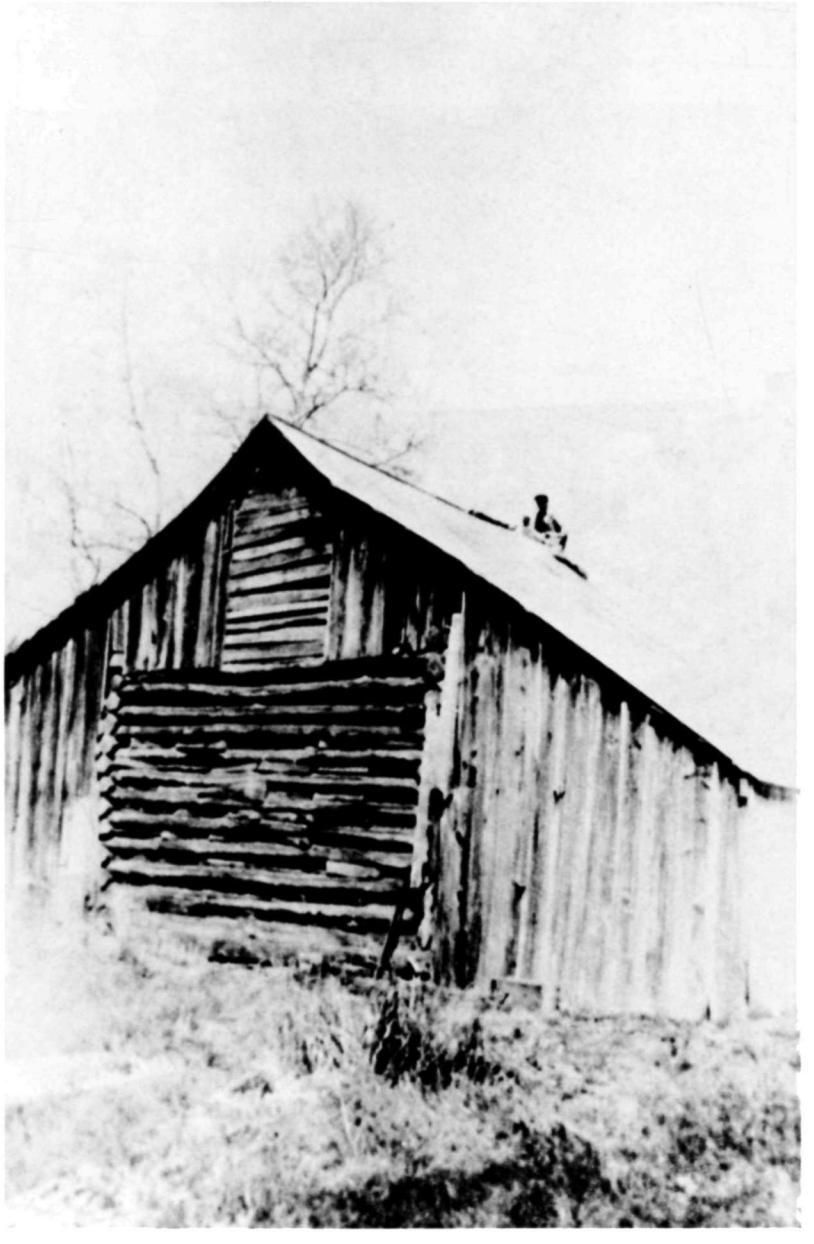

Figure 25:

Barn Building at Nichols Farm, Dent County, c. 1910. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 26:

Birthday gathering at Nichols Farm, c. 1920s? Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 27:

Susie Nichols on horse in front of the Nichols' house. Date of photograph unknown. Ray Vickery. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

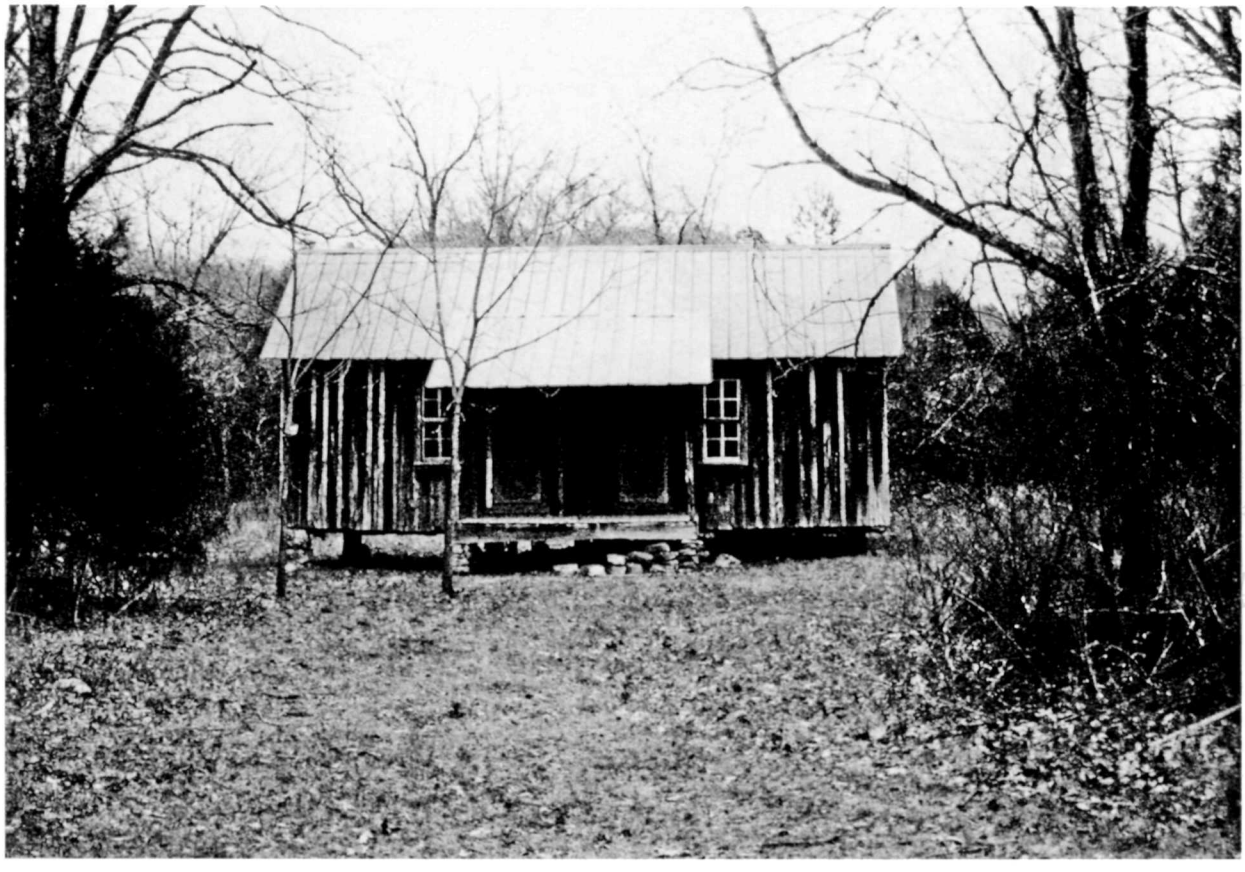

Figure 28:

Nichols' house restored in the 1980s, 1987. Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Midwest Region.

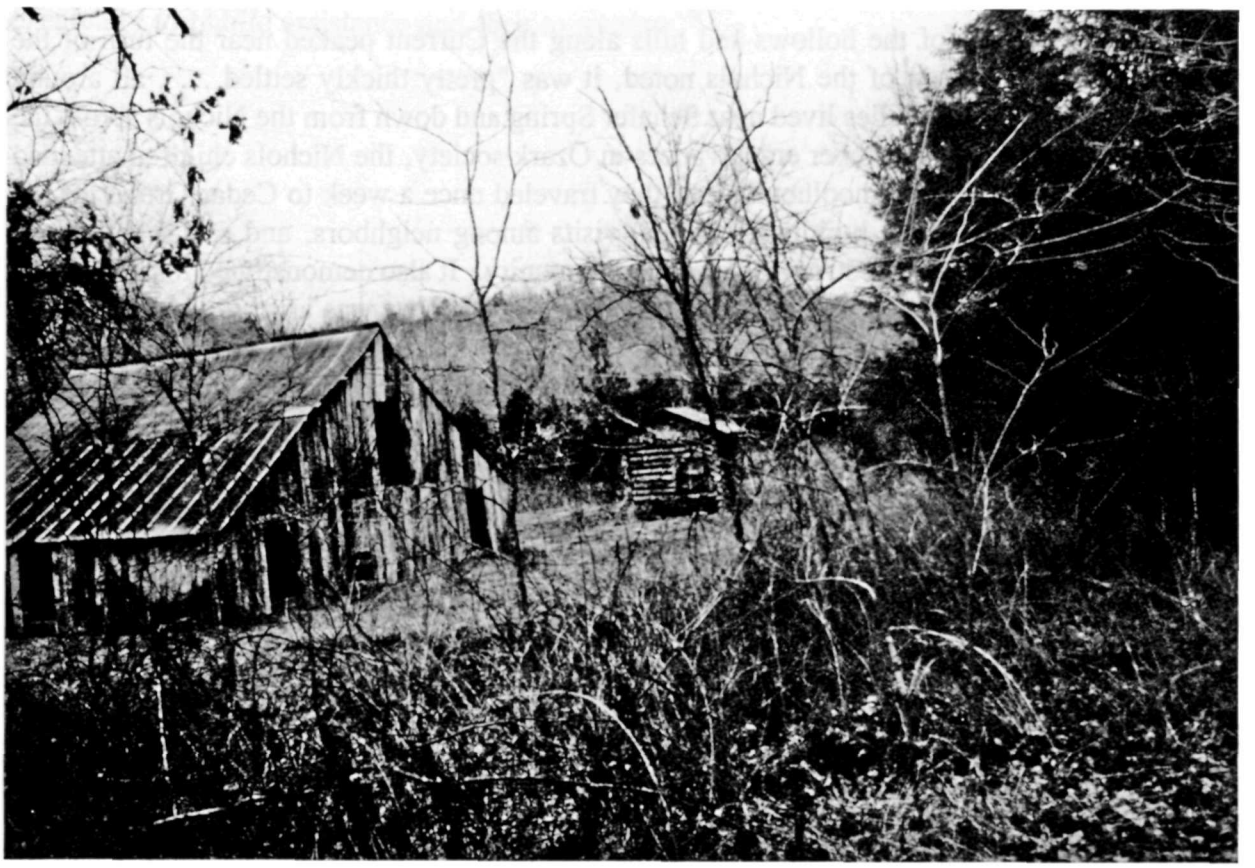

Figure 29:

Nichols' barn and corncrib restored in 1980s, 1987. Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Midwest Region.

himself. Yet he employed a sawmill method of construction, a practice introduced with the company housing of the large lumber mills, in which he nailed the pine boards vertical into sills at the bottom and two-by-fours at the top. There was no framing involved.[19] Displaying a strong community spirit, surrounding neighbors gathered to help the Nichols raise their barn.

The populations of the hollows and hills along the Current peaked near the turn of the century and, as a grandson of the Nichols noted, it was "pretty thickly settled . . . all around through there." Several families lived near Schafer Spring and down from the Nichols across the river.[20] In keeping with the lumber era advances in Ozark society, the Nichols children attended school at the Lower Parker Schoolhouse, and they traveled once a week to Cedar Grove for the mail. The community aid in building, frequent visits among neighbors, and social gatherings demonstrated the existence of a strong open rural community. It also demonstrated that, although this area of the upper Current was still relatively isolated, life here was anything but solitary.

Even in this rugged upper Current area, the declining isolation of the homeland and its increasing integration into a farflung market economy was apparent. On the eve of the twentieth century, editor Joshua Sholar thought it urgent that the farmers bring more money into the county. He foresaw the closing of the big mills and feared that hard times would follow the loss of the timber. He concluded:

> The celebrated yellow pine of the Ozarks, of which we are so proud, will soon be a thing of the past; and with it goes the deer and the turkey, the rifle and the hounds, and the face of the country [will be] changed.

The rise in the number of farms and in the value of farm products from 1870 to 1910 indicated that the Ozark population did increase its commercial production. Yet, as Sholar feared, the slow adoption of modern farming methods cut short this growth as the land wore out. Moreover, after 1915 a more learned observer noted the marginal quality of the soil of the southern Courtois Hills, and the best land along the Current River already had been long occupied and cultivated.[21]

A recent analysis by cultural geographer Russel Gerlach identified the traditional Ozarkers relationship to the land as reactive rather than proactive. The persistence of the frontier quality of Ozark life followed the habit of the early Scotch-Irish settlers to adapt rather than to alter the environment. Gerlach explained that the descendants of the Scotch-Irish have demonstrated a

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[19]Ibid., 44, 50.

[20]Vernon Nichols and Clinton Nichols, Interviewed, by Stephen Knight, 12 June 1986. Mae Kell and Vernon Nichols Interview.

[21]Flanders, "Regional History," 260-261. See Flanders for quotation; Carl O. Sauer, The Geography of the Ozark Highlands of Missouri (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920).

pattern of accepting and adapting to change in the economic base of the highlands. In contrast to the Germans, who settled on the more fertile land on the Ozark border and who reconfigured the landscape to widespread crop farming, the Scotch-Irish changed their economy based on the availability of resources and in response to outside pressures. The economic base shifted from a predominance on hunting, crop farming, and livestock production to mining and timbering and eventually to public assistance and then to tourism.[22]

[22]Knight, "The Nichols Farm, 65-66; and Russel L. Gerlach, "The Ozark Scotch-Irish: The Subconscious Persistence of Ethnic Culture," P.A.S.T, Pioneer America Society Transactions, 7 (1984): 53-54.

9

Deforestation and the Rise of Modern Recreation

By the third decade of the twentieth century, the loss of the forest resulting from the hinterland development threatened traditional ways of living along the Current River even more than had the many social and economic changes of the lumber and railroad era. Timber, the resource that attracted the railroads and many people to the Current after 1880, showed signs of playing out soon after 1900. The forest was the foundation of the uplander culture. It housed the game that the uplander hunted and fed the hogs that the hill families ate. The uplander-frontier culture's economic tradition was based on a reactive relationship with nature. Before the introduction of large-scale lumbering, the settlers made few visible changes to the natural environment.[1] Their hunting practices helped to deplete much of the big game but their open range livestock grazing had little impact on the forest. The loss of so many trees through unbridled lumbering, however, damaged the natural and thus the cultural habitat of the traditional homeland.

Some Ozark and state leaders saw tourism as the economic salvation of the region. The early development of modern recreation on the Current and Jacks Fork rivers accommpanied the introduction of railroads into the southeast Missouri Ozarks. There were two trends in the growth of recreation. First, the railroad and lumber companies encouraged sport hunting and fishing. The depletion of the wildlife and the exodus of the large pine lumber corporations limited this activity and, by 1914, the promotion of recreation began focusing on attracting tourists to the areas scenic beauty. Although tourism boomed around the springs of southwest Missouri and northwest Arkansas during the previous century, it was slow to develop in the more isolated Courtois Hills. Unlike lumbering and hunting, tourism was an unfamiliar concept to most residents of the Current River region.

The lumber industry did not just collapse. As historian James Murphy noted, the Ozark forest was not clear cut but was timbered in stages. First, the large lumber companies removed the big yellow pine trees, the most profitable wood in the forest. The Missouri pine logging corporations closed their Ozark operations sometime during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1904, the Cordz-Fisher Lumber and Mining Company shut down its Birch Tree mill after milling approximately 300,000,000 board feet of lumber since its founding in 1888. In 1912, the directors of the Ozark Land and Lumber Company began dismantling their Ozark enterprise and, in 1915, reorganized the business into a real estate firm. Eight years later the company sold 103,297 acres of land to the T. J. Moss Tie Company of St. Louis. The Ozark Land and Lumber Company sold the remainder of its business to another buyer who moved the operation to Springfield, Missouri, and started a retail lumber company. In 1919, after ten years of milling lumber from West Eminence and building tram lines farther north into Spring Valley

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[1]Russel L. Gerlach, "The Ozark Scotch-Irish: The Subconscious Persistence of Ethnic Culture," P.A.S.T, Pioneer America Society Transactions, 7 (1984): 53-54.

and the upper Current, the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company left the southeast Ozarks. The company sold the West Eminence mill to the Forked Leaf White Oak Lumber Company.[2]

Another large corporate pine lumber operation actually began operations near the Current River during these years. In 1909, the Bunker-Culler Lumber Company began cutting and milling timber from land along Big, Blair, and, later, Sinking creeks in northeast Shannon County. J. S. Bunker, who came from small lumber works in Mountain View and Summersville, founded the company with his son-in-law and built a mill town, Bunker, in Dent County just north of the Shannon County border. He bought much of his plant from the Ozark Land and Lumber Company. The saw and planing mills had a capacity of working 60,000 board feet per day. At its peak, the town of Bunker included a company store, 250 houses, a church, and about 800 people. Bunker-Culler cut timber from east of the Current until the pine ran out in 1921.[3]

Most of the officers of the Ozark yellow pine companies entered into new operations in the pine forest of the South and Pacific Northwest. The top executives of the Missouri Lumber and Land Exchange, the marketing firm composed of officers of Cordz-Fisher, Ozark Land and Lumber, and Missouri Lumber and Mining companies, controlled the Louisiana Long Leaf Lumber Company, the Louisiana Central Lumber Company, and the Grandin Coast Lumber Company in Washington State. J. B. White and the other lumbermen concentrated on these businesses after leaving the Ozarks. The Missouri Lumber and Mining Company also had an interest in the Doniphan Lumber Company and the Smalley Tie and Timber Company of Van Buren. The latter companies supplied the pine lumber company with ties for its tram lines and also exported ties out of the area. The Missouri Lumber company sold its interest in the tie operations before leaving the Ozarks.[4]

After the large pine lumber corporations left, smaller companies continued to remove trees until the accessible forest was largely gone by 1930. The Ozark forest was composed mostly of hardwood trees. The smaller lumber companies cut railroad ties from white oaks. Some operators focused on high grade oak for barrel staves, heading, and flooring. Others removed the smaller pine and hardwoods for piling, mine props, tool handles, and so forth until the marketable timber was gone.[5] The largest of these operations was the tie cutting.

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[2]James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 200-202.

[3]Ibid., 203-205.

[4]Leslie G. Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company 1880-1909," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1949), 189-192; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 209-210.

[5]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 194-196.

Cultural geographer Carl O. Sauer identified three methods of tie making: by farmers during the winter, by mills as by-products, or by "tie hackers." The latter were the most prevalent in the Ozarks. Observing these operations in 1915, Sauer gave the following description of tie hackers:

> These work either in the employ of tie contractors or independently. They usually build shacks in the forest, where they live in primitive and lonely fashion. Tie hackers are looked down upon by the farming population and often are a somewhat lawless element. When the tie timber has been exhausted at one locality, they move to another, rarely remaining at one place more than a few years. They accumulate few possessions and develop slight social inclinations.

Two tie hackers could hew about thirty ties a day. They split the logs with wooden mauls and carved out ties with broad axes. The cross-ties measured six by eight inches thick and usually eight feet long.[6]

On the upper Current River, the Smalley Tie and Timber Company dominated tie hacking at the turn of the century. At first, J. B. White was personally associated with H. H. Smalley in the tie company until 1907 when he sold his interest to the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company. The large lumber company capitalized the tie operation and furnished Smalley with workers from the Grandin operation. Smalley ran the business, which continued to hold his name. He agreed to pay Missouri Lumber and Mining five cents for ties made of white oak and three cents for those made from other timber.[7]

The Smalley Tie and Timber Company operated out of Van Buren and Chicopee. The river provided the principal means of transporting ties to railroad hubs. Upstream from Van Buren, the tie cutters hauled the ties to the riverbank. Smalley shipped crews upriver in a small paddle boat, and the crews then floated the ties down to Chicopee. There were two methods of floating ties, driving and rafting. In a drive, crews of about fifteen men let the lumber float loose downstream and basically followed behind to break up jams. Drives contained between 50,000 and 400,000 ties and moved slowly. On the Current, they often started near Montauk and picked up ties as they went downriver. Flash flooding made free flowing drives dangerous both for the crews responsible for clearing jams and for persons and property along the river. The Smalley company generally organized drives in the fall when there was less risk of a flood but, even without freshets, the timber could run out of control. In the autumn of 1902, the weight of thousands of ties packed against the boom at Chicopee broke it and 5,000 ties shot downriver. Smalley's men tried to stop them at a Missouri Lumber and Mining Company tram bridge near

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[6]Ibid., 183; and Carl O. Sauer, The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920), 183.

[7]Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber," 191-192.

Figure 30:

Paddle boat of Smalley Tie and Lumber Company that took crews upriver to bring down ties, c. 1920. Photographer unknown. Mrs. Ray Randolph Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

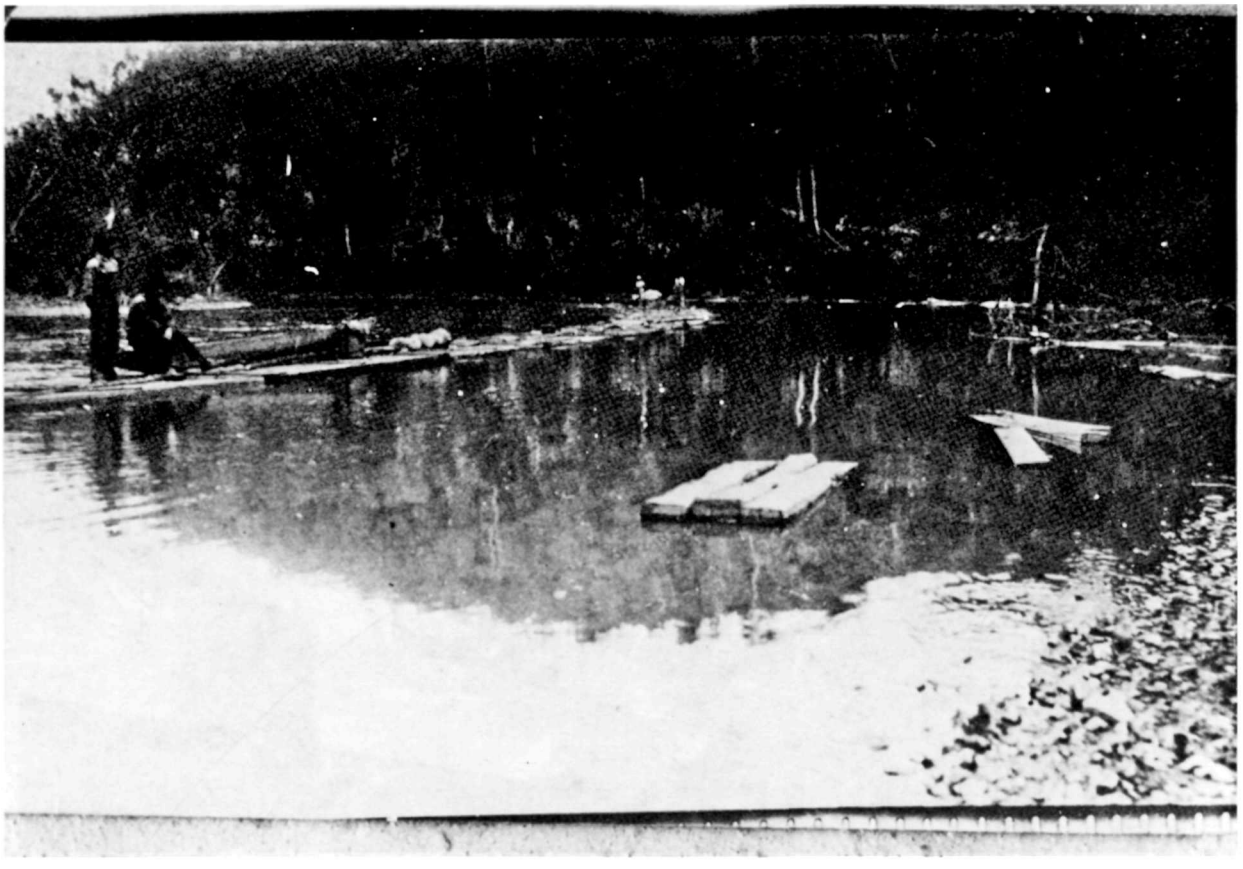

Figure 31:

Tie rafting down the Current River by the Smalley Tie and Lumber Company. Note johnboat on raft, c. 1920. Photographer unknown. Mrs. Ray Randolph Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

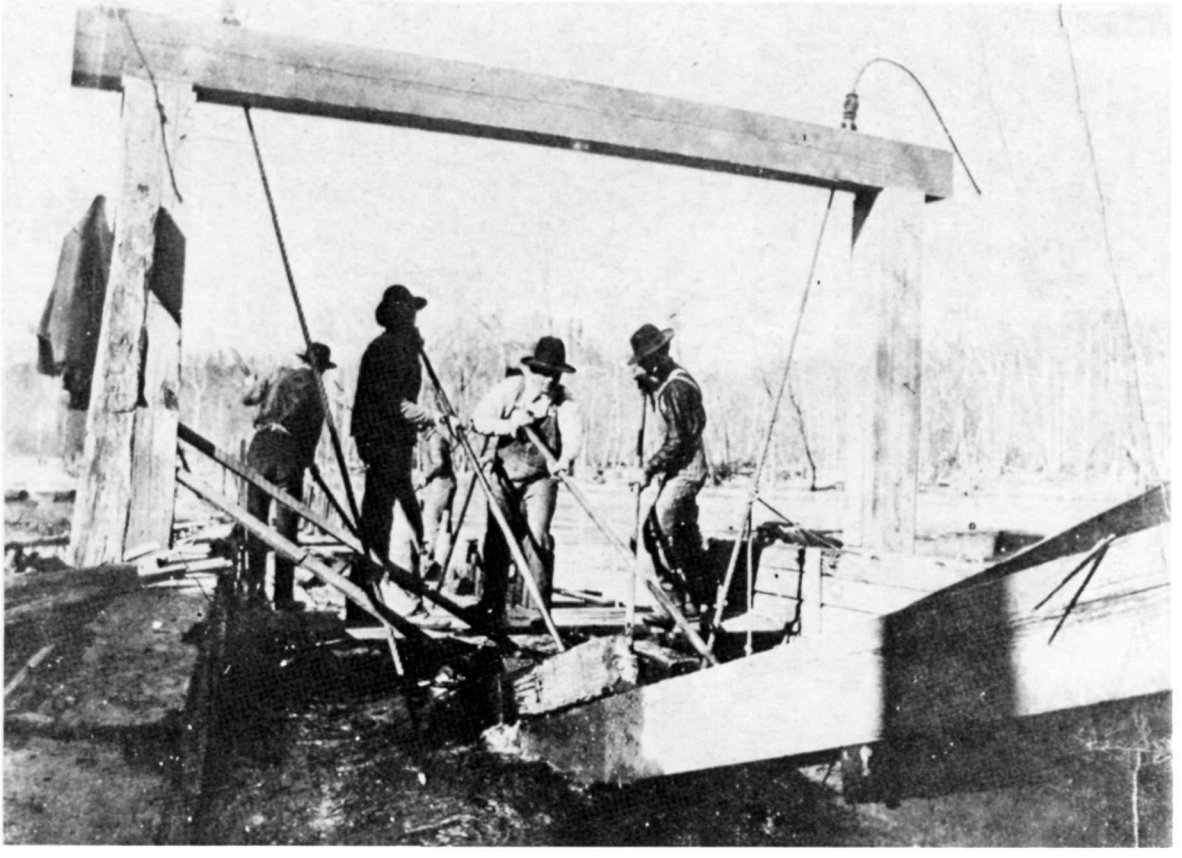

Figure 32:

Men loading ties in a shoot with an endles chain to pull them out of the river. The Smalley Tie and Lumber Company shipped approximately 200,000 ties or more each year, c. 1920. Mrs. Ray Randolph Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

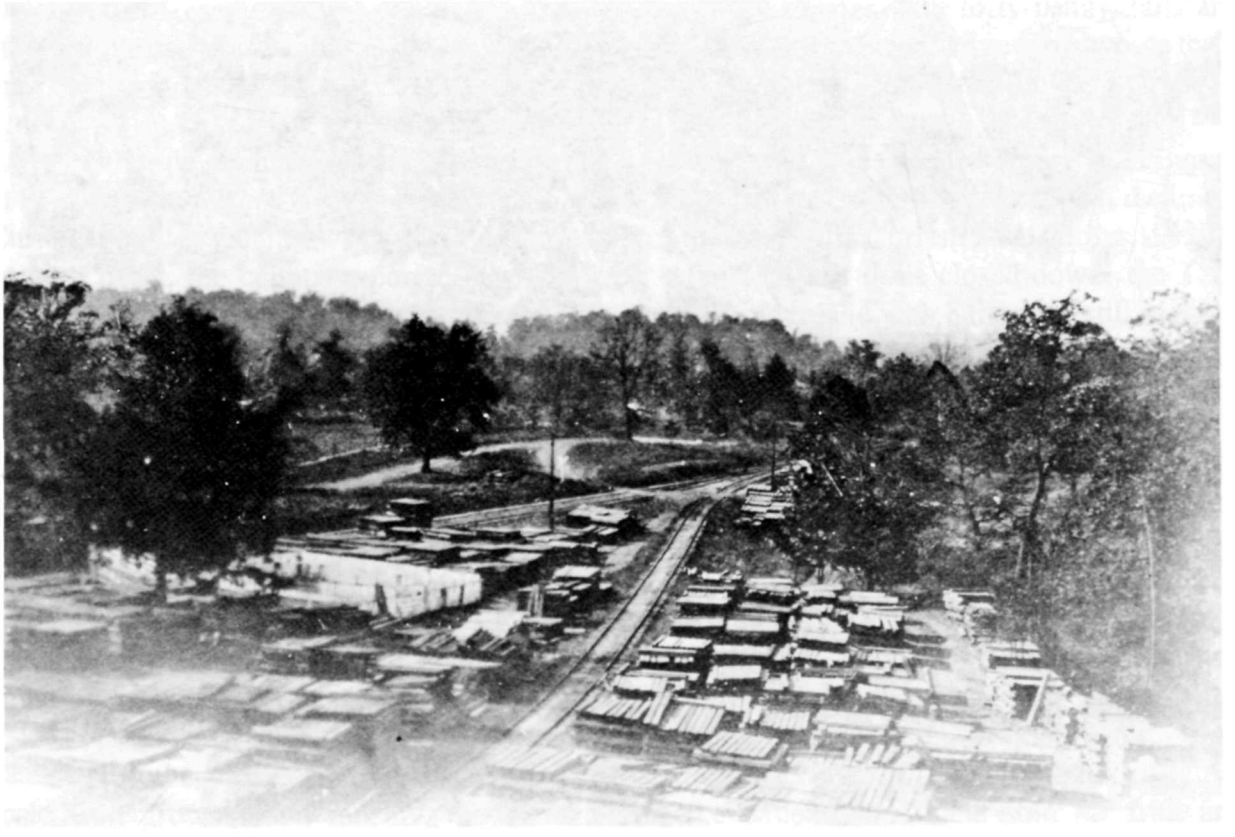

Figure 33:

Tie yard of the Smalley Tie and Lumber Company, Chicopee, Missouri, c. 1920. Photographer unknown. Mrs. Ray Randolph Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

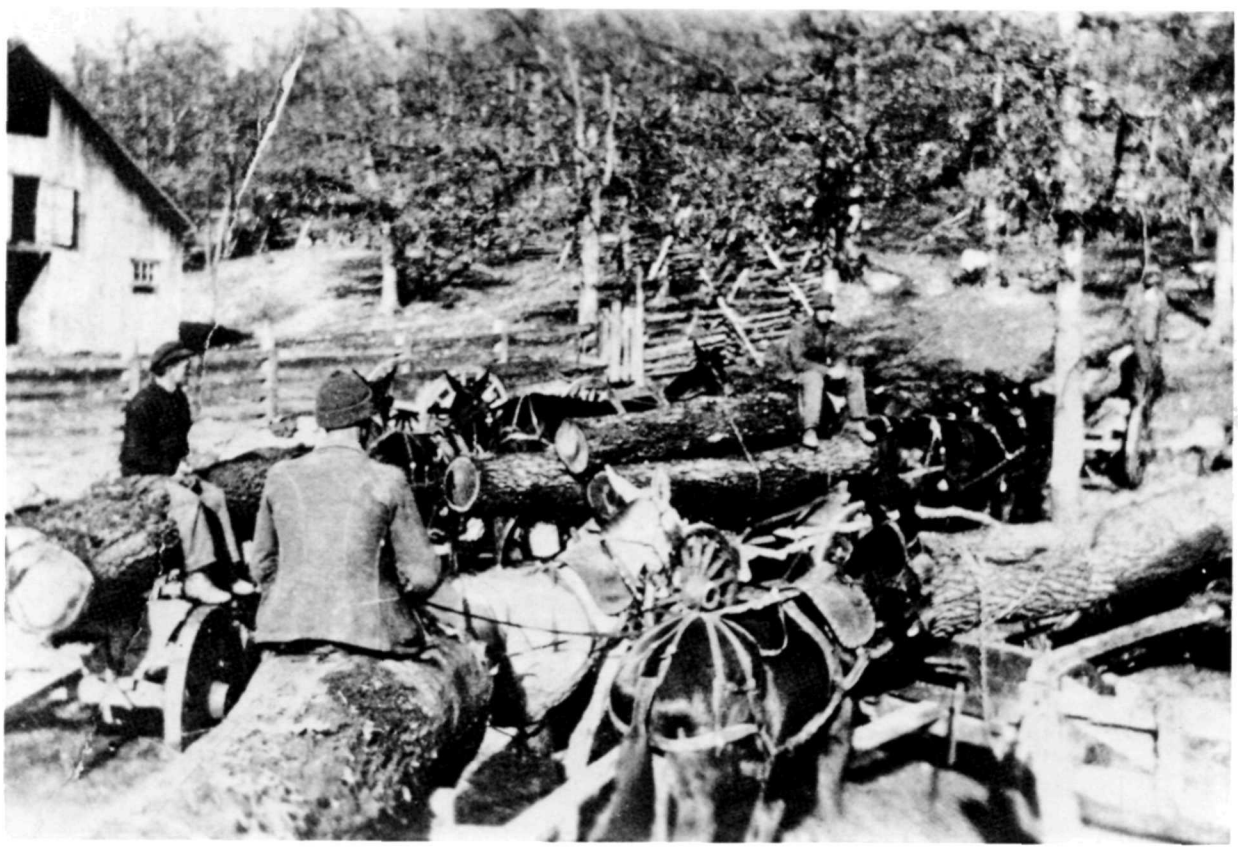

Figure 34:

Current River residents hauling logs. Might be from the Nichols farm, c. 1910? Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Grandin, but many slipped through and traveled downriver to Doniphan.[8]

The State of Missouri regulated the transportation of ties on rivers. In 1909, the state limited the number of ties in a drive to 50,000 and ten years later outlawed drives altogether. After 1919, rafting was the only legal means of floating ties down a river.[9] This second method of transporting ties involved connecting them in eight-foot squares with forty-penny nails and connecting the squares with coupling poles. Assembled in this manner, a crew of two or three men could maneuver a flotilla of 1,500 ties downstream at a rate of about six miles a day.[10]

Other tie companies and small hardwood mills operated in the area. South of Van Buren, in Ripley County, the Doniphan Lumber Company managed a tie hacking operation on the lower Current. Ripley County was the largest producer of ties along the Current and, during 1912, at its high point, the county exported 808,000 ties. After the pine mills closed down, the T. J. Moss Tie Company of St. Louis purchased considerable timber land with hardwood still present. This company continues to lumber in the Ozark highlands in 1990.[11]

Along with tie making, the forest fell for a variety of other uses. Individual farmers/woodsmen cut the smaller hardwood and pine to sell to mills for cash. Small mill operators produced a variety of wood products. For example in Reynolds County, the White and Hummell Manufacturing Company, Laclede Land and Improvement Company, and the B. F. Hackworth Company manufactured piling, wagon hubs, tool handles, and other timber products. In addition, the large iron smelting plants, Midco in Carter County and Sligo in Dent County, clear-cut many acres to fuel their factories.[12] As a result of the voracious lumbering by large and small operators, much of the forest near the Current disappeared, and the economy declined.

No other industry developed to replace the timber economy. The promotion of large-scale fruit growing and ranching never materialized. Much of the land sold for fruit and ranching proved unsuitable, and the popularity of such promotions faded.[13] Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Peck brothers from Kansas tried to develop a sheep ranch in Carter County near Fremont, but the venture failed. They sold out to the Midco group. Disreputable

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[8]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 207-209; and Hill, "History of the Missouri Lumber," 189.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 208.

[11]Ibid., 210.

[12]Ibid., 195, 212-214.

[13]Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highlands, 186-187.

land schemes flourished with the efforts to sell the cut-over acres. In Carter County, one such scam involved a phony oil boom where land speculators sold off 3,300 lots for forty dollars each at the old logging camp of Eastwood. Appraisers later calculated the fair market value of the whole camp at 100 dollars.[14] The condition of agriculture in the southern Courtois Hills complicated the economic problems accompanying the collapse of the lumber industry. The marginal fertility of most of the soil in the Current River valley was a major part of the trouble. As the population rose during the later nineteenth century the only land available was ill-suited for crop cultivation. Moreover, the farming methods employed by most of the hill population damaged the soil. The farmers planted small plots of corn year after year until the soil gave out and then simply moved to another plot and repeated the process. In a five-county region around the Current riverways, the production of corn declined by 50 percent from 1910 to 1920. The overall value of agricultural products, however, continued to rise, largely, because the uplanders increased their livestock holdings, especially cattle. The number of cattle in the same region increased from 31,713 head in 1900 to 53,568 head in 1920. In Carter County, the farming population produced sixteen tons of hay in 1910. Yet the traditional open-range grazing of livestock persisted even though the condition of the forage changed in the cut-over forest lands.[15]

Turning to more livestock grazing, the hill stockmen initiated the practice of annual burnings in the timbered areas. Slash, the tops of trees and other debris left from the logging operations, accumulated on the ground of the cut-over acres. The Ozarkers set fire to the underbrush each spring to clear the ground so that grasses would grow and to kill ticks and snakes. Far from improving the pasturage for cattle, the annual burnings changed the nature of the wild grasses. Broom sedge and annual cheat grasses and scrub trees like blackjack oak and sassafras replaced the more "nutritious and drought-resistant grasses" such as big and little bluestem, Indian grass, and plumegrass. The indigenous legumes also declined. The open-grazing of the larger livestock population outstripped the capacity of the natural forage and, in turn, produced an even more inferior breed of livestock than is common to an open range.[16]

The combined consequence of increased cattle grazing and annual burnings hindered the regrowth of the forest. The burning killed the pine seedlings and the more hardy oak and hickory grew in place of the pine. The fires damaged the new generation of hardwood, and the forest was replaced with an inferior quality of timber and with less pine than before the lumber era.[17]

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[14]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 245-247.

[15]Ibid., 219-220, 228-229.

[16]Ibid., 235-236.

[17]Ibid., 236-238; Sauer, Geography of the Ozark Highland, 219.

A byproduct of the corporate lumber industry was the promotion of modern recreation on the Current and Jacks Fork rivers, but this too ultimately contributed to the depletion of the area's natural resources. The first development of modern recreation on the riverways took the form of recreational hunting and fishing which is defined here as the taking of game for sport rather than an economic pursuit. The interest in the Current as a recreation ground by a genteel upper-middle class predates the coming of the railroad into the basin. Following the Civil War, a number of professionals, merchants and artisans settled in the Arcadian Valley in Iron County, Missouri, after serving in the Union Army at Ft. Davidson. Attorney John W. Emerson, a New Englander and relative of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was among those who remained and was a leader in establishing the Arcadian Valley as a summer retreat for wealthy businessmen. A number of wealthy northerners built large country estates there and promoted the valley as a western Saratoga. Emerson often took guests on hunting and fishing trips into the Ozark hills and, in December 1879, stocked a number of waterways with fish supplied by the U.S. Fish Commission. He had 25,000 salmon and trout delivered to Big Creek at Des Arc, 25,000 to the Current River, and 50,000 to the Black River. Missouri newspapers recorded additional stocking of the Current River by the federal agency in subsequent decades.[18]

Urban businessmen formed several hunting and fishing clubs and built cabin retreats on the Current River after the Current River Railroad laid its tracks to the mill of the Missouri Lumber and Mining Company. In 1888, the year that the railroad was completed, businessmen from St. Louis, Kansas City, and Springfield, Missouri, established two clubs. Sportsmen in St. Louis chartered the Current River Fishing and Hunting Club with a five-dollar membership fee. Another group from Springfield and Kansas City organized the Carter County Fishing and Shooting Club and charged its members twenty dollars to join. The Current Local reported that the club had 125 members and that Alex Carter, a leading political figure in Carter County, appeared to be the only member from the county. The incorporators of the club were mostly officials of the Kansas City, Ft. Scott, and Memphis Railroad, the parent company of the Current River Railroad. With lumber from the Grandin mill, the members built a clubhouse six to eight miles south of Van Buren on a bluff overlooking the Current.[19] In 1912, another Springfield group incorporated a club, Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club, and built cabins on the Jacks Fork. Again, as the purpose of the corporation stated, it solicited an exclusive membership:

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[18]Lynn Morrow, "Estate Builders in the Missouri Ozarks: Establishing a St. Louis Tradition," Gateway Heritage 2 (Winter, 1981-1982): 44; and The Daily Tribune, Jefferson City, 14 January 1894, reported that the U. S. Fish Commission recently stocked the Current with "several thousand choice fish, and if the citizens and officers will join in protecting the fish we will soon have the river full of fish of the rarest kind."

[19]Jefferson City Tribune, 30 May 1888 and 14 January 1894; The Current Local, 1 September 1888, 6 October 1888, and 13 October 1888; and Charles Callison, "How Good Were The Good Old Days--And What Became of Them?" The Missouri Conservationist, August 1946, 2.

> The object and purpose of this club shall be to furnish facilities for bringing together as often as may be, gentlemen in commercial, manufacturing and professional pursuits throughout Southern Missouri for educational, and for recreation and improvement . . . [and] to develop the mental and moral faculties of its members.

The Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club out lasted the other organizations and continued to exist into the 1980s.[20]

The records of the Carter County Fishing and Shooting Club described something of the logistics and recreation activities of late nineteenth century float trips down the Current and Jacks Fork rivers. Because of the club's association with the Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis Railroad (later part of the Frisco line) and because of this railroad's partnership with area lumber companies, club members had ready access to the main KFS&M lines and the lumber trams. The sportsmen often traveled by train to Chicopee or to Chilton and from there headed the short distance downstream to the clubhouse. The favored pastime was floating and fishing down the rivers and, at least until 1930, most parties recorded in the club registry their catch and sometimes highlights of their trips. A 1907 entry by sportsmen from Carthage, Missouri, stated:

> Put in Jack's Fork about 3 miles above Eminence May 24, 1907, and floated to Club House. River about 18 inches high. Caught 60 bass, one jack salmon, one shad. Saw first engine cross Jack's Fork. E. B. Jacobs caught a double consisting of two 3-pound bass. Had a fine time and good ride with Andy Pitman (guide) in gasoline boat.

This brief trip record noted an important transportation improvement furnished by the lumber railroad crossing the Jacks Fork. Before the construction of the tram in 1907, the fishing parties heading for the upper Jacks Fork had to depart the KFSM track at Birch Tree or Winona and travel overland by wagon to the river. They then floated downstream in canoes or johnboats, the latter was most common on the Current. The early johnboats were built of pine planks sixteen to twenty-four feet long. They were narrow (often three feet wide), flat bottomed, with slightly beveled sides. "Bow and stern [were] blunt, and the bottom at both ends tapered upward so that the boat [could] be swung easily in the current by a boatman operating with a single paddle from the stern." Boards for making boats were carried to the departure point, along with the other sporting gear, and local woodsmen/carpenters built the boats on the spot for the fishing parties. The club records indicated that members organized float trips of varying lengths. Some excursions started up at Round Spring, on the Upper Jacks Fork, at Van Buren, or a number of other locations.[21]

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[20]Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club, Tract File #30-103 (old #1505), Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Headquarters, Van Buren, Missouri. The clubhouse of the Carter County Fishing and Shooting Club burned down in the early 1980s, but most of the cabins of the Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club are still standing.

[21]Callison, "How Good Were The Good Old Days," 2-4; and see Hall, Stars Upstream, 66, 115-116, for the quotation on johnboats.

Figure 35:

Clubhouse of the Carter County Fishing and Shooting Club. Built in 1888 and destroyed by fire in 1976. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 36:

Cabin of the Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club, 1990. Destroyed by fire in 1991. Charles Masten. Midwest Region.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the tallies of fish caught boast of the Current and Jacks Fork as a "fisherman's paradise," but a marked decline appeared after 1900. In 1946, Charles Callison, secretary of the National Wildlife Federation, demonstrated the decline by examining the number of fish caught by members of the Carter County Fishing and Shooting Club during the decades 1890-1940. The last column of the table, displaying a person's

Table 4
Carter County Fishing And Shooting Club
Fishing Catch by Decade, 1889-1940

Years	Number of Entries	Total Man-Days	Total Catch	Average Catch per Man-Days
1889-1890	5	11	157	14.2
1891-1900	56	343	4,664	13.5
1901-1910	73	928	6,818	7.3
1911-1920	48	713	6,388	8.8
1921-1930	38	473	2,820	5.9
1931-1940	8	73	170	2.3

Source: Callison, "How Good Were The Good Old Days."

average catch per day, reveals two dramatic declines: first, after 1900, the catch dropped from 13.5 to 7.3 and then, after 1920, fell from 8.8 to 5.9. The number of recreational fishing trips, themselves, decreased sharply during the Great Depression decade of the 1930s. Yet the trend reflected more than just the extensive removal of fish by sportsmen. The gigging and illegal dynamiting of fish by the residents of the Current River basin also contributed to the decline.[22]

Fishing and hunting continued to be important features of work and leisure in the homeland into the twentieth century. The diary of William French reflected an almost chronic preoccupation with hunting by a youth in his late teens and early twenties who had arrived in Shannon County shortly after 1900. In the fall of 1908, French's life centered around working the family farm, school, hunting, and socializing in Eminence and along Shawnee and Mahan

[22]Ibid., 11; Hall, Stars Upstream, 104; and Larry Dablemont, "The History of Float Fishing Part II," Fishing and Hunting Journal (May, 1986): 61-62. Gigging referred to the practice of catching fish with a pronged fishing spear.

Creeks. His family also prepared to move into a new farm on Shawnee Creek three miles southeast of Eminence. During this busy harvest time, he helped his father and brothers gather corn, peas, potatoes, and peanuts. They also chopped lumber for neighbors and worked on local roads. For fresh meat, the French family depended mostly on hogs, but they also hunted. French's diary contains fifteen hunting incidents in October and the same number in November; however, he did not record how they used the squirrels, rabbits, wild turkeys, and possums killed. Indicating that they sold or traded pelts, the boys also laid out over thirty traps along Shawnee Creek.[23]

After 1910, William French taught school at several Shannon County schoolhouses and became more involved in writing. He continued to hunt regularly, though his diary mainly referred to weekend pursuits. In 1912, he recorded his surprise at finding two muskrats and a mink swimming in Fancher Spring (one of the several Blue Springs) and expressed a strong feeling for this still pristine landscape.

> Found a regular hunters paradise at the Spring--to my surprise and delight. Saw two muskrats playing in the Spring and saw a big mink along the shore of the Spring branch. It was a scene to rest and recreate tired human nature--one of those corners of Nature which have not yet been ground beneath the heels of Ruthless Man. I staid (sic) an hour at the Spring, enjoying its wild beauties, then came away, refreshed in spirit, and fully determined to make many future visits to the spot.[24]

French's interest in hunting was typical of the culture of the Current River homeland. As an adult, French earned a cash income, first as a school teacher and then in printing and journalism, but he remained an enthusiastic hunter throughout his life.[25]

The destruction of the forest was the major cause of the declining wildlife population. Callison noted that the deforestation, first by the large pine operators and then by the small mills and individuals, inaugurated a cycle of soil erosion. The annual burnings, over-grazing, and plowing all contributed to laying bare the soil, and the topsoil, followed by the gravel beneath, washed down the hills into the river. The runoff destroyed fish spawning sites, food, and habitat.[26] In the autumn of 1926, Aldo Leopold, who became a renowned ecologist and seminal figure in the twentieth century environmental movement, and two brothers floated down the

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[23]French Papers, 1877-1934, Folder 15, Western History Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri Manuscripts, Rolla, Missouri, hereafter cited as French Papers, WHMC.

[24]French Papers, WHMC, Folder 6; and Robert Flanders, "The Education of a Village Editor," Ozark Watch 1 (Winter, 1988): 9.

[25]Flanders, "Village Editor," 9.

[26]Callison, "How Good Were The Good Old Days," 11.

Current from Van Buren to Doniphan on a ten-day hunting trip. Leopold's log of kills during the hunt reflected the vastly depleted wildlife. They searched mainly for quails and wild turkey and found a fair number of the former, but no turkey. The journal also noted the absence of deer and did not refer to any smallmouth bass. Conservationist Leonard Hall later called the years 1920-1935 the "low point in the history of natural resources in the Current River Country."[27]

The second major trend in the development of modern recreation along the Current sprung from the attraction of the area's scenic beauty. For decades, the local communities celebrated holidays, especially the Fourth of July, in scenic landscapes like Alley Spring. In 1909, a highly publicized float trip by the new Republican Governor of Missouri, Herbert S. Hadley, boosted the popularity of the region across the nation. Missouri Republicans, led by Congressman W. P. Elmer and officials of the Frisco Railroad, organized the event as a publicity stunt to promote both the governor and the Ozark region. Hadley was the first Republican to win the governorship since Reconstruction, and the organizers were anxious to build a base of support in the Ozarks. Accompanied by a party of about forty Missouri politicians, businessmen, and journalists, the governor began the trip with a banquet at Salem. They then traveled by "hacks, buggies, and surries" to the upper Current River. Local guides led the group float downstream from Welch's Cave to Round Spring. Despite the complaints of a couple of the newsmen who found the adventure a bit "arduous," the governor's trip and the Ozarks received national publicity.[28]

Several years after the governor's float trip, in 1912, a group of Midwest investors formed a corporation, the Crystal Spring Town-site Company, in Kansas City and purchased the Shannon County mill hamlet, Alley, from John Knotts for $15,000. The new corporate owners envisioned sweeping new developments for the site and the region. Based on the stated purpose of the corporate charter, they expected to establish townsites in Shannon and surrounding counties, to exploit the hydraulic power potential and the mineral resources of the area, and to operate manufacturing enterprises. They also intended to bring people to this still isolated spot by promoting Alley as a "pleasure resort" for an urban-weary middle class.[29]

A Kansas City art dealer and principal investor in the company, Conrad Hug, ran the Crystal Spring corporation. Hug emigrated from Germany to the United States in 1884 and

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[27]Hall, Stars Upstream, 104, 233.

[28]Milton D. Rafferty, The Ozarks Land and Life (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 200-201.

[29]Robert Flanders and Lynn Morrow, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 1890-1925: Society, Economy, Landscape, Prepared for the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, National Park Service, by The Center for Ozark Studies, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, 1985, 50-51.

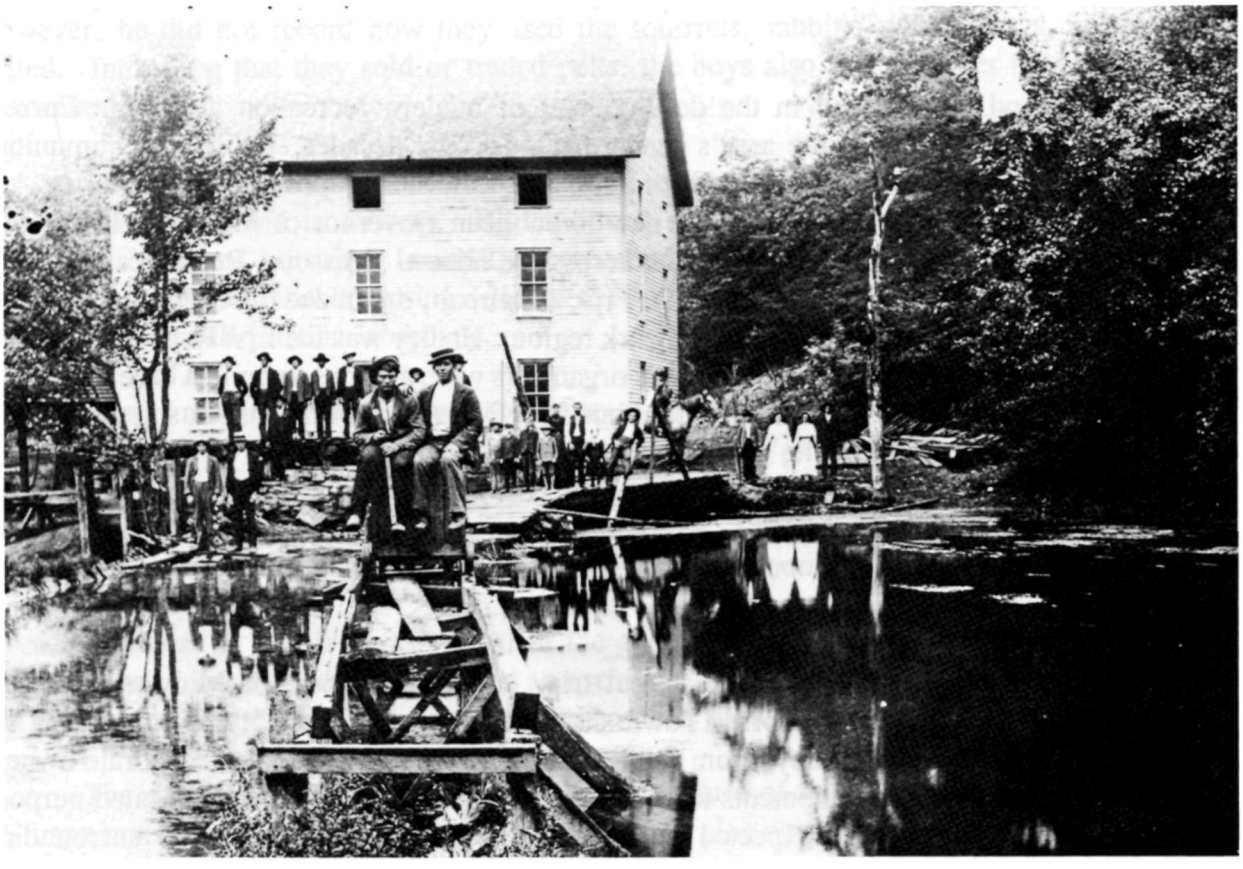

Figure 37:

Group photograph behind Alley mill. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

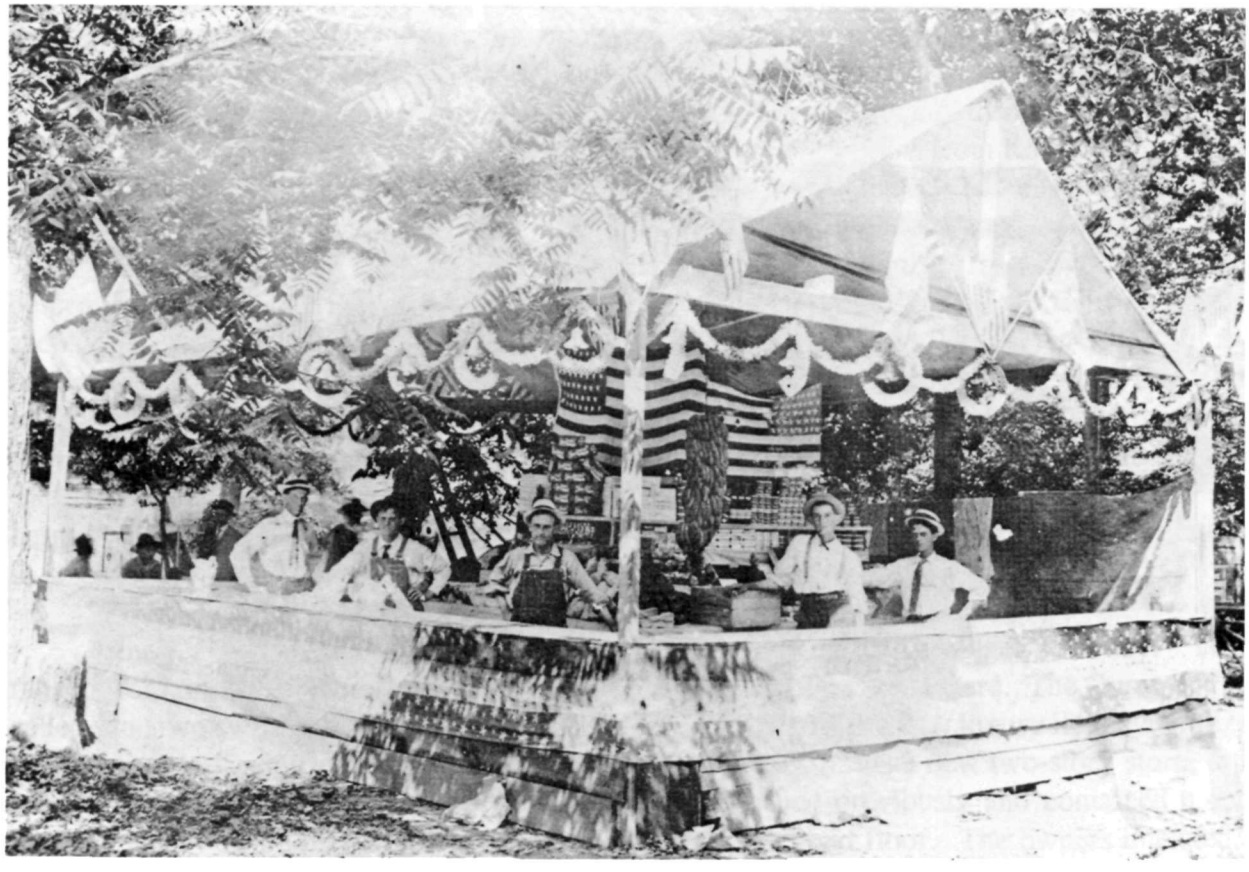

Figure 38:

H. Edmund Knotts Stand at Alley mill Fourth of July picnic, c. 1902-1912. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 39:

Merry-go-round set up from time to time at Alley, c. 1915. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

worked as a carpenter building picture frames. His interest in art led him to jobs in the art departments of major St. Louis and Kansas City department stores and, from there, he developed a business career as an art dealer and eventually operated his own firm. He and his family often spent their summers at Alley where Hug directed most of the new developments while enjoying and promoting a bucolic life in this perceived wilderness. In combining pleasure and business, the family posed for a number of promotional postcard photographs at their camp on the Alley Spring branch. Conrad Hug's wife and children would stay at Alley during the summer months while the "businessman-father" divided his time between Kansas City and the Ozarks. Reflecting his prosperous middle-class status, he could travel in one day by trains from Kansas City to West Eminence and then by road for the final four miles to Alley.[30]

In August 1912, the first reported gathering of recreationists from outside the area descended on Alley. The Winona branch of the International Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) sponsored an outdoor conference of the Missouri Grand Lodge of the IOOF. An estimated five hundred Odd Fellows travelled on a chartered train to West Eminence and then rode or walked to the picnic ground. In what historian Robert Flanders described as "feats of logistics," an unprecedented catering effort provided food, sanitary facilities, and transportation for the men. The role of the Crystal Spring company in promoting the affair at Alley remains unclear. The corporate owners, however, sought to bring such activities to the site and probably participated in some way.[31]

The Crystal Spring company brought a number of modern changes to Alley. These ranged from importing free-standing-glider swings to rebuilding the old store. The Current Wave called the lawn swings an attractive addition to "the park," and this new luxury item symbolized the promotion of adult relaxation instead of "children's play."[32] The new two-story store, built in 1913, displayed the town-like style of building described previously and contained a soda fountain. An outside rear stairway provided entry to the second floor. The owners intended to develop the top level as a hotel for tourists, but it never really served this purpose. A former inhabitant of Alley remembered that a local resident, "Old Man" Masterson, occupied the second floor, and the Hugs used it during some of their vacations. Lacking any partitions, this floor mostly served as a gymnasium for the young people of the Alley community. The soda fountain in the store indicated that Hug expected to tap hydroelectric power from the spring, but the generator ("dynamo") connected to the main turbine of the mill never supplied power for refrigeration. The generator, however, furnished electric lighting to the mill, store, school, picnic ground's dance floor, the White House, and the Buxton house. The light bulbs of the

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[30]Ibid., 51-52.

[31]Ibid., 54.

[32]Ibid., 53.

entire complex were turned on and off by throwing the clutch on the dynamo. Conrad Hug and his company also supported the 1914 construction of a concrete spillway on the mill dam, but natural forces destroyed it by 1923.[33]

The Shannon County residents of the Alley environs showed little outward dissatisfaction with the new owners and developments at Alley. The investors in the Crystal Spring company leased the operation of the commercial facilities to onsite managers. In 1913, Conrad Hug arranged for John Liebinger, one of the Kansas City stockholders, to paint the store and mill. At the time, Taylor Gates, a timber man who had once lived in Alley Hollow, operated the mill and store. His elder sons, similar in age to Liebinger, helped in painting the structures. They painted both buildings white with green trim and, after completing the job, in a display of friendship, Liebinger inscribed the inner wall of the mill office with their names:

Baz the Sucker
John Liebinger 1913
Lon the Kid

Most of the operators lived or had once lived in Shannon County and, besides some of the physical changes and summer presence of the Hugs, the local function of the mill hamlet remained basically unchanged during the tenure of the Kansas City corporation from 1912-1924. It still remained too isolated to support a large tourist industry. The roads were not designed to carry heavy traffic. These years, however, marked a transition from mill hamlet to park in the history of Alley and probably provided the most significant early example of promoting the scenic beauty of the Current River basin to the mass tourist market. In 1924, the Crystal Spring Town-site Company sold Alley to the State of Missouri, and Alley became one of the first state parks.[34]

The state's purchase of Alley, along with other Ozark sites, reflected the seriousness of the deforestation to the Current River homeland. While the boom of corporate lumber brought an unprecedented degree of economic and social progress to the area, it also disrupted the characteristic independence of the uplander culture. In the early nineteenth century, American settlers, those Scotch-Irish uplanders who established the Current River homeland, adapted their traditional hunter/stockmen/farmer lifestyle to the rugged southern Courtois Hills. Their preference for living in this isolated region reflected a fierce independence. Yet the early settlers were not completely self-sufficient. Trade with the outside world for staples, such as salt, and even participation in commerical agricultural markets beyond the Current basin were part of the homeland from the beginning of white settlement. Nevertheless, the preferences and habits of the uplanders and the Current River environment defined the homeland culture, not the outside

[33]Ibid., 53-58, 62; The White House was the residence of the mill and store operator.

[34]Ibid., 54, 58, 70.

forces. This changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. First, national developments such as the Graduation Act of 1854 and the Civil War weakened this self determination. Then, the railroads and lumber corporations shattered local control by developing the region as a hinterland of the national economy and beginning the mass destruction of the forest. In the early twentieth century, many Ozark policticians and business interests saw the promotion of tourism as an economic necessity for the region.

10

Government Intervention and Modern Recreation

The expansion of state and federal government intervention in the development of the Current and Jacks Fork Riverways into a recreation ground for nature-seeking urbanites dominated the history of the area after 1920. Many saw tourism as the economic salvation of the Missouri Ozarks, including the Current River region. First, Ozark leaders and state officials collaborated in establishing a state park system that focused on developing the recreation potential of the Ozarks. Next, the federal government undertook a variety of programs aimed at managing, developing, and preserving Ozark resources for a variety of uses. In particular, the U.S. Forest Service introduced the scientific management of the timber; the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers developed hydroelectricity from the rivers; and the National Park Service established a park to preserve the Current River environment. All of these federal actions also emphasized the development of recreation. In the Current River basin, the development of tourism involved a complicated mingling of recreation and environmental preservation that differed from major tourist developments in the central and western Missouri Ozarks.

A variety of social and economic trends in society at large supported this interest in the region. After decades of industrial growth, by 1910 one-half of Americans lived in cities for the first time in the nation's history. In Missouri, between 1870 and 1920, the population of St. Louis rose from 310,864 to 772,897 and that of Kansas City climbed from 32,260 to 324,410.[1] Expanding affluence accompanied the urban/industrial growth. This was evident in the widespread ownership of automobiles that enabled the urban population to travel more and made commonplace a nineteenth century phenomena, the family vacation.

By the 1920s, changes in the work and leisure habits of many urban dwellers and the advent of mass automobile production inaugurated a "New Age of Automobility."[2] The trend toward mass production, accompanying the accelerated industrialization of the economy after the Civil War, tied work and the labor force more and more to the clock for the sake of efficiency or greater profits. In the preindustrial era, most urban workers pursued their trade at an individual pace and worked a long work day with frequent informal breaks for socializing and relaxation. The rise of large factories and corporate organization changed work culture because employers demanded employees to perform their work task during specified hours of the day. This more formally separated leisure time and work time. These changes affected an increasing percentage of the American population as more people moved from the countryside to the city. They also resulted ultimately in a shorter industrial work week, which declined by twenty hours

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[1]Bayrd Still, Urban America: A History With Documents (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), 210-211.

[2]Kenneth T. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 160-162.

during the fifty years before 1930. Formal vacation time away from work also resulted.[3]

After 1914, the mass production of automobiles afforded many urban workers, especially the middle class, with access to vacation lands away from the city. Nationwide, the number of registered automobiles and trucks rose between 1905 and 1915 from 9,400 to 2,490,932. In 1925, the numbers soared to 20,050,735. Automobiles permeated all corners of the country.[4] In Missouri, the number of motor vehicles rose sharply from 640 in 1903 to 33,310 in 1913, and then jumped to 346,838 in 1920. The large urban centers, of course, housed most of the automobile owners. In 1921, 69,664 vehicles were registered in St. Louis compared to 45,693 in Kansas City. Automobile ownership in the rugged hill areas of the Ozarks, including Carter and Shannon Counties, lagged behind the rest of the state. Comparing the number of persons per vehicle by geographic areas underscored the discrepancy. In 1921, there were 9.86 persons per vehicle in Missouri; 11.09 and 7.09 persons per vehicle in St. Louis and Kansas City respectively; and similar numbers in the rural counties in the fertile prairie north of the Missouri River. On the other hand, much fewer vehicles per capita existed in the more rugged Ozark region. In Carter County, the number of persons per vehicle equalled 44.54 whereas Ripley County had 43.07 and Shannon County had 46.70. In Dent County, where the terrain was less dissected by steep ridges and the land supported greater commerce, the figure was 25.50.[5]

An almost immediate connection existed between automobiles and recreation. Beginning with William K. Vanderbilt's Long Island Motor Parkway built during 1906-1911, the first expressways designed for unimpeded motor vehicle traffic were called parkways. Historian Kenneth T. Jackson noted that "many were landscaped to accommodate the popular practice of pleasure driving. . . [and] were designed more for recreation than for rush hour journeys to work.[6] Related to this rising cultural phenomena, the improvement of the roads in the Current

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[3]Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," in Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); and Jesse Frederick Steiner, Americans at Play: Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), 8-10. As a sociological study, Steiner's work is more helpful in its analysis of early twentieth century trends than in its cursory discussion of historical recreation patterns.

[4]Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, 160-162.

[5]State Highway Commission of Missouri, Tenth Biennial Report for the Period Ending December First 1936, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1936, 74-76. Hereafter cited as Highway Commission of Missouri, Tenth Biennial Report, 1936 and subsequent biennial reports will be identified with series number and the year of the ending period; and Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Vol. III, Part 1, Alabama-Missouri (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 1340-1346. For the county and city tabulations, 1920 population figures were used.

[6]Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, 166-167.

River basin was in large part an effort to tap the tourist market of these automobiling recreationists.

Inadequate roads ranked at the top of the tangible obstacles hampering the development of a tourist industry in the Current River basin and other sections of the rugged Courtois Hills. Railroads, the leading nineteenth century transportation innovation, entered the region to exploit the timber. Their flexibility in moving people and freight was restricted to the immediate vicinity of the rails, so the capabilities of this system for transporting tourists to Ozarkian vacation spots was limited.[7] Furthermore, by the 1930s, many of the train lines into the Current River region had either shut down or greatly curtailed their services. A tourist industry based on automobile transportation required a modern network of roads, and the wagon roads and paths of the Current River area nowhere resembled such a system.

Better roads in the Current River region were the product of increasing state and federal support. In 1913, the Missouri legislature created the State Highway Department to promote the construction of good roads by the counties. The new department had few substantive powers. Its major accomplishment was to authorize county courts to appoint three member county highway boards. Major tax investments in the improvement of Missouri roads came after the passage of the Federal Road Act of 1916. The federal law offered funding aid to states that approved matching funds to build "rural post roads and for other purposes." In the next year, Missouri adopted the Hawes Road Law, enabling the use of federal funds. The legislation authorized the State Highway Board and State Highway Engineer to identify a 3,500-mile road system to take advantage of the federal aid. World War I stymied road building and other domestic programs.[8]

Nevertheless, some public works progressed and two road projects in Carter County and one in Dent County were approved for federal funding administered under the Hawes Law. The Dent County project involved a forty-three-mile earthen road cutting diagonally from the Texas County line to the Iron County line. The residents supported the construction with a $160,000 bond. Each of the Carter County jobs called for thirty miles of gravel road with earth shoulders. The county, however, did not issue any special bonds for the construction, and one project, part of the South Missouri Cross-State Highway (future Route 16 and Highway 60), failed to develop because of the lack of local funding. The other road, the Jefferson City North and South Highway (future Highway 21), ran from the Butler to the Reynolds County lines. Carter County later adopted a $75,000 road bond issue. In neighboring Shannon County, a highway bond

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[7]See Carl O. Sauer, The Geography of the Ozark Highlands of Missouri (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1920).

[8]Missouri Highway Commission, Third Biennial Report, 1922, 9-10; Missouri Highway Commission, Seventeenth Biennial Report, 1950, 9-10; and Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, 167.

election failed. The State Highway Board noted that bond movements suffered similar fates in thirty-four county elections at the end of 1919 and in 1920.[9]

State support of highway construction increased sharply after the end of World War I. In 1920, Missouri adopted a constitutional amendment that authorized the sale of $60 million of state bonds for roads. The highway department supported a "Get Missouri Out of the Mud" campaign to promote the bond issue. The amendment also targeted all vehicle registration fees to pay for the principal of the bond debt. In 1921, the Centennial Road Law created a bipartisan State Highway Commission to replace the Highway Board, and the Commission was responsible for the dispensation of the bond funds. The act authorized the Commission to construct and maintain a state highway system of about 6,000 miles of secondary and 1,500 miles of primary roads.[10]

The founding of the State Highway Commission and the issuing of state construction bonds resulted in a boon to road building across Missouri, including the Ozarks. The value of the road work completed on the Missouri highway system increased from about $2 million in 1920 to over $45 million in 1924. In 1923 and 1924, a number of bridge and road construction projects were underway in Shannon and Carter counties. There were three road projects in Shannon County and all were earth surface roads. This included a five-mile stretch on Route 16, the former South Missouri Cross-State Highway and a major east-west road across Missouri. One bridge was under construction at Round Spring on Route 19, a north-south highway through Shannon County. In Carter County, one bridge and five road construction projects were either underway or completed. Four of the road contracts went to building over nine miles of state Route 16. This road was mainly a graded-earth type. The new bridge crossed the Current River at Van Buren on Route 16 and replaced a damaged bridge that the county had restored after a 1915 flood.[11]

The roads in Carter and Shannon County began to emerge from an unimproved, primitive condition during the 1930s with aid from the federal government. In the mid-1920s the main highways were still incomplete. The journal of an Evangelical minister, Paul A. Wobus, described the difficulty of travelling by automobile in the region. Beginning his Shannon County missionary work in 1926, Reverend Wobus noted both the worsening roads and the "exhilarating" scenery during his early trips into the county. In 1926, Highway 19 ended at the Dent-Shannon

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[9]Missouri State Highway Board, Report of the State Highway Board for the Period Ending December 1, 1920, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1920, 61-62, 136 and see table State Aid Projects; and The Current Local, 15 July 1926.

[10]Missouri Highway Commission, Seventeenth Biennial Report, 1950, 10-11; and Missouri Highway Commission, Fourth Biennial Report, 1924, 8.

[11]Missouri State Highway Commission, Fourth Biennial Report, 1924, 141, 170; and The Current Local, 15 July 1926.

County line so Wobus traveled into Shannon County along the old Salem-Eminence Road. The road occasionally narrowed to one lane and crossed numerous creeks. Stopping for gas at Timber, a post office hamlet four to six miles above Round Spring, Wobus purchased one and a half gallons from a store keeper who furnished the fuel from a barrel. Wobus asked about the conditions of the road to Round Spring, and the merchant responded that he should make it if he could maneuver the second of the seven fords between Timber and the spring.[12] Highway 19 was completed to Round Spring in the late 1920s and to Eminence in 1930. The federal government made additional federal highway funding available after the Great Depression worsened in the early 1930s. Between 1931 and 1935, Route 16, which went across Carter and Shannon counties became U.S. Highway 60.[13] In 1930, Missouri enacted roadway beautification programs. The state's improvement of the secondary roads in Shannon and Carter County also expanded greatly between 1933 and 1936. State voters, however, defeated two initiatives to raise fuel taxes in 1938. World War II disrupted road construction state- and nationwide.[14]

An increase in motor vehicle ownership accompanied the better road conditions. The modes of transportation in the Current homeland was a diverse mixture during the 1920s. People walked and traveled by horse, mule, team and wagon, johnboat, river ferries, railroad, automobiles and trucks. Between 1920 and 1940, automobile and truck ownership increased dramaticly across the region. In 1940, the number of persons per vehicle were 6.82 in Carter County and 6.63 in Shannon County. In the same year, the statewide number of persons per vehicle was 4.10. These figures marked a convergence in the number of automobiles per capita in the rugged Ozark hills and in Missouri overall.[15]

Missouri founded its first parks at the height of the national state park movement in the early twentieth century. The creation of state parks out of natural areas began nationwide in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1864, California created the first state park from the Yosemite valley

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[12]Paul A. Wobus Papers, Section X, Folder 1, November 1926, Western History Manuscript Collection, Rolla, Missouri, hereafter cited as Wobus Papers, WHMC; and Arthur P. Moser, "A Directory of Towns, Villages, and Hamlets Past and Present of Shannon County, Missouri," Current River Regional Library, Van Buren, Missouri, 14.

[13]Walter Carr, Interview, July 18, 1978, Big Spring Office, Ozark National Scenic Riverway; and Milton D. Rafferty, The Ozarks: Land and Life (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 110.

[14]Missouri Highway Commission, Seventh Biennial Report, 1930, 427; Missouri Highway Commission, Eighth Biennial Report, 1932, 85; Missouri Highway Commission, Tenth Biennial Report, 1936, 122; Missouri Highway Commission, Twelfth Biennial Report, 1940, 87; Missouri Highway Commission, Seventeenth Biennial Report, 1950, 12; and Missouri Highway Commission, Thirteenth Biennial Report, 1942, 23.

[15]Missouri Highway Commission, Twelfth Biennial Report, 1940, 40-55; and Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population Vol. II, Part 4, Minnesota-New Mexico (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 311, Table 21.

Figure 40:

Man on a horse and a child on a mule. Note the quilt tacked to the side of the house. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 41:

Stereoptican view of river guide in a Johnboat on the Current River below Jacks Fork junction, c. 1908. Photographer unknown. James E. Price Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 42:

Crossing the Current River on a ferry at Van Buren, Missouri. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 43:

Family with a mule team and wagon crossing Jacks Fork River on a ferry, c. 1910. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 44:

Crossing the Jacks Fork near Alley with a horse and wagon team, c. 1925. Photographer unknown. Betty Hicock Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

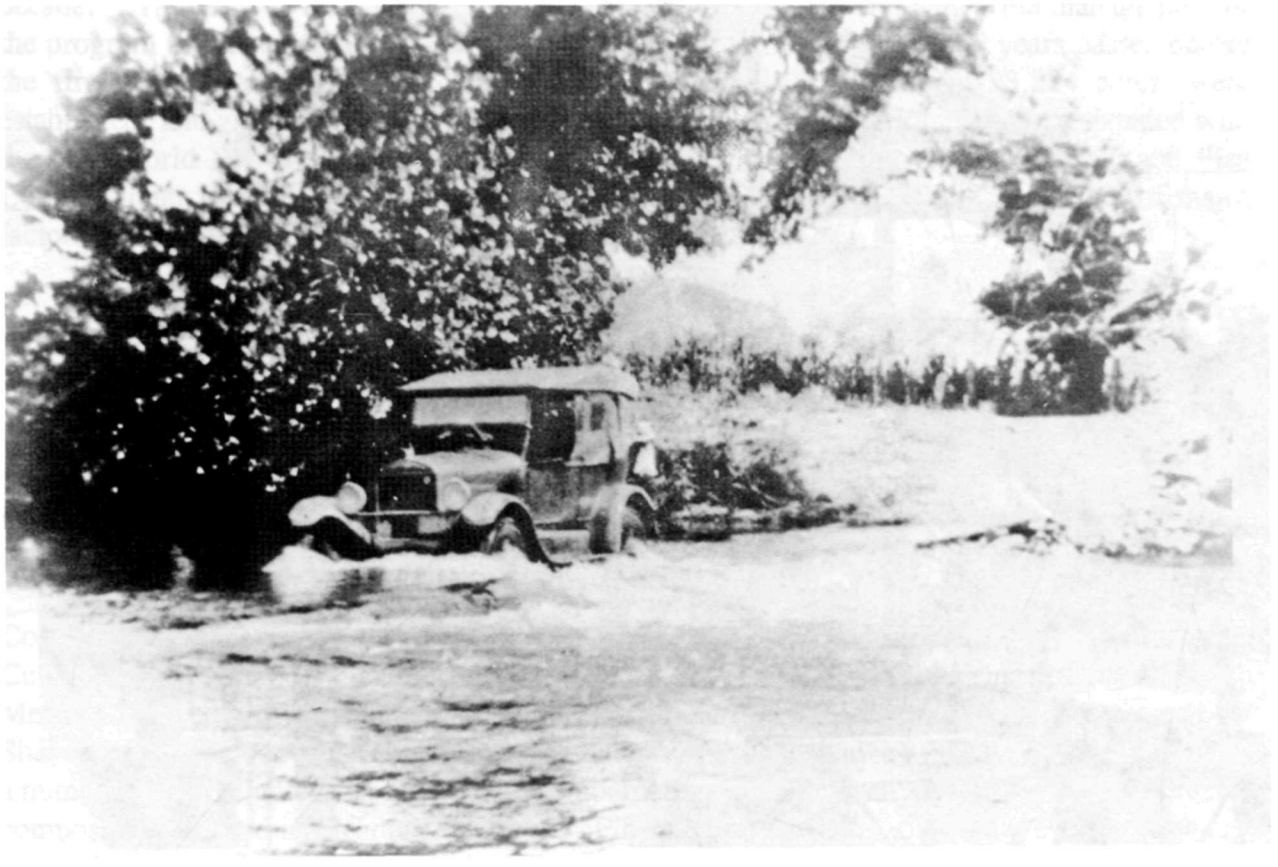

Figure 45:

Model T crossing the Jacks Fork River over a low water bridge near Alley. Photographer unknown. Betty Hicock Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 46:

Early steel structure bridge over the Current River. Built in 1909 and washed away in 1915. It was repaired and used until a new bridge was completed in 1926, c. 1910. Photographer unknown. Mrs. Ray Randolph Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

wilderness that the federal government donated to the state for this purpose. The state of Wisconsin founded the first state park system in 1907.[16] Yet the rise of state parks did not blossom into a national phenomenon until the 1920s when their numbers multiplied rapidly. In 1930, two thirds of the existing state parks and forest reserves were established in the previous decade.[17] The state of Missouri created a park program in 1919 and added the management of the program to the duties of the State Game and Fish Commission. Several years passed before the first parks were created in 1924 and 1925. Eight parks, totaling 23,224 acres, were established, and all of these were located in the Ozarks. Their development corresponded with the post-World War I highway construction. An Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner noted the importance of the expanding highway system in a summary of major factors contributing to the Ozarks location of the parks:

> Our Ozark region with its recreational advantages and cheap lands makes possible a rapid development of our state park system. This region, while not favored with rich soils of our more intensely cultivated sections, affords a playground for the balance of our state, and with the completion of our state highway system is being made accessible to all of the people of Missouri.[18]

Three of the first parks--Big Spring, Alley Spring, and Round Spring State Parks--were on the Current and Jacks Fork riverways.

Round Spring was the first park established. It had the backing of two of Shannon County's most influential state politicians, Representative David Bales and Senator S. A. Cunningham. Both men lived in Eminence. Senator Cunningham, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the General Assembly, promoted the creation of state parks throughout Shannon County.[19] In 1924, Representative Bales helped to organize a Fourth of July picnic that a number of state dignitaries, including the gubernatorial candidates, attended. Four committees, composed of about thirty leading promoters of the southeast Ozarks, planned the celebration and succeeded in turning it into a major political event. The organizers billed the picnic as a

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[16]Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, third edition, 1982), 105-107; and Iowa Historic Preservation Office, "Civilian Conservation Corps Properties in Iowa State Parks: 1933-1942," National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form, Des Moines, Iowa, draft ms, 1989, 5.

[17]Steiner, Americans at Play, 34-35. National Park Service Director Stephan Mather and his assistant Horace Ablright were instrumental in promoting the development of state parks.

[18]State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1925, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1925, 47-55. The state soon created a fourth Current River park, Montauk Springs State Park, at the headwaters of the river in Dent County.

[19]S. A. Cunningham to Arthur M. Hyde, 23 April 1923, Alley Spring File #10, PRL; Dr. H. Kirkendall to Arthur M. Hyde, 23 August 1924, Alley Spring File #11, PRL; and Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 75.

dedication of the new highway bridge under construction at Round Spring, and surrounding families participated by providing basket dinners for the guests. The regional leaders, however, intended the affair as a promotion of the site as a state park and, two months later, the state created a seventy-five-acre Round Spring State Park. Reflecting the traditional goals of the Game and Fish Commission, the state defined the new park as both a scenic attraction and a fish hatchery.[20]

Two separate groups led the negotiations over the creation of a state park at Alley. One initiative came from the owners of the spring and mill site, Conrad Hug and the Crystal Spring Town-site Company, and the other emanated from the members of the Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club. Historian Robert Flanders noted that the strong desire of the latter group to conserve the Current and Jacks Forks environment distinguished it from the other state park promoters. The Hunting and Fishing Club park advocates proposed an innovative idea, the creation of a riverine park along the Jacks Fork, that decades later resurfaced with the establishment of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways.[21]

A dentist, Dr. H. Kirkendall of Birch Tree, represented the Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club faction in a series of letters to the governor and the game and fish commissioner about establishing a park along the Jacks Fork that would include Alley. In 1922, he first contacted Governor Arthur M. Hyde and boasted that as much as 45,000 to 60,000 acres of land could be assembled for a park on the Jacks Fork River. The governor responded that the legislature was not yet prepared to act on the state park issue. The correspondence resumed after the establishment of a commission to select park sites and the 1924 appointment of Frank H. Wielandy as Game and Fish Commissioner. In his letters, Kirkendall suggested that 20,000 acres could be bought for around $125,000 and, at one point in August 1924, he said that an owner of 4700 acres was willing to sell for $25,000. He explained, however, that these proposals did not include the cost of Alley, which would run higher per acre, and wrote with some urgency that a lumber company was also looking into the property. The state officials expressed an interest and even met the Birch Tree people for a tour of Alley, but they never committed to a purchase. Kirkendall was uninformed of the state's negotiations with the Crystal Spring owners of Alley until June 1924. At that time, Conrad Hug quoted a price of $35,000 for Alley.[22]

The fiscal agent of the Crystal Spring Town-site Company, Ralph E. Carr of Eminence, contacted the governor just before the Kirkendall correspondence in December 1922. He offered

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[20]Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 74-75; and Game and Fish Commissioner, 1925, 55.

[21]Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 75-79.

[22]Dr. H. Kirkendall to Arthur M. Hyde, 23 August 1924, Alley Spring File #11, PRL; Ralph E. Carr to Arthur M. Hyde, 28 July 1924, Alley Spring File #10, PRL; and Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 76-78.

the state an option to buy Alley and an additional 4,000 acres at a cost between $90,000 and $100,000. Carr said that the site would be a fine fish and game reserve as well as a park. The following spring, Conrad Hug pressed the issue of Alley in a letter to Governor Hyde:

> Matters have arisen which make it necessary for me to inquire whether you and the Committee on State Parks have made a definite decision regarding the purchase of our Alley Spring properties.

The governor replied that such decisions would have to be approved by a "large committee appointed by the legislature."[23]

The negotiations between the Crystal Spring faction and the state also intensified after the appointment of Wielandy as Game and Fish Commissioner and after the governor visited Alley with the Birch Tree promoters. Ralph Carr heard of the governor's visit and also of the governor's interest in purchasing the site if Hug would accept a "more reasonable price" from Mac Ellerman, the overseer of the Alley property. By the end of the year, Crystal Spring and the state agreed to a purchase price of $31,500 for Alley, and the mill hamlet became Alley Spring State Park. The park contained 427 acres and, in 1925, the annual report of the Game and Fish Commission described it as a great camping, fishing, and picnicking attraction. The report failed to mention anything about the mill or the history of the hamlet. As Flanders noted the establishment of Alley Spring State Park represented a victory for area politicians such as state Representative Bales and state Senator Carter Buford of Reynolds County who promoted the big springs as park sites rather than riverine concept of the Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club.[24]

Local political figures and officials of area chambers of commerce spearheaded much of the effort to establish the Ozark parks. The case of Big Spring demonstrated how these two interests were often indistinguishable. Fred E. McGhee, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Van Buren and the clerk of the Carter County Circuit Court, engaged the state game and fish commissioner, Frank Wielandy, in a series of letters promoting the Big Spring location as a state park. The Van Buren booster lauded the scenic beauty and suggested that a fish hatchery would be feasible at the site. Other local promoters commented on the access to the locale from the Frisco railway near Van Buren and noted that they were "getting good

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[23]Ralph E. Carr to Arthur M. Hyde, 17 December 1922, Conrad Hug to Arthur M. Hyde, 17 April 1923, Arthur M. Hyde to Conrad Hug, 19 April 1923, Alley Spring File # 10, PRL.

[24]Ralph E. Carr to Arthur M. Hyde, 28 July 1924, Hyde to Carr, 31 July 1924, Alley Spring File #10, PRL; Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 77-80; and Game and Fish Commissioner, 1925, 54-55.

roads."[25] Boasting of the area's wildlife, McGhee wrote that a park there would do much to encourage adherence to the game and fish laws among the local population. He and other county courthouse officials assembled options to buy land from various owners to expedite the creation of a park. Another McGhee, James M. McGhee, was a land agent for 5,000 acres in the vicinity of Big Spring. An influential county leader, Dr. T. W. Cotton owned a house and land near Big Spring and helped to obtain the options. He also served as the Deputy State Health Commissioner and had considerable political influence at the state level. In an August 1924 letter, Dr. Cotton told the state Game and Fish Commissioner that "the Court House boys" had assembled a block of about 3,000 acres and would work to get 5,000 committed in order to give the state some flexibility on the amount of land it might want.[26]

At the end of 1924, the state established the Big Spring State Park with 4,258 acres. The park, the third largest in the state system at the time, functioned both as a game refuge and recreation area. During the first year of operation, its facilities included a campground, bathhouse, and other "conveniences." In 1925, the Game and Fish Commission claimed that thousands of visitors enjoyed the park in the past year.[27]

Cultural differences between the tourist and uplander populations inspired significant conflict and tension that chilled many Ozarkers' interest in tourism and, at times, open hostility surfaced. Differences in the work and leisure customs of the vacationing middle-class city dwellers and those of the hill families of the Current River underscored this tension. Early contacts between touring urbanites and the uplanders generally resulted in the city-folk being aghast at living conditions in the Ozarks. It was during this post World War I period that middle-class urbanites popularized the "hillbilly" stereotype that insulted the uplanders customs and traditions. The Ozarkers, in turn, resented the intruders who often trampled fields and fished and hunted on the uplander's land without permission.[28]

Ozark boosters tried to diminish the cultural gap between the local people and the

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[25]Fred E. McGhee to F. H. Wielandy, 29 May 1924; McGee to F. H. Wielandy, 23 July 1924; Gary H. Yount to Arthur M. Hyde, Governor of Missouri, 16 June 1924, Big Spring File #12, Parks and Recreation Library, Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City, Missouri; hereafter cited as PRL; and Charles J. Gunn to F. H. Wielandy, 27 May 1924, PRL.

[26]Charles J. Gunn to F. H. Wielandy, 27 May 1924, Big Spring File #13, PRL; Fred E. McGhee to F. H. Wielandy, 30 June 1924; F. H. Wielandy to Fred E. McGhee, 16 August 1924; T. W. Cotton to F. H. Wielandy, 15 August 1924, Big Spring File #12, PRL. The 5,000 acres associated with James McGhee might or might not be the same 5,000 referred to by Dr. Cotton.

[27]Game and Fish Commissioner, 1925, 53.

[28]James Lee Murphy, "A History of the Southern Ozark Region of Missouri," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1982), 254-257.

vacationers. The Eminence newspaper, the Current Wave, schooled its readers on how to ready themselves for the coming tourist boom. The newspaper, in what Robert Flanders called its typical "paternalistic, didactic, and admonitory" way, offered a list of twenty-one dos and don'ts that ranged from cleaning up the general appearance of home sites, especially those along the main roads, to being courteous and helpful to tourists in need of assistance. Local citizens were instructed to "discard old rail fences entirely" and were told to trim trees and hedges near their houses and roads. The Wave also wanted the people to keep "cats, dogs, chickens, hogs, and children" off the roads.[29] The public dedication of the new bridge on Route 16 at Van Buren and the Big Spring State Park prompted Fred McGhee, now president of the Carter County Chamber of Commerce, to publish an article in the The Current Local that called on the county to "meet the test of her hospitality in the proper manner."[30] McGhee asked the families of Carter County and the surrounding area to bring basket lunches to feed the dignitaries and visitors at the event.

The celebration of the new bridge and park on July 17, 1926 marked the beginning of a new era of increased government intervention and tourist consciousness in the Current valley and southeast Ozark region. Representing the newly established Missouri Ozarks Chamber of Commerce, Anthony A. Buford of Ellington organized the affair. Missouri newspapers widely publicized the event in the week before dedication. The Columbia Missourian noted that, along with the new Governor of Missouri Sam A. Baker, the list of speakers included R. Fullerton Place, former President of the St. Louis Advertising Club. State highway and park officials were listed among the speakers. The St. Louis advertiser and several public officials also attended an executive meeting of the Ozarks Chamber of Commerce held at Big Spring after the picnic lunch. Describing the crowd as the largest ever to assemble at Van Buren, local reports of the event estimated 8 to 10 thousand people attended and watched the ribbon cutting and the parade of motor cars cross the new bridge.[31]

The completion of the bridge was a major event for Van Buren and the southeast Ozarks. Excluding the construction of a pontoon bridge by Union troops during the Civil War, two previous bridges had been built and washed out at Van Buren. The second of these structures was built in 1909 but gave way during a 1915 flood. The voters of Carter County adopted a $15,000 bond to rebuild the bridge, using some parts of the old structure, and it spanned the Current until the completion of the 1926 bridge. For a time, the old and new bridges stood side by side until the former was torn down. The bridge was part of the principal east-west highway

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[29]Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 73-74.

[30]The Current Local, 10 July 1926.

[31]The Current Local, 10 July 1926, 15 July 1926, 22 July 1926; and The Columbia Missourian, 12 July 1926.

across southern Missouri and became part of U. S. Highway 60 during the early 1930s.[32] Most of the Ozark roads remained rough, especially off the main highways, and the tourist industry evolved gradually before World War II.

In 1926 and 1927, the state began altering the landscape at Alley, Round Spring, and Big Spring. The changes at Alley included the demolition of the store, with the town-like facade, the blacksmith shop, and the spring house and the construction of a new "rustic" store sided with native pine. The 1926 annual report of the Game and Fish Commissioner said that the demolished structures had "greatly marred the splendor of the spring and spring branch." Much of the development focused on the spring branch where the state created a swimming hole with a beach and beach house. In 1927, a new gravel road through the park led to a new rustic bridge across the spring branch. At Big Spring, the major developments were a bridal path and a "scenic drive" up the bluff above the spring. Frequent flooding limited the development of Big Spring.[33] At Round Spring, the state built two foot bridges over the spring branch and fenced in the picnic grounds to make them "stock proof." In the mid 1920s, a thriving hill community of one hundred or more families lived around the Round Spring area.[34]

Flooding in June 1928, damaged the facilities at Big Spring, Alley Spring, and Round Spring and lowered the number of tourist visits. Most of the picnic and camp grounds of Big Spring and the road leading to them were under water. The flood destroyed two bridges, although a ninety-eight-foot bridge constructed the previous spring survived. After the flooding, a group of "interested citizens" built a new road to the park that went over a mountain and only came near the river at the entrance to the park. The Game and Fish Commission believed that difficulty in keeping a road open to the park would continue until a "properly constructed ridge road" was built. Farther upstream, flooding on the Jacks Fork destroyed the new store and four bridges at Alley Spring State Park. The surging high water also changed the

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[32]The Daily Tribune (Jefferson City), 23 August 1893; Gene Oakley, The History of Carter County (Van Buren: J. G. Publications, 1970), 45-47. A group of twenty local investors, at the peak of the yellow pine lumber era and several years after the completion of the railroad depot across the river at Chicopee, formed a company and financed the construction of a bridge during 1893-1894. The businessmen charged a five-cent toll for people and fifteen cents for a team and wagon to cover the $3,500 to $4,500 cost of bridge. The structure was a suspension type with cables fastened to logs buried into the banks of the river. In 1904, one of the worst floods ever recorded raised the Current thirty feet in twenty-four hours and washed the bridge away. Five years later, subscriptions totaling $9,000 were sold to finance a new structural steel bridge.

[33]State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1926, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1926, 54-57; and State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1927, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1927, 52-57.

[34]State Game and Fish Commissioner, 1926, 54-57; State Game and Fish Commissioner, 1927, 52-57; and Walter Carr, 28 July 1978, Interview, Oral History Files, Ozark National Scenic Riverway, Big Spring Office, Van Buren, Missouri.

Figure 47:

Big Spring State Park, Carter County, Missouri. View of Big Spring, 1936. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 48:

CCC tent camp #1710 at Big Spring State Park. View of the mess hall, c. 1930s. Photographer unknown. Homer Ross Collection. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 49:

CCC construction of the pump house at Big Spring State Park, c. 1930s. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 50:

CCC construction of the dining lodge at Big Spring State Park. View of spring branch in the background, 1936. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 51:

Completed dining lodge at Big Spring State Park, c. 1937. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

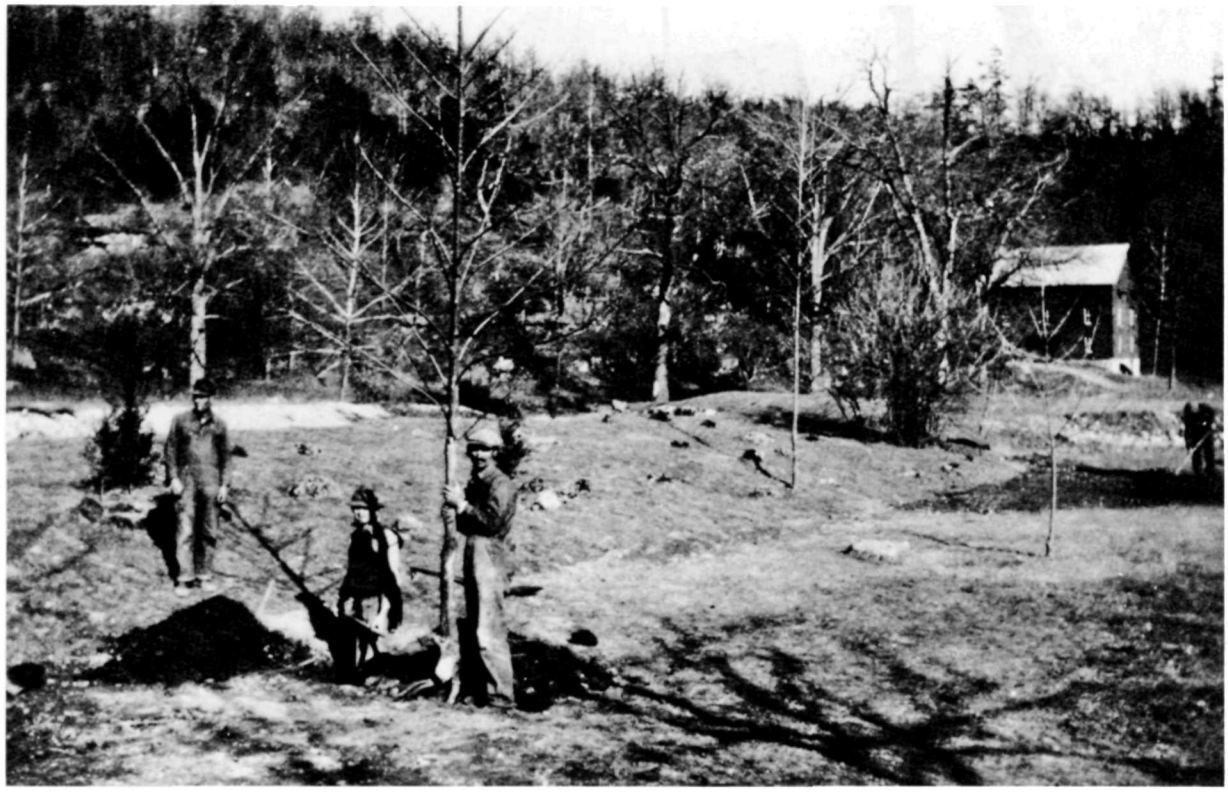

Figure 52:

CCC workers planting trees at Alley Spring State Park, Shannon County. Note that the mill in the background has been painted dark red, c. 1933-1934. Photographer unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

flow of the spring branch and left tons of rocks and debris across the picnic and camping area. At Round Spring State Park, the flood washed away a bathhouse and some small buildings.[35]

The State Game and Fish Commission cut back its park operations in 1929 because of a decline in revenue, but in 1930 the development of the Current River parks resumed. New park keepers' houses were built or reconstructed at all three parks. The state also rebuilt a store at Round Spring. More work was performed at Big Spring, where new construction included a concession stand and shelter house, zoo, and vehicle and foot bridges over the spring branch. Electric wires were strung from Van Buren to the park and a well was dug. After 1930 as the Great Depression set in, little work was done on the parks until the extension of federal aid.[36]

After 1932, the federal government intervened in state park development. Missouri parks underwent intensive development with the assistance of the federal New Deal program known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In 1933, the National Park Service established Civilian Conservation Corps camps of mostly young men at both Alley Spring and Big Spring state parks. During the first year at Alley, the CCC workers built eleven buildings and two roads through the park. The CCC workers at Big Spring completed even more extensive work on the park's infrastructure. They built four and one-half miles of gravel road from the spring to the boundary of Big Spring State Park and another eight miles of road throughout the park. An access road was also laid out from the highway to the CCC camp. They fitted a pump in the spring to provide the CCC camp and the public campgrounds with water. They hung a telephone line from the refuge to the spring. They also removed debris and cleared a two hundred acres picnic and recreation area near the spring and another twelve acres for new campgrounds.[37] Between 1934 and 1937, the Big Spring CCC workers greatly expanded the facilities of the state park. They built a flood control dike system, a latrine, a picnic shelter, three cabins, a garage, and a custodian's home. The workers laid out a trail along the cliff to the back of the spring that

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[35]State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1928, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1928, 45-46.

[36]State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1929, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1929, 6; and State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1930, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1930, 14-15. Around 1925, the Carr family built a new store on the old country road in Spring Valley. The store was moved near Highway 19 sometime in the early 1930s. The National Park Service moved it up a hill a block or two from its previous site. This probably was not the store refered to by the state as being rebuilt in 1930.

[37]State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1933, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1933, 30-32; Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 278. The official name of the Civilian Conservation Corps, at its founding in 1933, was the Emergency Conservation Work. Its popular name, the Civilian Conservation Corps, was commonly used since 1933 and was adopted as the official name in 1937. The 1933 annual report of Missouri's Game and Fish Commissioner used the Civilian Conservation Corps title. This name is also used throughout the present study.

blended in with the natural environment. They also built a stone ledge wall in the spring branch to stop animals from entering. In 1936, a dining lodge, a walled entrance station, and parking lot were under construction. The buildings featured the rustic style of architecture popularized by the National Park Service. They were made with local materials, especially rough-cut limestone quarried nearby and timber and lumber stained dark-brown.[38]

The federal assistance produced more than new park facilities and jobs for young men. It also resulted in limitations to the state's authority, as federal regulation accompanied the federal aid. In the spring of 1933, the National Park Service created district offices to provide oversight and technical support to park and conservation work in the various states. Missouri fell within the purview of a district office which was initially headquartered in Indianapolis. The district offices assisted states in drafting legislation for planning, development, and maintenance of their parks. The states administered the camps with funds allocated by the federal government, and project superintendents and technical supervisors were on the federal payroll. In addition, federal inspectors regularly visited the state CCC camps and discouraged developments that would damage the natural environment. If the states did not follow federal conservation principles in developing parks in wilderness areas, then the National Park Service threatened to remove the CCC camps.[39]

The Missouri Game and Fish Commission adopted the National Park Service's preservation focus. Before the federal involvement, the state of Missouri funded the parks from hunting and fishing license fees and managed them as game refuges and fishing hatcheries. The emphasis of the Game and Fish Commission was to provide wildlife for sportsmen. Operating the parks as nature retreats for vacationists was a secondary objective. In contrast, National Park Service policies emphasized preserving wilderness from human exploitation, not protecting game for hunters. The Park Service also placed more significance on recreation for vacationists than had the Missouri Game and Fish Commission. In a 1933 annual report, the state Game and Fish Commissioner acknowledged the importance of the federal aid to state park development and recognized the federal park mission. The report stated:

> The ideals of the National Park Service have been accepted as the guiding principles in the development of the parks. This ideal is the conservation of national beauty with as little molestation by man as possible.

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[38]State of Missouri, Annual Report of the State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1936, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1936, 45-46; and Milton F. Perry, "Big Spring Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Midwest Region, National Park Service, 1976.

[39]National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History by John C. Paige (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1985), 42-44, 103-107.

It went on to recognize the inadequacy of funding state parks with 25 percent of the hunting and fishing licensing fees. The state adopted the National Park Service idea of one controlled entrance to the parks, and the state began charging a small admission fee.[40]

The breadth of new federal conservation programs precipitated a reorganization of Missouri's recreation and wildlife program. The state's collaboration with such federal agencies as the National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Biological Survey, Soil Conservation and Resettlement Service, Public Works Administration, and Works Progress Administration rendered the existing state park bureaucracy inadequate. In 1936, the Missouri legislature replaced the Game and Fish Commission with a Conservation Commission. The new agency, however, primarily focused on forest restoration and regulation and on soil conservation. It separated the management of the state forest and the state parks without providing an appropriate entity for overseeing the latter. In 1939, the state issued a report "Confidential Supplement to the Missouri Summary Park Report--January 1939," warning that the reorganization had placed the managment of the state parks in a legal limbo. Missouri established a new State Park Board to operate the twenty state parks.[41]

Along with the public park movement, a host of private initiatives furthered the popularity and development of the Current River as a nature retreat for recreationists. Private pleasure resorts were built all along the river. In the 1920s and 1930s, Marian Rymer of Birch Tree managed Rymer's Rustic Ranch on the Jacks Fork River. The resort ranch sported a variety of recreational activities ranging from fishing, boating, and horseback riding to music and dancing. Rymer catered to a small circle of St. Louis friends even though she marketed the resort to the general public. Other resorts included Welch Spring resort, first developed circa 1920 and the Alton Club, founded in the 1930s. The former development briefly centered around a health spa. Dr. C. H. Diehl of Roxanna, Illinois, purchased the spring and cave site, lying upstream from Akers in Shannon County, and built a nature hospital out of the Welch Cave for asthma patients. He believed that the cool damp mineral air of the cave would benefit asthmatics. The hospital and picnic ground, which Diehl also tried to develop, never supported themselves. In 1933, after the doctor's death, the property was sold by the county at a tax sale to a St. Louis group that built a recreation resort. Incorporated as Welch Cave, Inc., the business investors constructed a lodge and dammed the spring to create several fishing pools which were then stocked with trout. Forty-five families eventually leased the property and shared it as a weekend

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[40]State of Missouri, State Game and Fish Commissioner, 1933, 33; The Columbia Missourian, 1 November 1927; and Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 72-73.

[41]Conservation Commission of Missouri, Organizational, Policies and Transactions of the Commission 1937-1939, Jefferson City, Missouri, 3, 63-67; and "Confidential Supplement to the Missouri Summary Park Report--January 1939 State Park Act," Park and Recreation Library, Jefferson City, Missouri, 4; State Park Board, Missouri, Biennial Report 1941-1942, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1942., 1; and State Game and Fish Commissioner for the Year Ending December 31, 1936, 5-7.

retreat.[42]

Local entrepreneurs organized businesses to outfit and guide boating excursions after the establishment of the state parks. In 1928, Walter Bales, the son of State Representative David Bales, opened a johnboat float guiding business in conjunction with his store in Eminence. Reflecting the increasing trade of sportsmen and women at his store, he enlarged his business into the Bales Boating and Mercantile Company and began outfitting float trips for fishing groups. Bales ordered a dozen well-built johnboats, assembled a store of camping gear, and trained river guides to lead "deluxe float trips" that became popular among "urban business leaders and their political allies."[43] In Stars Upstream, Leonard Hall recalled his friendship with Bales and the evolution of this pioneer outfitter's conservation consciousness. During the 1930s, Walter Bales and his guides began to believe that "a fish in the stream has a value equal to or greater than one . . . on the stringer." Bales personally switched from fishing with "bait-casting rods" to fly fishing with a single hook so that he could return some of his catch to the stream unharmed.[44]

Other outfitting operations also developed. A number of guides began their own businesses after working for Bales. One of the top commissary guides for Bales, Garland Winterbottom, began a float trip service in Eminence that Walter Martin, another Bales trainee, took over after Winterbottom's death. In Van Buren, Dick Moore and Dwight Terry established a guide service in the 1920s.[45]

Most operations used wooden johnboats on the Current between 1920 and 1950. During the late 1920s and 1930s, the johnboats were relatively inexpensive to build. As a result some fishing parties purchased boats from outfitters and abandoned the crafts after floating downstream. This habit led to friction between outfitters. A Van Buren operator began using the boats left by floaters. One Cedargrove boat builder tried to charge the downstream outfitter for the boats and, when the latter refused to pay, guides from up river began knocking holes in boats left at Van Buren.[46] The service of the river guides and outfitters peaked in the 1950s when about sixteen guides operated out of Van Buren alone. By this time, a number of rivermen, such

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[42]Morrow, "Rose Cliff Hotel," 40; Margaret Ray Vickery, Ozark Stories of the Upper Current River (Salem, Mo.: The Salem News, nd.), 29; Cynthia R. Price, Reported Historic Period Sites in Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981-1982, submitted to the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1982.

[43]See Morrow, "Rose Cliff Hotel," 39, 45 for quotation; and Hall, Stars Upstream, 116-117.

[44]Hall, Stars Upstream, 115-118.

[45]Hall, Stars Upstream, 144-155; Larry Dablemont, "The History of Float Fishing," Part III, Fishing and Hunting Journal, June, 1986, 64.

[46]Ibid.

as "Smilin'" Willie Parks, emerged as colorful folk figures very much in demand by renowned political, business, and cultural leaders who frequented the Current.[47]

The promotion of the tourist potential of the southeast Missouri Ozarks also accompanied the opening of the state parks. In 1926, Missouri business and sporting interests organized the Outdoor Life Exposition in St. Louis to promote the recreational value of the Ozarks. The Missouri Ozarks Chamber of Commerce produced a display on the "Big Springs Country." State Representative David Bales headed the advertising committee for the Exposition. Four years later, the president of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, W. B. Weisenberger, called on St. Louis leaders to lobby the federal government for the establishment of a national park in the Ozarks.[48] No substantial action followed his plea. Popular magazines, such as the Missouri and Arcadian Magazine also touted the region and its various vacation spots. An advertisement in a 1931 edition of the Arcadian Magazine illustrated the tone of the promotion:

> Van Buren Invites You
> On Beautiful Current River--Near Big Spring State Park
> A Carter County Float Trip
>
> This region is the favorite playground for thousands of tourists. Carter County offers productive land at low prices. For information write any of the firms or individuals below.

The list of contacts included centers of local information such as the Van Buren newspaper and the local barber shop.[49] These advertisements frequently paired tourism and real estate sales.

Despite the state park development, the 1930s were a desperate time in the Ozarks. The travel journals of Reverend Paul Wobus touch briefly on the difficult conditions of many families in the upper Current communities in which he traveled. In the years before the federal New Deal programs, Reverend Wobus transported voluntary relief goods and tried to develop domestic industry. At the community around Akers, during the fall of 1930, he introduced an idea of reviving "fireside industries" and asked an assembly of the community at church services about the availability of handlooms. One member of the neighborhood, a Mr. Riley of Dooley Hollow, told Wobus he knew how to use a loom and had one at home, but the congregation only knew of one other person who also had a loom. The reverend brought much needed canned goods and other foodstuffs, supplied by the Golden Rule Foundation, into the area. Yet he experienced some problems in distributing it. In this proud and customarily self-sufficient community, he

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[47]John D. Hoskins, "Smilin' Willie the River Man," Missouri Conservationist, June, 1987, 10-15.

[48]Morrow, "Rose Cliff Hotel," 41.

[49]Missouri, March, 1931, 30; June, 1932, 21; May, 1935, 7; Arcadian Magazine, June, 1931; February, 1931. The quoted ad came from a 1931 issue located in archives of the Ozark National Scenic Riverway, Big Spring Office, Van Buren, Missouri. The month on this edition was not available.

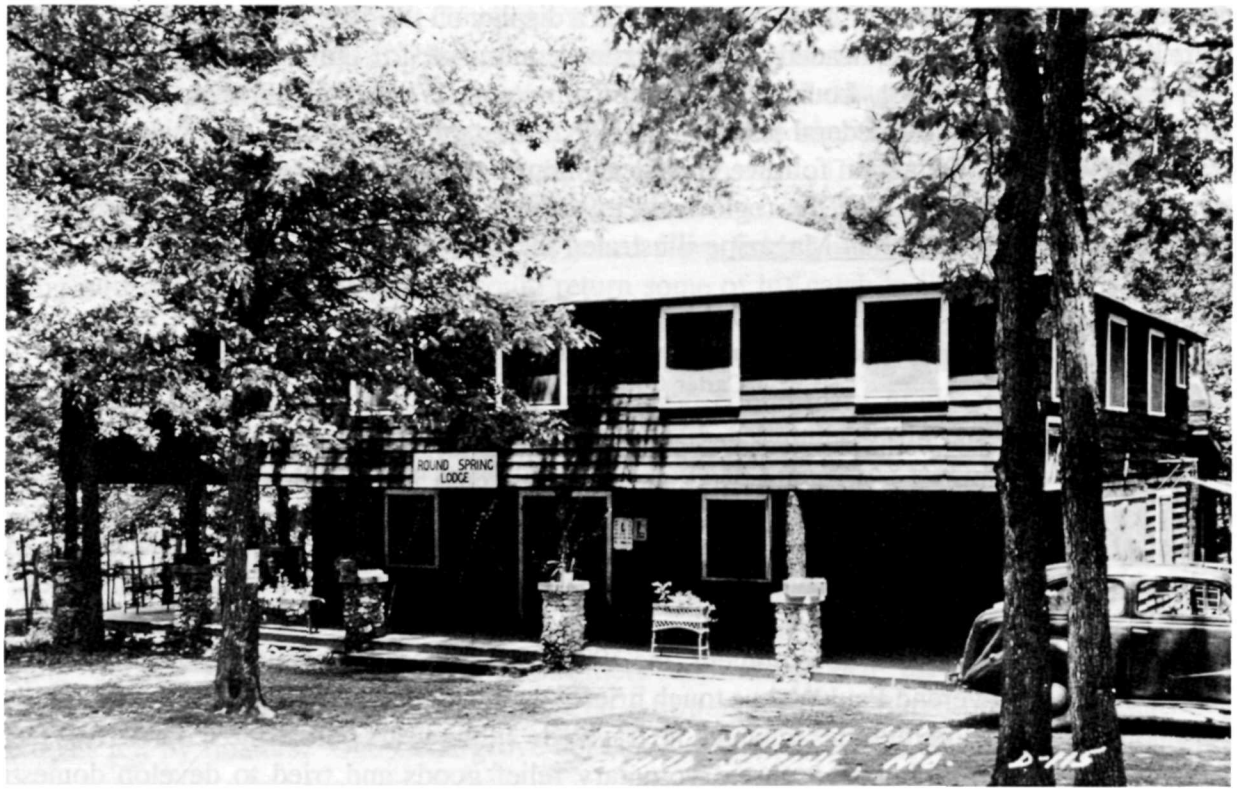

Figure 53:

Round Spring Lodge at Round Spring State Park, Shannon County, c. 1936. L. L. Cook Company. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

Figure 54:

Meal time on a sandbar. Bales Boating and Mercantile Company float trip. Photographer and date of photograph unknown. Ozark National Scenic Riverways.

found the people reticent about identifying those in need of the donations. The bootleggers in the area seemed to have mixed feelings about the minister's activities. This upper Current territory had been a haven for whiskey running, and Akers was a former landing spot for moonshiners. Moreover, after he chose to leave the food at the home of one of the Aker families, different persons in the community warned him that no one would go there or to anyone else's house for charity. The reverend, however, continued to bring food. The uplanders responded more positively to Wobus loaning them seed corn which they arranged to pay back with one-fiftieth of their crop. This included a donation for the community church.[50]

Increasing government intervention brought relief and ultimately began the restoration of the natural resources along the Current while changing many lives in the process. The dismal conditions in the Current and across the Ozarks forced many families to accept relief. In 1933, the relief rolls of the Ozark counties were higher than those of any other rural counties in the state. Severe droughts further worsened the economy. Thousands of men landed work with the CCC and WPA camps described previously.[51]

As historian James Murphy demonstrated, some prosperity returned to the Ozark region between 1940 and 1970. Rising tourism contributed to the trend. Yet the restoration of the forest laid the foundation of the improved economy. This effort also involved large-scale federal and state government intervention. In the United States, the creation of national forest reserves designed to conserve timber resources began in the 1890s. In 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt designated the first federal forest in the Ozarks, the Ozark National Forest, in the state of Arkansas. The Weeks Act of 1911 empowered the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) to buy private land for inclusion in national forests and opened the way for the creation of national forests in states like Missouri with little federally owned land. The development of the first national forest in Missouri, however, came out of the crisis atmosphere of the deepening depression of the 1930s. At first, the idea of turning private land into a public forest faced considerable opposition in Missouri and much of the Ozarks. A strong libertarian spirit persisted in the twentieth century Ozarks and resisted the expansion of government control. In 1929, the Missouri legislature restricted the number of acres that the U.S. Forest Service could purchase to 2,000 in any one county and delayed the establishment of a national forest.[52]

Leading Ozark boosters, especially the Missouri Ozarks Chamber of Commerce and State

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[50]Wobus Papers, Section X, Folder 2, 29 April 1929, Folder 4, 8 October 1930, 26 December 1930, 17 February 1931, 14 March 1931, 14-15 April 1931, WHMC.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 270-271; Rafferty, The Ozarks: Land and Life, 186-187; and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, Let The River Be: A History of the Ozark's Buffalo River, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1987), 102-103.

Senator Carter Buford, worked to change public opinion in the Ozark highlands and to remove the legislative restriction. Much of the regional support initially stemmed from the communities of Ellington in Reynolds County and Salem in Dent County. Not all of the Ozark political leaders favored lifting the land restrictions on the size of national forests. State Senator Bales of Shannon County, the active promoter of the state park system, feared that federal ownership of large sections of land would undermine the local tax base. Many opponents in the Ozarks believed that large federal forest would eliminate such traditional land use practices as spring burnings and open-range grazing. Senator Buford, however, recognized the economic benefit of restoring the forest.[53]

The increasing poverty of the Depression years in the Ozarks resulted in growing support for a national forest and the federal employment programs that would accompany their creation. Between 1930 and 1934, a series of state legislative bills loosened the restrictions on the amount of land available for a national forest. In 1933, the state government endorsed Congressional actions led by U.S. Senator Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri and Representative Clyde Williams of Hillsboro to form the Mark Twain National Forest in Missouri. Because of Missouri's new restrictions, the forest was created with two sections: the Clark unit had 125,000 acres, combining five 25,000-acre plots from Crawford, Washington, Dent, Iron, and Reynolds Counties and the Frisco unit had 100,000 acres, combining land from Shannon, Carter, Oregon and Ripley Counties.[54] In 1934, the state increased the county maximum forest acreage to 100,000 and the size of the national forest in Missouri quickly grew to 1,500,000 acres. Soon thereafter, state Senator L. N. Searcy of Eminence led the drive to eliminate the restrictions completely and, by the end of 1935, the national forest acreage increased to more than 3,000,000. In Carter County, 44 percent of the land was national forest. Ripley and Shannon counties had 35 and 19 percent of their total acreage in national forest respectively.[55]

The establishment of the national forest did bring jobs and money into the Ozarks. The U.S. Forest Service established CCC camps of young workers in the forests at Bunker, Winona, Bradley, and Hendrickson. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) also employed mostly older men in the forest. In Reynolds County, for example, the WPA had 10,000 forest workers. The CCC and WPA camps built roads, planted trees, improved habitat for wildlife, and performed many conservation tasks. The Forest Service also built recreation areas such as Loggers Lake, developed in 1940 from a Bunker-Culler lumber campsite in upper Shannon

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[53]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 272-273.

[54]Ibid, 272-279.

[55]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 274-279; and Rafferty, The Ozarks: Land and Life, 186-187, 290. The approximately 3 million acre figure for the Mark Twain National Forest refers to the lands within the forest boundary. An estimated 1.5 million acres of this is owned by the U.S. Forest Service. Telephone conversation with the U.S. Forest Service-Rolla, September 4, 1991.

County.[56]

The issue of dams on the Current and its tributaries embroiled another federal agency, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, in heated debates over the development of the river basin. Before the deepening of the Great Depression, private power companies, seeking to tap the hydroelectric and recreation potential of the Ozarks' rivers and streams, controlled most of the dam development in the region. On the Current, in 1912, the Crystal Spring Town-site Company had plans to produce electricity at Alley Spring and, in 1918, a separate private power firm performed the first engineering surveys along the Current. Neither initiative resulted in damming the river for commercial power purposes. The issue rose to the forefront of state and local politics after 1930. Following the development of the Lake of the Ozarks for hydroelectric energy between 1929 and 1931, State Senator David Bales expressed concern over the liberal licensing practices of the Federal Power Commission. In 1933, Senator Bales sponsored a bill requiring the state to review the licensing of private power companies after the Federal Power Commission licensed the Kansas City Power Company to survey the possibility of building three dams on the Current--at Blair Creek, above Van Buren, and above Doniphan. The measure had little impact on restricting the licensing procedure. The continuing economic depression, however, eliminated the feasibility of private dam construction. Reflecting the depressed economy, the Federal Power Commission rejected the Kansas City company's proposal to build a dam on the Current because of inadequate financing. In the 1930s, Congress authorized the Corps of Engineers to develop fifty dams in the state.[57]

The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) supported the Corps' damming projects to provide hydroelectric power. Established in 1935, the REA brought electricity to the rural Ozarks after the establishment of the Ozark Border Electric Cooperative in 1938. The electrification of the southeastern Ozarks of Missouri began with the Ozark Border Electric Cooperative raising its first pole in Ellsinore, Missouri.[58] Electrification brought many welcomed conveniences to the Ozark uplanders and new gadgets such as the radio. One Ozark scholar noted that radio brought the uplanders persistent contact with mass popular culture and accelerated the erosion of traditional folk entertainment and even speech patterns.[59]

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[56]Ibid.

[57]Flanders, Alley, An Ozark Mill Hamlet, 51; William Southern, Jr., "The Beauty of Current River," in "Missouri History not Found in Textbooks," Missouri Historical Review, 31 (April 1937): 361-362; Lynn Morrow, "Rose Cliff Hotel: a Missouri Forum For Environmental Policy," Gateway Heritage 3 (Fall, 1982): 45; and Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 291.

[58]Ozark Border Electric Cooperative, News Letter, "Owned By Those It Serves," May 1987, in Current River Regional Library, Van Buren, Missouri.

[59]James E. Price, Interview, 5 January 1989, Naylor, Missouri.

Between 1930 and 1960, conservationists and local opponents of the Corps' dams devised their strategies to preserve the Current as a free-flowing river at the Rose Cliff Hotel, a popular gathering spot for Missouri conservationists. Dr. Robert Davis of Birch Tree built the Rose Cliff Hotel at Van Buren during 1927-1929. Overlooking the Current across the bridge from Van Buren, it was the largest inn along the river. In the early 1930s, Missouri scientists and journalists dubbed Rose Cliff the "Athens of the Ozarks." Foresters working out the boundaries of the Mark Twain National Forest stayed at the hotel. Two influential wildlife scientists, Dr. Rudolf Bennitt and Werner Nagel, lived there while performing research for their study on Missouri wildlife that made a notable contribution to the founding of the Missouri Conservation Commission in 1936.[60] In 1934, Harry S Truman used the place as a campaign headquarters during his run for the U.S. Senate and frequently returned after his election to enjoy Big Spring and the Ozark scenery. The hotel became a favorite "hangout" of writers from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Moreover, a number of naturalists produced important literary works on Missouri's natural values while staying at the Rose Cliff for varying lengths of time. Thad Snow wrote From Missouri while living at the Rose Cliff; Botanist Julian Styermark assembled material for his many works, such as Vegetational History of the Ozark Forest, there; and Leonard Hall worked on his influential Stars Upstream during various trips to the hotel. The manager of the Rose Cliff, Ben Davis, encouraged the traffic of conservation authors at the inn and became an avid conservationist with considerable knowledge of the Current River environment. With the threat of the Corps' damming the Current after 1930, conservation leaders, in and out of Missouri state government, joined with local leaders at the Rose Cliff to develop their conservation platform against the river's impoundment.[61]

In the 1941, the Corps constructed the Wappapello Dam on the St. Francis River in the southeast Ozarks and turned its sights toward the Current. A team of army engineers from Little Rock, Arkansas, developed plans for two dams on the Current. The plans called for a 107-foot-high dam at Blair Creek and a larger dam at Doniphan. The Second World War, however, delayed further development by the Corps.[62]

During and after the war, a number of Ozark interest groups rallied opposition to the proposed dams. The Current Chapter of the Ozark Protective Association, the Missouri Farmers Association, the Conservation Federation, and the state's Missouri Conservation Commission called on the state politicians to reconsider the consequences of turning the Current River into a reservoir. In 1949, Missouri Governor Forrest Smith issued a strong statement against the

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[60]Morrow, "Rose Cliff Hotel," 39-44.

[61]Ibid., 42-47; and Hall, Stars Upstream, 196-197.

[62]Morrow, "Rose Cliff Hotel," 45-46.

projects:

> There are streams with natural attributes which, in their total, are so unique as to warrant the preservation of the streams, simply because they are unique. If all other factors were ignored, it is apparent that the Current River is such a stream. . . . The state contends that . . . the reservoirs would not be justified under any circumstances.[63]

The opponents further argued that the dams on the Current would have little, if any, impact on the flood levels of the White or Mississippi Rivers, and that the river's flow would not produce an efficient electrical power source. They also explained that the soil erosion in the cut-over timber lands would fill the reservoir with silt.[64]

Even within the Corps bureaucracy, opposition to the dams surfaced. General John Kingman, a top Corps administrator in the Washington office of the engineers, took an official stance against the projects. His interest in the Current came through contact with a first cousin, Sam Gay. A Chicago businessmen and native Ozarker, Gay made frequent recreational trips to the Ozarks with Kingman from the mid-1920s through the time of the debate over the Current dams. Gay had a cabin by Panther Spring on the river and frequented the Rose Cliff Hotel where he became associated with Leonard Hall and other conservation leaders. In 1950, as opposition mounted, the Corps withdrew its plans to dam the Current.[65]

During the 1950s, federal and state authorities made plans to perpetuate the Current River as a free-flowing stream. In 1954, an Arkansas-White-Red River Basins Inter-Agency Committee report included a proposal of the Governor of Missouri that the Current River remain free-flowing and that the federal and state governments develop the recreational potential and protect the natural resources of the Current valley. Two years later, the Missouri Division of Resources and Development, in collaboration with the Missouri Conservation Commission, the Missouri State Park Board, the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service (NPS), issued a report calling for the creation of a national recreation area for the Current, Jacks Fork, and Eleven Point rivers. After an Ozark group repetitioned the Corps to resume the plans to dam the Current, in 1959, the Missouri legislature passed a resolution that supported the creation of the national recreation area. The U.S. Senators from Missouri, Thomas C. Hennings and Stuart Symington, arranged and attended a meeting in Washington between officials of the state and of the National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Missouri Governor James T. Blair, Jr., attended the discussion. Following this meeting,

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[63]Ibid.

[64]Hall, Stars Upstream, 246.

[65]Morrow, "Rose Cliff Hotel," 46-47. The Rose Cliff Hotel was destroyed by fire in the 1980s after an effort was planned to restore the hotel.

Congress appropriated funds for a 1960 National Park Service study entitled "Proposed Ozark Rivers National Monument" that investigated the possibility of designating the Current, Jacks Fork and Eleven Point rivers as a unit of the National Park System.[66]

The regional coalition that battled the Corps and supported maintaining the Current as a free-flowing river disintegrated over disagreements concerning how to implement the preservation of the stream. The original 1956 report on the national recreation area called for the "eventual elimination of all private land use" along the river. The National Park Service quickly lost the support of most landowners adjacent to the Current. Two basic factions arose in Missouri to contest the method of preserving the river. A preservation-recreation group supported National Park Service management of the Current, Jacks Fork and Eleven Point rivers. They emphasized the preservation of the natural values of the riverways and promoted increased tourism as the major economic benefit of the management plan. Missouri's conservation leaders, the mayors and chambers of commerce of Eminence and Van Buren, and the governor of Missouri supported the Park Service option. Conservationist Leonard Hall helped to form the Ozark National Rivers Association among local supporters. A multiple-use faction opposed the National Park Service and favored management by the U.S. Forest Service (USFS). This group wanted the Forest Service to develop the recreation facilities on the rivers and, in particular, supported the USFS regulation of private farm and timber lands with scenic easements rather than outright purchase or expropriation. Leo A. Drey of St. Louis, who was the largest landowner along the rivers, represented the commercial timber interests. Drey, local landowners, and other National Park Service opponents formed Current-Eleven Point Rivers Association. The Missouri Conservation Commission also criticized the initial NPS plan but soon came out in active support of the Park Service. The issue bitterly divided the people of the Current homeland, such as in Eminence and Van Buren where the county officials opposed the NPS plan because they feared the loss of property tax revenues.[67]

In Washington, between 1960 and 1964, Missouri Congressmen introduced several bills designed to preserve the Ozark riverways. Representative Thomas B. Curtis sponsored a 1960 bill for the creation of a national monument and triggered debate on the issue in Congress. In

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[66]Hall, Stars Upstream, 246-247; and Richard A. Conover, "Legislative History of Ozark National Scenic Riverway," unpublished paper, n.d., 8-9, in Ozark National Scenic Riverways Archives, Headquarters, Van Buren, Missouri.

[67]Conover, "Legislative History," 7-8, 19-25; "Proposed Ozark River National Monument," Columbia League of Women Voters, 13 December 1960, in Ozark National Scenic Riverways Archives, Legislative History, Correspondence File 1957-1960, Headquarters, Van Buren, Missouri, hereafter cited as OZAR, LH, Correspondence 1957-1960; Leonard Hall to Conrad Wirth, 23 June 1960, OZAR, LH, Correspondence July-Dec. 1960; and Leo A Drey to James T. Blair, Jr., 10 December 1958, OZAR, LH, Correspondence 1958. Dick Shaw of Winona was the president of the Current-Eleven Point Rivers Association and G. L. Davis of Birch Tree was the president of the Ozark National Rivers Association.

1961, Senators Stuart Symington and Edward Long and Representative Richard H. Ichord presented identical bills to the Senate and House that authorized National Park Service management of the rivers. The bills allowed regulated hunting and provided for life estates for homeowners within the monument's boundaries. The National Park Service opposed the hunting clause. Congressman Curtis also introduced a bill in 1961, but his version featured the multiple-use ideology and management by the U.S. Forest Service. It also defined scenic easements as a method of preserving the natural scenery of the riverway without infringing on private property. None of the bills left committee.[68]

A push to further the legislation came in 1962 after Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall visited the Current River and when President John F. Kennedy endorsed the Ozark National Monument. Congressman Ichord invited Secretary Udall to float the Current and, in September 1961, Udall went down the river with conservationist Leonard Hall, National Park Service officials, and a number of Ichord's constituents. The secretary enthusiastically endorsed bringing the riverways into the National Park System after the trip despite the many signs of opposition that he encountered in the southeast Ozarks. In March 1962, President Kennedy gave Congress his "Message on Conservation." A major statement on conservation and recreation, the presidential message announced Kennedy's plan to create a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, advocated the establishment of a Land Conservation Fund (the future Land and Water Conservation Fund), and supported nine new national park proposals. The Ozark National Monument was one of the new parks that the president identified. In June 1962, a U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands visited the Current River region and also floated the river with a hoast of Missouri politicians, conservation leaders, local dignitaries, and National Park Service officials. The Senate subcommittee held a hearing at Big Spring State Park after a picnic. The hearing sparked "heated" denouncements by residents, but the river experience impressed the Congressmen. That same spring, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas also publicized the natural and recreational values of free-flowing Ozark rivers during a float trip down the Buffalo River in Arkansas. At the time, the Congressional representative from the Buffalo River district opposed turning that river into a federal park, and Congress did not create the second Ozark river park, the Buffalo National River, until 1972.[69]

In 1963, Missouri's Congressional delegation united in support of a much-revised bill that proposed creating an Ozark National River Park. Responding to the major critics of Park Service management, the new legislation provided for scenic easements and approved hunting and fishing based on Missouri state regulations. This time the National Park Service accepted the fish and game provisions. The Department of Agriculture supported both the 1961 and 1963 national

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[68]Conover, "Legislative History," 10-12.

[69]Ibid., 12; and George B. Hartzog, Jr., Battling For The National Parks, (Mt. Kisco, New York: Moyer Bell Limited, 1988), 65; and Pitcaithley, Let The River Be, 98-103.

park bills despite the objections of its bureau, the U.S. Forest Service. To avert the most severe criticism, the bills dropped the lower Current and Eleven Point River from the National River. The Eleven Point River contained three-fourths of the Forest Service lands that would have been taken over by the Park Service. The lower Current contained the richest farm land in the valley and its farmers presented the most solid block of opposing local landowners. Following Congressional approval in August 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the legislation founding the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (the House Rules Committee changed the name), and created a new type of riverine national park out of the Current River homeland. Four years later Congress passed the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act in which the Eleven Point was designated one of the new scenic rivers and remained under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Forest Service.[70]

The establishment of state parks, new roads, rural electrification, national forests and national parks promoted increasing contact between the riverways and modern society. Yet the complex consequences of government intervention not only altered the Current homeland, but worked to restore and preserve many of its natural and cultural resources. At the beginning of the 1930s, the natural and economic resources of the Current riverway were at a low point. The timber was depleted; the soil was worn and eroding; the wildlife population was thin; and, during this prohibition era, one of the leading cash industries was distilling corn whiskey and bootlegging. The depressed conditions drove thousands of people away from the rugged southeast Ozark hills during the twenties but, when the Great Depression hit the industrial economy of the cities, many returned home and put added pressures on the impoverished land.[71] During the 1930s, the population of Carter County increased from 5,503 to 6,226 and that of Shannon County went from 10,894 to 11,831. In a five-county region, the number of farms increased by 15 percent, but corn production fell 50 percent, and the overall value of farm production fell $2.5 million.[72]

The survival pattern of Shannon County resident Walter Carr illustrated the uncertainty that pervaded Ozark life during the Depression, the uplander's strong identification with the Ozarks as a homeland, and the role of government as an increasing force in the region's development. Born in Ellington, Missouri, in 1909, Carr grew up in Eminence and West Eminence, where his father worked in the lumber industry. In about 1917, he and his family moved to Spring Valley where his father operated his own tie business. The elder Carr purchased land near Round Spring in 1920, operated a sawmill, and eventually built the Round Spring store. In 1928, he sold the store and, two years later, the new owners moved the store

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[70]Conover, "Legislative History," 12-14, 26.

[71]Conrad H. Hammar, "Institutional Aspects of Ozark Decline," Journal of Forestry 33 (October 1935): 843-850.

[72]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 260-261.

closer to the new State Highway 19. Walter Carr married in 1930 and settled on a farm near his family. In the winter of 1930-1931, he went to Wyoming but returned home in the spring. He farmed the land by Round Spring until the 1934 drought and then moved to East St. Louis, Illinois, to work one winter in the Swift Company packing plant. In 1935, he again returned to the farm and worked it until another drought sent him looking for work in Illinois the following year. He took a job with the American Car and Foundry Company in Madison, Illinois, but went back to the farm after losing the job with the worsening of the Depression. In 1938, he received a bank loan and bought the former family store at Round Spring. Finally, in 1941 he became the superintendent of the Round Spring State Park until he lost this position after a new administration came in power in Jefferson City in 1944.[73]

A population decline accompanied the rising federal intervention and helped to restore much of the area's natural resources and their economic viability. The number of people in Carter County dropped steadily from 6,226 in 1940 to 4,777 in 1950 and to 3,973 in 1960. Shannon County experienced a similar trend and from 1940 to 1960 its population went from 11,831 to 7,087. In a five-county region of the southeastern Ozarks, including the two counties above, the population fell from 53,423 to 35,162. Yet, statewide, the population of Missouri rose from 3,784,664 people in 1940 to 4,319,813 in 1960. A number of factors pulled people away from the homeland. World War II and the urban jobs created by the war effort drew many people to the cities. Moreover, the U.S. Forest Service moved many people, as the rate of population decline was fastest in those townships within the new national forests. The falling populations and Forest Service management of the forest improved the growth rate and the quality of the timber. By 1968, a growing local timber industry was harvesting 50,000 acres a year in the national forest.[74]

The regulation of annual burning contributed to the reforestation process. The Forest Service initiated a fire prevention program that eventually became accepted by much of the local population. The employment and the education programs provided by the U.S. Forest Service helped change public opinion on burnings and the area of forest subjected to annual fires soon dropped from 33 to 1 percent of the forest.[75]

The closing of the open range presented an even more significant change to the homeland. The drive to close the range in Missouri began in 1890 and came from a number of sources, such as growing urbanization, farm extension programs, the pressures of rising tourism, and a variety of others. In the 1960s, open grazing continued in portions of the Mark Twain National Forest.

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[73]Walter Carr, Interview, 28 July 1978, OZAR.

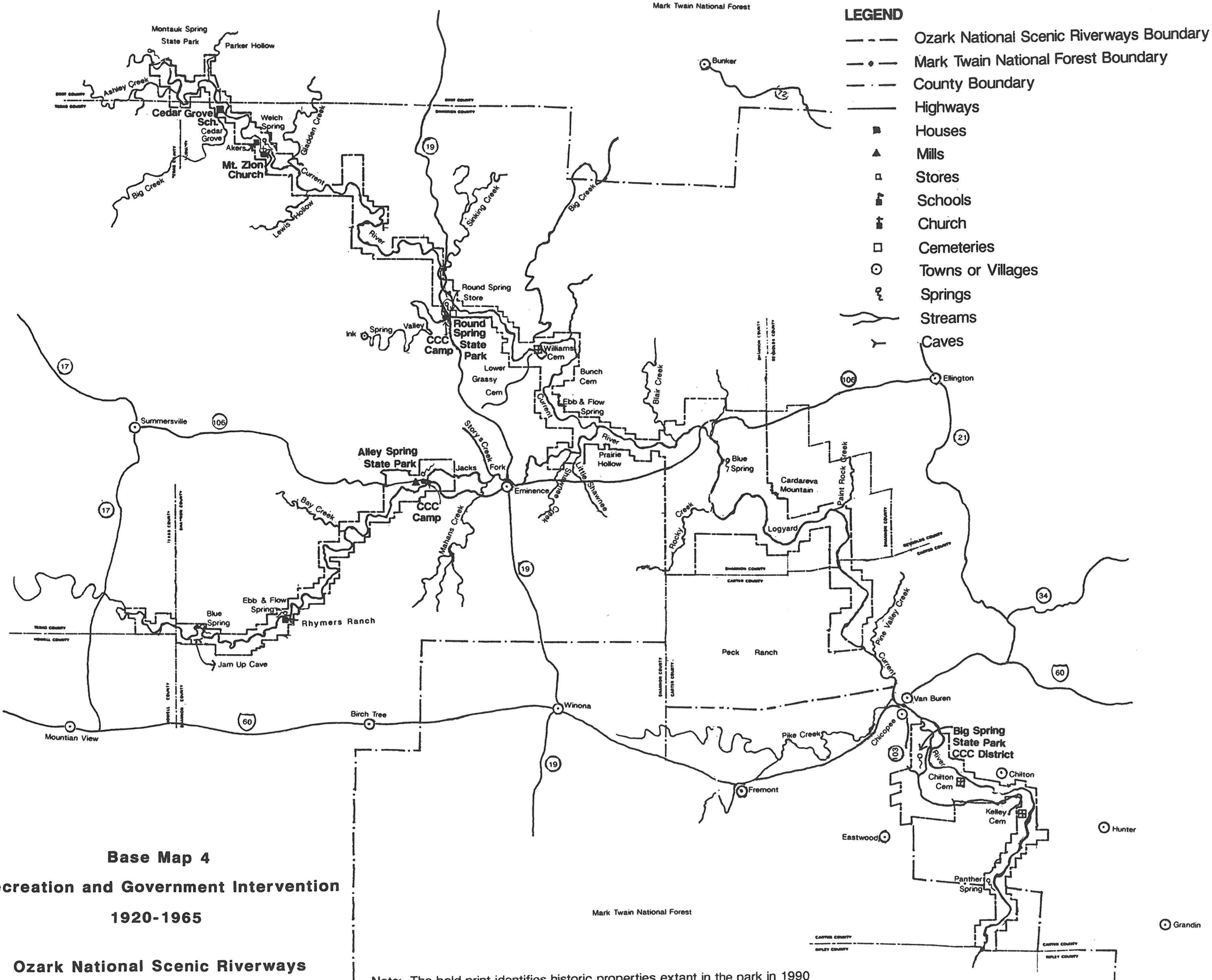
[74]Murphy, "Southeastern Ozark Region," 281-284.

[75]Ibid., 277-278.

Despite growing recognition of the agricultural benefits of controlled breeding, the tradition lingered in the Current River homeland until after the establishment of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways and the 1969 passage of a state law that removed the local-option stock laws.[76]

The development of modern recreation involved a give and take between the modern dynamics pushing the different government initiatives and the traditions of the Current River homeland. Modern recreation, however, developed much differently in the Current River valley than it had in other Ozark places like Eureka Springs, Arkansas, and the reservoir lakes of the Missouri Ozarks. The efforts to protect the free-flowing river and to establish a national park centering on the Current River reflected a strong preservation ethos accompanying the development of recreation here. This preservation outlook originated out of a complicated mix of traditional Ozark uplander values and modern environmentalism and, in the late 1950s and 1960s, provided a foundation for the national movement to preserve the Current and Jacks Fork rivers.

[76]Rafferty, The Ozarks Land and Life, 187-188; and Interview with Robert Flanders.



Base Map 4

Recreation and Government Intervention

1920-1965

Ozark National Scenic Riverways

Note: The bold print identifies historic properties extant in the park in 1990

Appendix A

Sources for the Base Maps

Along with personal observations and consultations with former park historian James Corless, the author relied on the following sources in preparing Base Maps 1-4. Approximate locations are given for the archeological sites in Base Map 1 and were taken from National Register of Historic Places nomination forms on file at the National Park Service Midwest Region.

Clendenen, Harbert L. "Settle Morphology of the Southern Courtois Hills, Missouri, 1820-1860." Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973.

Morrow, Lynn. "Trader William Gillis and Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri." Missouri Historical Review LXXV (January 1981): 147-167.

Murphy, James Lee. "A History of the Southeastern Ozark Region of Missouri." Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1982

Price, Cynthia R. "Reported Historic Period Sites in Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981-1982." Submitted to the U.S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service. Midwest Archeological Center, 1983.

U.S. Department of the Interior. Geological Survey. Alley Spring Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1965.

_____. Geological Survey. Bartlett Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1964.

_____. Geological Survey. Big Spring Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1968.

_____. Geological Survey. Cedargrove Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Exchange Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1965.

_____. Geological Survey. Eminence Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1965.

_____. Geological Survey. Grandin SW Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1968.

_____. Geological Survey. Jam Up Cave Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Lewis Hollow Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Montauk Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Pine Crest Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Powder Mill Ferry Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Round Spring Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. The Sinks Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1968.

_____. Geological Survey. Stegall Mountain Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Van Buren North Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1985.

_____. Geological Survey. Van Buren South Quadrangle, Missouri. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), Photorevised 1968.

Appendix B

Identification of Ozark Cultural Structures and Sites on the National Register of Historic Places and Cultural Properties with National Register Potential

Most historic properties in Ozark National Scenic Riverways are on the National Register of Historic Places. Of the seventy-eight structures on the List of Classified Structures (LCS) for the Riverways, fifty-six are on the National Register. Two nominations in progress include one other structure on the LCS and ten buildings not listed on the LCS.

Only two of the National Register structures, the Chilton House and the Reed Log House (Macy Cabin), predate the corporate railroad and lumber era that dominated the history of the Current River between 1880 and 1920. The Chilton House (see Figure 2) was listed in the Chilton-Williams Farm Complex nomination. Descendants of Thomas Boggs Chilton built the house, c. 1869-1879. The National Register nomination describes the building as one of the oldest remaining structures in Shannon County. In 1912, the Chilton family sold the farm. The National Register nomination of the Chilton-Williams Farm Complex contains 17 contributing structures, which includes the Chilton House. Subsequent owners erected the additional structures. These include a second farmhouse and thirteen outbuildings that in style and quantity are rather atypical of Ozark farms along the Current and Jacks Fork rivers.[1]

The Reed Log House (see Figure 1) contains a single-pen-log home (c. 1857-1870) with a rear L addition (c. 1885) and porch addition (c. 1910) and displays a vernacular form of building and scale more common to the region than the many building of the Chilton-Williams Complex. The additions to the log house also reflected the common practice of adapting a frontier house for continued use. As the nomination for the Reed Log House states: "The house reveals in its three primary components the pioneer era, through the log structure; the entrance of the lumbering industry and the railroads, in its board-and-batten L and limestone cellar; and the widespread availability of consumer goods and the desire for stability in the early twentieth century, expressed through the poured concrete porch." The property also includes a detached cistern as a contributing structure. The Missouri State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) recommended nominating a section of the Historic Buttin Rock Road to the National Register. This is a nineteenth century road trace that parallels the river near the Reed Log House. It is listed on the LCS. The Midwest Region needs to investigate a conceptual format for nominating this local road.

Although few structures dating before 1880 exist on the Riverways, significant historic

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[1]Copies of the National Register Nominations discussed in Appendix B are available at the National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office, Omaha, Nebraska.

sites are components of archeological sites listed on the National Register. For example, these include the Isaac Kelley Site, Phillips Bay Mill, and the Old Eminence Site (see Base Map 1). The Isaac Kelley Site contains the plantation site of Isaac E. Kelley, one of the earliest American settlers on the Current River. The Phillips Bay Mill was a sawmill that James Dearing and members of the Kelley family operated from the 1830s to the 1860s. This mill and five to seven others like it were part of an early lumber industry along the Current River. The Phillips Bay Mill sawed anywhere from 50,000 to 100,000 board feet of pine per year and marketed the lumber in the local area and in Arkansas. The Old Eminence Site identifies the location of the first county seat of Shannon County. From the 1840s to the mid 1860s, it served as the political hub of a dispersed open community on the upper Current River. The Shannon County courthouse and jail stood at this locale until they were destroyed during the Civil War.

The vast majority of the historic structures date to the railroad and corporate lumber era and to the rise of modern recreation in the Current Valley. The Walter Klepzig Mill and Farm and the Alley Spring Roller Mill are the only mills still standing in the Riverways. The Alley Roller Mill, built in 1893, was a water-powered turbine mill and the last of a succession of mills built at Alley Spring. A small hamlet developed around the mill and became a favorite gathering place for Shannon County residents celebrating holidays and festivals (see Figures 16-18 and 37-39). In 1924, the state purchased the site as one of the first Missouri State Parks. The people of Shannon County continue to have a strong attachment to the mill. The state has adopted the mill as a symbol of its heritage and frequently has displayed photographs of the mill in promotional brochures and calendars. The Alley Spring Roller Mill was a merchant mill and larger than most mills in the Current Valley. In contrast, the Klepzig Mill is the lone surviving mill of its type in and around the Current River Valley. As the National Register nomination notes: "The Klepzig farm is one of very few grist mill sites which continues to communicate the relationship between a small Ozark mill and the farm of which it is a part." Built in 1912, Walter Klepzig constructed this mill using sawmill construction, a building type introduced in the Ozarks by the large lumber companies. Five of the structures on the LCS contribute to the Walter Klepzig Mill and Farm National Register property.

Like the Klepzig Mill and Farm, the Nichols Farm District displays a turn-of-the-century Ozark cultural landscape. The Nichols National Register property (see Figures 23-29) contains a house (c. 1910), barn (c.1910), and corncrib (c.1932). The Nichols' nomination emphasizes the significance of this property to the Riverways: "The unmodified condition of the Nichols farmstead represents the culture and lifestyle of persons who lived along the Upper Current River and is the only farm in the park which exhibits a high degree of typicality and integrity." The Nichols family built there farm and lived in a manner that exemplified the persistence of the Scotch-Irish frontier tradition into the early twentieth century Ozarks.

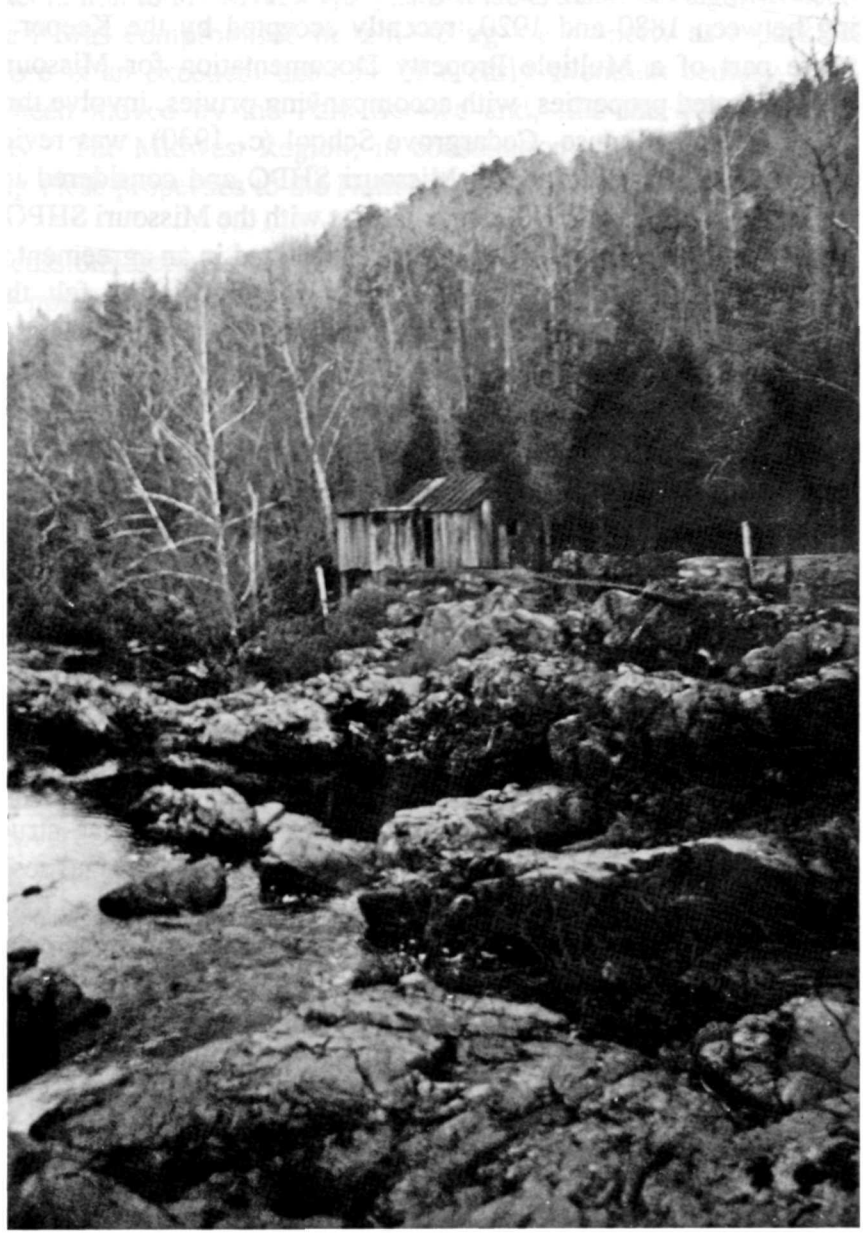

Figure 55:

Walter Klepzig Mill on Rocky Creek, c.1912, 1987, Donald L. Stevens, Jr., Midwest Region

National Register nominations of the Lower Parker School (c. 1905) and the Buttin Rock School (c. 1912) (see Figures 21-22), reflecting the rise of public education as part of the rapid changes occurring between 1880 and 1920, recently accepted by the Keeper of the National Register. They are part of a Multiple Property Documentation for Missouri Ozarks Rural Schools. The two nominated properties, with accompanying privies, involve three structures on the LCS. An additional schoolhouse, Cedargrove School (c. 1930), was reviewed in the late 1970s by the National Park Service and the Missouri SHPO and considered ineligible for the National Register. In the summer of 1990, consultations with the Missouri SHPO on the National Register eligibility of the Riverways historic properties resulted in an agreement that Cedargrove School should be reevaluated. The Midwest Region and the SHPO felt that it should be reconsidered because of recent literature on vernacular stone architecture in Missouri and because the schoolhouse is now over fifty years old. The two agencies also considered another schoolhouse, the Story Creek School (c. 1900), as an unlikely candidate for the Register because it lacks locational integrity. Citizens of Shannon County donated the school to the park, and it was moved from its historic site to Alley.

The other properties on the National Register or that appear eligible for the Register relate to the rise of modern recreation and government intervention in the Current River valley. The Big Spring Historic District (see Figures 48-51) is the most intact and accessible historic area in the Riverways. Located in the former Big Spring State Park, the historic district centers around a major Civilian Conservation Corps development in the park between 1933 and 1937. Properties built by the state and other federal New Deal agencies, however, are also included in the district. The resources contain twenty-seven structures listed on the LCS, including an entrance building, fifteen rental cabins, several maintenance and service structures, a dining lodge, latrine, picnic shelters, foot bridge, and other structures. Additional research on the Big Spring Historic District by the park for interpretive exhibits have discovered that a picnic shelter and possible an open shelter house within the district were omitted from the original nomination and need to be added to the National Register listing. This is a valid recommendation because amending the Big Spring nomination would not only complete the district, but it could also provide an opportunity to clarify the construction dates and builders of some of the structures in the district. As it stands, the Big Spring nomination form is very thinly documented. In addition, ten cabins of the Shannon County Hunting and Fishing Club (see Figure 36) are in the process of being nominated as a historic district related to modern recreation on the Riverways. These structures do not appear in the LCS. They are in western Shannon County on the Jacks Fork River.

Along with the Story Creek School, the Midwest Region and the Missouri SHPO agreed that the Maggard Cabin, Akers Ferry, W. Partney House, Cotton Farm, and the Round Spring Store would be difficult to nominate to the National Register. Vandals dismantled the Maggard Cabin, but it was recovered and partially reassembled. The Akers Ferry has been rebuilt a number of times and, although it is the last remaining ferry on the Riverway, it has very little

historic fabric left. The W. Partney House is a rather large farmhouse compared to small farmhouses more common to the Riverways' past. It lacks historical significance. The integrity of the Cotton Farm was compromised in remodeling the property as a park residence. The Round Spring Store is an excellent example of a early twentieth century rural Ozark store; however, it has been moved by the Park Service and, like the Story Creek School, lacks locational integrity. The Midwest Region, in consultation with the Missouri SHPO, decided against nominating these properties to the National Register because of the factors stated above.

In the discussions between the Midwest Region and the Missouri SHPO, the issue of whether or not to nominate the Ramsey Barn, Pulltite Cabin, Owls Bend School, and the Old Railroad Right-of-Way of the Current River Railroad near Big Spring remained undetermined. The Midwest Region suggested not nominating the Ramsey Barn and the Pulltite Cabin because of insufficient historic significance, but the SHPO wanted more information on these properties before concurring with this suggestion. The three additional properties, Owls Bend School, the Schockley barn and Old Railroad Right-of-Way, mentioned above have not been discussed with the SHPO yet. The Midwest Region probably will recommend not pursuing nominations at this time. The school has been adapted by the park for maintenance use and the Railroad Right-of-Way has an integrity problem because the tracks were removed in the 1930s.

The Midwest Archeological Center prepared National Register nominations for two sites, Two Rivers Site and Round Spring Archeological District, that were forwarded to the Missouri SHPO in August 1991. The Round Spring nomination contains two nineteenth-century mill sites. Additional cultural sites will require future evaluation. For example during the summer of 1991, archeologists uncovered the site of an early nineteenth-century trappers cabin at Rocky Falls. Two 1983 studies, Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981-1982 by James Price et al. and Reported Historic Period Sites in Ozark National Scenic Riverways by Cynthia Price identify a number of historic sites. These include early settlement period home and stores sites such as the Kelley plantation and the Deatherage store, possible Indian camps and villages, as well as lumber and recreation era sites such as logging tram line remnants and ruins of the Carter County Fishing and Shooting Clubhouse. Further survey and inventory of cultural landscapes would help determine which cultural sites maintain sufficient significance and integrity to warrant future National Register evaluation or special studies such as cultural landscape reports.

List of Ozark Properties on the National Register of Historic Places

Property	Date Accepted
Big Spring Historic District 25 - buildings 1 - structure	March 17, 1981
Chilton-Williams Farm Complex 11 - buildings 5 - structures	September 2, 1981
Alley Spring Roller Mill 1 - building	December 8, 1981
Phillips Bay Mill 4 - structures 1 - site	February 3, 1988
Isaac Kelley Site 1 - site	February 4, 1988
Old Eminence Site 1 - site	February 4, 1988
Culpepper-Pummil Site 1 - site	April 11, 1988
Pulltite Site 1 - site	April 11, 1988
Owl's Bend Site 1 - site	March 22, 1988
Nichols Farm District 2 - buildings 1 - structure 1 - site	December 27, 1989
Chubb Hollow Site 1 - site	January 18, 1990
Walter Klepzig Mill and Farm 3 - buildings 1 - structure 3 - sites	March 1, 1990
Shawnee Creek Site 1 - site	April 27, 1990
Gooseneck Site 1 - site	October 2, 1990
Akers Ferry Archeological District 5 - sites	October 25, 1990

Reed Log House (Macy Cabin)	April 29,1991
1 - building	
1 - structure	
1 - site	
Lower Parker School	May 31, 1991
1 - building	
3 - sites	
Buttin Rock School	May 31, 1991
2 - buildings	
1 - site	
1 - object	

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A detailed look at the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

Bradbury, John F. Jr., "'This War is Managed Mighty Strange:' The Army of Southeastern Missouri, 1862-1863." Unpublished paper with accompanying notes. Western History Manuscript Collection-Rolla. Rolla, Missouri, 1988.

This is an informative narrative, not just of the troop movements in the area, but also of the conditions of the countryside through which they traveled. The accompanying notes are an important source of information on the Current River communities in the 1860s.

Breckenridge, William G. "Early Gun Powder Making in Missouri." Missouri Historical Review 20 (1925): 85-95.

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