Made *in the* Timber

A Settlement History of the Fort Leonard Wood Region

Steven D. Smith

Made in the Timber: A Settlement History of the Fort Leonard Wood Region

by
Steven D. Smith

with contributions by
Alex Primm

Maneuver Support Center

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Cover Photo: Tie raft along an Ozark River (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

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If you had a good river bottom farm you could make it. But it was a poor livin' in the fort. The people there grew everything they needed. But mostly, people there made it in the timber.

GEORGE LANE—MAY 16, 1992

This book is dedicated to Richard Edging, Adam Smith, the late George Lane, and the people who lived in Southern Pulaski County, 1800–1940.

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Acknowledgments

In 1991, I was asked to develop an overview of the history of the Fort Leonard Wood region in order to place the historic sites in a regional context. The result of that effort was *Made It in the Timber, A Historic Overview of the Fort Leonard Wood Region, 1800–1940*. This book is a reevaluation and expansion of that work. The research for this study was originally conducted for the Cultural Resources Management Program, Fort Leonard Wood, under the auspices and funding of the Department of Defense. The work was originally performed under the direction of the Cultural Resources Research Center, Planning and Mission Impact Division of the Land Management Laboratory, U.S. Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratory (CERL), and this final manuscript was under the direction of the Land and Heritage Conservation Branch of CERL, part of the Engineer Research and Development Center (ERDC) in Champaign, Illinois. Although it is my name on the cover, it took a great many people to research and write such a work. Acknowledging those many people is a joyful but anxious duty. I am delighted and humbled to name those who have assisted, but at the same time anxious that no one is missed. So let me begin by thanking any and all who, through my own inattention, are not included herein.

First and foremost of those who must be recognized is Dr. Richard Edging. Richard, archaeologist with the Environment, Energy, and Natural Resource Division, Directorate of Public Works, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, has been both a client and friend for the past twelve years and was primarily responsible for encouraging and shepherding the original historic overview and this book to completion. What we know about the history and prehistory of the Fort Leonard Wood region is largely (perhaps entirely) due to his continuing efforts to preserve its heritage through the careful management of its cultural resources. Fort Leonard Wood's Environmental Division is led by Division Chief, Mr. Scott Murrell. Also assisting in the division are Ms. Emily Brown and Mr. Thomas Glueck. Their support and enthusiasm for this book behind the scenes were instrumental in too many capacities for me to know. But I know that without them, the book would not have been published.

Readers will soon note the invaluable oral history contributions of my friend and contributor, Mr. Alex Primm. Alex's interviews have brought a touch of life, humanity, and humor to an otherwise standard historical work, as he does to our lives every time he invites us to his Missouri home for dinner and fellowship. Thank you Alex.

Mr. Adam Smith with ERDC-CERL has also been a longtime friend and colleague and assisted in the book's production through ERDC-CERL. Also at ERDC-CERL I must thank Dr. Michael Hargrave and former employee Ms. Suzanna Langowski who assisted in the book's various drafts and final production. Other ERDC-CERL facilitators include: Dr. Lucy A. Whalley, Chief of the Land and Heritage Conservation Branch; Dr. John T. Bandy, Chief of the Installations Division; Dr. Alan W. Moore, Director of CERL; Dr. James R. Houston, Director of ERDC; and Colonel John W. Morris, Commander of ERDC. Thanks again to the incomparable Ms. Gloria J. Wienke, editor at ERDC-CERL, whose skills, humor, and enthusiasm for this project nursed the manuscript into its final form.

At Fort Leonard Wood I want to thank Dr. Larry Roberts, historian and archivist at the History Office of the U.S. Army Engineer Center, Fort Leonard Wood. Dr. Roberts and his talented assistant archivist, Janet Fisher, provided space, copying services, scanning services, research assistance, outstanding advice, and suggestions. Two other helpful people at Fort Leonard Wood were Ms. Ruth Taylor at the Department of Public Works and Mr. Robert "Kim" Combs at the Engineer Museum. Finally, I must thank Ms. Stephanie Nutt for inexhaustibly promoting and distributing this book throughout Missouri.

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Throughout Missouri people were interested in the project and helpful. Dr. Milton Rafferty of Southwest Missouri State University, Thomas Burge, formerly with the Mark Twain National Forest and now with the National Park Service in San Francisco, Mrs. Betty Pritchett, a local photographer, and Robert Jacobson of the United States Geological Survey, Rolla, Missouri, all granted me telephone interviews regarding the local area. At the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Mr. Arthur W. Hebrank, Mr. Bruce D. Carter, and Mr. Peter T. Price helped locate historic maps. There were also numerous archivists and historians at some of the best archives in the United States, especially the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia and the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. However, tops among these is historian Mr. John F. Bradbury of the Rolla Branch of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri-Rolla. John allowed me access to documents of yet unpublished personal research

he was conducting, and was always helpful throughout the several years of research for this book. He also allowed me to computer scan photographs from his personal postcard collection of the region.

At the Midwestern Archaeological Research Center, Illinois State University, Dr. Charles E. Orser, Jr., and Mr. Jerry Moore assisted in the historic overview. The maps used were originally generated by Jerry and modified for this book. At the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Dr. Bruce Rippeteau is Director and constant encourager of historical and archaeological research. Among my colleagues there I must include Dr. Christopher Ohm Clement, who listened long hours about diverse aspects of the northern Ozarks and provided much-appreciated assistance in preparing the photographs and maps for this book, as did Ms. Tamara Wilson and Dr. Jonathan Leader. Although nothing herein was written *sine numine,* remaining errors and omissions are mine alone.

Steven D. Smith
July 2003

Foreword

The Hill

...Where are Uncle Isaac and Aunt Emily,
And old Towny Kincaid and Sevigne Houghton,
And Major Walker who had talked
With venerable men of the revolution?—
All, all are sleeping on the hill.

They brought them dead sons from the war,
And daughters whom life had crushed,
And their children fatherless, crying—
All, all are sleeping, sleeping, sleeping on the hill...

Edgar Lee Masters—*The Spoon River Anthology*

The purpose of this book is to examine a small part of the northern Ozarks from the perspective of a landscape history. The manuscript took shape during discussions on how we could build upon the success of the technical report *Made It in the Timber: A Historic Overview of the Fort Leonard Wood Region, 1800–1940* by Steven D. Smith. Completed in 1993, the original report was a landscape approach for evaluating historic sites discovered during archaeological survey. At Fort Leonard Wood and the United States Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratory, we proposed that archaeological sites need to be addressed through a regional context. Our approach to site significance emphasized the development of a regional or local history, within the framework of the cultural and geographical landscape, and unifying these into a historic context statement. Such historical contexts assist in managing and preserving those archaeological sites that best represent the full range and variety of the area's cultural history. The first step identified distinct chronological changes to the landscape as regional settlement progressed. The second step was using

these landscapes to identify a historic context, defined here as a unifying cultural theme describing the region, its people, and their historic resources. The third step was to integrate the history and context statement with recorded archaeological resources. From this work we developed a detailed research and management plan for the evaluation of historic sites. Historical documentation in essence brought the archaeology of our region to life.

For this volume we stressed the first two steps as ordered by the natural and cultural landscape. We were also interested in how the northern Ozarks fits into the larger picture of American history. This approach created many layers of research that focused on how frontier and backcountry settlements changed through time. New research was added as well as additional emphasis on the Civil War, transportation, agriculture, tie-hacking, people, and landscape changes. Oral histories, photographs, maps, and illustrations added flavor to descriptions and historical accounts. In total, it is a vastly different work that blends extensive historical documentation with oral history.

To summarize this volume, Smith introduces perspectives that use archaeology, history, and geography in an attempt to portray the northern Ozarks as a unique Upland South tradition. Although separated by time and culture, pre-Columbian Native Americans adapted to Ozark isolation, living in hunter-gatherer bands for millennia. Late in the pre-Columbian era they organized into small agricultural communities and neighborhoods. As a thread that binds the early chapters together, Smith follows the Turpin family through the early years of historic settlement and the growth of Pulaski County. A major portion of the volume is devoted to early settlement and antebellum history due to its influence on the character of the region. The region's involvement in the Civil War, while removed from the major theaters of war, produced profound results. Smith's research skillfully summarizes Pulaski County's role in the conflict and how its outcome affected the region for generations. After the war, the railroad boom that swept the country chose a northern county route, creating a dichotomy of development. The northern part of the county became more Midwestern and market-oriented while the south remained a more traditional Ozarkian prewar landscape. This theme and the growth of farming communities are wonderfully portrayed through economic and societal changes. These changes are set against the background of early twentieth century life, the Depression, and preparation for World War II. Smith's research chronicles an accurate and poignant picture of Pulaski County history before the establishment of Fort Leonard Wood in 1941. Meshed with this history are the words of the people who once lived on the land, elegantly recorded by Alex Primm.

The history of a landscape—whether frontier, backcountry, or urban—is a rich tapestry of people, events, tragedy, and triumph. The threads that unite the Ozark landscape with other frontier and backcountry histories are adaptation, isolation, and culture. This book attempts to explain the northern Ozarks as a unique region but one that also mirrors cultural influences that formed and shaped its Upland South heritage. Viewed from the perspective of a county's history as a framework, Smith has deftly captured the essence of northern Ozark culture through a century-and-a-half of incremental change. Although this change was hardly noticeable and many aspects of the distinctive Ozarkian lifestyle remain, change did come, interwoven with major events of American history—trans-Appalachian settlement, the Civil War, the railroad, market economies, and World War II. And while these major events help frame the distinctive history of the northern Ozarks, the history of individuals, their families, and their work is paramount. Smith has not lost sight of this perspec-

tive. He has embraced the successes and frailties of everyday people, who lived, worked, raised families, and died in a land between two rivers, now called Fort Leonard Wood.

The training of our Army requires room for maneuvers and cantonment; however, the installation has protected vast stretches of land, creeks, and rivers. Spread across this landscape are the remains of several ancient communities that, like their historic counterparts, attest to the people's skill in adapting to a land removed from more complex cultures. Later, historic Ozark settlers would bypass the Mississippi River, travel the route of Native Americans, and build mills, towns, churches, schools, farmhouses, and cemeteries in the backcountry. These historic archaeological sites speak to us now as silent reminders of a culture that worked hard to earn a living, and along the way, loved the land they shared with nature. A visit to one of the hundreds of farmhouse ruins leads one to imagine the laughter, the celebrations, the births, and deaths that must have taken place. A walk through one of the fort's cemeteries is a reminder of how families lived to old age, knew their grandchildren, or sometimes died tragically young. These were the pioneers, these were the hard workers, and these were the people that endured. It is to these people and their descendants that we dedicate this book.

Richard Edging, Ph.D.
Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri

Suzanna Langowski
Colorado Springs, Colorado
July 2003

Introduction

Landscape and Life in Southern Pulaski County

The plateau and hill regions of the central Ozarks were settled last, in part because of their poverty, but principally because of their isolation.[1]

Carl Sauer

Despite its isolation, tough, independent-minded pioneers from Tennessee and Kentucky gradually settled the land between the Big Piney River and Roubidoux Creek in southern Pulaski County, Missouri, beginning in the early nineteenth century (Figure 1).[2] This book relates the history of human occupation and use of this beautiful but tenuous Missouri Ozark region from its initial exploration to its use today as the U.S. Army Maneuver Support Center and Fort Leonard Wood. It is a story of a distinctly American-bred culture that took what the land provided to sometimes flourish, sometimes just survive—but in all things and at all times act with an autonomy that today defines the Ozark land and people.

For cultural geographer Carl Sauer, the late settlement of the Ozarks was due to its landscape—timbered, infertile, and rough. It was largely unattractive to those pioneer farmers seeking rich, broad river bottomlands where they could grow tall corn. Most preferred the Missouri River and its major tributaries. Unalluring to cash-crop farmers, the Ozarks were also avoided by most speculators, merchants, millers, and even politicians, all of whom relied on large agrarian populations supported by fertile lands. But rolling lands like those found in the Ozarks were attractive to a particular type of pioneer, the hunter-stockman, who looked upon the woodland as a land of enough. Within the wooded hollows and on the prairie uplands there was enough game to hunt and enough timber to build a cabin. The forests provided plenty of means to make it, one just had to be flexible, making use of what was seasonally available. An infertile upland backwoods like the land between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney was a homeland. Its isolation may have even been desired. Isolation meant freedom and independence from encroaching neighbors and government.

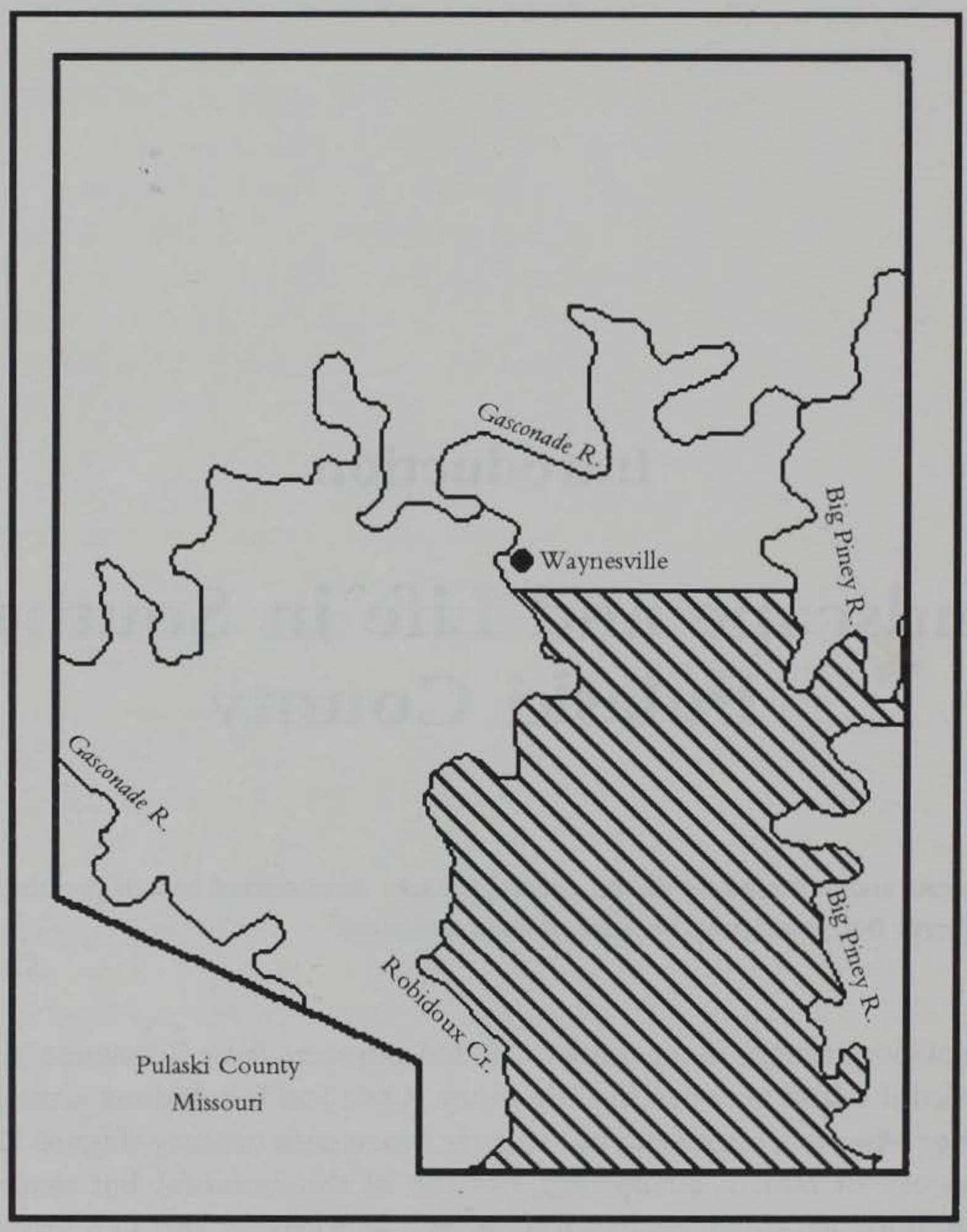

Figure 1. Location of Fort Leonard Wood and The Study Area (Courtesy of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology [SCIAA] 2003).

Historically, the Missouri Ozark's isolation was an environmental fact that became a cultural attribute.

But Ozark isolation is not, nor has it ever been, total. It did not mean that nothing beyond the Ozarks affected the landscape and lives of Ozark people. Although insulated from the world at large, especially when it came to day-to-day events, national and world trends and governmental policies still affected the Ozark settler's way of life. If anything, the following history of southern Pulaski County demonstrates not so much a dependency, but perhaps, from an Ozarkian point of view, an often irresistible and sometimes necessary intrusion of the outside world into a cherished lifestyle. The Civil War changed the lives of Ozark people. Likewise, the ever-increasing national demand for natural resources in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries changed the natural landscape in southern Pulaski

County. Eventually, both land and people were exhausted by this exploitation. Once this region of the Ozarks was opened and exploited by outside stresses, the cherished traditions of isolation and independence that had served the people well were no longer able to serve them further. In this light the following history of the Fort Leonard Wood region is the story of a highly adaptable people who struggled to maintain a way of life on a fragile landscape.

Fort Leonard Wood's regional history is in its landscape. Because the Ozarks are both a distinctive place and a people, it is nearly impossible to relate historical events and trends in southern Pulaski County without also relating the changing natural and cultural landscape. Therefore, this book is not just a history of the Fort Leonard Wood region; it is a history of a landscape. History as landscape change is not a new way of looking at the past. The eminent cultural geographer Carl Ortwin Sauer defined the term landscape and its study in the 1920s.[3] Sauer saw landscape as the result primarily of human activity, in which human works are inscribed on the earth's surface giving the land its characteristic expression.[4] He also recognized the importance of the historical dynamics of the landscape, the changes or evolution that occurred to create the cultural landscape. Although Sauer was interested in the formation of landscape and the culture that produced it, he was less interested in understanding the culture itself. His focus was on the effect culture had on the landscape. The culture's lifeways and traditions were of lesser importance in landscape study. "The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result."[5] For Carl Sauer the landscape was primarily a place and the artifacts of that place were buildings, roads, and fences. In this sense landscape was culture, intruded upon nature. Later geographers wrestled with his definition, and sought to broaden its scope. Like anthropologists, they desired to do more than merely describe the landscape and its features; they sought to interpret meanings and structure within the landscape. Cultural geographers today have moved on and expanded Sauer's original concept and continue to debate and offer differing theoretical and interpretive approaches. Still there is some basic agreement within the profession that the concept of landscape incorporates "Those works of man that are inscribed into the earth's surface and give to it characteristic expression."[6]

Archaeologists too have focused on the landscape in their understanding of the past, but with different meanings. Landscape archaeology in America developed out of the study of regional prehistoric settlement patterns and systems; measuring and examining sites in time and space.[7] With the advent of historical archaeology as a subdiscipline, studies of the historic landscapes were the result of a natural progression of settlement pattern studies, as archaeologists struggled to get beyond the narrow single-site studies. In a sense, almost any multisite archaeological study incorporated at least an aspect of landscape examination simply in the discussion of the special relationship between sites. But that was not landscape archaeology. It sought much broader and complex meanings and structure, in a manner similar to the post-Sauer studies by modern cultural geographers. Archaeologists took a decidedly multidisciplinary approach to include the theoretical perspectives of anthropology and ethnohistory. Obviously, the landscape in archaeological studies also included the subsurface manifestations of previous landscape features, which are useful in examining past landscapes and landscape change. However, recent studies may have gone even beyond 'place' and artifacts. What is sometimes labeled landscape archaeology has, within the past ten years, shifted

the focus from settlement patterns and systems to the study of how humans use and create 'landscapes' in social control, power, gender, and group identity.[8] While such studies have their place, this broadening has created a kind of tower of Babel for landscape archaeology within the subdiscipline of historical archaeology. As cultural geographer John J. Winberry has commented in a critique of archaeologically oriented landscape studies, archaeologists have not agreed on a single definition of landscape.[9]

One important past effort in landscape archaeology merely defines it as "the spatial manifestation of the relations between humans and their environment."[10] This definition offers a good starting point for the present study of the Fort Leonard Wood region. Landscape as used in this book returns to Sauer's concept of place and the historical changes that have occurred within that place, but adds another dimension. The author views landscape as the land's influence on the construct of human occupation, and vice versa, the effects of human exploitation on the land. As we occupy the land, we mark, scar, and modify it in ways that reflect our culture. As our culture changes, the land is altered, creating new landscapes. Further, our culture is transformed by the challenges of living on the land. Thus, landscapes are formed as human interactions modify the land, and at the same time, the characteristics of existing landscapes influence human interactions. This 'interaction' of humanity and nature constantly creates the current landscape while fragments of past landscapes survive. Drive down any country road, any city street, and see both the past and the present—and where construction intrudes, glimpse the future landscape. The landscape as defined here then, is both a cultural and natural phenomena—it is the result of the interaction of the two. This definition is neither totally environmentally deterministic nor totally culturally deterministic. It views the creation of the landscape as the result of the physical attributes of the land's geology and geomorphology, and of the cultural traits and traditions of the people who made a particular region their home. Like Sauer, the author is less concerned with the landscape as symbolic of political, social, or economic meanings or of deep ideological meanings.

And this is where this study diverges from both a cultural geographer's definition of landscape and also from a strictly archaeological definition. This book seeks simply to relate the history of a small region of the Ozarks noting the landscape change and the persistence of cultural traits uniquely Ozarkian within that area. The landscape approach herein simply provides an organizational framework for telling the history of southern Pulaski County. In the following chapters, the region's history will be told by painting the initial landscape prior to Euro-American settlement, and then by describing the changes that occurred as Americans occupied the region in gradually increasing numbers. Through time from around 1800 to 1940, four chronological landscapes will be painted. The first landscape is the prehistoric landscape. This was the landscape the Europeans and Americans found when they first arrived. Even then it was not a pure natural landscape, as Native Americans had occupied and modified its setting for thousands of years. The second landscape was that of the explorer and early settlers continuing up to and including the Civil War. This was a time of formation, organization, and hope until the tumultuous Civil War derailed hope for many. The third landscape was a period of postbellum rebuilding and growth and a new wave of settlers rebuilding their lives and society. The pace of landscape modification and resource exploitation quickened, and as this occurred the region became less and less isolated. But in the final twentieth century landscape, the resources eventually gave out, and overexploitation led to

another period of turmoil, exacerbated by a collapsed world economy. In this state of national economic stagnation, the United States government began purchasing the land; eventually the people were relocated to make way for the army.

Within each of these landscapes, the book will discuss the development of settlement and population (including villages and hamlets), agriculture and industry, transportation, and sociopolitical change. The landscapes will describe the interactions between the people and the land in an attempt to reconstruct a sense of place in time and space. This will be accomplished in seven chapters. A final chapter concludes with some observations about the nature of isolation that Sauer deemed characteristic of the Ozark and Fort Leonard Wood landscape. They are offered to the modern residents of Pulaski County as points of discussion and debate with the hope that they invigorate that Ozark sense of place and tradition among those who now call it home.

Finally, sprinkled through this history, the author, with the help of contributor Alex Primm, has incorporated stories collected from residents whose ancestors lived within the region. This oral history provides insights about the cultural landscape that neither documentary history nor archaeology can reveal. It is through such oral history that the region's traditions are kept alive. Novelist G.K. Chesterton has stated that tradition is the democracy of the dead. By integrating these stories within the book, the author hopes that those residents of the Fort Leonard Wood region who are no longer living have yet had a chance to speak and shape their own history.

Notes for Introduction

1 Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920), p. 148.

2 Specifically, this book focuses on the history of settlement along the river valleys of Roubidoux Creek and the Big Piney River, and the upland between (Figure 1). The northern border can be sharply defined as the Gasconade River, while the southern border is loosely the Pulaski-Texas County line, although some interesting aspects of the study will include northern Texas County between the Roubidoux and Big Piney. Obviously, historical events beyond these borders that affected the people within are also discussed.

3 John J. Winberry, "The Geographic Concept of Landscape: The History of a Paradigm," in *Carolina's Historical Landscapes, Archaeological Perspectives,* edited by Linda F. Stine, Martha Zierden, Lesley M. Drucker, and Christopher Judge (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), p. 4.

4 Carl Ortwin Sauer, "Cultural Geography," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Volume 6(1931):21–24.

5 Carl Ortwin Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," in *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer,* edited by John Leighly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 343.

6 For a more detailed discussion of the history of academic debate in the study of landscapes, see Winberry, "Geographic Concept of Landscape." Quote is from p. 11 of this article.

7 K.C. Chang, *Settlement Patterns in Archaeology,* Module 24 in Anthropology (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publications, 1972); Carole L. Crumley and William H. Marquardt, *Regional Dynamics: Burgundian Landscapes in Historical Perspective* (New York, Academic Press, 1987); Karl W. Butzer, *Archaeology as Human Ecology: Method and Theory for a Contextural Approach* (England: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

8 See for instance, Dee Dee Joyce, "The Charleston Landscape on the Eve of the Civil War: Race, Class, and Ethnic Relations in Ward Five," in *Carolina's Historical Landscapes,* (University of Tennessee Press, 1997) pp. 175–185.

9 Winberry, "Geographic Concept of Landscape," p. 11.

10 Crumley and Marquardt, *Burgundian Landscapes,* p. 1.

Chapter 1

The Primeval Landscape

Tradition has it that when in 1815 or 1816 the Josiah Turpin family arrived at the confluence of the Gasconade River and Roubidoux Creek just north of what is now Waynesville, Missouri, they initiated permanent American settlement in Pulaski County.[1] Josiah, however, was hardly in the van of a land rush into this northern Ozark region. Even as late as 1860, when the boundaries of Pulaski County were, for the most part, fixed to encompass the 550-square-mile area seen today, the census taker counted a county population of only 3,835. This amounted to only seven people per square mile, and made Pulaski County the least populated of the seventeen counties that make up the northern Ozarks.[2] The reasons that this northern Ozark area was settled late compared to other Missouri regions, and never achieved a dense population, include its isolation, poverty of resources, and lack of fertile farmland. In other words, the single greatest determinant to settlement was the landscape.[3]

The primeval landscape that Josiah Turpin found on the Gasconade must have been stunning. Much later it would be labeled the 'Switzerland of America' by some, perhaps overenthusiastic, visitors. North of Turpin's homestead, the land was rolling and sometimes craggy. But south, in southern Pulaski County, the Gasconade River's two tributaries, Roubidoux Creek and Big Piney River, cut deep winding paths, exposing formations of limestone and dolomite bedrock, and etching steep rugged cliffs as much as 200 feet high. These streams, like the Gasconade into which they flow, can twist and turn violently within a short distance. At one point along the Gasconade, the river seems to coil like a wounded snake, writhing along a nine-mile course that traverses only one straight-line mile. Below the cliffs the river's twisting course has created narrow but fertile river bottomlands ideal for pioneer farmers like Turpin. Altogether, the Gasconade and its tributaries drain some 3,600 square miles.[4] The land today is known as the Osage-Gasconade hills region—it is rugged, intricate, and beautiful (Figures 2, 3, and 4).

Geologists call the subterranean foundation of this wonderland the Salem Plateau. It is a vast rock table consisting of 460-million-year-old Ordovician dolomites and limestones

Figure 2. View of the Big Piney River, pre-1940 (Courtesy John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

Figure 3. View of the Big Piney River, 2003 (Courtesy SCIAA).

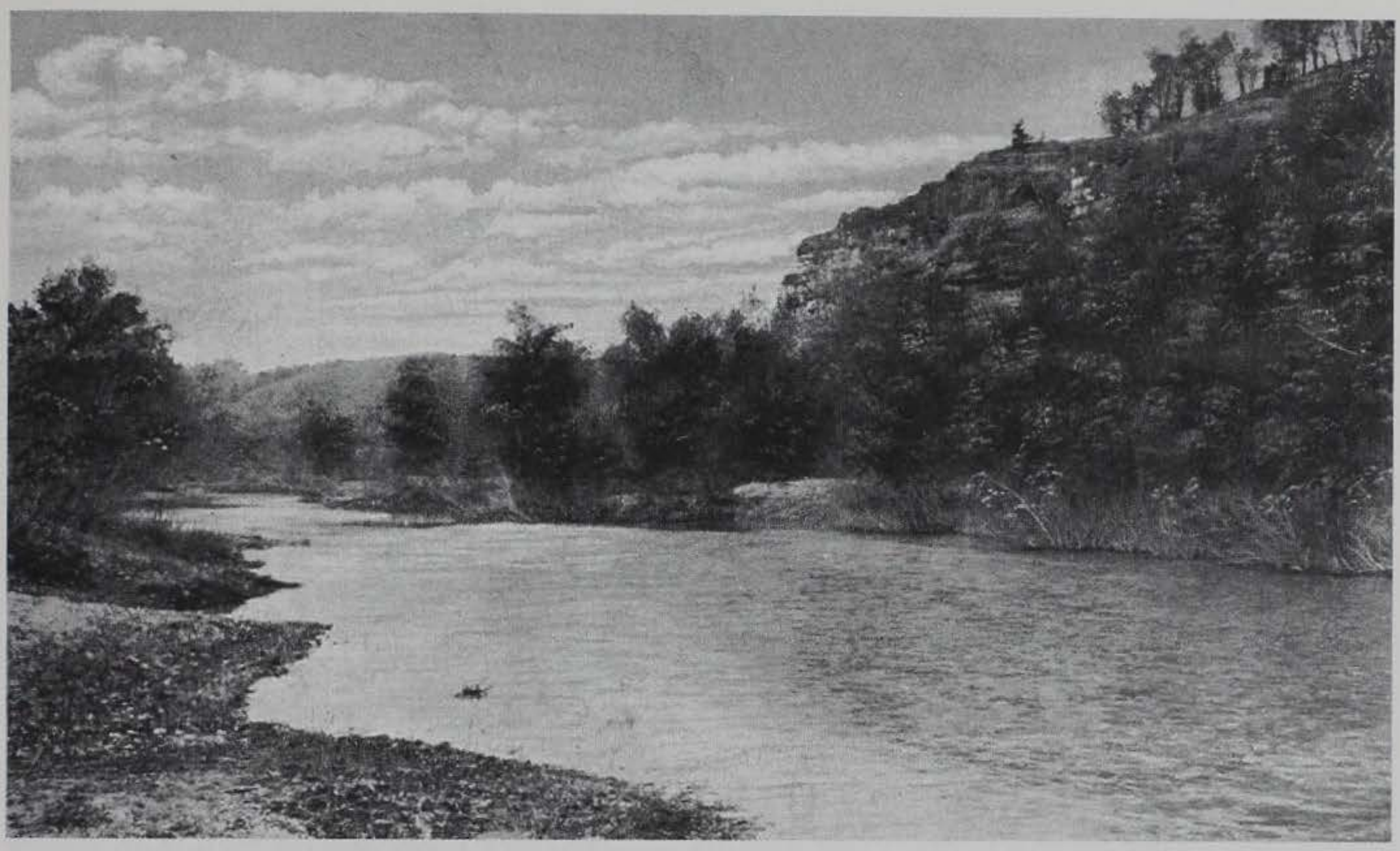

Figure 4. View of Roubidoux Creek, pre-1940 (Courtesy John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

that are sometimes exposed along the county's southern drainages, and it is mixed with 300-million-year-old Pennsylvanian sandstones and clays seen in northeast Pulaski County.[5] Although the plateau is extensive, stretching from the Missouri River south into Arkansas, it is only part of the much larger Ozark uplift, or Ozark Plateaus, that expand across all of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas. The southern border of this uplift is the picturesque Boston Mountains that run east and west from Batesville, Arkansas, to Muskogee, Oklahoma. Early settlers encountered hills of the Ozark Plateaus immediately upon crossing the Mississippi River south of St. Louis and did not see their end until the Missouri-Kansas border. Within this wide expanse are various subregions including the eastern St. Francois Mountains, the Salem Plateau of south-central Missouri, the Springfield Plateau in southwestern Missouri and the Interior Lowlands on the western edge of the plateaus. As a whole, the Ozark plateau rose as a enormous dome during the earliest periods of the earth's formation, or during Pre-Cambrian times dating more than 580 million years ago. A brief seventy or so million years later, its eroded surface subsided and was further crunched by faults and arches. Between these millions of years, the landscape changed as tectonic plates pushed and pulled far beneath the surface, while the weather etched and molded the surface.

The results of these forces are for the geologist to decipher. But for pioneer Josiah Turpin and his family, their landscape and ours began to be formed sometime during the Tertiary Period that began sixty-three million years ago. At that time the dome again lifted, to settle into relative stability.[6] It was then that nature began to etch the drainage system of the Gasconade, Roubidoux, and Big Piney, creating the sharp contrasts between the river's steep valleys and the rolling hills and hummocks of the uplands. Principally, it was water and air working against various layers of Ordovician rocks that created the U-shaped river valleys of

Turpin's landscape. At the base of these valleys is a 250- to 700-foot-thick block of crystalline dolomite and cherts called the Gasconade Formation. Above this is another layer up to 250 feet thick of dolomite and chert called the Roubidoux Formation that includes a resistant sandstone cap. For millions of years water, seeping into cracks, slowly dissolved these carbonate rocks creating a karst drainage system of numerous sinkholes, solution holes, caves, rock shelters, and springs. It is an efficient drainage system, to the point that only heavy downpours cause run-off in the uplands between the river valleys, and often these uplands are left parched. Some geologists point out that sinkholes and rockshelters are found most often in the Roubidoux formation, while caves and springs are found in the Gasconade formation. It is doubtful Turpin noticed this, but he saw that the cliffs had large, deep caves full of guano for making saltpeter, and almost every little intermittent stream flowing into the Gasconade, Roubidoux, and Big Piney had a spring at its headwaters.[7]

The numerous caves of these three rivers are widely appreciated today as Pulaski County is known as the "...premier county of Missouri" for its caverns.[8] As the county was settled, these caves began to be named after their discoverers, landowners, or for their distinctive features. In 1922 archaeologist Gerald Fowke visited many of these caves and recorded their features. He excavated prehistoric Indian remains at Graham Cave opposite Spring Creek, Woodland Hollow near Devil's Elbow, Miller Cave (now famous for its archaeological discoveries, Figure 5), and Ramsey's or Freeman's Cave three miles downstream from Miller Cave. Along the Roubidoux Fowke visited Davis Cave three miles north of Cookville, Maxey Cave seven miles south of Waynesville and nearby Yoark Cave, Kerr Cave near Kerr's Mill or five miles south of Waynesville, Berry Cave near the old hamlet of Hanna, Phillips Cave just a mile south of Waynesville, Roubidoux Cave at the confluence of the Roubidoux

Figure 5. Miller Cave (Courtesy Joe Proffitt, Natural Resources Branch, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri).

and Gasconade, and Pike's Peak Cave two miles west of Waynesville. Just off Roubidoux Creek in a tributary called Big Eddy, he found McWilliams Cave. In the surrounding hills, Onyx Cave, Railroad Cave, Bat or Page Cave, Brooks Cave, Riddle Cave, Lane's Cave, Bell's Cave, and Saltpeter Cave were investigated by Fowke, but despite his efforts there were numerous unnamed small rock shelters and overhangs in the county that he missed.[9] These caves were attractive shelters and burial grounds throughout prehistoric times, and became famous hiding places for desperados throughout much of the county's history.

Through the millions of years before people entered the region, numerous smaller tributaries flowing into the Gasconade, Roubidoux, and Big Piney Rivers cut dendritic ravines, dells, and intermittent streams from the uplands into the main river valleys. In fact, with some exceptions, "...almost no Ozark valley is without abundant spring water."[10] Later, these little vales would come to be called "hollows" by Ozark homesteaders, and were often named for the first family who settled them. Up these hollows the settlers found enticing, cool, clear water springs. And where there was a spring, a pioneer family would find a home. Much later, in the twentieth century, the larger capacity springs would attract tourists rather than homesteaders. In Pulaski County, Ozark Spring, Shanghai Spring, Schlicht Spring, Creasy Spring, Boiling Spring, Miller Spring, Roubidoux Spring (Big Spring, Figure 6), Blue Spring, Falling Spring, Gasconade Spring, and Stone Mill Spring, were among those destined to become famous as tourist attractions and recreational areas.[11]

Figure 6. Roubidoux Spring (Big Spring) on the Roubidoux, Summer 1885 (Courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

Natural springs are the main and steady suppliers of water for the Roubidoux, Big Piney, and Gasconade. Runoff is another important contributor and was a problem for settlers. All these rivers will flood, especially in the spring, and because of the twisting narrow channels, the waters can rise with terrifying swiftness. In its upper course the Gasconade's water level can rise twenty feet or more—seven to eight feet in a single day. These are rivers with dangerous histories. In May 1892 for example, the Big Piney rose thirty feet in eight hours. Again, in 1914, another twenty- to thirty-foot change occurred overnight along the Gasconade and its tributaries.[12] But these are the extremes. Thus, a 1931 study concluded that although the river was subject to occasional destructive floods, they were short in duration and it was not economically feasible to correct the problem. More typically, the water is very low, barely flowing, especially in the fall around October and November. It is so low that Roubidoux Creek has long stretches that are dry most of the year, flowing only with the spring rains. Along these dry stretches, pools of spring-fed water are found. A unique and picturesque river, the Roubidoux also goes underground. Some fifteen river-miles of its fifty-six-mile length are underground below a dry surface channel.[13]

The landform of southern and south-central Pulaski County is defined by the Roubidoux Creek on the west and the Big Piney River on the east. The productive floodplains consist of well-drained, gently sloping silty soils.[14] Numerous smaller streams and intermittent creeks wind their way down to these meandering rivers, and create increasingly sharp relief as they drain into both river valleys. Along these intermittent creeks—that is, on the shoulders, terraces, hillsides, and bluffs near the river—are found sandy, cherty soils. These soils are especially poor for intensive agriculture. Between the river valleys is a broad upland prairie, or plateau-like region, gently rolling and in some places nearly level but deeply cut by small creeks draining into the Roubidoux and Big Piney. The soils of this prairie are equally infertile. Here are stony loess soils where the ancient underlying dolomite and cherty bedrock occasionally extrude from the surface. Like badly spread cake icing, in some places the loess is as much as two to three feet thick, but more commonly it is only one foot or less. Further, the subsoils are dense and brittle, restricting root penetration and water seepage. Running north and south along an imaginary centerline equidistant between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney is a ridgeline of poorly drained silty soils. Along the gentle to steep slopes on either side of this centerline, soils are moderately to excessively well drained. But these soils contain a high percentage of chert. Overall, only the fertile alluvial bottomlands and the very ridgeline of the uplands could be classified as good agricultural land. An 1823 Missouri gazetteer described the land as being "rough, stony, and unfit for cultivation."[15] Today, only nineteen percent of Pulaski County acreage is classified as prime farmland.

In contrast to the rich farmlands of the narrow river valleys, the upland between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney was not the best of agricultural lands. However, both the uplands and the river sheds had an important, and indeed crucial, natural resource that would shape the cultural history and landscape. It was the one resource that up until the 1930s provided the southern Pulaski County settlers with just about everything they needed. This resource was timber. Along the piney forks of the Gasconade were extensive pine forests that attracted lumbermen from the very first exploration. The pine thrived in the sandy soils of the hillsides, shoulders, and bluffs along the Big Piney and Roubidoux. Its only natural competition was

from small stands of red cedar. Meanwhile, bottomlands were covered in hardwood forests of sycamore, sugar maple, cottonwood, walnut, butternut, hackberry, tulip tree, and bur oak. Also found were red oak, willow oak, sour gum, ash, pawpaw, and pecan. And in the upland plateau between the rivers, it was oak, oak, and more oak. Among numerous varieties were: white oak, post oak, black oak, and black jack. On the best soils, hickory mixed with the oak. In less fertile soils, scrub oak and pin oak predominated.[16]

Early chroniclers and geographers were universal in their admiration of the forests of Pulaski and its adjacent counties of Laclede, Phelps, and Texas. Gazetteer Lewis Caleb Beck noted in 1823, "On the Gasconade is a quantity of pine timber, which, from its scarcity in this section of the country [Ozarks], is particularly valuable. The yellow pine is predominant, although there is a portion of white." Fourteen years later Alphonso Wetmore, in another gazetteer, described Pulaski County timberland as "the kind of timber are good, consisting of oak, linn, sycamore, walnut hackberry, elm, and locust." Despite settlement and mills filling the valleys throughout the antebellum, Nathan H. Parker could still write in 1865 that "from fifteen to twenty-five miles up that stream [Piney Fork], reaching to within two and a half miles of the railroad crossing, are millions of acres of yellow pine forests. ... Like many other sources of wealth in Missouri, our pine forests still rest in primeval solitude, waiting the hand of intelligent industry and enterprise to develop their wealth."[17]

One might get the impression from the writings of the early gazetters that the Ozarks was one large forest when the first settlers arrived. It was heavily forested, but there were also large open prairies. Early pioneers found the Ozark terrain rolling with alternating woodlands and prairies. But even the woodlands were park-like, rather than dense forests. "There was scarcely a place that could not be driven to with horse and buggy."[18] Some of the open prairie areas west of the Gasconade and White Rivers were almost devoid of trees and resembled savannahs. Some scholars go as far as to state that, "The whole region [Ozarks] in its vegetation was more closely allied to the western prairies than to the timber-covered Appalachians."[19] However, others downplay the size of the Ozark prairies and are emphatic that the forest dominated the region.[20] In either case, small prairies and woodlands were characteristic of rolling southern Pulaski County. There the uplands were described as being "post oak flats" on a nineteenth century geological map (Figure 7).[21] Covering the prairie was a tall grass called 'bluestem,' and like the prairie grasses of the upper midwest, the grasses of the Ozark prairies were also described by settlers as 'tall as a man's head.' Overall, the southern Pulaski County landscape was open woodland and prairies at the time of initial settlement, with the heavy timber stands somewhat restricted to the hillsides and the bottomlands. The forests and prairies were abundant with wild fruits, including wild cherries, strawberries, service berries, wild grapes, sugar haw, may apples, crab apples, persimmons, gooseberries, and blackberries.[22]

The rugged topography, poor soils, forests, and prairies, created a number of small ecozones producing "the most diversified flora, including the greatest number of species, of any part of the state."[23] Within this varied landscape, settlers found abundant wildlife, providing them meat and furs. "The native fauna constituted one of the principal attractions of the region to early settlers" and remains an attraction to hunters today.[24] Deer, beaver, fox, mink, otter, muskrat, raccoon, opossum, skunk, rabbit, and squirrel were plentiful throughout the nineteenth century, and deer, turkey, rabbit, and squirrel are still hunted today. These creatures were also hunted by wildcats, panthers, and wolves that roamed the region in

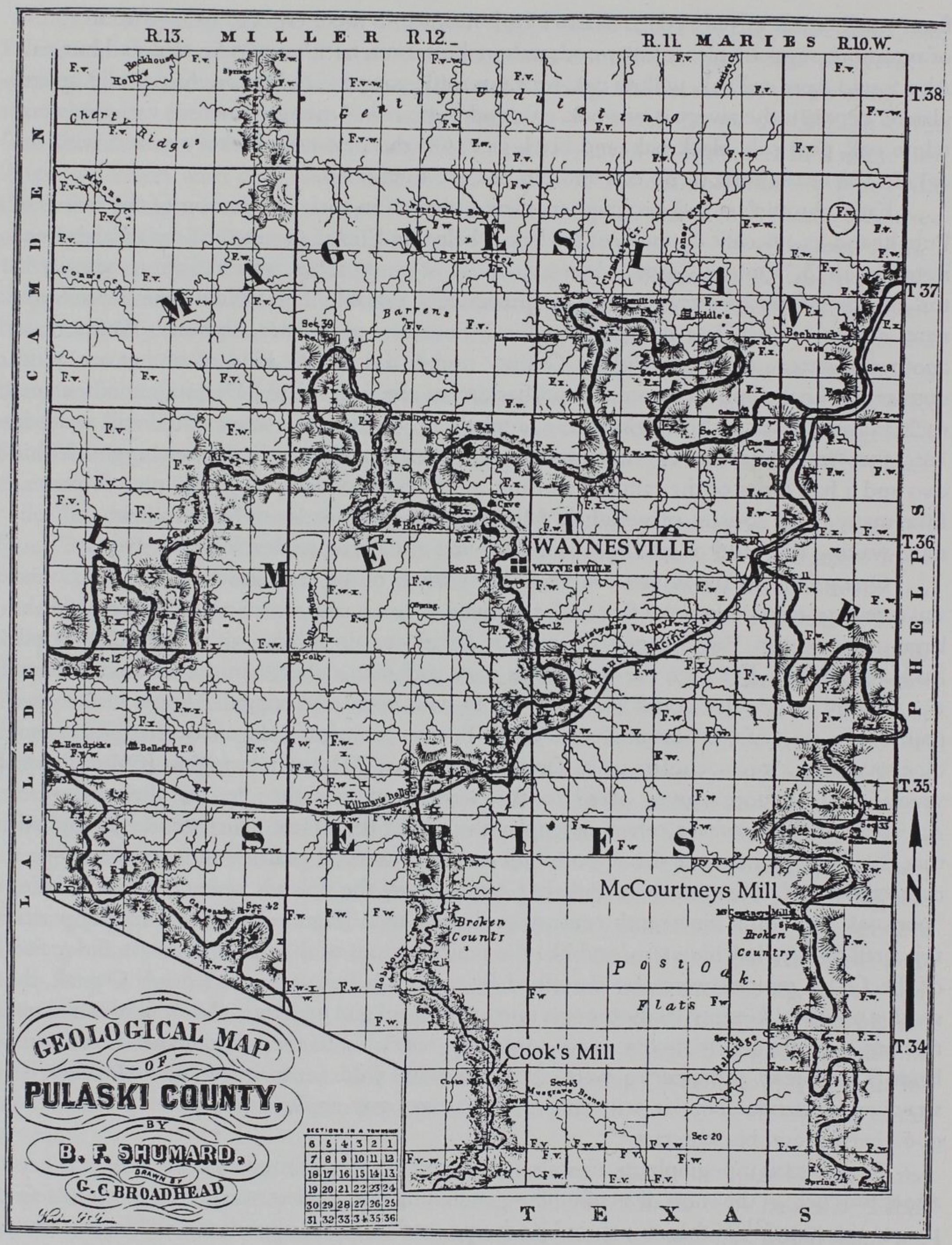

Figure 7. Geological map of Pulaski County, 1873 (Broadhead et al. 1873).

great numbers in the nineteenth century, but these predators are rare or gone today. Wolves were dangerous nuisances for early settlers, and bounties were paid to eradicate them throughout the nineteenth century. Where there was timber there was also the black bear, a favorite of the early hunters. Buffalo roamed the large prairies of the western Ozarks. So did elk. There is archaeological evidence that buffalo even made their way to the hilly southern Pulaski County region. Regardless, they were soon scarce after the Americans arrived in Missouri.[25]

Numerous species of game birds filled the air, taking refuge in the Ozark tall grass, underbrush, or trees. The most prevalent were wild turkey, duck, and quail. Turkeys were especially bountiful in the Ozark landscape and have managed to survive to be a favored prey of modern hunters. Henry Schoolcraft traveled the Ozarks as early as 1818 and in a discussion of Ozark birds declared that "...there is an endless variety. The wild turkey is still very common on the bottom lands, and during the heat of the day are found in the open post oak woods. The wild goose, duck, brant, and swan, are to be found on the streams,—the prairie hen is common, so are quails and pigeons." He described the passenger pigeons as so numerous, the woodlands "seem alive." Schoolcraft also lists songbirds, eagles, turkey buzzards, raven, and a bird he labeled a parakeet.[26]

The cool, clear streams were populated by fish that "were the fisherman's dream come true." Characteristically the streams twisted and turned around tight bends over a hard gravel bottom, creating swiftly running water, shallow shoals, and deep eddies. It was ideal water for bass, trout, jack salmon (wall-eyed pike), stone cat, sunfish, and perch. Among the shallow rocks were "hog suckers" and in deeper pools resided catfish, buffalo fish, crappie, short-nosed gar, and eels.[27]

The early settlers coming into this region found a climate similar to the land they had left in Tennessee and Kentucky, but perhaps a little less humid. The regional climate is classified as Humid Continental and is quite variable. The average winter temperature is thirty-five degrees Fahrenheit and the average summer temperature is seventy-five degrees Fahrenheit. January is usually the coldest month with winter-like weather starting in December and lasting through February. On a few winter days each month the mercury dips below zero; however, periods of three or four days of frost without thawing are unusual. Precipitation during this time is in the form of cold, freezing rain and sleet. Snowfall is variable, averaging about 15.9 inches per year, and snow rarely stays on the ground more than a week. In contrast, extreme temperatures of over 100 degrees can be expected for a few days each summer from the end of June through August, and possibly into early September. Summers can be somewhat humid, with average relative humidity of 75 percent. Spring rains are numerous and the summers have quite variable rainfall amounts. The average rainfall in the northern part is about thirty-six inches, mostly during the spring and summer. The Ozarks are subject to droughts, especially from late June into August. The winds generally are southerly or southeasterly, but in the winter occasional cold winds blow in from the north. The summer brings a hot wind from the southwest that is known to destroy crops. "On the whole the region is one of abundant sunshine, especially in the fall, and of moderately high evaporation."[28]

While the Gasconade valley and its tributaries were pristine from Turpin's vantage, it would be inaccurate to state that the area was in a totally natural state. Native Americans had preceded Turpin by at least 9,000 years. What we know about these first people, and

those thousands that lived and died between them and Turpin's family, has been learned from the durable remains of their tools, pottery, bones, and occasionally preserved food remains found at archaeological sites. For the earliest periods, stone tools are the most common item, and for that reason, archaeologists identify cultures or living groups in those distant times by various distinctive tool shapes. The first evidence for these cultures in Pulaski County were the Dalton people, known by their lancelate projectile points, chipped stone adzes, and spurred end-scrapers.[29] Each of these tool types had a rather specific function. The projectile points tipped spears for hunting, adzes were used for shaping wood, and the end-scrapers were used to scrape and clean animal skins. These artifacts are usually found today in scatters on the ground, under the surface, or in caves. They are all that remain after an extended family group camped for a few days or weeks those thousands of years ago. During this period, which archaeologists call the Late Paleo-Indian Period, these small groups moved from camp to camp, hunting and gathering as the seasons dictated. Archaeologists have found their distinctive projectile points in southern Pulaski County both in cave excavations and in the uplands. To date, three sites within Fort Leonard Wood have evidence of Dalton culture. But the rarity of these kind of archaeological sites implies that this area was not heavily populated by people who used Dalton projectile points.[30]

For another 6,000 years after the Dalton people, there were other groups that lived a very similar lifestyle—that is in small, highly mobile extended family groups with an egalitarian social organization. This extended period before the Americans arrived is called the Archaic Period, and archaeologists have subdivided the period into early, middle, and late subperiods, based on hypothesized climatic changes, population changes, and the variety of stone tool types. The Early Archaic lasted until around 7,000 years ago, and their distinctively shaped projectile points include names like Hidden Valley Stemmed, Hardin Barbed, Rice Contracting Stemmed, and Scottsbluff. Many Early Archaic Period sites are found in caves, but these people used a wide variety of living sites like bluff tops and terraces above rivers. Early Archaic family groups may have been part of larger bands of peoples that seasonally gathered for trade and social interaction, but this appears to have been only for brief duration. At Fort Leonard Wood, Early Archaic sites are found in the uplands and in caves. Over twenty archaeological sites in and around the fort have provided evidence of Early Archaic peoples.

The next subperiod, the Middle Archaic, is a time of noticeable changes in the use of the river valleys—probably the result of climate changes around this time (5000 to 3000 B.C.). The overall climate became warmer and dryer, resulting in more open prairies in the uplands. With this, Middle Archaic peoples changed the way they foraged for food. Evidence indicates that camps were kept for long periods as bases of operation from which the people would leave and make short trips to find food, camp for a night at a hunting camp, and then return to the base camp to process the food within a larger family or band. At one time archaeologists concluded that the Gasconade River Valley was used in this manner by Middle Archaic people. But recently, archaeologists surveying for sites within modern Fort Leonard Wood have discovered as many as twenty-five prehistoric Native American sites dating to the Middle Archaic. Thus, it appears that Native Americans used the region much more intensively than previously believed and that Middle Archaic settlement patterns are more diversified than first described. Archaeologists found a greater assortment of tool types during the

Middle Archaic including manos, drills, abraders, awls, and even bone needles. They have also found celts, grooved axes, and atlatl weights at Middle Archaic sites.

During the Late Archaic (3000 to 1000 B.C.), the population of native peoples increased dramatically and in the Gasconade drainage it is obvious that people lived there year round. Also, Late Archaic sites are found across the landscape of the Ozarks indicating that they used all of the land in equal measure, rather than camping in one place and hunting in another. Projectile point manufacture sees an increase in side notching of the points, like Godar, Afton Corner Notched, Smith Basal Notched, Stone Square Stemmed, and Table Rock. The variety of stone tools used at this time continued to expand, with gouges, diggers, celts, pestles, manos, bannerstones, and plummets in the artifact collections from sites dating to this period. These collections reveal that an important change was taking place among the native populations. For instance, some groups were planting and harvesting plants as part of their food-gathering strategy. Along the Mississippi River squash, marshelder, and sunflower were being cultivated.[31] However, to date, evidence for plant domestication has not been found in southern Pulaski County during the Late Archaic. But overall, evidence from Late Archaic sites indicate a more complex society emerging with increased rituals in their burial practices and a more sedentary life style.

Somewhere in the neighborhood of 3,000 years before Turpin, native peoples settling along the Mississippi River began to mix clay with sand and other materials, shape it, and carefully bake it in a fire. Pottery sherds are found at archaeological sites dating to this time, along with the remains of stone tools. Archaeologists call this time period, which lasted up to 1,000 years before the present, the Woodland Period. One of the primary characteristics of Woodland archaeological sites is the ceramics left behind by the Native Americans living at that time. Interestingly, sites dating to the Early and Middle subperiods of the Woodland in the Gasconade, Roubidoux, and Big Piney region do not contain many ceramic shards. Although people were hunting and gathering in the area, for some unknown reason they used few clay vessels. The logical conclusion from this is that the area was primarily used for hunting and that few people lived there. This remains the prevailing theory, but new glimpses of the past by Fort Leonard Wood archaeologists are modifying that scenario. Archaeologists researching sites within modern Fort Leonard Wood have recently found unique side-notched projectile points at sites dating to the Early Woodland Period at a site that did not contain ceramics. Site 23PU565 may turn out to be the key to identifying other sites of this period in the region.

The Middle Woodland Period is better represented, but the few sites in the northern Ozarks indicate it was not a heavily occupied region, and the people here did not have regular contact with the complex, mound-building Hopewell peoples along the Mississippi River. Still, some Native Americans were living in this region as seen from the combination of dentate-stamped and thin grit-tempered pottery and Snyder and Kings Corner-Notched projectile points found on sites dating to this period at Fort Leonard Wood. Overall, what was happening in the northern Ozarks at this time is still a mystery. Exactly how Ozark Woodland people were connected to the mound builders is an exciting area of research.

The Late Woodland begins around A.D. 500 and the regional population may have increased, but that is not certain. Evidence for increased populations include an abundance of sites with distinctive cordmarked ceramics that are found throughout Gasconade and

southern Pulaski County. Ceramics with a limestone/dolomite grit as a temper are also plentiful. However, this increase may also be an attribute of our ability to better distinguish the ceramics of this time period. In any case, small projectile points, small enough to be hafted to an arrow shaft, are also found at sites dating to this time. Archaeologists have named the recognizable shapes of these small points, calling them Crisp Ovate, Sequoyah, Scallorn, Hayes, and Madison points. The people of this period lived in a variety of places—in caves and rockshelters, on ridge crests, and on terraces above river and stream floodplains. And they must have been more settled than previous generations although not as sedentary as their eastern neighbors. The remains of maize found at archaeological sites within Fort Leonard Wood testify to at least some agricultural practices that supported their ancient and still strong hunting and gathering lifestyle.

There is also evidence of increased complexity in the native peoples' social organization. For instance, burial practices varied. In this region, archaeologists find piles of rocks used as burial cairns, while other people were buried in rock shelters and caves. Small villages and camps along stream banks and small camps in the uplands were often associated with these sites. Often these sites form clusters representing perhaps neighborhoods. In at least three locations along the Big Piney and Roubidoux Creek the archaeological sites dating to this time are associated with petroglyphs, or rock art, with motifs that archaeologists believe represent clans or agricultural fertility.[32] The sheer number and complexity of artifacts found at sites dating to this period indicate a more complex social organization, and an increase in the population represented by more and larger archaeological sites. Still, there is a distinction between Late Woodland sites in the Ozarks and those farther east and north. Again, it appears that people in the Ozarks may have lived differently than their eastern neighbors and that these differences were a matter of choice rather than necessity. The study of the Late Woodland is crucial to our understanding of prehistoric cultures since they represent the last and closest link we have to historic native cultures of the region. Careful study of these peoples might allow archaeologists to connect the historic cultures to their prehistoric ancestors.[33]

From 1,100 years ago to 300 years ago, native populations underwent a profound change in social complexity and agriculture practices in parts of the Midwest, Southeast, and especially in the Mississippi River Drainage. Huge earthen mounds are found at sites in southern Illinois, western Kentucky, southern Indiana, and eastern Missouri.[34] Surrounding these mounds are towns, cities, and plazas that can range from a few acres to several hundred. Smaller sites that radiate out from these towns are also present. Large fields found associated with these towns clearly demonstrate large-scale maize agriculture and smaller garden plots of other edible native plants. There can be no doubt that these sites are evidence of a complex social organization, probably hierarchical, and with centralized chiefly authority. Metal artifacts are found along with pottery shaped into animals representing clans and other motifs probably representing supernaturals or dieties. Archaeologists speak of chiefdoms during this period called the Mississippian, where an individual chief ruled over a vast town and its surrounding region. It appears that often several of these towns are associated under a larger chiefdom like Cahokia, located in Illinois across the Mississippi River from St. Louis.[35]

The native peoples in the southern Pulaski County region were not part of this cultural florescence, or at least there is very little evidence of such complex social structure.

However, in the Gasconade drainage and southern Pulaski County archaeologists have identified a group of people sharing artifact traits that they call the Maramec Spring Phase. This phase is first seen during the Late Woodland, and continues into the Mississippian Period. The people at this time lived in small villages on valley terraces and had special purpose camps in the uplands. Caves and rockshelters overlooking major streams were popular living places and may have served as a central focus for a small complex of camps. Their agriculture was confined to small gardens. In southern Pulaski County, this Maramec Spring Phase is very well represented. Toward the end of this period, artifacts indicative of interaction between the Ozarks and both the upper and middle Mississippi area and possibly the western plains have been found at sites within Fort Leonard Wood.[36] There is an increase in shell-tempered pottery, for instance, a greater variety of vessel shapes and styles, and evidence of maize in the diet of Ozark Native Americans.[37] So while pre-Columbian peoples in the Ozarks remained isolated from the more complex social orders to the east, they used pottery, grew maize, and used arrow points with styles similar to those to the east, demonstrating some interaction with their eastern neighbors. The degree of this interaction is a subject of intense interest to modern archaeologists.

Beginning around 300 years ago, the life and culture of Native Americans went through catastrophic change that led to smaller, more diverse cultures. The large chiefdoms along the central Mississippi and lower Ohio Rivers collapsed, but exactly why and how this happened remain a mystery. Even more mysterious is what was happening to the native cultures in the northern Ozarks and southern Pulaski County. No sites dating after A.D. 1450 have been found within the boundaries of modern Fort Leonard Wood. Then, within a few generations, the continent was discovered by Europeans. When Hernado DeSoto traveled into the interior of America in 1541, he described complex chiefdoms south of Missouri. DeSoto never traveled through Missouri but probably made it to Arkansas, and rumor of his travels must have had an impact on the Native Americans in Missouri. Adding to the Native Americans' problems, the DeSoto entrada and subsequent explorations brought diseases that greatly reduced the Native American populations across the continent. By the time Josiah Turpin arrived at the confluence of the Gasconade and Roubidoux, Native American populations in Missouri were scattered and living in small tribes.[38]

When the early European explorers renewed their exploration of the American interior in the late 1600s and early 1700s, they found the dominant native culture in the Ozarks to be the Dhegiha Sioux Osage. How long they had been there is not known, but their own myths tell of an origin in the lower Ohio Valley east of the Ozarks. There were others in the Ozarks, such as the Illinois, some Caddo, and Quapaws. North of the Ozarks, the Missouri Nation dominated. Osage strength was focused along the Osage River, where their permanent villages were located and where they maintained sizable agricultural plots. But they were primarily hunters and proficient horsemen, and would take extended trips to the western plains to hunt buffalo and elk. They also hunted smaller game in the northern Ozarks, including Pulaski County. Although the Osage were not immune from the disease, acculturation, and trauma that beset the eastern tribes, their position west of the Mississippi allowed them to maintain their population and cultural traditions well into the nineteenth century. To survive, the Osage also attempted to placate the white intruders, and in 1808 gave the Ozarks to the Americans. However, they believed that their treaty did not include giving up their right to hunt both animals and other regional tribes. So even after the treaty was signed,

the Osage would occasionally be found hunting in the northern Ozarks. At the same time, the ever west-wandering Upland South pioneers were pressuring the eastern tribes into the northern Ozarks and the land became a refuge for many Native American groups. Eventually the Kickapoos, Delawares, Cherokees, Piankashaws, and Shawnees would make the Ozarks their temporary home. Still, by the time the Turpin family gathered for their first meal in their new log cabin the Native American occupation of the northern Ozarks was about over—brought to a close by disease and warfare. Twenty-four years later, the only interaction a white settler would have with Native Americans would be watching the remnants of the Cherokee Nation as they passed through the region on the Trail of Tears to western reservations.[39]

Ten thousand years of Native American occupation had only a marginal effect on the northern Ozarks landscape, especially compared to later settler occupation. However, their presence was not totally ephemeral. In the spring and fall, Native Americans burned the undergrowth along the forest margins and on the prairies to increase grazing for game species.[40] Scholars have debated whether this was an occasional or regular part of their seasonal activities. Some past research has indicated that it was not an annual ritual and the effect of Native American burning was very minimal.[41] More recent research using dendrochronology has provided some quantifiable evidence of both Native American and historic period burning. These studies indicate that fires in the eighteenth century (when Native Americans were present) were more frequent than in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Native American burning not only affected vegetation growth and distribution, it may actually have caused run-off and erosion.[42] As the settlers arrived, they carried on an annual tradition of burning for grazing stock. However, it appears that antebellum settlers actually burned much less often than Native Americans, and in an episodic manner. Burning ceased during the Civil War, for instance. Then in the late nineteenth century burning was renewed, and farmers burned more often than the early settlers. Even today, burning is practiced in Pulaski County to maintain the open woodlands and savannahs. Local residents also burn to destroy ticks, keep down the brush, improve hunting, and reduce fire hazards.[43] For the first settlers like Turpin, the decrease in the fire frequency beginning in the early nineteenth century caused a gradual change in the landscape, creating more undergrowth and scrub areas, making travel through the area more difficult.

In summary, the southern Pulaski County landscape was built upon an ancient rock dome that was, through the eons, weathered by water and wind. Rivers twisted through the layered dolomite sediments, forming steep cliffs and narrow alluvial bottoms. Above these bottomlands the dome created plateaus in which the limestone occasionally pushed through the thin, rocky, impermeable soils. Clinging to these infertile soils, oak and pine found footholds, creating park-like forests. But in the central portions of the uplands, the trees thinned and grassy prairies thrived. Whenever people arrived, perhaps around 10,000 years ago, they immediately exploited this wonderland abundant with edible plants and animals. From that time until just before Columbus, this adaptation continued and only minimally affected the natural landscape. Nevertheless, substantial evidence of human presence exists in caves and rockshelters, and along alluvial river bottoms. People also changed the landscape

through artificial maintenance of prairies and open forests for the benefit of game species. Small areas of the landscape where they cleared for agricultural plots would be among the first areas used by the earliest pioneers. Overall though, when the first settlers arrived, the landscape was relatively unmodified. It is erroneous to say that even then the landscape was in a 'natural' state. But the early settlers would begin a more intensive exploitation of the natural resources with the first turn of the plow and swing of the ax.

Henry Schoolcraft journeyed through the Ozarks in 1818, during this initial settlement period, and left us today a vivid description of the landscape in its semi-natural state. Although it does not appear that he passed directly through Pulaski County, one entry in his journal is worth quoting at length. It describes a nearby region, in adjacent Phelps and Texas counties, that was much like southern Pulaski County in vegetation and topography:

> Sunday, Nov. 15th. On quitting the cave, our design was to turn immediately from the valley of the creek, but we found the hills so precipitous, that we were compelled to pursue up the valley, in a north-west course, for a considerable distance, before an opportunity for leaving it presented. We now entered on a high, rough, and barren tract of country, consisting of a succession of ridges running at right angles to the course we traveled, so that for the first six miles we were continually climbing up slowly to the tops of these lofty heights, or descending with cautious tread in to the intervening gulfs—an exercise which we found equally hazardous and fatiguing. For this distance the soil was covered thinly with yellow pine, and shrubby oaks, and with so thick a growth of underbrush as to increase, very much, the labour of our traveling. To this succeeded a high-land prairie with little timber, or underbrush, and covered with grass. We found traveling upon it very good, although it occasionally presented considerable elevation, and inequalities of surface. ... In calling this a high-land prairie, I am to be understood as meaning a tract of high-land generally level, and with very little wood or shrubbery. It is a level woodless barren covered with wild grass, and resembling the natural meadows or prairies of the western country in appearance, but lacks their fertility, their wood, and their remarkable quality of surface. ... We travelled diligently and silently. Now and then an oak stood in our path; sometimes disturbed the rabbit from its sheltering bush, or were suddenly startled by the flight of a band of quails; but there was nothing to interrupt the silence of our march. The mineralogy of the country was wholly uninteresting, ... Its geological character presented great uniformity, the rocks being secondary limestone overlaying sand-stone.[44]

While accurate enough, Schoolcraft's description misses the unmatched beauty of the landscape with its twisting rivers beneath breathtaking cliffs and rocky overhangs that are characteristic of much of the Ozarks and Pulaski County. Even the upland prairies, where in some spots it was only gently rolling or flat, the topography varied quickly so as not to bore the traveler. It might not have been great agricultural land, but it was a wonderful hunting ground.

Notes for Chapter 1

1 All of the following state that Josiah Turpin arrived in 1813: Goodspeed Publishing Company, *History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps, and Dent Counties,*

Missouri (Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1889), pp. 101 and 106; Tom Turpin, *Our Ancestors In Pulaski County, Missouri* (Jefferson City: Privately Published by Author, n.d.), iii. However, an undated paper entitled "Josiah Turpin, the Pioneer," also by Tom Turpin (on file with the author) states that Josiah entered land in Spencer County, Indiana on June 3, 1814, and traveled to Missouri around two years later.

2 Gerard Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks* (Jefferson City: Midland Printing Company, 1937), p. 74.

3 Milton D. Rafferty, *The Ozarks, Land and Life,* First edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press) 1980, Second edition (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press) 2001, p. 50; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 148.

4 Schultz, *Early History of the Ozarks,* p. 13.

5 Milton D. Rafferty, *Missouri: A Geography* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983), p. 10; Joe Ryan, *Final Report of the Missouri Natural Features Inventory of Laclede, Phelps, and Pulaski Counties* (Jefferson City: Natural History Division, Missouri Department of Conservation, 1992), p. 5; David W. Wolf, *Soil Survey of Pulaski County, Missouri* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, 1989), p. 71.

6 Steven R. Ahler, Dawn E. Harn, Margot Neverett, Marjorie B. Schroeder, Bonnie W. Styles, Robert E. Warren, Karlie White, James L. Theler, and Robert A. Dunn, *Interdisciplinary Data Recovery and Analyses at Four Sites in the Ramsey Complex, Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri,* Quaternary Studies Program Technical Report 97-1066-18, Submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, Mississippi (Springfield: Illinois State Museum, 1997); Steven R. Ahler, Dawn E. Harn, Margot Neverett, Marjorie B. Schoeder, Bonnie W. Styles, Robert E. Warren, Karlie White, and Paul E. Albertson, *Archaeological Assessment and Geotechnical Stabilization of Three Cave Sites at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri,* Quaternary Studies Program Technical Report 98-1073-20. Submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, Mississippi (Springfield: Illinois State Museum, 1998); Robert B. Jacobson and Alexander T. Primm, *Historical Land-Use Changes and Potential Effects on Stream Disturbance in the Ozark Plateaus, Missouri,* Open-File Report 94-333 in cooperation with Missouri Department of Conservation (Rolla, Missouri: U.S. Geological Survey, 1994), pp. 56–8; Paul P. Kreisa and Brian Adams, *Phase I Archaeological Survey of 3,511 Acres at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri,* Public Service Archaeological Program, Department of Anthropology (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1998) pp. 5–8.

7 Ahler, et al. *Interdisciplinary Data Recovery*; Ahler, et al. *Archaeological Assessment*; Robert L. Heller, *Stratigraphy and Paleontology of the Roubidoux Formation of Missouri* (Rolla, Missouri: Geological Survey and Water Resources, 1954).

8 Harlen J. Bretz, *Caves of Missouri* (Rolla, Missouri: Division of Geological Survey and Water Resources, 1956), p. 386.

9 Gerard Fowke, "Archaeological Investigations, Cave Explorations in the Ozark Region of Central Missouri," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 76* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), pp. 13–100.

10 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, p. 51.

11 "Pulaski County," Works Progress Administration, Papers of the Historical Records Survey, Missouri Folders, Microfilm collection C3551, Folders 17,327–17,382 (Columbia: Western Historical Manuscript Collections-Columbia, University of Missouri, n.d.).

12 Dwight Porter, "Report on the Water-Power of the Region Tributary to the Mississippi River on the West, Below Dubuque, Iowa" in *Water Power of the United States*, Miscellaneous House Documents 2nd Session, Vol 13, Part 17 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1885), pp. 81–82; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, pp. 30–31.

13 United States Army Chief of Engineers, "Gasconade River, Mo., Report From the Chief of Engineers on the Gasconade River, Mo., Covering Navigation, Flood Control, Power Development, and Irrigation" (Washington D.C.: House Document No. 308, 69th Congress, 1932); Dan Slais, "Caves and Karst Topography," *Old Settlers Gazette*, July 14 (1996):1:36.

14 Wolf, *Soil Survey of Pulaski County*, pp. 36, 71, and map 120; Ryan, *Final Report*, p. 5.

15 Lewis Caleb Beck, *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* (1823, reprint edition Arno Press, New York, 1975) p. 233.

16 Carl O. Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, pp. 55–58.

17 Beck, *A Gazetteer*, p. 233; Alphonso Wetmore (compiler), *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis: C. Keemle Publisher, 1837; reprint edition, New York: Arno Press, 1975), p. 152; Nathan H. Parker, quoted in, Julian A. Steyermark, *Vegetational History of the Ozark Forest* (Columbia: The University of Missouri Studies, 1959), p. 3. Foresters have commented on previous drafts that white pine was not found in Pulaski County.

18 Pulaski County Historical Society, *History of Pulaski County, Missouri*, 2 Volumes (Waynesville: Pulaski County Historical Society, 1982), p. 1:5.

19 C.F. Marbut quoted in Joe Ryan, *Final Report*, p. 7.

20 Steyermark, *Vegetational History*, pp. 127–129.

21 G.C. Broadhead, F.B. Meek, and B.F. Shumard, *Reports on the Geological Survey of the State of Missouri 1855–1871* (Jefferson City: Regan & Carter Printers, 1873).

22 Schultz, *Early History of the Ozarks*, pp. 18, 19, and 31; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, p. 52–53; Steyermark, *Vegetational History*, p. 3; Pulaski County Historical Society, *History of Pulaski County, Missouri*, p. 1:5.

23 Julian A. Steyermark, *Flora of Missouri* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1963), p. xviii.

24 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, p. 59.

25 Ahler et al., *Archaeological Assessment*; Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks* pp. 16–17; see Steyermark, *Vegetational History*, 1959, pp. 30–32 for a discussion of buffalo in the Ozarks.

26 Hugh Park (editor), *Schoolcraft in the Ozarks: Reprint of Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas in 1818 and 1819 by Henry R. Schoolcraft* (Van Buren, Arkansas: Press Argus Printers, 1955); Henry Schoolcraft, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri* (New York: C. Wiley & Co., 1819) pp. 36–37.

27 F.A. Behymer, "Aunt Mary Jane Loses Her Ozark Home," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 14, 1941 (St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society clipping file); Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, p. 60.

28 Rafferty, *The Ozarks*, pp. 24–26; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, pp. 31–32.

29 Modern Archaeologists across America are finding tantalizing evidence of peoples occupying the land perhaps as long ago as 14,000 years ago. Although there is no evidence of such people in Pulaski County at this date, the possibility for such early sites, or sites dating 10,000 years ago during the early Paleo-Indian Period, someday may be found at the bottoms of the county's abundant deep caves.

30 This brief prehistory of the region is taken from: Ahler et al., *Interdisciplinary Data Recovery*; Ahler, et. al, *Archaeological Assessment*; Kreisa and Adams, *Phase I Archaeological Survey*, pp. 14–21; Paul P. Kreisa, Richard Edging, Suzanna Doggett, and Steven R. Ahler, "The Woodland Period in the Northern Ozarks of Missouri," in David G. Anderson and Robert Mainfort, editors, *The Woodland Southeast*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002:113–133; Richard Edging, Lucy Whalley, Adam Smith, Steven D. Smith, David Mather, and Suzanne K. Loechl, *Integrated Cultural Resource Management Plan for Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri*. Prepared for Fort Leonard Wood by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Construction Engineering Research Laboratory, Champaign, Illinois, 2000.

31 Bruce D. Smith, *Rivers of Change: Essays on Early Agriculture in Eastern North America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

32 Jeffery Yelton and Richard Edging, *Cultural Resource Overview for Fort Leonard Wood, Pulaski County, Missouri* (Champaign, Illinois: Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, 2000).

33 Ibid.

34 Richard Edging, *Living in a Cornfield: The Variation and Ecology of Late Prehistoric Agriculture in the Western Kentucky Confluence Region*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1995); George R. Milner, *The Cahokia Chiefdom: The Archaeology of Mississippian Society* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998); Jon Muller, *Archaeology of the Lower Ohio Valley* (New York: Academic Press, 1986); Michael J. O'Brien, *Cat Monsters and Head Pots: The Archaeology of Missouri's Pemiscot Bayou* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994); Michael J. O'Brien and W. Raymond Wood, *The Prehistory of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998).

35 Milner, *Cahokia Chiefdom*.

36 Kreisa, et al., "Woodland Period."

37 see, Kreisa and Adams, *Phase I Archaeological Survey*, pp. 18–20.

38 Yelton and Edging, *Cultural Resource Overview*.

39 William E. Foley, *A History of Missouri, Volume 1*, 1673–1820 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), pp. 5–7; Rafferty, *The Ozarks*, pp. 32–36.

40 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, p. 53; Joe Ryan, *Final Report*, p. 8.

41 Steyermark, *Vegetational History*, pp. 127–128.

42 R. Guyette and E. A. McGinnes, "Fire History of an Ozark Glade in Missouri" *Transactions of the Missouri Academy of Science* (1982) 16:85–93; R. Guyette and B. E. Cutter, "Tree Ring Analysis of Fire History of a Post Oak Savanna in the Missouri Ozarks," *Natural Areas Journal* (1991) 11(2):93–99; Douglas Ladd, "Reexamination of the Role of Fire in Missouri Oak Woodlands," *Proceedings of the Oak Woods Management Workshop* (Charleston: Eastern Illinois University, 1991), pp. 67–80.

43 Earl W. Kersten, Jr., "Changing Economy and Landscape in a Missouri Ozarks Area," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1958) 48(4):398–418; Richard Malouf, "Thematic Evaluation of Administrative and Fire Tower Sites on the Mark Twain National Forest, Missouri" Manuscript on file, Mark Twain National Forest Historical File (Rolla: Mark Twain National Forest District, 1991), pp. 26–27; Ryan, *Final Report*, p. 11.

44 Schoolcraft in Park, *Schoolcraft in the Ozarks*, pp. 43–45.

Chapter 2

Explorers, Hunters, and Pioneers

Although the Josiah Turpin family may have been the first to settle Pulaski County, the Turpins certainly were not the first of European ancestry to explore or hunt there. Many explorers, hunters, and traders most assuredly ranged through the Pulaski County region beginning sometime in the eighteenth century. Their names and stories are forgotten, and their effect on the landscape was ephemeral. Unless a newly discovered document or archaeological site is uncovered, the honor of being the first recorded European in Pulaski County belongs to French explorer Claude-Charles Dutisné, who passed through in 1719.[1] An experienced negotiator and explorer, Dutisné was hired by the Company of Indies to transact alliances with the Plains Indians while keeping an eye peeled for precious metals. His first venture west of the Mississippi pushed up the Missouri River. But he was stopped by the Missouri Indians and forced to return to Kaskaskia, Illinois. Dutisné then determined to reach the plains via a more southern route. He and his party began their journey at the mouth of the Saline River, and proceeded west—the exact route is not known because his journal has been lost. Some believe that the Dutisné expedition "took a compass course straight west, probably on the advice of coureurs-de-bois who had previously visited the Osage village. There was not yet a 'beaten road' to the Osages as recorded twenty years later."[2] It's possible, for it is known from one of his few surviving letters that he used a compass to make his way back east. But others argue that he more likely followed an old animal or Indian path west to the Osages.[3] If he used the latter, then Dutisné was not only the first of European extraction to visit Pulaski County, but was also the first to follow a passage that was the main transportation and immigration route through the northern Ozarks from prehistory to today. What began as a mere woodland trail later became the interior ridge road, also known as the Old Springfield Road and Wire Road in the nineteenth century, and Route 66 and Interstate 44 in the twentieth.

Most of what we know of Dutisné's trip comes from others who read his journal before it was lost. These surviving references offer few insights about the northern Ozarks at that time. Dutisné described the land as "...many mountains of rock, covered with oak

groves." The region between the Saline and the Osage Rivers was simply described as "well timbered." We do know that his journey was an unhealthy one for the travelers, "attended with much trouble as my men fell sick on the way."[4] After Dutisné, there were undoubtedly other explorers and hunters roaming up the Gasconade and along the Big Piney, but settlement would not begin for almost another hundred years.

Through the eighteenth century, settlement of the land between the thirteen colonies and the Mississippi was erratic and unstoppable, ebbing and flowing as political events in Europe played out across this vast region, and Native Americans contested the encroachment of their homeland. At the conclusion of each episode in the long struggle for control of America between Spain, England, and France, or after the quelling of a Native American uprising, white colonists would push a little further into the continent's Upland South heartland. At the turn of the eighteenth century, European settlement could be found in the midlands of Indiana and along the Mississippi just south of the Ohio River's mouth. Farther south, below modern-day Tennessee, settlement had not penetrated deeper inland than western Georgia.[5] But hunters were ranging inland across the eastern half of the continent. By the mid-eighteenth century, French and Anglo hunters were already venturing into the Ozarks. These unknown explorers probably began their expeditions from the sparsely occupied French lead mining settlements like Old Mines (1725), Bonne Terre (1724), Miné La Motte (1723), and Miné a Breton (1770), all located east of Pulaski County in parts of what are now Washington, St. Francois, and Madison counties, Missouri.[6] Besides lead mining, the French engaged in salt making, some farming, and fur trading. The latter activity no doubt brought them to the Gasconade River and its tributaries. The French also moved along the Missouri River north of the Ozarks, building Fort Orleans as early as 1722. As hunters ranged into the Big Piney and Roubidoux river valleys, some undoubtedly used the trail that Dutisné trod.

American settlement of the Ozarks effectively began around the turn of the nineteenth century. The French, of course, had settled in the mining region much earlier, from New Madrid north to St. Louis, intruding sixty miles inland from the Mississippi River. But Americans quickly outnumbered those of French descent in the early 1800s. At that time Missouri experienced an explosion of settlers crossing the Mississippi near modern day St. Louis and spreading up the Missouri River. By 1804, one year after the Louisiana Purchase, the majority of Missouri settlers were American, and by 1810, only six years later, the population stood at 19,783. As early as 1806, "the van of the westward movement had reached the Gasconade and Osage Rivers" that drained into the Missouri.[7] But settlement quickly advanced seventy miles up the Missouri River, and there was a large settlement firmly established even farther on at Boones Lick. By 1814, there were some 25,844 people in Missouri and another six years later, Missouri's population reached 67,000.[8] Amazingly, a St. Louis newspaper noted that as many as thirty to fifty wagons a day were crossing the Mississippi in 1819.[9] The following year, land bounties for veterans of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 spurred more settlers, and in 1820 the Preemption Act encouraged even more Americans to push west.[10]

The rivers were the main transportation corridors for early settlement and the Missouri River was the main northern route west of the Mississippi. Most settlers continued west along the Missouri, seeking rich farmlands, rather than turn south to settle on the northern Ozarks' stony soils. At the same time, other pioneers moved into the southern Ozarks up the White and Arkansas Rivers. But the flow of settlers into the northern Ozarks

was only a trickle, the landscape proving to be a barrier to rapid development. "By 1810 settlement had penetrated nearly every fertile valley in the St. Francis Mountains to the margins of the Courtois Hills [both east of Pulaski County]. This region [interior Ozarks] of scanty resources served as a barrier that deflected immigration north and south. Only after the border regions of the Ozarks were well settled did immigrants begin to enter the interior."[11] Still, at least two families were living on the Gasconade in 1808 and at its mouth a mill and the little village of Gasconade were established around 1811.

The Missouri population explosion did have a down period from around 1810 to 1815 due to the War of 1812. Only about 1,500 people a year entered the Missouri territory between 1810 and 1814 because of continuing Indian threats and confrontations. Rumors of raids, atrocities, murders, and a war with England made the Missouri frontier a dangerous place. Among many incidents were the massacre of four whites above the Missouri in 1810, and nine whites in the St. Charles district in 1812.[12] In response, territorial governor Benjamin Howard called out the militia who patrolled along the Missouri, building defensive blockhouses. Amid such violence, Josiah Turpin's long migration to Pulaski County was a remarkably courageous feat. Certainly most of the violence during the War of 1812 was either north of the Missouri or east of and along the Mississippi, not down the Gasconade, but Josiah Turpin had to pass through the threatened region to get there.

The Turpins were restless Kentuckians. They migrated from Mercer County, Kentucky, west to Ohio County, Kentucky, in 1805. Sometime around 1813, they moved again straight north across the Ohio River to Spencer County, Indiana. But the wanderlust got to them again, and they made their way down the Ohio, into the Missouri Territory, eventually arriving in modern Pulaski County in 1815 or 1816.[13] During that time, war was all around them. While the Turpin family was crossing the Ohio River into Indiana, attacks were taking place at the Spanish Mines along the Mississippi and in the Salt River region.[14] Fighting and rumors continued through 1813 and into 1814. Although the war officially ended in 1814, Indian attacks and rumors of Indian attacks were numerous through the year, including on-going attacks against the settlements near Boones Lick. Indian attacks did not completely subside until around May of 1816.[15]

Perhaps Turpin decided to settle along the Gasconade because of its position as a relatively safe oasis within an otherwise dangerous frontier. Neither the Osage to the west nor the recently arrived Shawnee and Delawares to the south were interested in war with white settlers at that time.[16] The Osage had different problems to attend to. Other tribes had been taking advantage of the Osage prior to Turpin's arrival, and eventually the Osage and Iowa were raiding and ambushing each other.[17] With the Native American tribes' attention on each other, Turpin was safe and that was just as well because the Ozarks were woefully undefended. Although there were a few forts in the Missouri region, the closest to Turpin was Fort Belle Fountain, far east of the Gasconade, on the south side of the Missouri, some eight miles from its mouth. There were militia and a company of rangers for defense, but they were usually busy along the Missouri. Fortunately for the Turpin family, while there were a few raids and fights in the years after the war, after 1816 Native Americans would never again pose a threat to white settlement in the northern Ozarks.

Turpin and his wife and son were the first to settle at the confluence of the Gasconade and Roubidoux Creek. Downstream, other pioneers had found homes in the Gasconade valley since the turn of the century. How many northern neighbors Turpin had

is not known, but in 1811, 250 men were listed on the muster rolls for the Gasconade region.[18] He soon had three more neighbors. These three men were named Johnson, Cullen, and Dulle and they were not there to homestead. Their camp was located five miles west of present-day Waynesville and they came to make saltpeter from the nitrates found in the numerous caves, which they traded or sold to trappers and hunters who "frequented the region."[19] A year after they arrived, Cullen mysteriously disappeared while hauling a wagon loaded with saltpeter. Johnson and Dulle moved to Barlett's Spring and built a mill. Meanwhile, Turpin saw new friends arrive. By 1817, he was joined by John Turpin from Kentucky, and Henry Anderson, W. Gillaspy (or Gillespie), and Jesse Ballew from North Carolina. They too, settled along the Gasconade River, but upstream of Turpin or some twelve miles southwest of modern-day Waynesville.[20] Then came the Elijah and Elisha Christeson, Isaac N. Davis, Cyrus Colley, Jeptha Wes, Thomas Starke, and Jesse A. Ryal families, all settling in the Gasconade valley near the present site of Waynesville. The tide of settlement was beginning to rise in the region that would be later established as Pulaski and Laclede Counties.

These families were the region's earliest members of its growing farm community. But as they settled, and long before, there were other whites in the region, now unknown. Some were like Turpin, restless, settling for a time and then migrating westward. But others were hunters, rather than farmers. As settlement progressed, they moved farther west, seeking better hunting grounds. Such hunters were always ahead of the farmer, and were pushed west as farmers arrived. Like the Native Americans, they probably resented the plow's intrusion, preferring the landscape in its more natural state. Because they moved frequently and left no written records, we know next to nothing about them. But occasionally, we catch a glimpse of them in histories and contemporary journals written by others. When Henry Schoolcraft traveled through the Ozarks in 1818 for instance, he recorded a meeting with a hunter named Alexander Roberts who lived with his wife in a cabin a short distance beyond the Fourche a Courtois, a tributary of the Meramec River, east of Pulaski County. Roberts' homestead consisted of a small cabin surrounded by felled timber. He had opened no fields. The Roberts' were the last people Schoolcraft encountered on his trip through the southeastern Ozarks, testifying just how alone Turpin, Roberts, and their few neighbors were at that time. Roberts joined Schoolcraft for a few days before he became separated from Schoolcraft's party while chasing deer. Later, Schoolcraft found out that Roberts eventually found his way, arriving at some sawmills that already were in operation along the Gasconade River.[21] This account perfectly describes the types of people who were the first to arrive in this region of the northern Ozarks along with and often before the farmer—hunters and lumbermen.

The early hunters and subsistence farmers found the northern Ozarks hilly and rough, but familiar. Deep, rich, black soil was not a deciding factor for their settlement, but game was. These people were overwhelmingly from southeastern states of the same latitude as the Ozarks, especially Tennessee and Kentucky. The lack of strong government, political organization, and established society, all characteristic of the isolated frontier region around Pulaski County at this time, were also strong attractions to these southern upland, highly independent pioneers. These almost semi-nomadic people had little sentimentality for their current habitation, which they would quickly abandon when the game became scarce, their

fields unproductive, or a generation had passed. Around their cabins they would raise a few acres of corn, but hunting and gathering were the central means of subsistence. Eventually, they might settle down and take up farming more intensely, but in the Ozarks' hilly regions, like the land between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney, the abundant hunting resources would not force them into intensive farming until much later in Missouri's history. Their impact on Ozark character was profound and lasting. Today their attitudes, lifestyles, and ideology are still prominent and help to define Ozark culture.[22]

Along with a few hardy farmers and more than a few hunters, the Gasconade, Roubidoux, and Big Piney river valleys attracted lumbermen—especially the Big Piney. Covered with tall pines, the Big Piney hillsides were as precious as gold to those who could get the timber downstream to St. Louis. Upon this scene, at about the same time as the Turpin family was making its way down the Ohio River, came three famous frontiersmen—Daniel Morgan Boone, Sylvester Pattie, and Joseph Roubidoux. The latter's presence falls in the category of folk history, for it is traditionally believed, but cannot be substantiated, that Roubidoux and Boone together entered the Big Piney valley on a hunting trip around 1810.[23] In any case, Boone returned on another hunting trip in 1816 with Pattie and shortly afterward Pattie built a sawmill and gristmill forty miles upstream from the Big Piney's mouth, at what is now called Paddy's Creek. Pattie's mill was quite a success and attracted many settlers. Eventually he became the richest man in what was at that time Franklin County. In 1820, Daniel Morgan Boone returned and built another mill a few miles upstream. For a short time they were congenial neighbors, but Pattie's wife died, and his heart was no longer along the Big Piney. He left the Big Piney in 1824 and shortly thereafter, so did Boone.[24] Today, the names Paddy Creek and Boone Creek are the only reminders of these early pioneers. However, Pattie and Boone initiated what would be a continual and lasting impact to the natural and cultural landscape. Their mills were the first to cut the pines from the Big Piney Valley. They were probably also the first to raft timber down the Big Piney, an occupation that would last as long as the timber did, through the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century.

Around the same time Boone and Pattie built their mills, Adam and Neeley Bradford built a mill downstream at the confluence of the Big Piney and Spring Creek.[25] Their operations were soon overshadowed by a wave of millers arriving shortly after the War of 1812 ended. Actually, the lumber needed for building St. Louis was the first allurement to the Gasconade drainage, rather than settlement. By March of 1817, 300,000 feet of lumber were ready for market. Along the Gasconade, there were six sawmills cutting pine timber as early as 1823. Meanwhile, far up the Big Piney near present-day Huston, Missouri, Burhart's Mill, Cork's Mill, Truedale's Mill (seven miles north of Huston), and Baldridge's Mill (six miles south of Truedale's) were all operating by 1826.[26] As far as is known, the first mill on Roubidoux Creek was constructed that same year.[27] By the time many of the earliest squatters came to Pulaski County, sections of the pine woods were gone and the landscape was already changing.

In fact, other than a few families like the Turpins, most settlers found and settled a small hollow or community after an intrepid pioneer industrialist had already built a mill somewhere nearby. The mills were a necessity for any farmer who was interested in producing a cash crop, and they attracted permanent settlers like the timber attracted the lumbermen

who built the mills for producing both lumber and flour. Subsistence farmers and hunter-gatherers could survive without a mill, but mills were the seeds that grew into communities. The local mill became a trading center, drawing farmers and buyers. Not only did settlers find a market for their ground corn at the mill, they also found a source of credit, usually with the miller. Near a new mill, a blacksmith shop and general store soon followed. It follows that they became social centers also, and as a result of economic and social interaction, the miller often became quite wealthy, as did Pattie.[28]

Pattie and Boone also brought the first slaves to that part of Missouri. Although the landscape was not suited to plantation agriculture, in the early days slaves were valued mill labor. There were five in the township during Pattie and Boone's tenure and each owned two.

From 1813 to 1833, when Pulaski County was established, a trickle of the running stream of Missouri River settlers was diverted up Gasconade Valley. There pioneers settled or continued to dribble into the Big Piney or Roubidoux valleys. Since land surveyors did not begin their mapping of the country until 1822, these families simply settled the land without the formality of purchase.[29] They were called squatters; they sought independence and free land, and were part of a long pioneer tradition that settled the land west of the colonies. Their motives for making the rough journey were many. As mentioned, the earliest, always in the van, were the adventurers and hunters like Roberts, and entrepreneurs like Daniel Boone. Along with them came a rowdy, transient sort of squatter. He had nothing and the west offered freedom. When the lands were surveyed and later went up for sale this sort of squatter had no means to purchase his homestead and so moved on. Still others came to escape the law or creditors. On the Missouri frontier, territorial law was established but enforcement was impossible. If you lost your fortune or got into trouble with the law, you could always go west. Finally, there was the pioneer farmer, who came to claim the best land before the surveyor and speculator. They squatted, but they cleared fields and built substantial houses and obtained deeds to the land when it became possible. They came to stay and establish a home and community.

In 1828, Gasconade County resident's tax list (which at that time included all of modern Pulaski County and a large area surrounding it) included 353 male inhabitants between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-five, 101 slaves, 794 horses, and 1,669 cattle.[30] Among the early Gasconade County residents were twenty-five families who are known to have been within modern Pulaski County limits. There surnames were: Bradford, Baker, Benton, Ballew, Burchard, Buckhart, Bowls, Brittons, Byrant, Bell, Cane, Clark, Davis, Dodds, Givens, Gibsons, Gillaspy, Hightour, Hays, Miller, Stuart, Stark, Skaggs, Turpin, and Williams. Many had originally crossed the Mississippi to work at the lead mines in eastern Missouri and then moved west in the 1820s. They became the foundation for early Pulaski County and many of these names survive today, including the Bradfords, who, as mentioned, may have located on the Big Piney as early as 1819, and built the mill along Spring Creek.[31] Another prominent early family was the Christesons; a name, like Turpin, that would survive long in southern Pulaksi County until the U.S. Army built Fort Leonard Wood. They were typical of the other settlers in the area. Elisha Christeson and family arrived in the county in 1829. They came from Adair County, Kentucky, his father migrating there from Maryland in 1790s. Elisha settled on Roubidoux Creek and was probably one of the first, if not the first, to establish a home in the Fort Leonard Wood region. In looking at the names on the list, it is clear that these were people of a shared culture and heritage. All the names on the list of

353 people are Anglo-Saxon. They were a decidedly monocultural group and would remain that way until Fort Leonard Wood.

It is impossible for us today to comprehend the isolation experienced by the very first families in the 1820s. They were on the very fringe of a frontier, living on a rugged and difficult landscape. They were entirely self-reliant for daily needs, the closest large town being St. Louis, some 120 miles away as the crow flies, and it with a population of only around 5,000 in 1821. For supplies, the Missouri River settlements fifty-five miles to the north of the Big Piney and Roubidoux Creek area would have been a little closer. But to get these supplies, the early Pulaski County squatters would have to follow the Gasconade River north to the village of Gasconade at the mouth on the Missouri. There were also some small lead mining operations as close as thirty-five miles to the east by 1826. Established by Thomas James and Samuel Massey of Ohio, the Maramec Iron Works became an important early industrial center for the earliest settlers. The mills would need and did attract a large number of settlers during the early antebellum, providing employment as smelters, ironworkers, charcoal burners, and woodcutters.[32] Some form of iron works lasted through the nineteenth century and the site is a historic park today. However, only a few years earlier, in 1819, Schoolcraft described Potosi (Miné la Barton) as being "... the last village of white inhabitants, between the Mississippi river and the Pacific Ocean,"[33] and it was some seventy-five miles away from southern Pulaski County. The only nearby help was other settlers, there being a scatter of cabins and a few mills strewn along the Gasconade and Roubidoux, and few squatters along the Big Piney between Pattie's settlement and the river's mouth. So, while they were far from supplies, there were neighbors a few miles away to help at harvest time.

Being free of most civilized restraints and governmental authorities, the first northern Ozark inhabitants were a complex mix of folk. Many were everything that has become stereotypical of pioneer culture—hardy, brave, cocksure. The men and women were physically strong, thin, and wiry. They were blunt to a fault, highly opinionated, and had a deep sense of honor and morality. They were quick to act on a real or perceived injustice. Daily, they led lives of long hard labor, clearing fields, planting, harvesting, and hunting. Evenings were spent by a small fire repairing tools and equipment. Women fulfilled traditional roles of wife and mother, including carding and spinning for clothing, preparing food, and doctoring. But they also worked in the fields planting and maintaining gardens, and worked alongside the men at harvest time. In their tiny, rustic, windowless, one- or two- room cabins they had few furnishings—a chair and maybe a table. A frame bed was a rare sight on the antebellum frontier—most slept on straw and blankets. Perhaps scattered around the room would be a few treasures they had brought with them from the east, like a china plate or two and an iron pot. But most of what furnished the cabin was fashioned on site, and was functional if not elegant. Most ate out of a shared trencher, a long wooden bowl. For utensils, they used their cutting knives. A wooden ladle was used to dip into an iron pot. Certainly each household had a musket or rifle and an ax. If a mill wasn't to be found nearby, the settler ground his corn like the Indians had done for thousands of years, using a stone mortar and pestle, or perhaps a tree stump in which he had burned out a bowl-like depression. As settlement increased and traders and goods were able to catch up with them, permanent settlers increased their household items. But in the first years from 1813 to 1830, their cabins were for the most part dark and austere.

In those years they did without not only material possessions, but also almost everything else that settled communities offered. There was no formal education available, few books except family bibles, no doctors, no preachers except a rare traveling minister, and no law. Or one should note that there was no legal authority in a position to enforce the peace. Outlaws were part of any American frontier, but as settlers arrived, undesirables pushed farther west. It is doubtful that frontier violence and crime was any worse in the northern Ozarks than any other frontier society. The law-abiding were quick to organize and root out the criminal element. For example, Missourians farther east turned to vigilante groups in 1815 to rid their land of undesirables. On the edge of the frontier, tempers were quick to change, and disagreements were settled with fists and knives. Fighting broke out over perceived wrongs, political debate, and even differences of church doctrine. Frontier Missouri social gatherings that included alcohol, which meant just about any gathering, were notorious for ending in brawls as young men tested themselves against each other. Whiskey and fighting flowed freely at logrolling, house raising, corn shucking, quilting, militia musters, and religious (camp) meetings. A cynic might say that fighting was the preferred form of social intercourse for young frontier men. For the upper classes in St. Louis, dueling was the preferred form of righting personal attacks. Formal pistol dueling was probably not prevalent in Pulaski County. Most of the settlers were not wealthy, and few had access to the ritualistic, inaccurate dueling pistols. Fists, knives, and wooden planks were the weapons of choice. Fighting not only "ordered" individuals, but also communities. Wherever pugilists went at it, observers chose sides and there was a strong possibility that the festivities would spread through the crowd. The other major form of entertainment was gambling. Cards were popular, but at large social gatherings, cards were put away; horse racing was more exciting.[34]

With the population increasing east of the Mississippi, the need for law and order increased, and so did the need for a formalized government. Missouri was organized as a first-class territory in 1805 and it became the Missouri Territory in 1812. By the 1830s, men of political and economic ambition in the Pulaski County region soon talked of forming a county government closer to home than Little Piney, Missouri, the seat of Crawford County government (Figure 8). While still a territory, the region that is now Pulaski County had changed from one jurisdiction to another at a rapid pace. These changes caused a great deal of confusion, even for later historians. It appears that the Pulaski County region was organized within St. Louis County in 1812, within Washington County in 1816, and within Franklin County in 1819.[35] Some historians contend that the land was within Ste. Genevieve around 1812 and within St. Louis County in 1816.[36] The reason for this confusion is at least partly due to the fact that, "The western portion of the St. Louis-Ste. Genevieve line is obscure."[37] As illustrated on an 1810 map in Thorndale and Dollarhide, the border was drawn as a dotted line trailing off from modern Gasconade County to parts west. Certainly the region beyond the Gasconade was poorly known and unsurveyed, which adds to the confusion. In any case, all sources agree after that date. When Missouri became a state in 1821, the region that would be Pulaski County was part of a large land tract within the boundaries of Gasconade County that now includes Osage, Maries, Phelps, Pulaski, Laclede, Dallas, Polk,

Figure 8. Log cabin reputed to be the original 1818 Crawford County Courthouse (Courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

Hickory, Cedar, Vernon, and parts of Crawford, Dent, Texas, Miller, Camden, Benton, St. Clair, Bates, Barton, Dade, Webster, and Wright counties. For a brief period from 1829 to 1833, this land was within Crawford County.

Pulaski County, named for Revolutionary War hero Count Casimir Pulaski, was established by the Missouri Legislature on January 19, 1833. The county was much larger than today and included modern Laclede and Wright, and parts of Webster, Texas, Camden, Phelps, and Maries counties.[38] The modern boundaries of Pulaski County would, except for a small portion, finally be set in 1857 with the formation of Phelps County. At that time the county was divided into Cullen, Tavern, Wilson, Liberty, Osage, Piney, and Gasconade townships. The modern township boundaries of Cullen, Roubidoux, and Piney, which contain southern Pulaski County, were not set until sometime after 1869.

The County Court held their first meeting at the home of Jesse Ballew on March 4, 1833. Their first act was to designate Green Williams' home, along Bear Creek, as the temporary seat of justice. Thus were counties born in the nineteenth century, in homes of prominent citizens. Two years later, the county seat was moved to James Bates' home on the Roubidoux, and soon after it was moved again to William Moore's homestead.[39] But the

early founders recognized that an enterprising young county needed a permanent seat of government. The choice of Waynesville was not difficult, since it was the only cluster of buildings in the region that could be, with optimism, called a village.

By 1830 the southern Pulaski County region was far from fully occupied, but the river valleys were spotted with settlers. From the Gasconade's mouth on the Missouri upstream to Pulaski County, a homestead, consisting of a single cabin, could be seen almost every mile or so. As one proceeded farther upstream, the cabins were farther and farther apart. By the time one got to the Big Piney and the Roubidoux, only a few cabins existed between long stretches of wilderness. Along the Roubidoux there were probably only three to six families living up the hollows along its course. On the Big Piney, settlement was similar to that on the Roubidoux, except in the Pattie-Boone mill region where a relatively sizable community existed. Except for cabins and mills there, and at the Gasconade's mouth, there were few other clusters of cabins that could be called a community. These were loosely clustered around mill sites. Meanwhile, there were probably no cabins in the uplands between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney where Fort Leonard Wood would be established.

But even these few cabins and communities were rapidly changing the landscape. Although some pioneers found a clearing previously occupied by Native Americans and quickly adapted their ancient fields to pioneer agriculture, most settlers opened new fields near their cabin. Valley paths, once used seasonally by Native Americans, were becoming worn trails, and already by 1830 the main trail east to west through the county was wagon-rutted. The greatest impact was the cutting of pine trees by the mills for St. Louis lumber. As St. Louis grew, the land between the two rivers was being cleared.

Furthermore, most of the cultural characteristics that are now known as Ozarkian were already in place by 1830. Tennesseans and Kentuckians dominated the region. Most of their fathers had come from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, in a steady migration west, one generation at a time. With them came a distinct heritage and culture, which dominated the Upland South. This culture would flourish in the rugged hills and valleys of southern Pulaski County.

Notes for Chapter 2

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2 Mildred Mott Wedel, "Claude-Charles Dutisné, A Review of his 1719 Journey, Part II" *Great Plains Journal* 13: 146–173.

3 Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks*, p. 31; Steyermark, *Vegetational History*, pp. 46–47.

4 Wedel, "Claude-Charles Dutisné," p. 147.

5 Russell L. Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns in Missouri: A Study of Population Origins With a Wall Map* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), p. 12.

6 Rafferty, *The Ozarks*, p. 43.

7 Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks*, p. 41.

8 Hattie M. Anderson, "Missouri, 1804–1828: Peopling A Frontier State," *Missouri Historical Review* 31 (1936–1937):150–151; Edwin C. McReynolds, *Missouri, A History of the Crossroads*

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10 Rafferty, *The Ozarks*, p. 50.

11 Ibid., p. 50.

12 Foley, *A History of Missouri*, pp. 146–165.

13 Goodspeed Publishing, *A History of Laclede, etc.*, pp. 814–815; Turpin, *Our Ancestors in Pulaski County*, p. iii; Turpin, "Josiah Turpin," p. 2.

14 Kate L. Gregg, "The War of 1812 on the Missouri Frontier," *Missouri Historical Review* 33 (1938–39): 11.

15 Ibid., p. 348.

16 Robert Fisher, "The Western Prologue to the War of 1812," *Missouri Historical Review* 30 (1935–1936): 274–275.

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18 McReynolds, *Missouri, A History of the Crossroads State*, p. 52.

19 Goodspeed Publishing, History of Laclede, etc., p. 101; R. A. Campbell, *Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri* (St. Louis: R.A. Campbell Publisher, 1875), p. 455.

20 Ibid., p. 102.

21 Park (editor), *Schoolcraft in the Ozarks*, p. 42; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853), pp. 50–51.

22 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland*, pp. 151–152.

23 Vance A. Bradford, *Bradford Descendants* (Oklahoma City: Vance A. Bradford, 1985), p. 53.

24 Richard Batman, *American Ecclesiastes: The Stories of James Pattie* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1984), pp. 34–42.

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27 Mabel Carter Taylor, "Romance of the Roubidoux," *Old Settlers Gazette*, Volume 8 (Waynesville, Missouri: KJPW Radio, 1990), p. 40.

28 Pricilla Ann Evans, "Merchant Gristmills and Communities, 1820–1880: An Economic Relationship," *Missouri Historical Review* 68 (1974)3: 317–326.

29 Norman Brown, interview with the author, Land Surveyor, Missouri Department of Natural Resources, June 4, 1999. Some settlers waited a long time. Although the surveyors laid out the basic lines at that time, some townships and ranges were not completely surveyed until the 1830s and 1840s.

30 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Leclede, etc.*, pp. 102, 106, 776–882; Turpin, *Our Ancestors.*

31 Lucy Routt Bradford Duncan, "Early Days in Phelps County," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (1924–1925): 94–104.

32 Rafferty, *The Ozarks*, p. 140.

33 Schoolcraft, in Park, *Schoolcraft in the Ozarks*, p. 21.

34 The preceding discussion was based on Hattie M. Anderson, "The Evolution of Frontier Society" Parts I, II, *Missouri Historical Review* 32 (1937–1938): 298–326, 458–483, Part III, 33 (1939): 23–44.

35 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 112; Robert G. Schultz, *Missouri Post Offices 1804–1981* (St Louis: American Philatelic Society Branch, Number 4, 1982), pp. 61–62.

36 Foley, *The Genesis of Missouri*, p. 262; Parrish et al., *Heart of the Nation*, p. 49.

37 William Thorndale and William Dollarhide, *Map Guide to the Federal Census, 1790–1920* (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1987), p. 191.

38 For the record, there was also a Pulaski County near and in the present boundaries of Arkansas formed in 1816 or 1818 by the territorial legislature, but it was never established, see Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 112; Schultz, *Early History of the Ozarks*, pp. 62–63.

39 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 123; Mabel Manes Mottaz, *Lest We Forget, A History of Pulaski County, Missouri and Fort Leonard Wood* (Springfield: Cain Printing Company, 1960), p. 6; Schultz, *Early History of the Ozarks*, p. 62.

Chapter 3

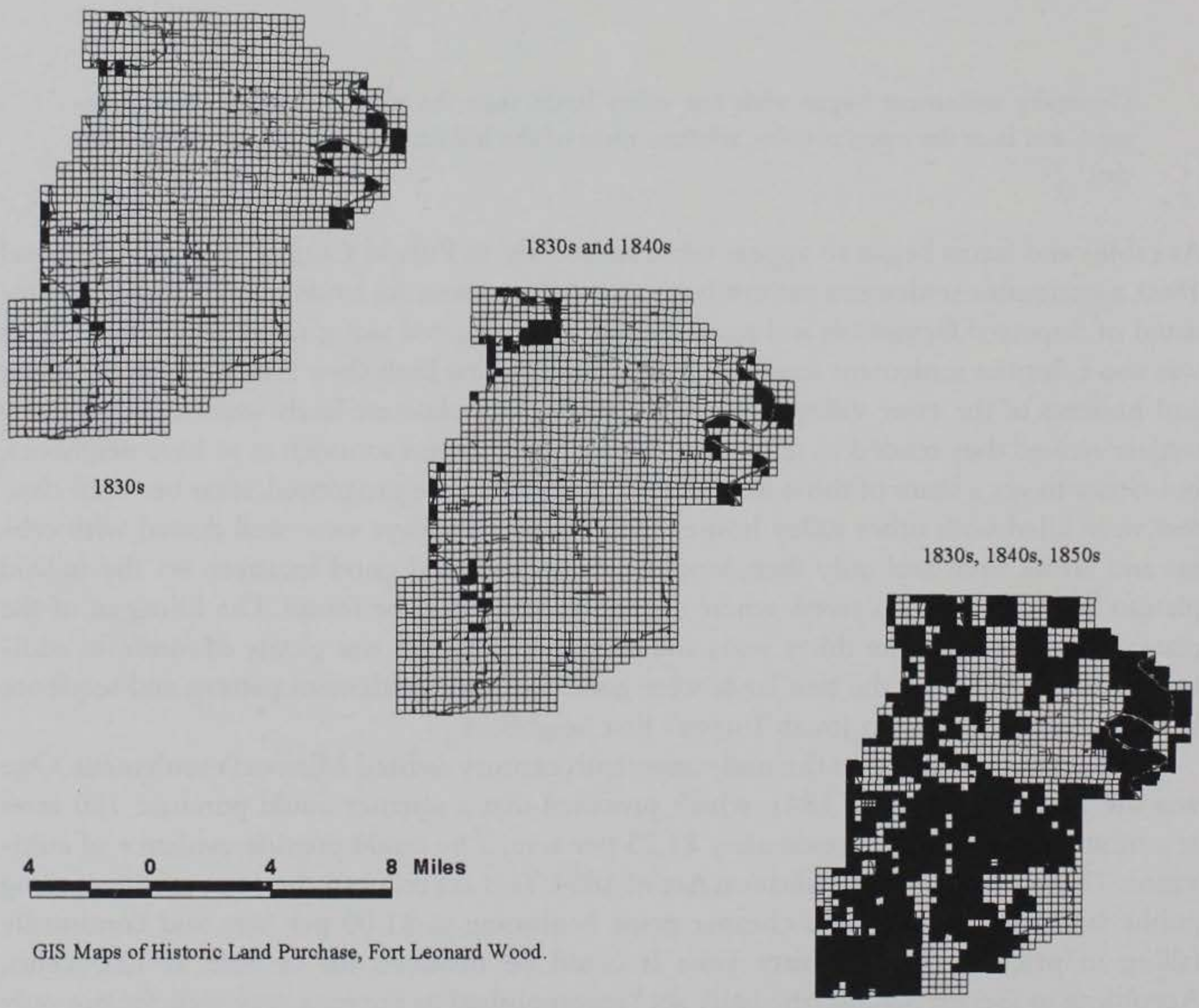
Antebellum Pulaski County, 1833–1860

> Generally settlement began with the valley lands, then the prairie margins were occupied, and later the open prairies, whereas most of the hillsides remain unimproved to this day.[1]

As cabins and farms began to appear more frequently in Pulaski County between 1830 and 1860, a noticeable settlement pattern began to appear across the landscape. This pattern consisted of dispersed farmsteads and small hamlets concentrated along rivers and creeks. There was also a distinct settlement sequence. Homesteaders first built their futures along the rivers and hollows of the river valleys where the springs and choicest lands were found. As new settlers arrived they tended to settle near others, probably not so much as to have neighbors, but rather to get a share of those limited fertile acres. As time progressed, areas between clusters were filled with other valley homesteads. Once the valleys were well dotted with cabins and farms, then and only then, would new arrivals find good locations on the upland plateau between the two rivers where a good spring could be found. The filling in of the plateau region took some thirty years and even in 1860 there was plenty of room for additional settlers, although the best lands were gone. Both the settlement pattern and sequence had been established with Josiah Turpin's first neighbors.

Two homestead acts in the mid-nineteenth century assisted Missouri's settlement. One was the Preemption Act of 1841, which provided that a squatter could purchase 160 acres at a minimum price of approximately $1.25 per acre, if he could provide evidence of cultivation. The other was the Graduation Act of 1854. This act reduced the price of slow-selling public land to a progressively cheaper price beginning at $1.00 per acre and continually falling in price until after thirty years it could be obtained for as little as 12.5 cents. According to Gerard Schultz, the latter act "accomplished its purpose very well, for not only the poorer land but also thousands of acres of totally worthless stony hills were sold at the reduced rate."[2]

Naturally, the Graduation Act had the greater influence on settlement on the plateau between Roubidoux Creek and the Big Piney River. This is clearly seen by examining land acquisition on the plateau near Fort Leonard Wood. Figure 9 depicts antebellum land acquisition for the lands that now occupy the fort.[3] The first land purchase in this area was in 1831, and throughout the 1830s land acquisition was confined to a few quarter sections along the Roubidoux and Big Piney. Even at the end of the 1840s, no lands on the upland plateau had been purchased and land in only a few additional quarter sections of the region had been purchased along the Roubidoux and Big Piney. As noted above, throughout this period, settlers clustered around the choice fertile lands along the river. The conclusion to be drawn here is that the 1841 act did not significantly affect land acquisition on the plateau. But in the 1850s, after the Graduation Act of 1854, the land purchase in the uplands was rapid, although not complete. In fact, a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) database indicates that fifty-six percent of the land, or 38,920 acres, that is now part of Fort Leonard Wood was purchased in the 1850s. In 1860, another four percent of the land was acquired, so that at the beginning of the Civil War, sixty-six percent of the upland of Fort Leonard Wood had been acquired. There is little doubt that the rest of southern Pulaski County followed the same pattern. Of course, land purchases do not always indicate land occupation.



GIS Maps of Historic Land Purchase, Fort Leonard Wood.

Figure 9. GIS maps of historic land purchase within Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri (SCIAA from data generated by Bennett et al. 1996).

It is likely that squatters and hunters were in the uplands before the 1850s. A good portion of the land entry dates for the 1850s are in 1854, so it is likely that some of these acquisitions were from people already settled there who were awaiting the opportunity to purchase the land after it had been surveyed. There may also have been a few speculators purchasing the land but not actually settling. But land speculation is not likely to have been significant.[4] This was, after all, not prime farmland that was likely to increase in value. Overall, the maps are an accurate representation of the settlement pattern and sequence for this region and are likely representative of the pattern for the entire county.

Antebellum census figures (Appendix A, Table 1) verify the region's slow settlement. There appears to be a decline in county population, but this is the result of shrinking borders as new counties were formed from the original Pulaski County. In 1857 Pulaski County's borders were almost identical to those of today; the 1860 census provides the most accurate picture of settlement progress in southern Pulaski County. On the eve of the Civil War, there were only 3,835 people in the county and only 56 of those were African American. To put this in another perspective, this figure amounts to only 626 families, down from 642 families in 1850. As noted in Chapter 1, Pulaski County was at that time the least populated of the seventeen northern Ozark counties. And the population of southern Pulaski County was even smaller. "Between 1829 and 1840 there were no settlements outside of the valleys. After 1840 there was an occasional settler on the uplands, but the settlement continued to be sparse up to [Civil] war times, and centered more or less toward Waynesville, as the only town in the county."[5] Sauer mentions that in the northwest corner of Pulaski County, the smaller prairies were entered early, or prior to 1840, but this was the only prairie land to settle at this time.[6]

Who were these persons who settled the land between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney, becoming the first citizens of Pulaski County? According to Fort Leonard Wood's GIS database, the first to purchase land within the Fort Leonard Wood borders was Henry Stuart, Jr., on May 20, 1831. His father purchased land the following year, on March 9, 1832. However, others arrived before Stuart, Sr. On November 5, 1831, Washington Smith settled along the Big Piney, and George Washington Hines settled on January 2, 1832. By the end of the 1830s, Amos Deer, George Gibson, Wilson Tilley, William S. Helm, Michael and James Stuart, George Carpenter, Richard and Jefferson Matthews, Alexander Young, William Bibb, Alfred Brownfield, Comfort McCourtney, Rowley Williams, Charles Finley, Bowling John Baker, Alfred McElroy, Midian Smith, and James and Isaac Robinson, had purchased lands on the Roubidoux and the Big Piney and in most cases were settled there along with their families. Their lands amounted to 2,120 acres or three percent of the land. During the 1840s another 1,920 acres or nearly another three percent of the land was acquired, still confined to the Roubidoux and Big Piney Valleys and their tributaries.

How many others were on the land at that time, possibly as squatters? Traditional historical sources provide settlers' names who are supposed to have arrived as early as the 1830s and 1840s but who do not appear in the State Land Office Records. Some of these may have settled beyond the present boundaries of Fort Leonard Wood, and are not found in the GIS database. Others were squatters, and thus there is no record of their land acquisition. They include the Macklin, Amon, Felix, and Lovel Deer families. Also, the Maxey, Hays, Morgan, Nelson, Colley, Saltsman, Meyers, Stanley, Howard, Humphres, Honsinger, Hamilton, Bell, and Newman families, and two other McCourtneys—Alex and William—are named in sources of Pulaski County history.[7] There were probably a few others, but

between the land owners and those thought to be present by historians, the population of southern Pulaski County totaled only forty-five families by 1850.

It is important to observe, again, the homogeneity of these people. The names listed are decidedly Anglo-Saxon. These people were part of a tradition and ideology called the Upland South. Wholly associated with white people of English and northern European extraction, the Upland South culture originated among those Scots and English of the border region (with some Welsh additions) who were forced to Ulster, Ireland, and later migrated to America. The first of these to make it to America initially settled in western Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Blending with Chesapeake Tidewater, German, and English traditions of southern Pennsylvania, this amalgamation resulted in an independent small farm owner/operator who relied on traditional solutions to everyday problems that affected the economic, social, and settlement systems. Although the people were an amalgamation of different northern European extractions, many of the distinctive ethnic attributes blended easily into a singular frontier culture as the people migrated west.[8] The predominant ethnic group was the highly individualistic, lowland Scots and Scotch-Irish peoples who rapidly migrated down the Appalachian chain beginning as early as the 1720s.[9] With the arrival of another flock of Scots highlanders, who were being forced from their lands from the 1760s to 1815, and who mixed with people of German extraction, they began to spread north through the woodlands of southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; west through Kentucky and Tennessee; south through upper Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and to the Missouri Ozarks.[10] With localized exceptions, the land they settled was remarkably similar—mountainous, forested, rolling, often rugged, with plentiful game, and marginal agricultural soils. The migration across the central portion of the eastern United States was equally rapid, and while widespread, there was a remarkable tendency to migrate along a generally straight line east to west, deviating north or south only as rivers, mountains, and trails channeled the flow. Thus, the vast majority of Pulaski County residents were from Tennessee; their fathers had come from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. The second most common state of origin was Kentucky, followed by Illinois.[11]

Cultural geographer Milton Newton goes so far as to state that these people were "preadapted" for the topography and climate found in the upper heartland of eastern America. Newton defines preadaptation as "a set of traits possessed by a particular human society or part of that society giving that group competitive advantage in occupying a new environment."[12] This preadaptation permitted them to occupy the vast eastern woodlands in only two to three generations between 1790 and 1840. Highly adaptable to any regional variation in the usually wooded landscape, and with only decimated Native American tribes in their way, they were practically free to roam westward at their convenience. Though Upland South people lacked the planter's capital and labor resources, the abundant woodlands offered easily obtained building materials and food. The migration's rapidity was spurred accordingly by the continuing need for woodlands resources like timber for building, game, and mast for their hogs.[13] The infertile soils also caused them to move often. Fertilization was unknown, and fields were quickly exhausted. Finally, without capital they had no means to purchase the land they squatted on. When the government offered the land for sale, the easy solution was to move on. Farther west there was abundant free land and little government interference.

The family of modern Big Piney resident Napoleon Bonaparte "Boney" Ramsey was typical of these early settlers and their settlement progression from Virginia to Missouri, then to the Missouri River tributaries and eventually into the hills of southern Pulaski County.

> My great-great-great grandfather was born in Lynchburg, Virginia in 1782 and came to St. Louis when it was French; that would have been in 1800. Just spreading out brought him west and going for free land—land he could get. And he started on the Gasconade River near Dixon, Missouri. His name was Marquis de Lafayette Ramsey. My great-grandfather's name was James K. Polk. He was born right at the end of the term of James K. Polk as President. And he had a lot of land—and he had some land up here on the Big Piney River that he let his oldest son take over. And he gave my grandpa Ramsey, his son, about a 250-acre farm—where the golf course is now on Fort Leonard Wood.[14]

Upland South people were subsistence farmers in the true sense of the word. Nearly everything they made and ate was the result of their own labor. With little capital and few general stores locally available, few items were purchased. The local economy was primarily a barter system. The primary crop was corn. Other staples grown or gathered included tobacco, rye, flax, maple sugar, sorghum, beeswax, honey, barley, buckwheat, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, wool, and cotton. Hogs and a few cattle provided meat. Fruit was scarce. The predominance of subsistence agriculture as a way of life is indicated in the 1840 census of Pulaski County. From a total population of 6,529 men, women, and children, 2,065 were employed in agriculture and 111 in manufacturing and trades (these were primarily millers); all other occupations amounted to fewer than 100.

Census figures provide an overview of agricultural production in Pulaski County during the antebellum period (Appendix A, Tables 2 and 3). The figures do not include all the agricultural products grown, but rather those in greatest production. While it is difficult to analyze the rate of growth because the borders of Pulaski County continued to shrink during this time, the census figures do provide a measure of what the Pulaski County region was producing. As might be expected, corn and swine were the Ozark pioneers' two staples. It is doubtful much of this was being exported beyond the county borders. Most crops were consumed by the farmer, or traded locally for goods and services.

The cornfields in the river valleys and hollows were not like those seen today. The pioneer farmer borrowed traditional techniques from the Native Americans, and retained them well into the twentieth century. Small patches of ground were cleared by tree deadening. Tree trunks were cut all the way around the tree and then the tree was left to die or was forced to die by using a deadening agent like lye soap. Then the corn was planted by hand in rows, with pole beans in between. Ozark native Ollie Elliot explains:

> We'd put out 20 acres of corn. My mom would lay the rows out. All straight ones too. Then one of us kids come along and drop the corn. Generally, my older sister Mae would drop the corn. I'd come along with the beans. Yes, we planted pole beans at the same time. We'd plant two kernels of corn to a hill. Every time you'd make a stop, you'd plant two grains. You drop three, let it go; if you dropped four, you'd have to pick one of them up. Generally, we'd plant two bean seeds per hill. We didn't want to ride the corn

> down cuz we had to cut that, cut the corn. If you had two stalks of corn, you'd want two beans, at least two beans. When the corn got ready to cut, the beans would be ready to pick.[15]

Corn was often left in the fields until the first frost, when it could be easily broken from the stalk. Then it was picked as needed for the family, the horses, and the hogs.[16] When the patches became unproductive, the cattle would be allowed to graze on it and a new patch was cleared. Higher up in the hollows the farmers would plant potatoes and sorghum. Farm tools were mostly homemade, with a blacksmith's help if one was available. The axe was the most critical all-purpose tool for chopping down trees and shaping the wood to build the log cabin. Plows were wooden, with iron tips. Harrows were made from tree limbs. Sickles were used for harvesting.

Cotton was rare in the Ozarks and was never grown as a cash crop. Pulaski County produced only 7,727 pounds of cotton in 1840. This might seem a lot, but assuming a 400-pound-per-bale average this would amount to only 19 bales. In 1860 the county produced 249 of the 400-pound bales. Still, cotton was grown only for farm use during most of the antebellum period. For the first settlers there simply was no easy way to get it to market. But even if there had been a market, fertile soils were too precious to devote to cotton, and as a crop it was too labor intensive. For the subsistence farmer it was also too risky. A ruined corn crop could be replanted or the hogs turned on it and the pigs fattened for market. A ruined cotton crop was "a total loss" and a disaster.[17]

Animals were easy to raise in this country, where good farmland was rare. Hogs, cattle, sheep, and horses roamed the woods and fields. The hogs fed on the abundant woodland mast, and the cattle and sheep grazed on the prairie and woodland grasses. Hogs and cattle roamed free. Horses were watched a little more closely. Oxen were used during these early years for cultivating the fields that were sometimes fenced against animals. The animals were usually earmarked and sometimes branded. Stock raising, in fact, became one of the more profitable Ozark agricultural pursuits and in the Pulaski County region. In the late nineteenth century, raising cattle was the "most profitable occupation." It would remain so among the successful farmers up until the arrival of the U.S. Army. The quality of Pulaski County stock has had mixed reviews though. Late nineteenth century county historian Goodspeed states that the cattle, mules, and hogs were of fine grade because the rugged hills kept them in excellent condition. Early twentieth century geographer Carl Sauer complained that the cattle were poor due to the open range method of raising them. Perhaps these discrepancies can be explained as a result of the changing landscape. Goodspeed was describing the early and late nineteenth century landscape in which the soils and vegetation were still abundant and fertile. Sauer was describing the beginnings of the landscape's overuse during the early twentieth century. Unforeseen by these early farmers, the valuable bluestem grasses of the prairies would be over-grazed, making cattle raising more difficult.[18]

Writing to a friend in Germany, Frederick Seines described the typical 1830s Missouri farm in Franklin County. His letter provides an accurate portrait of Pulaski County farms also:

> Instead of a house you must think of a hut, behind it a still smaller hut for a smokehouse, further back a still smaller hut for other purposes. All this is surrounded by a zigzag rail fence. Sometimes a spring flows right thru the yard....There is no trace of domesticated fruit trees, no garden shrubs, grape vines, or tame flowers. Instead of a garden, such as you

> know, simply a plowed, fenced-in, little plot of ground, which in the early spring can scarcely be found on account of the weeds. There are no barns with threshing floors in them. Sometimes the grain stays out in the fields all winter long in stacks. The grain is not beaten out but trampled out by animals. The grain is laid on the ground in the field, on a place cleared of stubble and weeds, and then horses or cattle are driven over it till the kernels are tramped out of the ears.[19]

The hut Seines described was the log cabin, the most common settler abode from Josiah Turpin's time until the late nineteenth century, and remaining the home of the poor through the mid-twentieth century in southern Pulaski County. These were horizontal log houses of one room, with the cracks filled with clay daubing or "chinking." At one end of the cabin a chimney was built, the base of stone and the upper of logs and clay. Windows were rare at this time, and it would have been an exceptional home to have paned glass. More often greased rawhide was used to cover the window and admit some diffused light. Most often there was no window at all. Civil War trooper Lyman G. Bennett of the 36th Illinois Infantry described the cabins in the area just west of Waynesville: "One characteristic of nearly all the log cabins on the road, they are all without windows and the door must be opened in order to admit light. The cracks between the logs are generally window enough for all practical purposes."[20] The more industrious built a two-penned cabin joined with a single roof. Between the two cabins a covered open space was used as a porch. This was the famous "dogtrot" house still occasionally seen today in the rural south from Virginia to Georgia and west to Missouri and even east Texas (Figure 10). Interestingly, recent oral historical research has indicated that at least in the Appalachians, families living in dogtrots

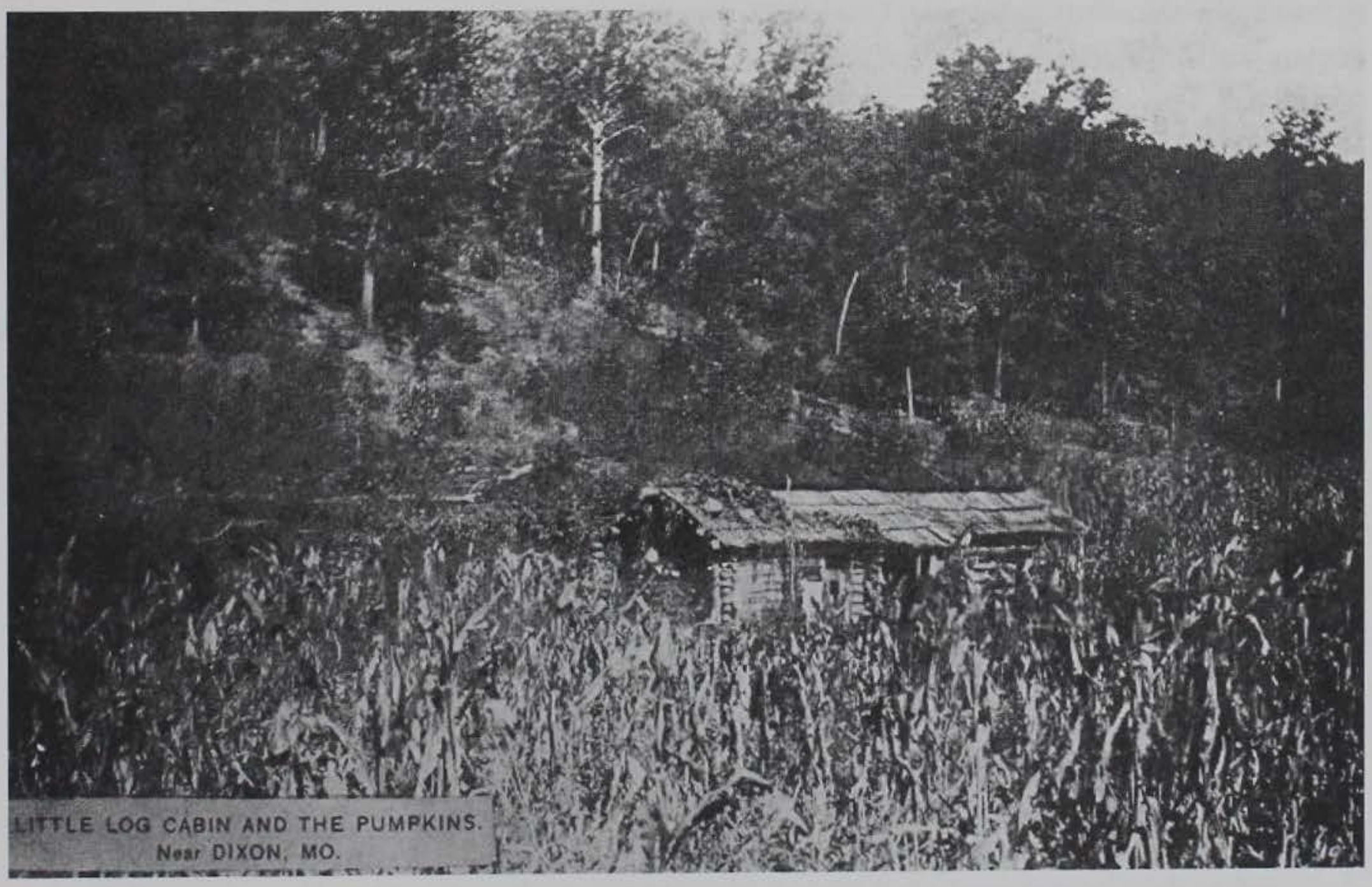


Figure 10. Twentieth century dogtrot in the cornfields of Pulaski County, Missouri (courtesy John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

often did their living on one side, and reserved the other "parlor" for sleeping, and special occasions like visitors, dances, and funerals.[21] There is no reason to doubt that the two-room dogtrot was used in a similar way in the Ozarks.

Inside the cabin, activities around the hearth continued to be oriented toward food processing and equipment repair as they had during Turpin's time and would continue, largely unchanged, until well after the Civil War. Perhaps a few more furnishings could be seen in the homesteader's cabin by the middle and late antebellum periods, like candlesticks, kettles, irons, forks, metal spoons, ceramic plates, earthenware crocks, glass tumblers and bottles, chairs, beds, and perhaps a chest or storage box.

Through the antebellum period two separate kinds of agriculturists developed in the county, and were fairly well defined in the Fort Leonard Wood region by the 1860s. The first was the subsistence farmer. Subsistence farmers were somewhat like the early hunters in their farm economy, devoting much of their time to hunting and gathering. But they also dedicated a good portion of their day to growing and tending crops. The subsistence farmers usually came as squatters and often remained as squatters even after the lands were for sale. If they had the means or became successful, they would purchase a few acres around their homesteads, but they also might just wait and see if somebody came to claim the land. They were extremely flexible in making a living; whatever the woods seasonally provided for their family was their current employment, and trade allowed them to acquire whatever else they needed. They hunted, trapped, fished, bartered, and grew a little cotton for clothing, corn for feeding the family and the livestock, and tobacco for trading and as a medicine. In Pulaski County, tie hacking—cutting the oaks for railroad ties—was one method of obtaining cash for those items they could not make or grow, but this cottage industry would not fully bloom until after the Civil War. The number of acres cleared for farming would remain small. When the soil was worn out, more land would be cleared from the nearby woodland. The land would be handed down to the next generation if the land was owned. In southern Pulaski County, subsistence farming probably was seen more often in the uplands as opposed to the river valleys. As will be seen, subsistence farming in southern Pulaski County continued up until the U.S. Army purchased the land.

Arriving in the county at the same time as the subsistence farmers were the pioneer agriculturists. As defined here, the pioneer agriculturists were those who arrived with the full intention of farming as a full-time occupation—that is, in raising a cash crop. They also were interested in creating and participating in a market economy. Probably the majority of such people settled in northern Pulaski County during the antebellum period. However, some settled in the more fertile valleys of the county's southern portion along the Roubidoux and Big Piney. Pioneer agriculturists often brought some means of wealth with them and purchased larger tracts of farmland. Perhaps some of their land was purchased on speculation. They were entrepreneurs, and, if possible, would find additional means of increasing their wealth, as opposed to simply subsisting. They built the mills, opened the general stores, provided the impetus for the formation of local government, and often ran for local office. They opened law offices in town. Some began as subsistence farmers and became successful pioneer farmers because they arrived early enough or were able to find and purchase a small fertile plot. Pioneer agriculturists would eventually become the local upper class, economically, and their sons would become general agriculturists in the late nineteenth century if they rebuilt after the Civil War.

It is important to note that this loose hierarchal system was extremely fluid in an expanding, open pioneer society. That is, one could move from subsistence farmer to pioneer agriculturist and back as fortunes changed. Also both "classes" were flexible in building or maintaining wealth. David Waldo was one such pioneer who came to the county during the antebellum period, and his life is illustrative of the diversified character of the frontier agricultural economy and the two agricultural types in the Missouri Ozarks. Before Waldo died, he was at one time a practicing physician, postmaster, major in the militia, circuit court clerk, ex-officio recorder of deeds, county court clerk, justice of the peace, deputy sheriff, and acting coroner for Gasconade County. Although ending life in the pioneer upper class, he began destined, like many young men on the Missouri frontier, for a subsistence living. But being an enterprising sort, in 1826 he cut and hauled timber until he had enough to build a raft, which he and some hired hands then floated down the Gasconade to St. Louis. In St. Louis, he sold the lumber for $500.00. He took his money and traveled to Lexington, Kentucky, where he enrolled at Transylvania University. His professional training as a doctor consisted of one winter of attending lectures and he then returned to Gasconade County as Dr. Waldo, practicing physician.[22] With the demand for such skills high at that time, probably few people questioned his credentials or abilities in the medical field. But he must have had some success because he remained in the region throughout his life, employed in the various occupations listed. Although not every entrepreneur in the Ozarks was as enterprising, Dr. Waldo's diverse interests and employments, and the abundant opportunities on the Missouri frontier, were not unusual during the antebellum period.

Whether subsistence farmer or pioneer agriculturist, life during the antebellum period was rugged and the Ozarks' poor land made it more difficult. Few records are available, but a surviving letter from Hiram and Sarah Welch, to their relatives in Illinois, testifies to the harsh frontier in Pulaski County region (original spelling maintained):

December 20, 1839

Dear Brothers and Sisters

I take this opportunity to let you now that we are well at this time hoping these lines find you in the same health.... We was jest two weaks from the time we left illinois tell we go to James Haney. We found him & family all with the agar. every one of them had it. tha [?] took it in august, he was much dissatisfid & he sold out to move back but he took a notion to tri it a little longer. I was goin to come with him. He has moved a bout 18 miles furder & tha say his timber is scase. He is in a prarie holler.... James Haney sed that tha was more than two thirds of the papel her was sick this fall. Ther is a heap of sickness her. I am living on a place belongs to old John Wisdom. I shell sta her & mak a crop, ther is about [illegible] acres fenced & turned. I git it for doing some work on the place....

I shall not parswade no boddy to move here. When ther is land it is good range and tolerbel plenty of game. I have cild three deer and a good miney turkeys. Timber is skace her, black post oke is the groath mostly som white jack oke and black oke but timber is scace. rocks a plenty. James Ewton lives about ten miles from me on the river gasknad. I live in a prararie holler My nearest nebour is about two miles on the other side about ate miles. It is on the hardys place I ever seen. Pork is worth from four to five dollars corn is from twenty to thirty cents per bushel wheat is from fifty to seventy five cents per bushel. Tha have bin three or four snows and is now a sleeting. One snow was

> about ten inches deep. It has been very diagreebel winter so fur. While I was riting tha fell a snow about ate inches deep... Thar ar places here to settel som very good ones if a boddy could have ther helth.[23]

Besides subsistence and pioneer farming, and those trades necessary to a frontier existence like blacksmithing, store keeping, and public office, there were only a few other occupations in Pulaski County during the antebellum period. The 1840 census indicates that there were two individuals in mining, twenty-four in commerce, 111 in manufacturing, twenty-three in navigation of canals, lakes, and rivers, and eighteen listed as in the learned professions and engineers. Many of those counted among the manufacturers were millers. Census figures include twenty-two grist and flour mills in Pulaski County in 1840, but at that time the county was about three times its present size. One of the most famous Pulaski County mills was built during this time. Tennessean Joseph Strain built his Gasconade Mill in 1840 along the river by that same name. This mill, still standing, is today known as the Schlicht Mill after its third owner, John Schlicht, who purchased it in 1876. The number of mills serving the Roubidoux and Big Piney regions probably did not increase greatly between those built before 1830 and the Civil War, but at least four mills were built at this time that had a significant effect on the lives of those who would settle on the plateau between the two rivers before the Civil War. The first of these was G.W. Gibson's mill built in 1831 or 1832. Gibson settled along the lower Roubidoux a few miles from its mouth in 1826 at what became Waynesville, Missouri—the only village in antebellum Pulaski County. Along the Roubidoux, Cook's Mill was built perhaps as early as 1845.[24] This mill would eventually lead to the little hamlet of Cookville. Across the uplands on the Big Piney, Stone Mill was built sometime in the 1840s. Just downstream and around a huge bend in the river, Comfort McCourtney arrived in the 1830s and purchased fifty-three acres in 1838. His family would soon join him. Sometime before the Civil War, he built another mill. The valley would forever be known as McCourtney's Hollow and the family name would become infamous to the Federals during the Civil War.[25] Demonstrating the critical importance of springs to these early settlements, both Stone Mill and McCourtney's Mill were built where springs refreshed the Big Piney's waters.

Like the mills of the earliest Missouri settlers in the 1820s, mills built between 1830 and 1860 were more often than not multifunctional, especially in isolated regions like Pulaski County. Changing from grinding to cutting was relatively simple, the power train remained the same and a system of gears or belts drove the millstone or saw blade. They were not only multifunctional, they were attractions, drawing other small enterprises necessary to frontier existence. Typical was a mill on Spring Creek near Relfe, in nearby Phelps County. A memoranda book includes charges for milling flour and meal, carding cotton, purchase of ploughs, and "making 1 pr shoes for mother."[26] In other words, the mill remained a community center or central place during the antebellum period where goods were purchased, services were performed, items traded, and news exchanged.

During the middle antebellum period, commercial mills were established and devoted to the growing lumber industry. The Gasconade lumber industry that had started in the 1830s was considerable and healthy by 1840. The census taker indicates that there were fifteen sawmills in the county in 1840, counted separately from twenty-two gristmills. It is clear that the fifteen sawmills were industrial-level operations devoted exclusively to full-time conversion of timber into lumber for St. Louis, rather than toward serving the needs

of the local community. This accounts for the 111 people listed as being in "manufacturing" in the census as they were full-time lumbermen. These mills produced lumber valued at $25,000 in 1840. By 1852, local farmers cutting their own timber for local use and the Gasconade Valley timber industry had cut most of the good timber along the river.[27] Meanwhile, along the Big Piney, large gaps of cleared timberlands also were visible by the 1850s.

Besides millers shaping the timber into lumber, and farmers cutting timber for homes, there were professional raftsmen. Those twenty-three listed in the 1840 census as river "navigators" were obviously raftsmen. The rivers provided a convenient and practical method of transporting lumber to the mills or to buyers. The river trades also promoted a way of life and folklore reminiscent of the Ohio River flatboat men. Trees were cut and logs were transported to a mill that would rough-out the logs (roughly shape them into ties), or they would be roughed-out in the woods when cut. The logs were then tied together into rafts and floated down the river. Maneuvering the logs around the twisting bends of the Big Piney and Gasconade Rivers was quite a challenge and accomplished by pulling on grape vines and by using poles to push the rafts. When and if they reached St. Louis, the men sold the timber, bought a few new clothes and plenty of whiskey, and walked home. Rafting was a dangerous occupation, and the rafters became famous for their daring and risk taking. Along with this hard life, came hard living, fighting, and drinking, and a legendary lifestyle.[28] Following the Civil War, with the railroads' insatiable appetite for ties, tie-hacking (cutting and shaping ties from trees), and rafting became the essence of local folklore. For the young men of Pulaski County, this lifestyle undoubtedly looked more exciting and rewarding than eking out a living on a marginally productive farm.

The area's isolation was not only suited to frontier Tennesseans who were seasoned to the subsistence hunting and farming lifestyle, but also to those "desperadoes and outlaws" who chose a life outside the law. Northern Ozark folklore and history is full of stories about outlaws, bandits, and during the Civil War, bushwhackers. Even today, locals agree that it is not uncommon to find people on society's fringes—the homeless and criminals—hiding in the caves around Pulaski County. One of the great local antebellum legends concerns a counterfeiting band, the "Bank of Niangua." Like all legends, the facts are difficult to discern from the lore. However, legend has it that a group of counterfeiters opened shop in the caves north of Waynesville around 1832 or 1833. This group consisted of four men, Spencer, Quillen, Garland, and Tellis, and a woman named Stennett (or sometimes called Stinson). The group was caught. Quillen and Garland were imprisoned. But this did not stop the presses; in fact, it only angered the others engaged in that sort of chicanery. Soon another murdering band of robbers and counterfeiters, led by John Avy, was operating in the same region. Eventually, local citizens tired of the violence formed a vigilante group called "Slickers," that attempted to break up the gang. The violence between the two factions came to be called the Slicker War and it continued for several years. The war finally was brought to an end when a popular young man was murdered by Avy's gang, and the Slickers believed that the local sheriff, connected to Avy, let the prisoner get away. Incensed, the Slickers took up arms and eventually two of Avy's gang were killed. The others were driven from the region.[29]

Another version of the legend relates that the Bank of Niangua was broken up when a widow of one of the dead gang members stopped getting her cut (perhaps she is being

confused with the Stennett gang member noted above). In any case, the bank was so well organized it had a board of directors, which shared the profits, and her late husband had been a board member. Angry at being left out, she went to St. Louis and contacted federal officials who rooted out the gang. Regardless of the details, these stories illustrate this frontier region's isolation and wildness, where lawful authorities had only a slim hold on order, and if one sought justice, it was common and even expected that it would come through direct personal action.[30]

The only communication with the outside world at this time was via the settlement and supply routes leading into the southern Pulaski County region. The very earliest transportation and settlement routes were the rivers, especially the Gasconade, Big Piney, and possibly Roubidoux Creek in Pulaski County. However, these water routes are twisting, bending streams, with many dangerous shoals that become very shallow in dry seasons. Although these waterways were useful for rafting lumber and for small jon boats, large river craft such as steamboats and flatboats could not navigate these streams. In other words, even though they were usable for slipping timber downstream, they were poor market and trade routes. This severely handicapped the development of large-scale agriculture within the Fort Leonard Wood area, even if the local soils would have allowed it. Due to the unreliability of the rivers, roads quickly overtook the rivers in importance as transportation routes in and out of the region. Even for the timber industry, the rivers were only seasonably available and some of the earliest roads in the northern Ozarks led to the sawmills in the Gasconade valley. Again, it was the landscape that dictated the course and progress of regional settlement and transportation.

The earliest road of any consequence that crossed the land between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney was the east-and-west-running animal path or Indian trail that Dustisné followed into the Ozark interior. As stated earlier, this trail, with many subtle changes from its original twisting, turning route, became the main artery for Pulaski County trade and travel in the nineteenth century, and remains so even today, as its modern shadow is Interstate 44. Throughout the road's nineteenth century history it was known under a variety of names like the Old Indian Trail, the Kickapoo Trail (1830s), the Old Wire Road, or Old Springfield Road.[31] From a modern perspective it is best described as the interior ridge route, for it generally follows the ridgelines from one river drainage to another from St. Louis to Springfield, Missouri. South of St. Louis it trails along the ridgeline between the Meramec and Missouri Rivers. It eventually crosses the Meramec and then rises to the ridgeline between the Meramec and the Bourbeuse River, which it follows until it crosses the Gasconade west of Waynesville, Missouri, and rises again to follow a broad ridge between the Gasconade and the Osage.[32] Tradition has it that even Josiah Turpin followed this route to Pulaski County instead of ascending the Gasconade, and most certainly the majority of those who followed him entered the county along its main path.[33] As settlers entered the Fort Leonard Wood region along this path, they would turn south when they reached the Big Piney or Roubidoux to find their new homes.

But it was not settlers' wagons that turned the Indian path into a well-rutted road by the mid-1820s. It was traders' wagons. Traders like Joseph Philibert, who, on his way west to trade with the Indians, traveled the road (Missouri Highway 8) from Farmington in St. Francois County to where it joined the interior road around Rolla. By the 1830s

the traders would stop at Massey's Iron works, then push on to Little Piney, and then to Waynesville. From that point, traders went up the Gasconade to the mouth of the Osage Fork.[34] At this same time the mails from St. Louis were also operating along the route, following the ridgeline to Rolla and then to Waynesville. As population increased westward, the last mail stop was Rolla, and then it became the Little Piney Post Office (at the mouth of the Little Piney Creek). Waynesville was the main Pulaski County stop once George Gibbons opened his general store.[35] "By 1858 [the Wire or Springfield Road] had become the most important route of travel and freighting through Crawford, Phelps, Pulaski and Laclede counties." In 1860, a tri-weekly stagecoach ran along this route, taking two days to run from St. James, Missouri to Springfield.[36]

It was along this route that the few Waynesville citizens and the even fewer citizens in the Fort Leonard Wood region witnessed the tragedy of the Trail of Tears. This story begins farther east in northern Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee where the Cherokees had watched their lands being usurped by white settlers through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After many broken treaties, misunderstandings, and the unstoppable intrusion of white settlers, in 1838 the Cherokees were ordered off their lands and forced to move to lands set aside in Oklahoma. In May of that year the Cherokee were placed under military rule of the United States Army. From May until July, some 15,000 were rounded up and taken to embarkation camps. There they waited out the summer sickly season until October when they began their long march west. By the time they reached Oklahoma, at least 2,000 had died in embarkation camps, and another 1,500 on the road—mostly children and old folk.[37]

For the journey the Cherokees were divided into groups of around 1,000, each lead by a detachment of soldiers. Some of these contingents left their homelands for Nashville, Tennessee, from whence they began their trek westward. From Nashville, they made their way to Marion, Kentucky, crossed the Ohio and Mississippi, and arrived in Missouri near Cape Girardeau. From Cape Girardeau, they marched to Farmington, Missouri, along a path that generally followed Missouri Route 8, passing Massey's Iron Works, to Rolla where they picked up the interior road. Then they followed the now well-worn path to Little Piney, across the plateau, and on December 9th encamped at Waynesville where the weather was "extremely cold."[38]

The trip was brutal, and conditions were exacerbated by freezing temperatures and poor roads. Most walked beside their wagons, which constantly broke down. Eventually they would become a long trail of stragglers. They were almost constantly on the move, making upward of twenty miles a day. But sometimes river crossings cost them dearly and they would make only a mile or two. There was little rest. When stopped, the army would issue corn and fodder, and occasionally bacon. In the evenings the Indian men would drink, attempting to ease their sorrow and pain. Life and death played out along the trail. The day previous to their arrival at Waynesville, the Cherokees buried Nancy Big Bear's grandchild.[39] A few days later a child was born to another family. Overall, there was more death than new life.

There are only a few eyewitness accounts of the event from the Waynesville and Fort Leonard Wood region. How local settlers reacted to this saga is largely unknown. But the few records that do exist indicate that Pulaski County settlers had the full range of human reactions from sympathy to hatred. For instance, W. I. I. Morrow, a physician attending the Indians, wrote that local resident "Jas. Harrison … a mean man—will not let any person connected with the emigration stay with him," but finds "Col. Swinks—a genteel man, &

pretty wife & quite familiar." He also recorded the landscape around Little Piney as "a broken poor country except on the river—Narrow rich bottoms, a sickly mean country."[40]

Perhaps there was more sympathy for the Cherokees among the local population than animosity. As Upland South peoples migrated west into Missouri, they had adopted not only the Native American subsistence lifestyle, they also intermarried with the Native Americans. By the time of the Trail of Tears, many local homesteaders were of mixed blood, although few would have admitted it. Some of this intermixing also occurred as a result of earlier fugitive Native American groups passing the area on their retreat west. As noted, the Missouri Ozarks was a "dumping ground" for eastern bands of Native Americans even before the War of 1812. Lands west of Missouri were used to settle Native Americans before the Cherokee. Later, in 1832, a band of about 220 Seneca and Shawnees from Ohio passed through Missouri on their way to the Neosho River in Indian Territory. Although their exact route is not clear, they entered Missouri in Ste. Genevieve County and crossed the Meramec River and the Gasconade before heading southward to the White River. It is possible that they followed the old Kickapoo Trail, as that is what the interior road was called through Pulaski County and beyond.[41] Today, it is not uncommon to hear of Native American ancestry among southern Pulaski County residents. Longtime resident Virgil Shelden's great-grandfather, Delancy Shelden, was a volunteer in the Ohio Infantry. "Lo and behold, he captured one of them Indians, married her, and brought her back here. She was Creek." During the Trail of Tears, some Native Americans even may have found safety and refuge among the local population. Shelden noted that another branch of his family may have adopted one of the Cherokee:

> Now my grandfather, Joe Ross, he was just as brown as a piece of branch. John Ross was a Cherokee Chief. John Ross was a Cherokee Chief when the Trail of Tears was coming through. I think John Ross was my grandfather's grandfather. I was forbidden to even talk about that around my old aunts. Now there was more Indian blood in this county than you'd think, right around Hooker, Pulaski County. Yes, the older generation. Them old Cherokees were being herded across country. They were pretty well-educated. They could talk our language too. They'd a lot of them here around that have Indian blood.[42]

Thus it was that the interior ridge road not only brought new homesteaders to the region, and supplies to those already there, it also had facilitated an intermixing of cultures that affected northern Ozark culture.

While the interior ridge road was the only well-trod path across the county during the antebellum period, there were other less-trod paths that local citizens traversed to get to Waynesville, to mills, or to other small villages outside the county, like Houston to the south of Pulaski County. The primary and best regional map depicting the antebellum transportation system is a geological map published in 1873 from information gathered in the 1850s. This map was made at the time because a plan was being discussed to cut a railroad line through the county in the late 1850s, but the war brought a stop to it. Superimposed on a copy of this map is a series of roads that are believed to be close to or similar to the major road system in the late 1850s (Figure 11).[43] It indicates the interior ridge road, by then called the Springfield road, running across the plateau between the Big Piney and the

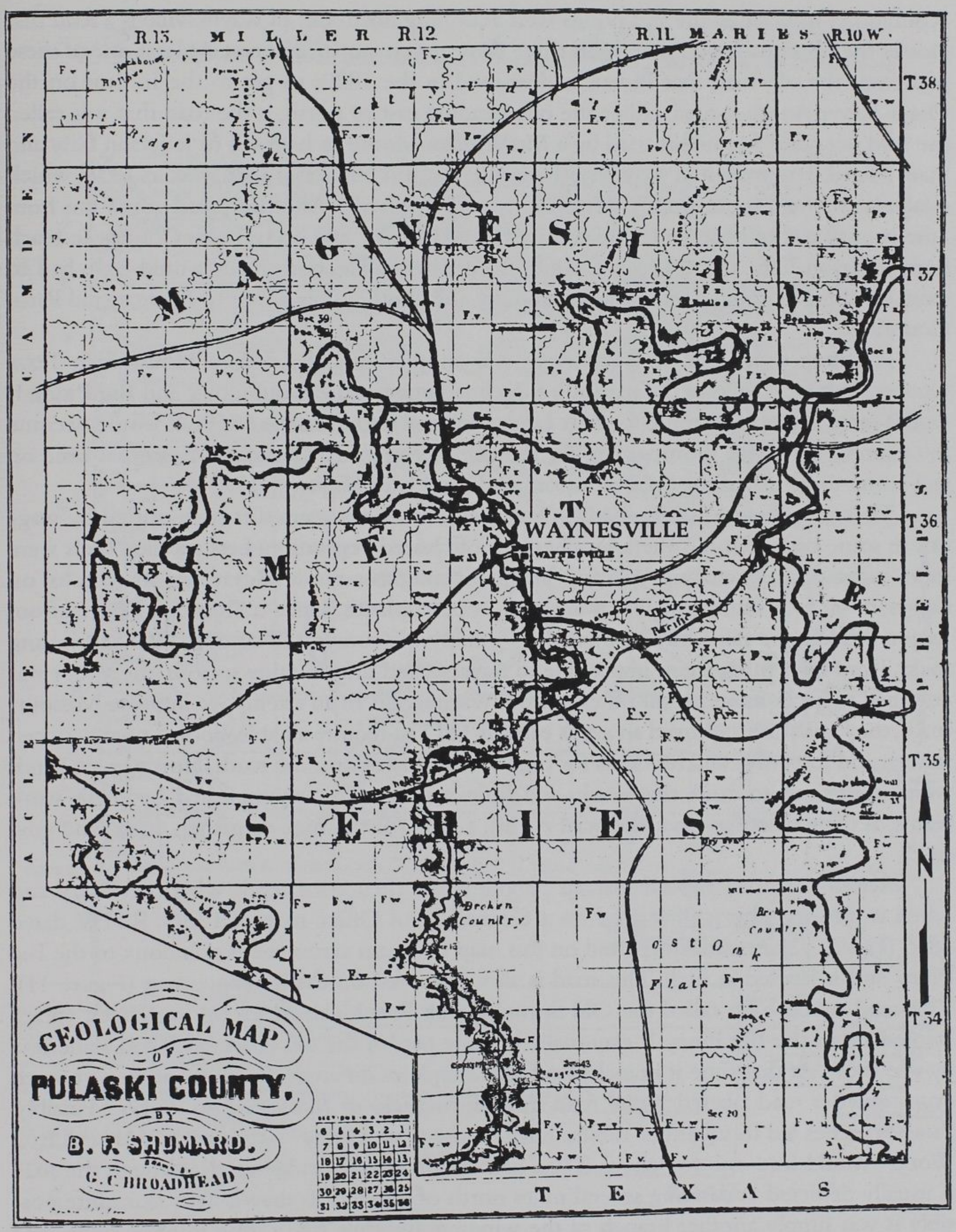


Figure 11. Broadhead geological map of 1873 with roads superimposed (Mottaz 1960:XI).

Roubidoux to Waynesville and points west. Running north out of Waynesville is a road that crosses the Gasconade and then splits three ways—west, north, and east. At least one of these roads was the old road that Indian traders used in the 1820s to get to the Indians on the Osage River. Another road, either the one heading east or north, is the road that was called the "old salt road" because it used by a Mr. William Moore to haul salt to Jefferson City and Stark's Ford. The road split may have been the result of an act of Congress in 1836, which established a mail route from Jefferson City to Waynesville. Another postal route ran from "the county seat of Morgan to the county seat of Pulaski" and on to Pettis County. To reach both Jefferson City and Morgan County from Waynesville, both roads would have had to exist, one branch going north to Jefferson City and another going west to Morgan and Pettis Counties.[44]

Running south out of Waynesville was another trail that led to Houston in Texas County. This road follows the plateau's ridgeline between the Roubidoux and Big Piney. It would serve as the main route for Fort Leonard Wood settlers in the 1850s. It would become the main north-south thoroughfare for the land between the two rivers from that time on and come to be called the "old Houston road" and later Highway 17.[45]

These roads were hardly roads in any real sense. They were dirt trails, rutted by wagons in some cases, but in others simply paths of cleared vegetation. Less traveled trails were mere suggestions, branching, splitting, and reforming as a result of travelers in wagons, on horses, or on foot, finding their way across the open uplands. Once trails became rutted from wagon wheels, the rains turned them into muddy quagmires, full of deep ruts and jutting rocks. Hard rains made them impossible to traverse, and thus in rainy seasons, the settler was confined to his homestead, cut off even from Waynesville. In an attempt to improve Missouri roads, the legislature approved an act as early as 1817 to require all able-bodied men between sixteen and forty-five and residents for ninety days to work on the roads. However, no funds were authorized to assist this work, and little was actually accomplished by these work teams, as their meetings became social events, a time for the men to gather, drink, and gossip.[46]

Across the open upland plateau people made their own roads when necessary and when it was dry. This is illustrated on a General Land Office map of T35N, R11W dated 1845 (Figure 12). A road is depicted on this map that runs across the Roubidoux to the Big Piney and is labeled as such. This road is also illustrated on the geologic map (Figure 11). This road came to be called the Old Spring Creek Road, named for Spring Creek village located across the Big Piney. It eventually became part of the old Houston Road sometime by the 1860s. At that time it branched off in a couple of different directions and one branch even joined a road labeled "State road from Springfield to Massey's Iron Works." Possibly, these branches led to squatters' cabins. Further, the road labeled "state road to Massey's Iron Works" would lead one to believe it was part of the interior ridge road, although the road is usually depicted as running several miles north of where it is drawn here. But quite possibly it was simply another branch of the winding, twisting, bifurcating interior ridge road that bypassed Waynesville and rejoined the main trail farther on. It is also interesting that this road is similar to the railroad line proposed in the 1850s and may be the result of survey and roadbed work for the planned railroad.

Schultz notes that the earliest roads across the interior were to assist the lumber industry, and one of these was ordered to be built to the Patrick Cullen and Company mills on

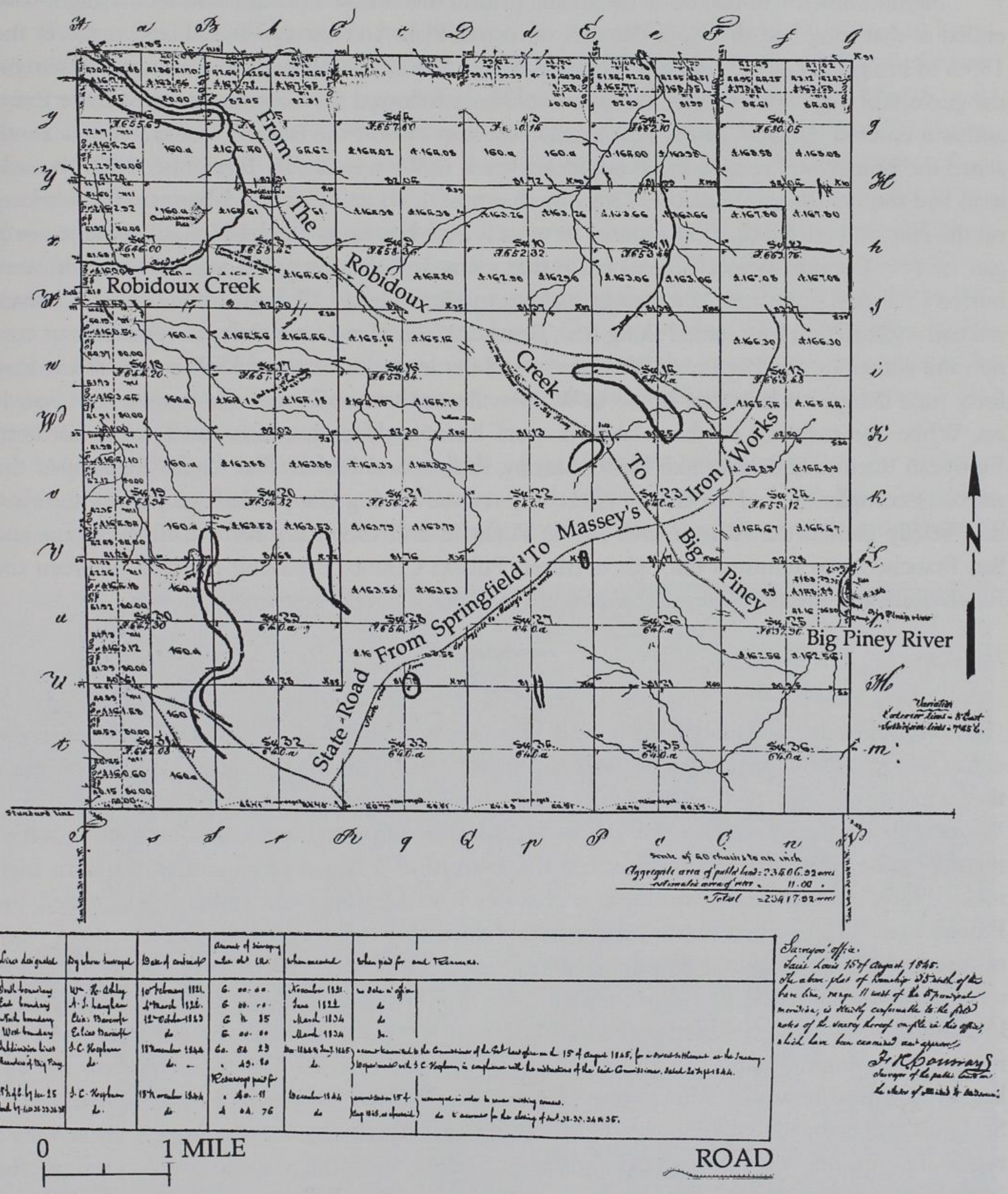


Figure 12. Close-up of General Land Office map of T35N, R11W, 1845.

the Gasconade as early as 1821. This road crossed the Gasconade at Little Piney and it may be seen on the geologic map in the upper right corner. Farther south, another road not illustrated was built in 1822 to Daniel M. Boone's mill.[47]

Significantly, the insulation of the rolling plateau that is now Fort Leonard Wood might have ended at that time had the Civil War not occurred. Plans and surveys were being made in the 1850s to bring the railroad through southern Pulaski County to Springfield. The route shown on the geological map indicates that the rails would have followed the Gasconade out of Little Piney and as it entered Pulaski County near a little post stop called Pine Bluff, it would have cut south across the plateau and crossed the Roubidoux south of Waynesville. By December 1860 the railroad had reached Rolla, Missouri.[48] Also by that time Irish and German laborers were working on the railroad bed and digging a tunnel in what is now known as Tunnel Hollow near the north gate of Fort Leonard Wood. Legend has it that many Irish laborers died from disease and were buried in a mass grave near the post gate along modern Route 17. Irish laborers who survived railroad construction later settled along Irish Bend or Haley Bend, near the county's southeast corner, and also along the Big Piney. Whether or not the legend is true, the 1860 census lists at least forty men living in a boarding house in Waynesville and several Waynesville homes with boarders. While the majority of these laborers were born in Ireland, others came from northern European duchies and cities like Hesse, Saxony, Prussia, and Baden. The Civil War stopped the railroad's completion and when the effort was revived during the postbellum period, the new line, briefly named the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and eventually named the St. Louis and San Francisco, was rerouted through northern Pulaski County, bypassing the land between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney—changing the pattern of county settlement forever.

Throughout the Antebellum period, Waynesville was the only village of any size in the entire county. (There were stage stops named Pine Bluff, Greenville, Colly, and Bellefonte along the interior road by 1864, but they do not warrant notation on most contemporary maps.) Waynesville developed early as the county's central node of regional commerce and government because of its strategic location. At the bottom of a "deep mountain gorge, with high rocky bluffs," it was near a spring and it was where Dutisné's old Indian trail crossed the Roubidoux.[49] The earliest hunters and travelers along that trail had found it a convenient place to stop and it became a natural pioneer campground. A mill was built there as early as 1826 and a homesteader named G.W. Gibson settled there between 1831 and 1832. Shortly thereafter, a blacksmith shop was established at the mill. Being on the main road and the only hamlet in the region, it was logical that it was chosen as the county seat in 1833. The following year the village of Waynesville was laid out. As the mail route had always followed the interior road out of St. Louis and merged with the trail Dustisné forged, Waynesville was the logical choice for a regional post office and Robert B. Hammon established a post office a year later.[50] Through the 1830s the town continued to grow, and in 1835 James Bates built a store. Other pioneers, already homesteading in the region, moved into Waynesville, including William Moore and E.J. Christeson.[51] In 1840 the first courthouse was built and in 1843 the state Legislature passed an act recognizing Waynesville as the official county seat. In that same year a brick courthouse was built—the first brick building in the county, forty by twenty-eight feet, twenty-two feet high, with three rooms, two halls, and two outside doors. As this was probably the only large struc-

ture in the county at that time, an 1855 court order allowed the courthouse to be used for "...exercise of religious worship, at any time when there are no legal proceedings in progress in said house, to all denominations who believe in the doctrine set forth in the holy scriptures," but "... a ball or dancing party, or exhibitory show, ... shall pay ... $2.50 in advance."[52]

By the Civil War, Waynesville had several houses and the center of business had long since shifted from the ferry and mill in the Roubidoux floodplain to the brick courthouse higher on the river terrace. This upper terrace land was donated by William Moore and Elijah Christeson, and Waynesville was platted in 1839, named after Revolutionary War hero General "Mad Anthony" Wayne. Through the 1840s and 1850s various stores were constructed and arranged around the courthouse in a typical courthouse square. By 1860, Waynesville boasted 104 residents, including six slaves. Census information gives an idea of the kind of commerce being carried on in the village. There were one merchant, two grocers, four clerks, three blacksmiths, a doctor, a wagon maker, and an attorney. Other residents were laborers, farmers, and a stonemason. On the eve of the Civil War, W.W. McDonald built a double-pen long inn on the east side of the courthouse square, which became the stagecoach stop, inn, and tavern. Amazingly, McDonald's hotel survived the Civil War and still survives today (Figure 13).[53]

Although Waynesville became the hub of government and commerce for Pulaski County, it was unimpressive to northerners and other outsiders. Civil War Sergeant Benjamin F. McIntyre with the 19th Iowa Infantry described the village with little favor:

Figure 13. Old stagecoach stop, Waynesville, ca. 1900 (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

> Waynesville is one of those necessary little towns which are needed in certain counties as a place for horse racing, quarrels & fights and where bad whiskey and poor tobacco is offered for sale at reasonable prices for approved credit or country produce.[54]

Another Federal soldier had similar opinions of Waynesville and the quality of Missouri's frontier education. Captain Chester Barner of the 19th Iowa wrote in his diary that Waynesville was:

> a small village containing fourteen houses. ... This town was remarkable for having in it a "school house," the only institution of the kind we had yet met within the State. The enterprising projector of such a novel scheme in that region of the country must have found it rather an unprofitable investment, for from its appearance it was then mortgaged to a flock of sheep, which had evidently occupied it unmolested for a long time. There was a post office, too, in that flourishing place, or rather had been, but as mails were like 'angels visits' the enterprising postmaster had now converted it into a whisky shop and tavern, and was doing a thriving business.[55]

Lyman Bennett of the 36th Illinois Infantry was more concise in his depiction of the little hamlet, calling it a "miserable apology for a village," and a "sorry looking place."[56]

While Yankee memories of the flower of antebellum Pulaski County are less than flattering, there were few other places people could gather for supplies, mail, and community activities. There was not much else outside of Waynesville. For instance, the census records indicate that there were only fifty-five wooden buildings in Pulaski County in 1840 and no brick buildings. As late as 1850, there were only 630 dwellings and 642 families in the entire county, let alone in the Fort Leonard Wood region. Most of the wooden buildings listed in the census must have been mills and perhaps a few trading centers. Mills could serve pioneer settlers as far as twenty miles away according to one historian, but that sort of travel would have been impossible regularly, considering the state of Ozark roads. This explains why there were at least three mills serving those few residents in the fort region by this time.[57] Other central places that define communities are the post stops. By 1837 there were at least three post stops in the greater Pulaski County area. These were Cave Spring, Onyx, and the Waynesville Courthouse. Only Waynesville would have been close enough to serve the setters living in the region that is now Fort Leonard Wood. Still, there had been a post office at Little Piney from at least 1833, and there was a stop at a place called Plato in Texas County south of Pulaski in 1855. There was also a post office at Relfe in Phelps County east of Pulaski in 1847.[58] These locations indicate that besides the mills and Waynesville, there were few but a variety of trading centers within a band of some ten miles surrounding southern Pulaski County by the Civil War. On the plateau between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney, there was only the hamlet of Big Piney, organized around a church sometime in the late 1840s. In fact the hamlet may have been only a house and church.

The initial frontier settlers organized the economic aspects of their communities around stores and mills. In Pulaski County, Waynesville was settled and grew because of its strategic location first as a mill and trade center and then as a seat of government. But when settlers looked to build communities for social support, they looked to churches and schools. On the frontier, a single building was often built by the local community to serve both needs. Before there was a community to associate with, the earliest settlers worshipped in

their homes and a circuit rider became a welcome sight. A circuit rider in the antebellum period often meant a camp meeting that was a good excuse for interaction between normally widely dispersed neighbors. Other times the circuit rider visited privately with a family. Even for the nonbeliever, a circuit rider was welcomed for news he carried, as much as for his "good news," since there was no newspaper in the county until 1871.

The Baptists were the first to organize and build a church in the southern Pulaski County region, and that omnipresent civic leader Elijah Christeson was again in the forefront of community organization, building a church in 1832.[59] In 1834, Primitive Baptists organized along the Big Piney, and in 1837 they sponsored the fourth annual meeting of the Little Piney United Baptist Association at the "Big Piney Meeting house." In 1846, the Baptists held their annual meeting again at the Big Piney Church (as it was now called) and had thirty-two people enrolled in the various local churches belonging to the Association. Missionary Baptists came in the 1850s and built a church in Smith Hollow. Meanwhile, the Methodists held their first service in the homes of Wilson Tilley and Josiah Turpin around 1833–34.[60]

Education, like religion, took place primarily in the homes of the earliest settlers. A formal education was not considered necessary to many Ozark pioneers, even though a public school act had been passed in Missouri in 1839. As one old gentleman (aged 108 in 1920) said during an interview, "In those days, education was not such a necessity that people felt constrained to force it upon their children."[61] Still, others avidly sought school for their children and when someone with an education came along, they were often asked to tutor privately in the home or through subscription. These early educators are only known today by their names. One was a man named Richard Addison. Another was "old man Spencer" who taught somewhere along the Roubidoux before 1840. Waynesville attempted to open the Waynesville Academy in 1857, but nothing came of the effort immediately, and then the war came. But despite resistance or indifference, a county school system did develop. In 1840 the census lists six schools in the county, and in 1850 there were five schools with as many teachers. On the eve of the Civil War some 1,199 children were enrolled in Pulaski County schools, organized into twenty-five school districts, twenty-six schools, taught by twenty-six teachers who were paid $25.00 a month.[62]

In a particularly rough, rolling part of the Ozarks, three twisting shallow, rapid running streams—the Gasconade, Big Piney, and Roubidoux—formed a region of sharp environmental contrasts. In the river valleys were heavy stands of oak, and on the rough hillsides cut by intermittent streams were stands of yellow and white pine, oaks, hickory, sycamore, and other tree varieties. The uplands consisted of woodlands and open prairies. The woodlands were composed mostly of post and pin oaks. The open prairies were covered with bluestem grasses, which were maintained by Native Americans to increase the forage and habitat for deer and other game species. The river valleys, hillsides, and prairies were full of game, and prior to the arrival of Americans, the region had been used primarily for hunting by Native Americans.

Between 1800 and 1860, American hunters, lumbermen, and settlers trickled into this region and began a slow alteration of the landscape. It began with cutting the timber. Very

early in the antebellum period, the wooded valleys and hillsides began to be cleared of lumber for St. Louis. By the 1850s, the demand for lumber had cleared the Gasconade River valley, and large gaps were exposed along the Big Piney River and Roubidoux Creek, especially far upstream on the Big Piney in Texas County. Meanwhile, settlers arrived in a steady but slow trickle, until the 1850s when the pulse of settlement quickened. Prior to that time settlement focused in the narrow river valleys and up hollows along the river valleys. Patches of valleys were cleared for fields and on the nearby hillsides could be seen the settlers' cabins and occasional outbuildings. But after 1854 the new settlers chose the cheap, less fertile lands up on the plateau, and began to purchase this land.

Very quickly, the rivers proved to be an obstacle to commerce and settlement, and trails became more numerous, running across the plateau to the river valleys where the grist and lumber mills supported the few settlers. One road in particular, known as the "old interior road," cut the plateau from east to west. By the 1850s it was a regular route of traders, stages, and mails. Off this road ran smaller trails to the settlements in the woodlands and valleys. Perhaps by this time in the woodlands hunting became just a little more challenging as the population grew. As time passed, travelers were more and more likely to encounter hogs, cattle, and horses. Toward the end of the antebellum period it even became more difficult to travel because people were burning the underbrush less often.

Throughout the antebellum period there was only one area of this land between the rivers where settlement even remotely concentrated. This was Waynesville, where a small town was built around a courthouse, and downhill along the Roubidoux a mill had been built initiating the development of the town. There were a few other areas where roads and trails led to tiny hamlets. On both rivers, Cook's Mill and McCourtney's Mill were operating by the end of the antebellum period, and people in the local region would go to them to trade for supplies at the store run by the miller. In a little clearing on the plateau was a group of buildings known locally as Big Piney. Over the years between 1830 and 1860, neighbors grew closer as more people settled the area, but the land between the two rivers remained sparsely settled and would continue so.

But despite the sparse settlement and isolation caused by bad roads and twisting rivers, there must have been a great deal of optimism in the region. From the perspective of the Turpins, the Christesons, and other founding families seeking to develop a thriving antebellum community, Pulaski County in the 1850s was taking on the trappings of civilization with county development—a little village, mills, churches, and schools. It was still a frontier, and it was best to be cautious about strangers met along the road or the river, yet many of the bandits of earlier times had been expelled from the region. The landscape was not pristine, but there was plenty of timber to cut, game to hunt, and land to clear. The railroad was coming, too, and this was sure to end the transportation and isolation problems and bring prosperity and opportunity, especially to the plateau in southern Pulaski County. Certainly small rail stops would have been built and possibly development would shift from Waynesville to that region. Instead, the 1860s would bring the Civil War and ruin.

The patterns of settlement on the regional landscape were established by the end of the antebellum period and would not change until a large section of the plateau was purchased by the U.S. Army in the 1940s. The pattern was of dispersed settlement along river valleys, and even wider disbursement of cabins on the plateau along a few trails. The main routes into, out of, and across the plateau were already in place and would not change dra-

matically until the late nineteenth century. Until the twentieth century, they would not change significantly in condition. The main route led across the plateau, not to it, and would be followed by many settlers traveling down its bumpy ruts. They would move farther west and south to the Springfield region. The other roads led to central nodes of trade and commerce, at first the mills, and later Waynesville. The cultural aspects of this landscape were also set and immovable. The early pioneers were overwhelmingly from Tennessee and Kentucky. Their fathers had come from the piedmont areas of North and South Carolina, and Virginia. They were white, Protestant, and most were without deep financial pockets. They came with what few material items they owned and lived off the bounty of the woodland landscape. They brought with them an independence and self-reliance that has yet to leave the Ozark consciousness. Because of the Ozarks' isolation and a certain stubbornness of its people, many pioneer cottage industries continued throughout the nineteenth century. Growing and spinning cotton for clothing, and the use of homemade farm equipment continued to be seen here long after they had died out in other Missouri regions.

Notes for Chapter 3

1 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 156.

2 Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks,* p. 47.

3 The maps were generated using a Geographic Information System. Using this system, land patents from the Missouri State Land Office records were digitized for computer manipulation. Names and dates of purchase were input into a compatible program that allowed the user to point to a location on a computer map and see the name of the land owner and purchase date, see W.J. Bennett, William Isenberger, Jeffery Blakely, John Northrip, Robert A. Dunn, Clay Mathers, and Frederick L. Briuer, *A GIS Pilot Study for Euro-American Cultural Resources: Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri,* prepared for the U.S. Army Engineer Center and Fort Leonard Wood (Nashville, Arkansas and Vicksburg, Mississippi: Archaeological Assessments, Inc., and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Waterways Experiment Station, 1996).

4 Bennett, et al., *GIS Pilot Study,* p. 17, indicates the likelihood of preemption claims for this area is "very remote."

5 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* pp. 106, 111.

6 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 157.

7 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 106; Turpin, *Our Ancestors,* iii.

8 The Upland South as a cultural area was first identified by Frederick Jackson Turner in his still debated book, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1920). But it was Henry Glassie who defined Upland South architectural traditions, and Milton Newton, both of Louisiana State University, who defined its settlement patterns, geographical extent, and some of its cultural aspects. Many scholars have questioned Newton's definitions and the origins of the Upland South. Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, for instance, provide solid evidence that the origin of the log cabin belongs to the Finns in the Delaware Valley, rather than the Scotch-Irish, and that some Upland South traditions were learned from Native Americans. They do admit that it was the Scotch-Irish who carried the traditions down the Appalachian Mountains. Others question the borders or extent of the Upland or Upper South, which has been defined as broadly as covering the entire east-central woodlands of the United States. Robert D. Mitchell correctly points out that from a geographical perspective, Upland South culture was not a homogeneous group but was lumpy and regionally diverse. However, while it was indeed regionally diverse, culturally it was a blend of very similar traditions and solutions to everyday

problems on the frontier. Furthermore, Mitchell was examining the eighteenth century Appalachian backcountry when Upland South Culture was at its beginnings. By the time these people reached the Ozarks, they had well-developed and successful living traditions over two or three generations, and were quite adaptable to the Ozarks. Thus they remain unchanged in the isolated Ozarks, For the most recent discussion of the Upland South, see Robert D. Mitchell, "The Southern Backcountry: A Geographical House Divided," in *The Southern Colonial Backcountry*, edited by David C. Crass, Steven D. Smith, Martha A. Zierden, and Richard D. Brooks (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998). See also Charles H. Faulkner, "'Here are Frame Houses and Brick Chimneys': Knoxville, Tennessee, in the Late Eighteenth Century," same volume. For other discussions and definitions of the Upland South, see Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: an Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1987); Russel L. Gerlach, "The Ozark Scotch-Irish: The Subconscious Persistence of an Ethnic Culture," *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 7(1984): 47–57; Fred B. Kniffen, "To Know the Land and Its People," *Landscape* 9 (1960) 3: 20–23; Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (1965) 4: 549–575; Milton Newton, Jr., "The Annual Round in the Upland South: The Synchronization of Man and Nature Through Culture," *Pioneer America* 3 (1971) 2: 63–73; Milton Newton, Jr., "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South," *Man and Cultural Heritage, Geoscience and Man,* edited by H.J. Walker and W.G. Haag Volume 5 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974); Douglas K. Meyer, "Diffusion of Upland South Folk Housing to the Shawnee Hills of Southern Illinois, *Pioneer America* 7 (1975) 2: 56–66.

9 While the term "Scots-Irish" is more technically correct, common usage of "Scotch-Irish" has become acceptable, see Jordan and Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier.* By predominant, it is not meant that the Scotch-Irish were superior, or even always the majority population in any one region of the Upland South. Again, there was regional and ethnic diversity throughout the Upland South. But the Scotch-Irish were, more often than not, in the van of this migration after the American Revolution. However, even this is controversial as some scholars question that the Scots or Scotch-Irish remained a distinct group by the time they got to the Ozarks, see W.K. McNeil, *Ozark Country,* Folklife in the South Series, William Lynwood Montell, General Editor (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995) pp. 14–15.

10 Some 52,000 Scots left for North America during this time, see Paul Johnson, *The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815–1830* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991) p. 220.

11 Russel L. Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns in Missouri,* p. 70.

12 Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation," p. 152.

13 John Solomon Otto and Nain Estelle Anderson, "The Diffusion of Upland South Folk," *Southeastern Geographer* 22 (1982): 89–98.

14 N.B. Ramsey, interview by Alex Primm, October 18, 1997.

15 Ollie Elliott, interview by Alex Primm, June 23–24, 1996.

16 John Solomon Otto and Augustus Marion Burns III, "Traditional Agricultural Practices in the Arkansas Highlands, *Journal of American Folklore* 94 (1988)372: 166–187.

17 Thad Sitton, *Backwoodsmen: Stockmen and Hunters Along a Big Thicket River Valley* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), p. 69.

18 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 98; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* pp. 160–161.

19 Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks*, pp. 118–119.

20 Diary of Lyman G. Bennett, December 1861 to April 1862, R 274, Folder 4 (Rolla: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri).

21 Michael Ann Williams, *Homeplace, The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina* (Athens: The University of Georgia, 1991), pp. 79–81.

22 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 132.

23 Welsh Family Letters, 1839–1854, File R391 (Rolla: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collections, University of Missouri). The Welsh family must have settled on one of the prairie areas of the Ozarks, away from the pine timber that was valuable during this time.

24 William Lawrence York and Eula V. York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories About Forty-'Leven People* (Republic, Missouri: Western Publishing Co., 1975), p. 163.

25 Jan Primas and Terry Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop Story* (Waynesville, Missouri: Old Stage Coach Stop Foundation, 1998), p. 5.

26 Memoranda Book of Samuel Ledgerwood, 1851–1852 (Rolla: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collections). It is possible that this mill is Stone Mill Spring. Stone Mill probably was named for a Mr. Stone, but the mouth of Spring Creek on the Big Piney is just upstream of Stone Mill Spring.

27 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 153.

28 Arthur, *Backwoodsmen.*

29 James B. King, "Bank of Niangua Linked to Counterfeit Money," *Old Settlers Gazette,* Volume 1 (Waynesville, Missouri: KLPW Radio, 1983) p. 15; J.W. Vincent, "The Slicker War and its Consequences," *Missouri Historical Review* 7 (1913)3: 138–145.

30 Wetmore, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, pp. 152–154.

31 Writers Program, *Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State,* Works Progress Administration and the Missouri State Highway Department (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1941), p. 417.

32 John Bradbury, *Mastodons to Motorcars,* videotape (Waynesville, Missouri: LEAP Productions, 1992).

33 Turpin, "Josiah Turpin," p. 2.

34 Lynn Morrow, "Trader William Gillis and Delaware Migration in Southern Misosuri," *Missouri Historical Review* Volume 75 (1981) 2: 147–167.

35 Wetmore, *Gazetteer of Missouri,* p. 278.

36 Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks,* pp. 104, 115.

37 William G. McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 171–202.

38 B.B. Cannon, "An Overland Journey West (October — December 1837)" *Journal of Cherokee Studies* Volume 3 (1978)3: 166–173.

39 Cannon, "An Overland Journey West," p. 172. Cannon places the time as winter of 1837, as does Floyd C. Shoemaker, but McLoughlin places it as 1838 as do most modern accounts. McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees,* p. 171 mentions that some 2,000 Cherokee of the pro-removal party made an earlier migration, but it is not clear whether Cannon's trip was part of this voluntary journey. See Floyd C. Shoemaker, "The Cherokee 'Trail of Tears' Across Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 47 (1952–53): 124–130.

40 W. I. I. Morrow Journal, W.I.I. Morrow Collection, February 24, March 1839, Folder 2051 (Columbia: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri), p. 3.

41 David W. Eaton, "Echos of Indian Emigration," *Missouri Historical Review* 8 (1913–1914):93–99.

42 Virgil Shelden, interview by Alex Primm, June 24, 1996. Primm found eight of thirty informants mention Native American ancestry, "Historic Settler Communities, Oral History," manuscript on file, Environmental Office, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.

43 The geologic base map was produced by the Bureau of Geology and Mines, which was closed during the war; thus, although the data was gathered in the 1850s the map was not published until the Bureau reopened. It is not known when the roads were superimposed on the map, but the existence of some of these roads is supported by other regional maps and therefore it is believed that most, if not all, the roads depicted were in existence during the antebellum period; see C.G. Broadhead, F.B. Meek, B.F. Shumard, *Reports on the Geological Survey,* pp. preface and

Chapter XIII; Mottaz, *Lest We Forget;* R.A. Campbell, *Campbell's New Atlas of Missouri With Descriptions Historical, Scientific, and Statistical* (St. Louis: S. Augustus Mitchell, Philadelphia, 1873).

44 Wetmore, *Gazetteer of Missouri,* pp. 277–278.

45 Pearl Brown Wilson, "Wharton Store and Post Office" (Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri: on file, U.S. Army Engineering Center).

46 Schultz, *Early History of the Northern Ozarks,* p. 101.

47 Ibid., 102.

48 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* p. 119; Broadhead et. al., *Reports on the Geological Survey;* G. C. Swallow, *Geological Report of the Country Along the Line of the South-Western Branch of the Pacific Railroad, State of Missouri* (St Louis: George Knapp and Co., 1859).

49 "Jeff," Letter to the *Iowa City Republican,* November 19, 1862, quoted in Primas and Primas, *Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 24.

50 Schultz, *Missouri Post Offices,* p. 55.

51 Arthur Paul Moser, "A Directory of Towns, Villages, and Hamlets Past and Present of Pulaski County, Missouri" (Richland, Missouri: on file, Kinderhook Regional Library, 1973), p. 10.

52 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* pp. 114–116.

53 Bradbury, *Mastodons to Motorcars,* video; Primas and Primas, *Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 6.

54 Nannie M. Tilley, editor, *Federals on the Frontier: The Diary of Benjamin F. McIntyre, 1862–1864* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), p. 14.

55 Chester Barney, *Recollections of Field Service with the Twentieth Iowa Infantry Volunteers* (Davenport, Iowa, 1865), p. 42.

56 Diary of Lyman G. Bennett.

57 Evans, "Merchant Gristmills and Communities," p. 320.

58 Schultz, *Missouri Post Offices,* pp. 32, 43, 45; Wetmore, *Gazetteer of Missouri,* p. 275.

59 Douglas Ensminger (compiler), *Handbook for Community Organizers and County Social Workers in Pulaski County,* The Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission, Columbia, Missouri (Columbia: on file, Missouri State Historical Society, University of Missouri, 1934), p. 9. Turpin, *Our Ancestors,* p. v, also mentions that the Primitive Baptists built a church house "in the Wayman settlement," in 1831 and that this was located just outside the northeast boundary of modern Fort Leonard Wood. There is no other record of this congregation.

60 Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Little Piney United Baptists Association (Rolla: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, 1837); Minutes of the Little Piney Regular Baptists Association (Rolla: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, 1846); Lucy Routt Bradford Duncan, "Early Days," p. 102; Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 9.

61 Frederick Liesman, "Pulaski County Super-Centenarian Contrasts Pioneer Days With the Present Era," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* October 17, 1920 (St. Louis: clipping on file, Missouri Historical Society).

62 Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 11; Mottaz, *Lest We Forget,* pp. 26, 28; Pulaski County Historical Society, *Pictures-Stories-History of Pulaski County Rural Schools* (Waynesville: Pulaski County Historical Society, on file, Kinderhook Regional Library, 1990), p. 1.

Chapter 4

Civil War in Pulaski County

Exactly how Pulaski County residents felt about the great ideological issues of slavery and states' rights is not known; there are no documents available like diaries or letters that voice their feelings. What indirect evidence there is presents a confusing picture, much like the confusing guerrilla war that eventually came to the county. This evidence suggests that in the beginning Pulaski County residents had strong but divergent opinions about seceding from the Union. Then, when war came, Pulaski County men marched off in many directions to many fates.

It is doubtful that protecting the institution of slavery or ending it motivated many Pulaski County citizens to go to war. During the 1850s, Ozark isolation kept the population from being overly influenced by the arguments of both the Yankee abolitionists and the defensive slaveholders along the Missouri River. The poor soil potential for large plantation agriculture meant that few of the slaveholding elite ever took up residence in Pulaski County. In fact, the number of slaves in the territory that is modern Pulaski County today probably remained steady throughout the late antebellum period and the reduction in numbers seen in census data through this era simply represents the county's shrinking borders. In 1840, there were only 190 slaves in the vast Ozark region that included Pulaski County. In 1850 there were only 113. By 1860 the modern county borders were set for the most part, and there were only fifty-six slaves counted. But even this figure is misleading. Pulaski County's investment in slavery was actually quite small. Those fifty-six slaves in 1860 were divided among only twenty slave holders—and one of those owned between ten and fifteen slaves. Another owned eight. Thus the vast majority of Pulaski County citizens had little to gain by seceding from the Union. On the other hand, joining the Union cause would not gain them much either.

Admittedly, poor whites across the South had little affinity with the African American and some could have been motivated to fight for the South simply out of prejudice. But there is no evidence of this in Pulaski County. More likely, motivations for secession came as a result of strong and long-held prejudice against Northerners, and residents were especially hostile to

the idea of Yankees telling them what to do, or the possibility of Yankees invading their land. As noted, rural folk in Pulaski County had little regard for any government authority, and were suspect of Northerners and even fellow Southerners in St. Louis. During the war, Federal soldiers of German extraction, primarily from St. Louis, occupied Waynesville. Local residents considered these Federal soldiers as much Yankee foreigners as if they had been from New England.

Thus it is more likely that the decision each man took was based on whether he saw the North as invaders and joined the Confederacy, or he remained loyal to the Union and joined the blue ranks. This is a generalization and surely some men fought on ideological grounds, either to free slaves or to preserve state's rights, but fragmentary evidence would put such men in the minority. One thing does seem clear; sentiments changed through the war. As Missouri prepared for war, Pulaski County subsistence farmers leaned toward the South in sympathy, but actual secession was another matter. During the early years, those leaning toward the Confederacy were probably in the majority, but after the countryside was laid to waste, more and more residents saw the end coming and switched allegiance. This would be in line with Milton Rafferty's statement that many Ozark settlers were strong Unionists.[1] Certainly this was true by 1865 for Pulaski County, but in 1860 and 1861, opinions were split down the middle.[2]

Support for the contention that sentiments were generally pro-South early in the debate is seen in the results of the 1860 presidential election. Candidate Abraham Lincoln received only seven votes from the county while southern candidate John C. Breckinridge received the majority at 281 of 457 votes cast. This would imply strong Secessionist support. But when the state convention met in 1861 to decide Missouri's fate, Pulaski County settlers sent moderates to represent them. When the shooting started, the percent of men who went North or South ended up about fifty-fifty. By the end of the war, it is clear that the overall majority of those who participated in the ranks ended up in a blue uniform. While it is simply not known what the exact split was, by the close of the war, traditional sources have estimated that some 250 Pulaski men had joined the Federal forces and approximately 150 had served in the Confederate army.[3] Two additional lines of evidence support the higher number fighting for the Union. First, when the Federal army took Rolla, many families gathered their belongings and headed north to Illinois for safety, which implies a desire to get to a more favorable political environment; Illinois would not necessarily have been any safer than Missouri at that time. A few Ozarkians admittedly headed to Texas also, but the majority left for northern states. Second, the 1910 Census lists 124 Federal veterans and only 18 Confederate veterans.[4] This could reflect the population changes that occurred after the war (see Chapter 6) or the true sentiments of the county's Civil War contribution. Certainly many years after the war, the majority of residents claimed to have fought for the Union.

How the numbers actually fell though still leans toward a fairly even split. Balanced against the seemingly poor turnout for the Confederate ranks is that an unknown number of Ozarkians sympathetic to the Confederate cause decided to join guerrilla groups rather than join the uniformed Confederate ranks. It is clearly evident in Federal army records of the Waynesville occupation that the woods were full of bushwhackers and guerrillas, even as late as 1864, and a number of older men who did not join because of their age supported

the guerrillas. It is the nature of guerrilla warfare that it must have support from the people in the countryside and many of these irregulars survived well. Finally, is a curious fact that there were a number of Pulaski County veterans who served both sides. These men joined the Confederacy, but later deserted and took an oath of loyalty to the Union. Toward the end of the war, some saw no other choice than to join the Federal militia and served as wagon drivers for the Federal army.

There were no major battles in Pulaski County, but there was plenty of violence and many skirmishes. The nature of this conflict was a direct reflection of both the natural and cultural landscape, which dictated the tactics used by opposing forces. Regarding the natural landscape, the craggy hills and poor roads restricted the mobility of large armies. But it was ideal country for unconventional warfare, with rolling hills above sharp-timbered valleys, potted and twisting roads, and plenty of hiding places in caves and hollows. The landscape also dictated what became strategically important during the war in Missouri. Controlling southern Missouri rested on holding the St. Louis to Springfield Road that was the main invasion, retreat, and supply route through the Ozarks to the west. To control this route, the towns along that route had to be occupied. Waynesville was one of few villages between the important railhead at Rolla and the town of Springfield, and thus Waynesville was an important objective for both the Confederate and the Federal armies.

Warfare in the rugged sections of the Ozarks was limited to small forces and was distinguished by patrols, scouts, raids, ambushes, and bushwhacking. The clashes were brief, ruthless, and cruel, with men dying lonely deaths in nameless skirmishes between a few combatants. It was warfare suited to Upland South people, the builders of Pulaski County's cultural landscape, who had a long familiarity with unconventional tactics when it came to fighting. Their ancestors had fought this way for years.[5] Warfare in the Ozarks was perhaps simply the latest outbreak of a long history of clan-style guerilla warfare and raiding that began in seventeenth-century Great Britain.[6]

Indeed, the character of the Civil War in the Ozarks is very suggestive of the conflicts and raids first practiced by the Scottish reivers along the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish-English border, and after their migration to America, it was perfected in Colonial wars with the Native Americans. Further fine-tuning came during the American Revolution, especially in the South where the Scots and Scotch-Irish fought for both sides, turning the war into something resembling the clan feuds. Like the Revolution, there were formal guerrilla units in the Civil War Ozarks. There were also bushwhacking gangs and jayhawkers.[7] And there were bands of men who were simply desperadoes or outlaws who saw opportunities for settling old scores or robbing. Meanwhile Federal soldiers controlled the strategic urban centers and patrolled the countryside, looking for southern sympathizers and bushwhackers, and executing suspects, sometimes without due process. Terrorism was not confined to any one group or cause. Noncombatants paid the severest price, losing their homes, possessions, and lives.

Eventually the Federal army took direct action against the terrors occurring across this landscape. In August 1862, a Federal army order increased the pressure on Missouri males to take a stand on the war—for or against the Union. General Order number 19 required all able-bodied men to report to the nearest military post for duty. This reduced the options open to men between 18 and 45 years. They could report for duty and be

assigned to a local militia unit attached to the Federal army or be placed on an assessment list as a southern sympathizer. Being placed on the assessment list meant that they did not have to serve, but were assessed a commutation tax of $30.00 plus one percent of their property. Of course they could still run off and join a guerrilla band, hide in the hills, or flee Missouri altogether. It became increasingly impossible to proclaim neutrality and remain on your own farm or in Waynesville.[8] At the same time, the Federal army organized the 48th Regiment of Missouri Volunteer Infantry composed of those men in and around Waynesville who decided that their ultimate survival depended on the Union. This unit soon saw action against the guerrillas, which undoubtedly resulted in skirmishes between former friends and neighbors.

With the countryside full of bushwhackers and guerrillas, and the Federal army convinced that any male resident was a possible enemy, suspicions ran high, and a good word from the right person, or the wrong word, could determine one's fate. After the Union forced all able-bodied men to join the militia, they were all eventually called to account. For example, an 1864 letter written by a local citizen to authorities in Waynesville named early settler Wilson Tilley as being in the "Radical ticket," and while at the beginning of the war Tilley was called a Secessionist, he had been "loyal for the last two years or more."[9] The fate of old Tilley will be discussed further. The letter fingered several other prominent citizens as Secessionists and named still others as "union men." Josiah's Turpin's son, Thomas, was named among the union men.

Pulaski County men eventually ran off to join the Federal or Confederate armies, were drafted into the militia, joined a guerrilla unit or bushwhackers, or hid in the hills. "Three fourth of the citizens have left the county. All is quiet save some stealing & that is done by loafers" concluded the letter of 1864. Hiding might have been the most dangerous option, for military aged men in the country were vulnerable to being suspected of any crime by whomever came down the road. G.W. Howell, of Summersville, Missouri, admitted that his father declined to join either side and when "things got hot he would take to the hills and camp. He would come home for provisions, then go out again, but finally the soldiers or bushwhackers cleaned" them of everything they had. The family abandoned their farm and moved to Dent County, Missouri, north of Summersville and closer to Rolla.[10] Those few men who stayed on their farms in Pulaski County also found it very dangerous. These were mostly the older men, like Wilson M. Tilley and Comfort McCourtney. Both paid the ultimate price. Others who also paid the ultimate price were: Miles Carrol who was killed by bushwhackers on October 8, 1864, and Calloway Manes, killed on his doorstep for failing to refrain from preaching pro-Union sermons.[11]

The landscape not only dictated the nature of warfare—the nature of the warfare also changed the landscape. As mentioned, many families attempted to escape the violence by immigrating to Illinois. Their vacant farms were soon looted and burned by one side or the other. Some women and children stayed, abandoned by their husbands, sons, or brothers. Often they would move to Waynesville. Whether homes and farms were deserted, held, raided, or burned, the land was in the midst of a significant upheaval. Abandoned crops and loose stock were soon harvested by guerrillas, soldiers, and outlaws who roamed the countryside. "Between the two [soldiers and bushwhackers] the stock, produce, money, everything almost that had ever been produced in the county, was consumed, and outside of

Waynesville but little building was left." In Waynesville, no business was conducted, and most of the stores were eventually rifled and burned.[12]

Once the war began, the Federal goal was to secure Missouri for the Union, and the importance of Rolla and the interior road for controlling the Ozarks was not lost on the Federal forces. Shortly after securing St. Louis on May 10, 1861, by forcing the surrender of the Missouri State Guard at Camp Jackson, Federal General Nathaniel Lyon moved west in a two-pronged assault into the interior of Missouri. One flank steamed up the Missouri to Jefferson City and fought the Secessionist forces at Booneville; the other boarded trains and made for Rolla. The Rolla flank was made up of Germans, or "Dutch" as locals called them, under the command of Colonel Franz Sigel. Arriving on June 14, 1861, they quickly secured Rolla and never relinquished it until the war's end. Waynesville was the obvious next objective and in that little village citizens were quite worried about the Federal presence in Rolla.[13]

Back when the war first threatened, secession talk had been strong in Pulaski County. At that time a public court was held in Waynesville. Tempers grew as fiery speeches were made, and it soon was made clear that the majority present were for secession. A pole was erected on the southwest corner of the courthouse square and the Confederate flag was raised. Those favoring the Union kept their mouths closed; some quietly left for the Union lines.[14] With Rolla's capture, local Waynesville citizens who had not already left for the Federal or Confederate armies met at Dr. Lingo's drugstore to decide what to do. There was apparently a lively argument regarding the flying of the Secessionist flag—some hedging that the Federal army might be more favorably disposed toward the town if the flag came down. Others felt that they must defend the flag. Again, tempers flared, and then someone threatened to shoot the man who removed the flag. Suddenly, in a daring act, a man on horseback rode by the pole and deftly cut the rope. There were no shots fired, but the shouting was over and fiery Secessionist Theodore T. Taylor promptly gathered up the flag and with a few other disgruntled Secessionists marched off to join the Confederates. Or perhaps this incident is another legend, for when Sigel's troops arrived two days later, a Secessionist flag flew on the courthouse square.[15] It was promptly taken down to the cheers of the soldiers.

The Federals did not stay long in Waynesville the first time; they were on their way west to join Lyon's troops who had defeated the Confederates at Booneville, and were making for Springfield from the north. On August 10, 1861, the combined forces of Lyon and Sigel met the Confederates at Wilson's Creek and after initial success they were thrown from the field. General Lyon was killed and the Federals were forced to retreat. As the Federal forces made their way back up the interior road toward Rolla, Ozark families with Union sympathies crowded the road along with the soldiers, all making for safety. Though Secessionists in the Pulaski County region may have been cheered by the news of Wilson's Creek, the Confederates were also badly mauled in the battle and could not follow up on their victory. Still, rumors spread that a large Confederate party was moving toward Waynesville from the south to cut off the Federal retreat. Colonel Sigel made plans to take a more northern route back to Rolla, although it is not known if he actually took that route

or returned via Waynesville. Once back in Rolla, the Federal troops heard continual rumors of Confederate forces in Pulaski County, including a force on the Roubidoux as large as 8,000 strong.[16] But the Confederates never concentrated that much strength in the county.

Back in Rolla, the Federals dug in, building a fortification and artillery positions in and around the town. For the rest of the year, the Union consolidated this position, making it the headquarters of the Rolla Federal Military District and main supply depot supporting future efforts westward. Immediately troops poured into the town, and it became the staging area for the next campaign into western Missouri. By January of 1862, Federal strength at Rolla had reached 12,000 troopers.[17] Then once again, they marched down the interior road, passing through Waynesville on their way to Springfield. Temporarily camped at Camp Brackett in Waynesville, an Illinois soldier wrote to his hometown newspaper describing what happens to an Ozark cornfield when 3,000-plus soldiers settle in:

> Our camping grounds are wretched indeed. It is the muddiest place in which I every saw men live. The frost, which was about 4 inches deep, has disappeared, and now the entire camp ground is nothing else than a bed of mud. The boys cut the stalks in the corn field, and spreading them down in their tents, made a passable bed on which to spread their bunks.[18]

The Federal army continued west, arrived at Springfield in February, and defeated the Confederates at the Battle of Pea Ridge in March. Up to this time, Waynesville had been just a stop along the invasion route of Federal armies attempting to secure western Missouri. The war's impact on the Pulaski County landscape was limited to the widening and furrowing of the interior road by military wagons, cavalry horses, and marching feet. Out in the southern Pulaski County countryside it was quiet; some cabins stood abandoned, farms overgrowing with weeds. But with the victory at Pea Ridge, Missouri was in the Union's tenuous grasp, and now Waynesville became an important link along the supply route between St. Louis and Springfield. To secure Waynesville it was necessary to occupy it with a permanent detachment. When the blue-clad soldiers arrived to stay, the southern Pulaski County countryside began to get dangerous.

The Federals arrived at Waynesville to stay on June 7, 1862, under the command of Colonel Albert Sigel, who led the 13th Missouri State Militia (see Figure 14).[19] Albert was the brother of Franz, the former commander at Rolla. Albert would remain in charge at Waynesville until April 1864 when he was replaced by Major Waldemar Fischer, and later a series of officers as the war wound down, until Waynesville was abandoned on July 8, 1865. Meanwhile, his brother Franz took command of the Rolla District again in 1864 after duty in St. Louis. The Federal soldiers promptly looted Waynesville and then began constructing a fort on the hill southeast of the town to guard the St. Louis-Springfield road. The fort was large, capable of holding five or six companies, according to Sigel. Its parapets were made of earth thrown up from a frontal ditch that surrounded the walls. Logs reinforced the top. According to tradition, its entrance was only wide enough for one person to enter at a time, but such a small entrance would not serve its defenders any better than its attackers, so that might be legend. In any case it was a significant fortification capable of standing against anything the Confederates could throw against it.[20] On September 11, 1862, the fort was completed. With the fort complete, Colonel Sigel's mission was clear and concise: "Keep open the road from Rolla to the Gasconade, and clear the surrounding country of Guerillas."[21]

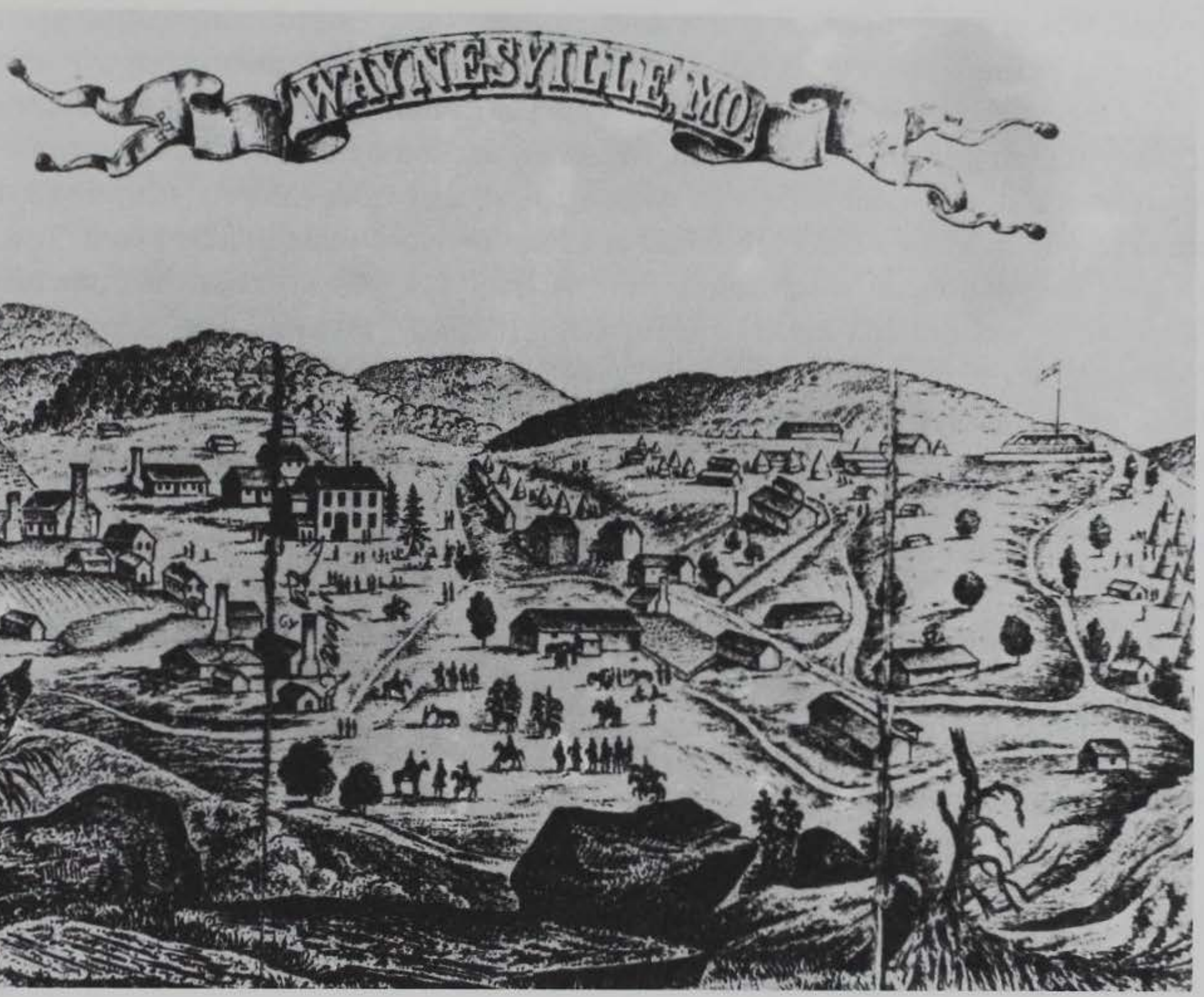


Figure 14. Civil War Waynesville (Courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

With forts, posts, and camps strung out along the supply line between St. Louis and Springfield, and the Confederates unable to gather an army-sized force in Missouri, Secessionist resistance was reduced to guerrilla warfare. Like modern guerilla wars, Waynesville acted as a firebase for the Federal army, and they sallied forth into the rough landscape on rumors of bushwhackers and guerrillas. Between Waynesville and Rolla, the Federal army established posts at Little Piney and across the Big Piney along the Springfield road. But despite this, their supply, mail, and pay wagons, and the soldiers escorting these wagons, were still ambushed by guerrillas and bushwhackers lying in wait. In fact, ambushes became such a nuisance that in 1863, the commander at Rolla issued a general proclamation to the citizens of Pulaski County warning them that he would hold citizens along the Rolla to Springfield road responsible for the attacks if they did not desist. Furthermore, he noted that any horses lost as a result of the attacks would be replaced by private stocks and anyone captured in the robberies would be "shot without ceremony."[22]

There were at least twenty-three separate actions in the Pulaski County area from July 6, 1862 until January 1865 classified as skirmishes, scouts, operations, and affairs by Frederick Dyer (Appendix A, Table 4). And there was probably much more action than he listed. As Colonel Albert Sigel wrote in a memorandum in December of 1863, "To give a minute account of many midnight marches, the numberless exciting chases after guerrillas and bushwhackers, and the fatigues and hardships undergone by the different companies of the regiment, would be impossible at present, as it would fill an octavo volume."[23] The

colonel was probably overstating the case, but there were indeed many calls to arms and the following examples provide a flavor of the war in Pulaski and surrounding counties.

One of the more aggravating guerrilla bands that operated in the southern Pulaski County region and around Houston, Missouri, was led by William O. Coleman. Coleman often attacked and raided Federal wagon trains, and once on May 26, 1862, his band attacked a train and its escort that had as many as eighty men attached to it. The Federals escaped destruction, although losing nine wagons. On July 6, 1862, the 13th Missouri at Waynesville was ordered south to scout along the Big Piney and came close to capturing Coleman. Arriving at Wayman's Mill they heard that Coleman had recently occupied Houston. Winding south along the Big Piney, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph A. Eppstein came across a Coleman deserter who led them to Coleman's camp about thirty miles southeast of Waynesville. Eppstein's troops charged the camp at dusk and in a brutal bayonet attack managed to kill four men and capture three others. One of the fatalities was the deserter guide.[24]

Patrolling the countryside was the usual response to any rumor of guerrillas or bushwhackers in the area. Captain Josiah Smith, Company H, 5th Missouri State Militia Cavalry wrote to the Commander at Waynesville, Major Fischer, describing the typical results of these patrols:

> Major:
>
> Of the two late scouts made by your orders, I hafe the honor to report that on Saturday evening, the 19th [20th], when about 6 miles out of camp, I came across a gang of 26 bushwhackers. With my squad of 8, I pitched into them, and scattered them in all directions. It was in a short time a general running free fight, in which one of the men was taken prisoner, his horse and equipment's taken, and he turned loose, on parole of a man signing himself S.S. Tucker, but whose real name is Benson Woods. The parole is, of course, not valid. Night coming on, we returned to camp, bringing only one pair of saddle-bags filled with provisions (as trophies).
>
> Leaving camp again on the morning of the 20th, we scouted the country between the Robideaux and Gasconade to near the line of Laclede County. On the 21st, discovered signs of a band. On the 22nd, struck their trail; but previous to this I had joined Lieutenant [C.C.] Twyford, of my company, with a squad of men, now making our number up to 27. About noon we came across the band grazing their horses,; but they discovered us about the same time we did them, but we were on them so quick that only 2 of them succedded in mounting, 1 of whom we caught, after a chase of nearly 2 miles; also 4 loose horses. Of those that we left afoot, 2 escaped, but their leader, a noted stage robber by the name of Casey, was killed. ...
>
> We captured in all 3 bushwhackers, killed 1, captured 7 head of horse, 1 Government mule, 4 saddles, 1 Austrian rifle, 2 revolvers, 1 musketoon, and a quantity of clothing and boots and shoes, which they said they had taken from the store of Mr. Stith, near Lebanon.[25]

In another scout, 2nd Lieutenant C.C. Twyford was ordered to scout south of Waynesville with fifteen men to gather intelligence about a citizen named Benjamin Moore. That night their camp was attacked at about 3 A.M. and a soldier was wounded. The

wounded man and an escort of seven troopers returned to Waynesville the next day while Twyford and the remaining eight proceeded south. Around noon, finding nothing, he decided to have lunch at the King's homestead and then return to Waynesville. While the troops were eating and feeding the horses, some twenty-five bushwhackers came boiling out of the woods. Twyford quickly formed his little party into a skirmish line and the bushwhackers were temporarily checked. But being out-gunned he quickly ordered his men into a small building next to the King house and from there the little squad effectively defended themselves from the bushwhackers' charges until the bushwhackers set fire to the adjacent house. Twyford was aware that a bushwhacker pamphlet had been circulating the countryside, naming him and others as legitimate targets for execution should they be caught. So, as smoke began pouring into their little cabin, he and the rest began destroying any identification they had, knowing that they soon would be forced to surrender. Around 3 P.M. they ran out the white flag and were taken as prisoners of war by the bushwhackers and later turned over to Colonel Love, who apparently was a guerrilla leader in the area. Despite the protests of the bushwhackers, who wanted to shoot the prisoners, Colonel Love paroled Twyford's party. The Colonel also escorted the prisoners beyond the guerrilla lines because it was learned that bushwhacker Benjamin Moore had been following Colonel Love's command waiting to see what would happen and hoping for the chance to assassinate Twyford. Once released, Twyford and his men straggled through the night to Lebanon, Missouri, and safety.[26] This action is especially interesting in showing not only the war's tactics, but also the interplay between Federal soldiers, bushwhacking gangs, and guerrilla units with more formal ties to the Confederate armies. The Union controlled the camps and towns, and the gangs and units on the Confederate side roamed the countryside looking for opportunities to strike. Of course, Twyford was very lucky. No quarter was often the case, especially toward the war's end when bushwhackers and guerrillas were more desperate. For instance, Private A.H. Stone, Company K, 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry, wrote from Big Piney in 1864: "The bushwhackers are becoming quite plentiful in this district, they are a cowardly set of villains and manage to keep clear of any troops it is very seldom we can catch any of them. We killed two last week. There was eleven seen last night about nine miles from here. I have got men out watching for them and I hope they will manage to find them. I gave them orders to fetch no prisoners into camp, and if they find them I don't believe they will take any alive."[27] By that time, hatreds had solidified. Lieutenant Twyford's report is also of interest because it indicates the personal intimacy of this war. He was a Federal soldier, but had gained a reputation as a target for execution by the bushwhackers, even as he was after Benjamin Moore, a bushwhacker. How Twyford became a target is unknown, but the war in the Ozarks was not a conflict between two faceless, nameless large armies, but rather a war of neighbors, former friends, and well-known adversaries.

Two particular incidents sealed the fate of a few well-known and long-time settlers of the Fort Leonard Wood region. The first was the raid on McCourtney's Mill located along the Big Piney in McCourtney's Hollow. As noted in Chapter 3, Comfort, Alex, and William McCourtney settled in the hollow in the 1830s. Apparently they were ardent Secessionists but did not join the ranks of gray. Instead, their mill became a "hiding place," or more likely a base camp for Confederate guerrillas. Eventually, the McCourtneys aggravated the Federals enough that on December 22, 1864, Colonel Franz Sigel, in Rolla, Missouri, issued Special Orders No. 232, ordering Lieutenant P. McRae with a detachment of thirty-five

men of the 17th Illinois Cavalry to "proceed to the residence of Mr. Samples, and, joined by the latter, will do his best to capture a certain McCourtnay, James Bradford, Benjamin Anthony, and other scoundrels who at the present infest the country south of this post, thieving and murdering." McRae was also ordered to burn down McCourtney's Mill and attempt to arrest another Bradford and "old McCourtnay," an obvious reference to Comfort. "Inmates" of the mill were to be allowed time to move out before the place was destroyed. The Lieutenant attacked in January 1865 and in the raid Alex McCourtney and Benjamin Anthony were killed.[28]

The second incident was the death of Wilson M. Tilley on September 10th, 1864. The circumstances surrounding his death are murky; some stories state that he was shot or hanged by bushwhackers, others that he was hanged by Federal soldiers. According to the story of his death by the Federals, Wilson was hanged because of his son's bushwhacking activities and he was also found with a side of beef hanging in his smokehouse that resembled one found in an abandoned bushwhacker's camp! While such 'evidence' seems hardly to be incriminating, it is almost certain that old Tilley was a Secessionist at heart. As noted, he had been named as such in 1864. Furthermore, it is also known that his son, Wilson L. Tilley, had been arrested by the Federals for "acts of disloyalty," and made to swear an oath to the United States of America.[29] The Tilley story is especially interesting because of another account of his death. This account maintains that he was killed by bushwhackers who were after his gold. Wilson buried his gold on his farm, not telling anyone, including his wife, where it was buried. The bushwhackers knew this and accosted him on his farm. He refused to reveal the treasure's whereabouts and was either hanged or shot. Stories of hidden gold abound throughout the South, and if it weren't for an amazing find in 1962, this one would be simply another of those legends. But, unbelievably, a bulldozer digging up the Roubidoux floodplain on Tilley's old land came across two boxes of coins amounting to several hundred dollars.[30]

In one case of guerrilla war justice, Colonel Albert Sigel became the target of a formal inquiry. In August of 1862, two guerrillas were captured at an inn called the California House. It was a well-known establishment built during the antebellum and located west of Waynesville. Orders from Headquarters had been issued earlier that no prisoners were to be taken, meaning that any guerrillas found were to be dispatched on sight. However, three were taken; one was released. He claimed that he was among the group under threat of the guerillas and the Federals believed his story. The two others were taken to Waynesville and jailed. Subsequently, the two prisoners were taken from their cells at night and executed by Lieutenant William Kerr. The Provost Marshall called for an investigation into the matter, regarding the killings as murder; Colonel Sigel was pegged as the culprit for issuing orders to Kerr to kill the prisoners. In his testimony, Kerr stated that he had acted on Sigel's orders. Sigel did not testify, but in his letter to the Commanding General, he stated that Kerr had mistaken the meaning of the reprimand he gave Kerr for disobeying orders. According to Sigel, he had upbraided Kerr for not "annihilating" the prisoners in the field, contrary to the Commanding General's orders. Sigel admitted the actions were "illegal" and "acknowledge that it was not the proper manner to execute them" but he did not regret the outcome. Further, he wrote, he didn't think that Kerr was "culpable" for the action as he mistook the reprimand's meaning. Apparently, Sigel's word was accepted, perhaps because Kerr could not recall the exact wording of the "order" Sigel gave that led him

to execute the prisoners. No further action was taken, and it became just another incident in a cruel war.[31]

While many Pulaski County women left with their children for Illinois or fled deeper south into the Ozarks, some stayed behind and aided the bushwhackers and guerrillas. Captain George Muller of Company A, 5th Missouri, reported on July 31, 1864, that he had learned that at Mill No. 1 on the Big Piney, "a daughter of Mrs. Rodgers and Miss Nannie George," had been engaged in carrying food to the guerrillas. They were arrested and sent to Waynesville, but apparently they were hardly alone in this enterprise. In Muller's report he goes on to name the Widow Wilson, Widow Ellis, her daughter who married "the notorious guerrilla" Frank King, and Widow McGowan, all as aiding the guerrillas. The Widow Ellis must have been especially effective, as she is mentioned again on August 8, 1864, as harboring and feeding guerrillas, and providing a place to live for the wives of two guerrillas.[32] Again, guerrillas cannot survive without the aid of the local populous and Muller discovered that the guerrillas were getting their horses shod at Mill Number 1, reminiscent of old McCourtney and his mill.

Eventually, events far from Missouri brought the war to a close. Although there was quite a bit of activity in 1864 and 1865, the matter was being settled elsewhere. Still, in the fall of 1864, the last major thrust by the Confederacy in the Ozarks occurred during a large raid by Major General Sterling Price. His expedition had an ambitious goal—to make for and capture St. Louis itself, while on the way rallying demoralized Confederate sympathizers believed to be lurking in the Missouri countryside. Price believed that a show of force would bring these men flocking to his ranks. Prior to the invasion, he ordered increased guerrilla activity north of the Missouri River to pull the Federals out of St. Louis and the Ozarks. Meanwhile, he organized a 12,000-man army at the little village of Pocohantas in northeastern Arkansas. Crossing the Missouri border on September 19th, he moved north until he encountered a small Federal force at Pilot Knob in Iron County. In a bungled attack in which the Confederates took heavy casualties, Price managed to dislodge the Federals. But then he lost his nerve to continue towards St. Louis and turned west toward Jefferson City. Arriving there on October 7th, he saw that the Federal forces, including the 5th Missouri detached from Waynesville, looked to be much too formidable and he turned west. From there, a running battle occurred as the Federals attacked his dwindling forces until they were forced into Kansas. During the campaign, the 5th Missouri marched 1,100 miles in forty-eight days and fought in at least nine engagements against Price. On November 15th, 1864, they arrived back at Waynesville to return to the guerrilla war.[33]

For Pulaski County residents there was no single day in which the war was over. It simply slowed to an agonizing, uneasy peace. Although they would eventually hear that Lee had surrendered at the Appomattox Court House in April 1865, the Federal soldiers did not leave until July. On May 23rd, 1865, while the city of Washington, DC, was treated to a grand parade by victorious Federal soldiers, their comrades in arms some 800 miles away were chasing a small band of bushwhackers through northwestern Pulaski County. Two of the bushwhackers were killed. Perhaps for Pulaski County natives, the war was over when the Federals mustered out in July of that year. More likely, the war had been over for sometime, and they were more interested in convincing the bands of bushwhackers and diehards that the violence should end. Unfortunately it would take some time before the woods were again safe.

Notes for Chapter 4

1 Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 83.

2 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 131; Mottaz, *Lest We Forget,* p. 9; Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 83.

3 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.* p. 135–136. Mottaz, *Lest We Forget,* p. 15 states that some 400 men served in the Confederate armies. There were only 457 adult male votes cast in the election of 1860, so Mottaz's estimate is probably a miss-reading of Goodspeed that indicates that there were 400 men in military service, some Confederate some Union.

4 *Federal Census, Pulaski County Missouri* (Crocker, Missouri: Genealogical Society of Pulaski County, Missouri, 1987).

5 Furthermore, like their ethnic brothers in Appalachia, there was strong Union support.

6 Leo E. Huff, "Guerrillas, Jayhawkers, and Bushwhackers in the Northern Arkansas During the Civil War," *Ozarkswatch* Volume 4/5 (1991) 4,1:52–57; Michael Fellman, *Inside War, the Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Grady McWhiney, *Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1982); Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 84.

7 Although the terms, bushwhackers, guerrillas, and jayhawkers have distinct meanings, they were often used interchangeably in contemporary correspondence and all were considered enemies of the Union. Technically, guerrillas were led by someone with a commission of some sort with the Confederates. They were like land privateers. Bushwhackers were individual rogues or small gangs that often resorted to ambush or raid and preyed on couriers or supply wagons. The term jayhawkers originally was used to designate roving bands in Kansas prior to the war. It became synonymous with bushwhackers and other gangs looking for opportunities for thievery, see Leo E. Huff, "Guerrillas, Jayhawkers and Bushwhackers," pp. 52–53.

8 James B. King, *The Tilley Treasure* (Point Lookout, Missouri: School of the Ozarks Press, 1991), pp. 38–39; Primas and Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop,* pp. 37–39.

9 King, *The Tilley Treasure,* pp. 99-100; Letter of John B. Ellis to J.P. Sanderson, April 21, 1864, in "Union Provost Marshall File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians," Roll 33, No. 416, National Archives, Washington. Copy obtained from the private collection of John F. Bradbury, Jr., Rolla, Missouri.

10 G. H. Howell, "In Days That Have Gone By" *The Houston Herald,* February 21, 1929, Paul Wobus Collection, 8, Folder 3 (Rolla: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri).

11 "Bushwhackers Kill Calloway Manes," *Old Settlers Gazette,* Volume 1, Number 1, July 21(1983); p. 9.

12 Letter of John B. Ellis to J.P. Sanderson; Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, pp. 134, 148; Nellie Wills, *The First Hundred Years of Crocker,* Privately Published (copy on file, U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, 1968), p. 11.

13 John F. Bradbury Jr., *Phelps County In the Civil War* (Rolla, Missouri: Privately Published by the Author, 1997), pp. 2–3.

14 Bradbury, *Mastodons to Motorcars*; Mottaz, *Lest We Forget,* p. 15.

15 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* relates the story of the meeting at Dr. Lingo's drug store. Bradbury, *Mastodons to Motorcars,* states that a flag was on the square when the Union arrived on June 16th.

16 Report of Colonel Franz Sigel, Third Missouri Infantry, August 10, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter cited as *O.R.*), Series I, Volume 3; Letter of Colonel J.B. Wyman to the Commanding General, Department of the West, August 12, 1861, *O.R.* Series I, Volume 53.

17 Bradbury, *Phelps County,* pp. 6–7.
18 Letter from H to the Editors, *Woodstock Sentinel,* January 29, 1862, quoted in Primas and Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 17.
19 The 13th was reorganized as the 5th Missouri State Militia, in February 1863.
20 James B. King, *Tilley Treasure,* p. 35; Primas and Primas, *The Old Stage Coach Stop,* p. 22.
21 Telegraph message from Brigadier General J.M Shofield to Colonel Albert Sigel, June 10th, 1862, quoted from Primas and Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 20.
22 Major General F.J. Herron, to the Citizens of Pulaski County, May 1, 1863, *O.R.* Series I, Part II, Volume 22.
23 Sigel quoted in Primas and Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 31.
24 King, *Tilley Treasure,* pp. 36–37.
25 Captain Smith to Major Fischer, *O.R.* Series I, Part I, Volume 22, pp. 374–375.
26 Report of Lieutenant Charles C. Twyford, 5th Missouri State Militia Cavalry, November 12, 1863, *O.R.* Series I, Part I, Volume 22: 740–741.
27 Letter of A.H. Stone to Ida, February 20, 1864 (Rolla, Missouri: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection).
28 King, *Tilley Treasure,* p. 95; *O.R.,* Series 4, Part IV, Volume 41; Primas and Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 31.
29 King, *The Tilley Treasure,* pp. 99–100; Letter of Ellis to J.P. Sanderson.
30 King, *The Tilley Treasure,* pp. 1–4, 99–100; "The Tilley Treasure," *Fort Wood at 50,* Volume 1 (Waynesville, Van Beydler, on file with the Author, 1991)1:40.
31 Primas and Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 30; "Statement of William C. Kerr, battalion adjutant, 13th Missouri State Militia," *O.R.* Series II, Volume 4; Colonel Albert Sigel to Colonel Glover, Commanding Rolla District, *O.R.* Series II, Volume 4.
32 Letter of Captain George Muller to Major J.B Kaiser, Commanding Post at Waynesville, July 30, 1864, *O.R.* Series I, Part II, Volume 41; Letter of Captain Richard Murphy to Major Kaiser, August 8, 1864, *O.R.* Series I, Part II, Volume 41.
33 Bradbury, *Phelps County*, pp. 12–13; King, *Tilley Treasure*, pp. 87–91; Parrish, William E. *A History of Missouri*, Volume III, 1860–1875, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973) pp. 111–115.

Chapter 5

The Reconstruction of the Landscape

By the end of the war, Pulaski County, like the rest of the South, was a ruined landscape. In the valleys along the Big Piney and Roubidoux, few buildings were left standing, fields were grown over, and many people had disappeared. In the Fort Leonard Wood region, there was less destruction, primarily because there were fewer inhabitants or strategic points worthy of attention by either side. However, at road intersections, river crossings, and mill sites in the valleys, abandoned Federal army and Confederate guerilla camps could be found. Soldiers, refugees, and broken families returned to Pulaski County to find their homesteads burned and desolate, rock chimney foundations serving as harsh reminders of the hard labor they had put into their land to make it home. Their cattle and horses were missing, long since slaughtered by bushwhackers, guerrillas, or soldiers. Hogs and chickens too were gone; however, as they normally roamed free, some undoubtedly escaped and were now feral. In the woodlands beyond their fields, veterans might have found the underbrush heavier because no one was there to monitor the annual burn. It is also possible that some erosion had occurred on the hillsides where residents had cut timber prior to the war.

Waynesville was also ruined, and although a few buildings like the old stagecoach stop remained, many others were burned or stood empty, looted of their furnishings. It is doubtful many businesses had remained open, except for the tavern. On the hillside above Waynesville, the fort was empty. The coach stop and the rest of the village had one last close call at the end of the war. In one of the last acts of savagery, bushwhackers raided the town, taking the opportunity offered when the Price expedition drew away most of the Federal soldiers. Unlucky for them, but fortunate for the town, the terrorists were surprised by the returning soldiers and were run down.[1]

Such was the landscape for those who returned. But many did not. Pennsylvanian Daniel Fogle, passing through Pulaski County in 1867 wrote home that "It is said that not

a single inhabitant was left in the south part of this state for more than 100 miles."[2] Having moved north to Illinois or south into Texas, many families saw no reason to go back to infertile Pulaski County. For those that returned, they often found their homes destroyed and quickly decided to move west, abandoning their land. Others would lose their land once taxes were assessed, because they had lost their wealth and had no money. Again, moving west or to another county and starting over seemed the best option.

The fear of reprisal from wartime enemies created an uneasy tension for all who returned or remained. Supporters of the Federal army and those who had joined the militia worried that they would be victims of bushwhackers when the Federal army mustered out. In such an atmosphere, the Federal army abandonment of Waynesville was as traumatic as its presence. At least with the army there, some lawful authority was present. But when the troops left, there was no protection from lawlessness. The residents had good reason for their fear, because a few bushwhackers did not lay down their arms. Having spent three years on the run, they continued to do so, thieving and raiding for months after the war.

But many Union men also could not forgive and forget. Some sought compensation in the courts, suing returning Confederate veterans or known guerrillas for damages to their homes. Because few soldiers on either side had much money or material possessions, this was not often profitable, but Union Radicals filled government offices and had the opportunity to make life miserable for returning Confederates. Other Unionists sought revenge in violence on an individual level or in mob action. In response to rumors of desperadoes and guerrillas roaming the countryside, Union men ganged together in vigilante groups called 'regulators' and took matters in their own hands, much as they had done during the Slicker War. One of the most famous vigilante groups was the Bald Knobbers whose range was in Taney County, southwest of Pulaski County. Like earlier groups, these vigilantes were as lawless and cruel as those on whom they preyed and justice was lost in the process. Soon anti-Bald Knobbers were organized, and lawlessness diminished slowly with incidents lasting until the 1880s.[3]

Thus, for a brief period in 1866 and 1867, the Ozarks was again a wild frontier much like it had been at the turn of the nineteenth century. And for some time into the future, the Ozarks would remain a dangerous place. Besides the restless ex-Confederates and Union vigilantes, the simple outlaw also roamed the area. Desperadoes continued to find the rough Reconstruction Ozark landscape a safe refuge. One of the most famous of these men was Jesse James, whose first hold-up was the Clay County Saving Association on February 13, 1866. Although James never came close to Pulaski County, many of the local population saw him as a hero and loved to read or hear of his exploits. One reason for their admiration of James was that his usual victim was the railroad, and many people in the area had a love-hate relationship with the railroad, which owned a sizable chunk of Pulaski County real estate. It is also possible that James was loved because he was a thorn in the side of the state's unpopular Radical authorities.[4]

With the antebellum landscape in ruins and the Ozarks full of danger, nothing was the same as before, including the very structure of antebellum society. Friends and neighbors were gone. Some of the men had been killed and buried in temporary graves across the South, including a few in Pulaski County. Many of these men were part of the old established order—early settler families like the McCourtneys and Wilsons. Others were still alive, but the decisions they took during the war made it impossible for them to regain the

same power or prestige they formerly held. Many, perhaps most, had lost their wealth. There was both a population and political power vacuum in the county. The old established cultural and natural landscape was gone.

The recovery of Pulaski County was strongly affected by the political changes occurring statewide. The transition to a peacetime life was difficult and the new Radical government in Missouri did not make it easier.[5] Those who had fought for the South, or were known to have supported the Southern cause, were forced to sign loyalty oaths, vowing they had "never given aid or sympathy to the Confederate movement."[6] This, of course, was absurd, forcing honest folk into lying or living without the rights of citizenship. Lying about such things was impossible because those who stayed behind knew the truth. Within Missouri this act disenfranchised a third of the voters, and as there were many such people in Pulaski County, the effect must have been significant in the Fort Leonard Wood region. Interestingly, the 1866 vote reestablishing government in Missouri recorded 120 Pulaski County men for the Radical party and 163 for the Conservative party. It would appear that many took the oath in order to vote.[7] Eventually in 1870, the oath was modified to a simple declaration of support for the state and federal constitutions; however, much of the emotional damage had already been done.[8]

Despite this bleak landscape, it is very possible that Pulaski County residents were spared the postbellum violence seen in other parts of the Ozarks. There are no recorded incidents of mob violence or vigilantes, and it would appear that most people who stayed simply wanted to rebuild and get on with life. While several Federal veterans filled the offices of government during the Radical period, ex-Confederates also reestablished their lives and became prominent citizens in the years after Reconstruction. For example, V.B. Hill was an ardent Secessionist who helped organize a Confederate company on the courthouse square at the beginning of the war. In 1872, he was elected the county Prosecuting Attorney. W.W. McDonald, a Union man, named his son in honor of Hill. William Leroy Tilley, son of Wilson Tilley, and a reputed bushwhacker who even served time in prison during the war, became the Presiding Commissioner of Pulaski County in 1882. A biographical sketch of eighty prominent Pulaski County men in 1889 indicates that there were eighteen Federal veterans, nine Confederate veterans, and four who served in both armies.[9] Thus, like the war itself, war wounds both healed and festered as the war receded into Pulaski County memories. Modern resident Clyde McWilliams provides a poignant example:

> During the Civil War, this old man took a prisoner and he shut him in an old log barn, but that man dug out under it. He was holding him prisoner during the Civil War—neighbors there. Yes, he escaped from his neighbors. Then they lived together after that. There is yet hard feelings over the Civil War. Its over a hundred years old and the grudge still goes on.[10]

What possibly diluted the war animosity in Pulaski County was the fact that so much of the land had been abandoned, and even as the war was winding down late in 1865, the land was being quickly filled with a new influx of immigrants. These new people brought no axes to grind, held no grudges against a neighbor, and came with new hope and energy to rebuild their lives. It would seem that the entire nation was on the move at the war's end. Just as some Pulaski County veterans moved west, resigning their antebellum lives and land

to the past, those east of the Big Piney moved west also and some settled in Pulaski County. Many Southerners were driven west because they had no future, their homes ruined by war. But thousands of former Yankees were on the move also. In the northern states, immigrants were driven west by the opportunity for land ownership, and found great opportunities in filling the vacuum left by former Missourians. One of the first acts of the Radical General Assembly in Missouri was to pass a law creating a State Board of Immigration to publicize and encourage immigrants to Missouri in February 1865.[11] Many easterners heard of Missouri's agrarian potential and came to see it first hand. Daniel Fogle was one of these. He left depressed economic conditions and his family behind in Pennsylvania and toured Missouri, looking for farmland. His journey took him through the Ozarks, including Pulaski County, where he found "Few Men but Many Widows."[12] Even as early as 1867, he was welcomed into most homes and fed, indicating the Missourians' desire to forget the past. Some, perhaps many veterans on both sides, were driven west simply because they could not settle down after having seen and participated in war. Before the war, many veterans had lived their entire lives without venturing beyond their own counties. But during the war they had marched through the South and seen the American landscape. Restless, they wanted to see more.

Missouri was a great attraction to America on the move in the late 1860s. Russell Gerlach considered the period between 1867 and 1875 the most "frantic" period in the settlement of Missouri. Between the two censuses of 1860 and 1870, Missouri saw a forty-five percent population increase. Many of the people who made up this influx came from a different part of the United States than earlier settlers. Whereas the early settlers were overwhelmingly from Tennessee and Kentucky, these new immigrants were from northern states like Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana. Migration continued from Tennessee and Kentucky but not to the degree typical of earlier decades. By 1890, Illinois had supplied the greatest number of immigrants to Missouri (135,585), followed by Kentucky (99,985), Ohio (84,907), Indiana (70,563), and Tennessee (67,591).[13] Pulaski County was a recipient of this influx, although not to the extent of the northern Missouri counties. In Pulaski County, the population increased twenty-three percent between 1860 and 1870, a rate that has to be seen as a land rush when one considers that the county was practically evacuated during the war. This wave would continue through the 1870s when the county experienced a population increase of fifty-three percent, an influx only duplicated much later by the arrival of thousands of workers and soldiers during World War II. What attracted these people to the Ozarks and Pulaski County was a combination of free and abandoned lands, available through the Homestead Act of 1862 or though county auction for payment of back taxes, and most significant, cheap railroad land. In fact, the railroad changed the landscape and fortunes of the people of southern Pulaski County almost as much as the Civil War. Without doubt, no other single development would affect the southern Pulaski County landscape as much as the completion of the railroad through the county, until the army came in 1941. The Civil War had, in many respects, wiped clean the antebellum landscape, and a new landscape would develop, birthed and nurtured by an iron horse.

As noted in Chapter 3, on the eve of the Civil War, Irish and other foreign laborers were working long hours cutting a railroad called the Atlantic and Pacific through rugged southern Pulaski County, near the gate of Fort Leonard Wood. The war ended that effort, and the route was abandoned—although the railway bed had been graded along most of the route from Rolla to Lebanon, Missouri, and was happily appropriated by the Union to roll its supply wagon trains rattling toward Springfield.[14] And rattle they did. One newspaper editor commented that the route west of Rolla was over "some of the ungodliest hills ever a Railroad was thought of being built."[15] Almost immediately after the war, Missouri's interest in completing rail lines across the state revived. Prior to the war the state had authorized bonds to the amount of $24 million for railroad construction. In 1860, a national financial crisis caused almost all the rail companies in Missouri to fail to meet interest payments. The war postponed state action against the companies. But even as the war wound down, the state moved to settle the railroad problem, dealing individually with each company. In 1866, the state acted to sell the southwestern route that ended at Rolla. John C. Fremont bought the Atlantic and Pacific but only completed it to the Little Piney Post Office in 1867, and then defaulted. The state seized the railroad again and found new entrepreneurs who quickly formed another company, this one called the South Pacific Railroad. They pushed the rails to Lebanon by 1869, and on May 3, 1870, amidst great speeches and celebration, the railroad was opened to Springfield.[16] The northern Ozarks would never be the same.

The effect of the railroad's completion on Pulaski County was immediate and profound. The railroad altered just about every aspect of the county landscape, from its population and settlement patterns to its economic patterns, to even its social patterns. For the people in the Fort Leonard Wood region the most significant impact was that the railroad route had passed them by to the north. Abandoning the more expensive southern route across the plateau between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney, the railroad chose higher ground north of Waynesville and the Gasconade, still along the old interior ridgeline, but in more open rolling land. The route was cheaper; the line between Arlington and Lebanon cost only $16,000 a mile, except for one mile that alone cost $41,000.[17] The effect was that late nineteenth and early twentieth century settlement, channeled and assisted by the railroad, would concentrate in northern Pulaski County instead of southern Pulaski County. Along with settlement came economic development and enterprise, again concentrated along the railroad line. Indeed, beginning around 1869, when the railroad was completed through to Lebanon, Pulaski County could be seen to bifurcate in terms of its development, enterprise, and to a lesser extent its culture. North of the Gasconade, along the railroad, a progressive Ozark farming community would develop, led often by newly arrived families from northern states, with an infusion of northern European immigrants. South of the Gasconade, and especially around the Fort Leonard Wood region, a more traditional Ozark subsistence farming community would persist. This bifurcation would be a gradual and subtle change lasting to the 1920s, for the people along the railroad still shared Upland South characteristics and traditions with their neighbors to the south. Further, many farms in the river valleys and on the plateau around Fort Leonard Wood would also develop into progressive farms. Still, as a generalized pattern, there were two cultures; one seeking economic progress and cosmopolitanism, and another clinging hard to the old pioneer life ways.

The railroad also brought a population influx and a building spree. The South Pacific had some 1,500 men employed on the railroad in Pulaski County and a land promotion brochure proudly asserted that they would soon bring that number up to 2,400. The workers and the commerce from the railroad construction must have energized the rebuilding of Waynesville, as the brochure claimed there were "hundreds of teams continually hauling freights, which reach here [Arlington] by railroad, to the principal towns in the Southwest." Loading up at Arlington, the wagons rolled down the interior road passing through Waynesville, at least until the rails were built. From that point though, activities shifted to the north.

The population and settlement pattern change caused by locating the railroad north of the Gasconade are clearly evident. While some of the new arrivals settled in the county's southern rural parts, the majority settled near the new railroad towns.[18] "For the first time sprang up other towns than Waynesville along the railway, and almost simultaneously too" records Goodspeed's county history.[19] These railroad towns included Dixon, Crocker, Swedeborg, and Richland, which throughout the late nineteenth century, grew at a faster rate than Waynesville or any of the small villages that eventually sprang up south of Waynesville. By 1889, Richland had a population of 600, Dixon 500, while Waynesville, the county seat, grew to only 150. Though Waynesville would remain the "center of the wealth of the county, and its business is still good, the greater activity in business is, of course, located about the railway—the greater town being Richland."[20]

Had the railroad been built along its original route, the population and settlement patterns of late nineteenth century Pulaski County would have been very different. Obviously, if the railroad had been built along its original route, southern Pulaski County would have seen the settlement and economic development seen across the Gasconade. With the interior road already there, development would have been given a boost as both roadway and railway would have channeled people and commerce along the same corridor. Waynesville, too, would have seen greater development and it is certain that the railroad towns of Dixon, Richland, and the others would not have existed. In fact, if the railroad had been built along its original route, the population increase in southern Pulaski County probably would have made the region less attractive to the U.S. Army in the 1940s. The lack of population drew the army to the region, because they wanted to limit the number of displaced people. Fort Leonard Wood probably would have been built elsewhere.

But the railroad was built to the north and Goodspeed's early history noted that townships formed in 1869, such as Cullen, Roubidoux, Piney, Union, Tavern, and Liberty, were modified in 1872 due to population changes brought about by the railroad in northern Pulaski County.[21] Census figures complement this observation. For the three townships that encompass the land between the two rivers—Roubidoux, Piney, and Cullen—population figures never exceed forty-four percent of the county's population during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Appendix A, Tables 5 and 6). Focusing on the two townships south of Waynesville, their populations never exceeded 1,000 people until 1910 when Piney Township reached 1,040. Looking ahead, 1910 proved to be the peak year for southern Pulaski County. While Cullen township grew steadily because of Waynesville, the Roubidoux and Piney townships continued to experience population decline between 1910 and 1940. Southern Pulaski County would remain isolated by its undeveloped transportation system throughout its history.

The fact that the railroad was built along one particular route as opposed to another is enough to explain the county's postbellum settlement pattern. But the railroad's course was not the only manner in which it changed the landscape. Back in 1852 the state had sold vast acres of land to aid in the construction of the antebellum railroads. After the war, much of this land had been transferred to the railroads to help them pay for construction. So in 1868, the South Pacific owned some 90,000 acres of land in the county and as noted, even before the route was complete, they were distributing promotional pamphlets to sell this land to eager northern immigrants. Prices ranged from five to ten dollars an acre, and could be purchased for one quarter down and the balance in one, two or three years at ten percent interest due at the beginning of each year. This meant that you could get 100 acres of land for as little as $500, or $125 down.

The railroad's pamphlet is a good example of how rail and other companies attracted people to their land, offering promises of great opportunity. They did not lie, but rather heavily accentuated the landscape's positive aspects. For instance, among Pulaski County's virtues were its ample water from "never failing" springs. Pulaski County's rolling hills are described as "admirably adapted to most every variety of fruit, pasturage, and especially the raising of sheep.... Grasses grow almost spontaneously." That is, the land was not the best cropland. The bottoms were described as "heavily timbered" and here the land was considered, rightly, "remarkable for their productiveness."[22]

The railroad's location changed the landscape in many other ways. More difficult for historians to measure, but certainly profound for Pulaski County residents, the railroad opened up the northern Ozarks, and northern Pulaski County to the world. The railroad brought goods and supplies from the outside world into the Pulaski County region. This brought about a change in material culture as the county shifted from primarily a self-sufficient frontier community to one that had access to outside markets and products. With the railroad's arrival, northern Pulaski County probably began to take on more of the appearance of a mid-western rural community as might be imagined in the northern states like Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. South of the Gasconade, the distance to the railroad over poor roads was far enough to restrict access to the goods and services enjoyed by farmers and urban folk in railroad towns. Whether or not this guaranteed that southern Pulaski County remained primarily an Ozark rural subsistence farming community is impossible to prove. However, it definitely had an impact. Cultural geographer Carl Sauer demonstrated that those contributing to the market in southern Pulaski County were fifteen to twenty miles from the railroad, and this was a serious transportation handicap considering the roads of the rural Ozarks.[23] This handicap must have extended beyond getting their products to market, to include getting services and material items to their farms. For the southern Pulaski County farmer, their lifeline to markets would remain the interior ridge road for some time to come.

Without doubt, the South Pacific Railroad, which later became the St. Louis and San Franciso Railroad, accelerated the landscape's recovery and shaped its development in Pulaski County. But the national railroad system had yet another impact on southern Pulaski County. In 1865, there were 35,000 miles of railroad track in the nation. Only eight years later, this mileage had doubled, and by 1904, some 200,000 miles of track were in use. Each mile of railroad track used some 3,000 hardwood cross ties and southern Pulaski County had an abundance of these hardwoods. Although the Gasconade Valley had been cleared before the

war, there were still oaks on the hillsides of the Roubidoux and Big Piney and on Fort Leonard Wood's post-oak flats. The need for cross ties created a cottage industry and tradition that would last until the early twentieth century. The oak timber was also valuable for barrels, furniture, tool and implement handles, posts, poles, charcoal, and baskets, besides local needs for home heating and cooking. In combination, these needs would clear the landscape of its magnificent woodlands.[24]

Cross tie production, or tie-hacking, a product of the railroad industry, changed the southern Pulaski landscape in other subtle ways. It provided the people of the region with a ready source of income when cash was needed. This may have allowed the subsistence farmer to persist in his traditional bartering economy long after a cash-oriented market was established in the county's northern part and the rest of Missouri. As a long time resident insisted, cash was needed only for "sugar, salt, and coffee," and perhaps for the purchase or repair of a new tool.[25] The land provided everything else. As long as the timber was there for cutting when cash was short, or there was an emergency, the farmers' timber was as good as money in the bank—some probably thought the timber was much better. Although much of the railroad land was purchased by settlers, and some was donated for schools, a significant amount remained in railroad ownership. These vacant lands attracted landless poor who squatted on the railroad's land. For a living the squatters would cut the railroad's timber. The railroad's official policy was not to allow squatters on their land and even made occasional attempts to run them off. But before a foray into the backcountry, the railroad would put out flyers warning squatters of direful consequences if caught on railroad lands. Forewarned, the squatters would simply pack up and leave until the railroad completed their roundup. Once the railroad had done its duty, the squatters would return, to everyone's satisfaction.[26] Once the useful timber was off the land, the land was sold. Even in the late nineteenth century the railroad still advertised "Lands Available in Franklin Co., Crawford Co., Phelps Co., Maries Co., Pulaski Co., along the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway, 69,000 acres in Pulaski County."[27] Again, the railroad profited from this unofficial labor pool of squatters, and permitted the self-reliant Upland South Ozarkian to survive through the nineteenth and early twentieth century. But the railroad needed thousands of cross ties and reliance on the whims and needs of subsistence farmers, or the squatters, could not sustain the railroad's voracious appetite. Thus was born the tie-hacker, a breed of independent rowdy whose stories and legends are now a part of Ozark folklore.

In many ways, Pulaski County's antebellum landscape, created by the settlement of Tennesseans and Kentuckians, was gone at the end of the Civil War. As survivors picked up the remnants of their lives and fortunes, their recovery was given new hope by the coming of the railroad and strengthened by newly arrived settlers from the east. As it had shaped antebellum settlement, the natural landscape influenced the course of this revival. The railroad chose the path of least resistance, the less expensive path, following a route along the northern part of the county that would need fewer crossings and tunnels. With this decision, the railroad controlled the development of Pulaski County's post-bellum landscape and would continue to do so for the next sixty years. This control was both direct as a result of its route decision, and indirect by its need for the land's hardwoods. The result was a subtle

but noticeable bifurcation of the county's landscape—a northern progressive landscape and an Ozarkian traditional landscape. The visual result was a denuding of the woodlands. The overall result was that southern Pulaski County would remain rural and isolated well into the twentieth century.

Notes for Chapter 5

1 Bradbury, *Mastodons to Motorcars.*

2 James W. Goodrich and Donald B. Oster, "Few Men But Many Widows..." The Daniel Fogle Letters August 8-September 4, 1867, *Missouri Historical Review,* Volume 80 (1986), p. 298.

3 Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 94.

4 William E. Parish, et al., *Missouri, Heart of the Nation,* p. 196; Mr. George Lane, interview with the author, May 16, 1982.

5 Edwin C. McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State,* pp. 258–282; Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 93.

6 Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 90; William F. Switzler, *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri, From 1541 to 1877* (1879; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1975), pp. 444–445.

7 Nathan H. Parker, *Missouri As It Is In 1867* (Philadelphia: J. Lippincott & Co., 1867), p. 56.

8 Paul Nagel, *Missouri: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, Inc., 1977), p. 141; Parish et al., *Missouri, Heart of the Nation,* p. 210.

9 Primas and Primas, *The Old Stagecoach Stop,* p. 55. The numbers are estimates. In some instances the biographer did not make it clear whether the unit was Union (Federal) or Confederate and it had to be inferred from their battle record or discharge location, see Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* pp. 766–823.

10 Clyde McWilliams, interview by Alex Primm, September 4, 1996.

11 L. Steven Demaree, "Post-Civil War Immigration to Southwest Missouri 1865–1873," *Missouri Historical Review,* Volume 69 (1975):170.

12 Goodrich and Oster, "Few Men But Many Widows," p. 288.

13 Fellman, *Inside War,* p. 242; Gerlach, *Settlement Patterns In Missouri,* p. 30; Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 62; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* pp. 159–160.

14 Letter to Editor, *Iowa City Republican,* November 19, 1862, reprinted in *Old Settlers Gazette,* July 30, Issue 6 (1988), p. 26.

15 Rolla Express, February 18, 1861, quoted in Craig, H. Miner, *The St. Louis-San Franciso Transcontinental Railroad, The Thirty-Fifth Parallel Project, 1853–1890* (Lawrence: The University of Kansas Press, 1972), p. 31.

16 Margaret Louise Fitzsimmons, "Missouri Railroads During the Civil War and Reconstruction," *Missouri Historical Review,* Volume 35 (1940–41):188–206; Paul W. Gates, "The Railroads of Missouri, 1850–1870," *Missouri Historical Review,* Volume 26 (1931–1932): 126–141; "Opening of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and Completion of the South Pacific Railroad to Springfield, Missouri," pamphlet (St. Louis: on file, The St. Louis Mercantile Library, University of Missouri, 1870).

17 Miner, *The St. Louis-San Franciso Transcontinental Railroad,* p. 84.

18 Fellman, *Inside War,* p. 244.

19 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* p. 111.

20 Ibid., p. 111

21 Ibid., p. 114.

22 "Sectional Maps Showing the Location of One Million Acres Choice Agricultural and Mineral Lands on the Line of the South Pacific Railroad in the State of Missouri," Land Department

South Pacific Railroad Company, St. Louis (St. Louis: on file, Mercantile Library, University of Missouri, 1868).

23 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* pp. 219, 222.

24 Mary Lee Douthit, Robert Flanders, Barbara Fischer, and Lynn Morrow, *Overview of Cultural Resources in the Mark Twain National Forest,* Center for Archaeological Research Project number 94 (Springfield: Southwest Missouri State University, 1979) p. 141; Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, *The United States, The History of A Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 516, 522.

25 George Lane, interview with the author, May 16, 1992.

26 Ibid.

27 Railroad Advertisement Flyer, "Eureka Springs Arkansas and Frisco Line" (St. Louis: on file, Missouri Historical Society, n.d.).

Chapter 6

The Late Nineteenth Century Landscape

In 1871 Joseph Turpin, grandson of pioneer Josiah Turpin, buried both his father Thomas and his mother Nancy. Back in 1813, eight-year-old Thomas had followed Josiah to the confluence of Roubidoux Creek and the Gasconade River. Josiah and Thomas built the family homestead there, initiating settlement in the county. Thomas grew to adulthood, married Nancy, and together they raised six children on that same farm. In the harsh environment of the mid-nineteenth century Ozarks, all but two of Thomas' children died before 1889. Son Joseph was one of the survivors and carried on the family tradition, helping Thomas run the old farm as Thomas had helped Josiah. During the Civil War, Joseph joined the 48th Missouri Volunteers, serving in the Federal army at Rolla, Missouri; Nashville, Tennessee; Columbia, Missouri; Chicago, Illinois; and St. Louis, Missouri. After the war he returned to the old homestead and resumed farming with his father until Thomas and Nancy died. Five years later, in 1876, Joseph moved to another farm of 350 acres and became a prosperous respected late nineteenth century farmer and active member of the Christian Church and the local Agricultural Wheel.

Another member of the Christian Church and the Agricultural Wheel was James B. Overbey (or Overby). James was born and raised in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and at eighteen had moved to North Carolina. A prolific gentleman, he had raised six children by one wife and seven by another. James joined the 34th North Carolina during the war and after hard campaigning was eventually captured in the Confederate retreat from Gettysburg. After the war he migrated to Illinois, and then in 1871 came to Pulaski County. He too became an accomplished farmer in the late nineteenth century.[1]

Joseph Turpin and James Overbey were typical of the people who rebuilt the Pulaski County landscape and community in the late nineteenth century. One man was a native with established roots, and the other was a recent immigrant displaced by war. One was a Republican veteran of the Federal army, the other was a Democrat veteran of the Confederacy.

Both though, were Protestant, white, Upland South farmers who were looking to start a new life in the Ozarks after the war's chaos. Both were successful and accomplished citizens who worked to build the future.

Turpin and Overbey are also typical of Missouri's late nineteenth century general farmers (Figure 15). According to geographer Milton Rafferty, general or diversified farming began around 1870 in the Ozarks. In contrast to the subsistence farmer, the general farmer participated in the local and regional market economy, and shipped his products to Rolla or St. Louis via the railroad. He was by definition a generalist, growing a variety of crops and fruits, and raising livestock on his own land. He might have both dairy cows and cattle, and certainly a few hogs. Like the pioneer farmers of the antebellum period, postbellum

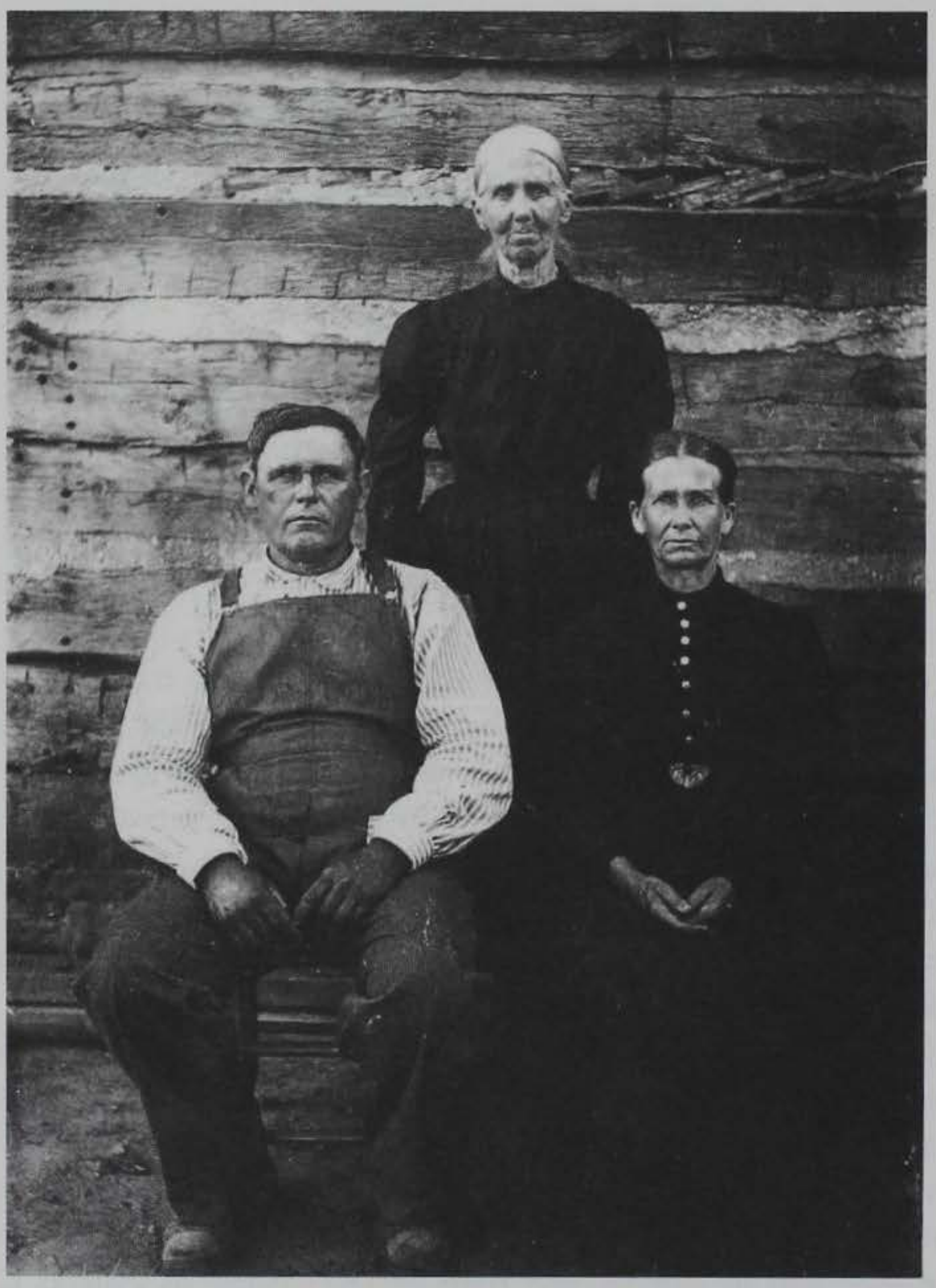


Figure 15. A typical Pulaski County farm family; John Henry and Mary Elizabeth Muir Gan, with Mary's mother, Louisa Matilda Adams (standing) at Mrs. Adams' cabin in Smith Hollow, ca. 1900. (courtesy of Rosa Lee Atterberry Mortenson.)

general farmers were very opportunistic, adapting to the market and environment. Corn remained their staple, but other grains and fruits were grown for home consumption. General farmers also cut timber from their own wood lot for quick sale, and they also might hire a neighboring subsistence farmer to help out. They might even form a small temporary timber company to cut trees during the winter months. General farmers were concerned and active participants in developing the community infrastructure. They built and attended the local churches, built the schools and sent their children to those schools, and promoted farm interests by joining the Agricultural Wheel and the Grange. Although progressive in the promotion of the community, they were conservative in their farm practices and very resistant to changes in practices that had served their fathers well. For example, during the years 1879, 1880, and 1900, census data indicate that a combined total of only $1,136.00 was spent on fertilizers by all Pulaski County farmers. Fertilizing the soil had not been necessary before the war and it would be many years into the twentieth century before it would become standard practice in the Ozarks.

As noted, the general farmer's success was assisted by the railroad's arrival, providing market access and bringing manufactured goods into the region. For that reason, the general farmer flourished mainly in the county's northern half. The more southerly section of the Osage-Gasconade Hills area, including the Fort Leonard Wood region, remained primarily in a subsistence farming mode—even those fertile farms in the Roubidoux and Big Piney River valleys had difficulty getting access to regional markets. But this changed somewhat toward the turn of the century when specialized farming, especially dairy farming, became wide-spread in the Ozarks.[2] The grassy upland plateau in southern Pulaski County was suitable for this kind of husbandry. Probably most of the larger farms on the plateau specialized in dairying by 1910.

Census data give an indication of the late nineteenth century Pulaski County farmer's relative prosperity, although it does not distinguish between the northern and southern halves. Table 7 (in Appendix A) breaks down farm sizes in Pulaski County. The census indicates slow but sustained growth. The number of farms in Pulaski County grew from 839 farms in 1880 to 1,696 in 1910—more than doubling in number. But it took thirty years for this growth, and half of that was accomplished in the first ten years. Some of this growth most assuredly represents the breaking up of parcels into smaller lots as families grew and the older farms were divided among heirs. Most were also small family-run affairs. While their size ranged widely from less than 3 to more than 1,000 acres, most farms were between 100 and 500 acres. But the census table does not reflect clearly the actual farm sizes, which were usually between 100 and 200 acres. The average size of a Pulaski County farm in 1900 was only around 129 acres.

Cultural geographer Carl Sauer, in his 1920 study *The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri*, provides a more detailed look at the Osage-Gasconade rural landscape at the turn of the century, supplementing his analysis with statistics from the thirteenth (1910) census.[3] The picture of the Pulaski County landscape that his analysis provides was of a widely dispersed population living a largely subsistence level farm life, with small plots cleared between vast woodlands. He notes that, while sixty to eighty percent of Pulaski County land was farmland, only twenty-seven percent was classified as "improved." The average number of acres of improved farmland per farm in Pulaski County was from fifty to fifty-nine acres. Assuming that the average farm size in 1910 was near the 129-acre average it was in 1900,

then the typical Pulaski County farm had only a third of its acreage in crops, the remaining land was woodlot. This would remain the case through the early twentieth century but change dramatically in the 1920s.

The soils in most places in the county were simply too infertile for large agricultural plots. Sauer's study maps broad bands of land along the Gasconade, Roubidoux, and Big Piney that were considered too rough and the soils too poor for field cultivation. His study implies that these bands include the bottomlands along the riverbanks. However, there are broad, level areas on the floodplains and they must have been cultivated. Overall, though, the land "consists of unimproved, so-called wild land, covered with forest or brush," according to Sauer. In Pulaski County, only the soils in the northwest corner and the center ridgeline of the Fort Leonard Wood region were considered fit for field cultivation.[4]

Although small, Pulaski County farms were typically owner operated. Late nineteenth century Pulaski County was spared the lower South's postwar poverty, where thousands of recently freed African Americans were left with little option other than exchanging antebellum plantation slavery for postbellum plantation tenancy. In 1880, only 174 (twenty percent) of the 839 Pulaski County farms were on shares—another nineteen were rented, but the remaining 646 farms in the county were owned. Sharecropping remained low throughout this period. In 1890, 958 farms were owned, twenty-six rented, and 323 (twenty-five percent) were on shares. In 1900, the 1,512 farms in Pulaski County were divided as follows: 904 owned, 114 part owners, thirty-five owners and tenants, nineteen managers, forty-four cash renters, and 396 (twenty-six percent) on shares.

While direct evidence concerning the living conditions of Pulaski County tenants at this time does not exist, it would probably be incorrect to equate Pulaski County tenancy with African American tenancy in the lower postbellum South. The word tenant is a very general term and living conditions varied widely. At one end of the spectrum was the full sharecropper and at the other cash renters. Typically a full sharecropper in the postbellum cotton-growing South owned almost no property and had only his labor to offer in exchange for the means to make a living. House, barns, mule, plow, and seed were all arranged on credit. The sharecropper worked through the year to produce a bale or two of cotton that would pay off this debt. Few were able to break even, and fewer were able rise above this condition. More often, the tenant ended the year in greater debt. However, those who were successful could negotiate a different arrangement called quarter or half shares with the landowner. In these instances, the cropper had made enough to buy a mule or other equipment that he did not have to rent. At the other end of this economic system were renters, who paid a yearly cash rent to the landowner to live on the land and grow crops. The renter had greater freedom of choice, obviously, and could sometimes even negotiate a rent.[5]

Tenants in Pulaski County were not newly freed slaves but rather landless white squatters who probably had been in the region for some time. Perhaps some of these people lived on vacant railroad lands and became tenants when the land they occupied was purchased by someone else. They either had to move or negotiate a rent agreement. The slow increase in tenants seen in the census figures probably reflects to some extent the slow reduction of unclaimed land. Within the area of southern Pulaski County that became Fort Leonard Wood, first entry dates for land purchases still occurred as late as 1907.[6] That is, even at that late date some of the land still had not been privately purchased, although it is a

good bet that squatters were living on the land. Probably there were also a few tenants living on general farmers' lands and who hired out as tie-hackers or farm labor. In an interview Ozark resident Ferrell Dabermont recalled that his family in Texas County, south of Pulaski, "never farmed. My dad was a great truck farmer, made big gardens. There was about as many farmers as there was people that wasn't farmers that just lived somewhere and scrounged off of the land. Well, some worked out if they could find work. When my dad was young, before I remember, he was a tie-hacker. Him and the uncles were tie-hackers."[7] Finally, some of the renters could well have been comparatively wealthy landowners who rented additional lands to grow crops destined for market. In any case, it is very probable that at this time, tenants and squatters in Pulaski County lived a lifestyle of comparatively greater material well-being than those of the lower South. By and large tenants in Mississippi and Alabama were tied to the flat cotton landscape, while the tenants in Pulaski County were doing well hunting and gathering in the Ozark woodland.

Despite the Panic of 1873, and a grasshopper plague in 1874, Pulaski County's agricultural production gradually increased during the late nineteenth century. The increases were probably a direct reflection of the increased farm population and the number of farms rather than increased yields per farm. Tables 8 and 9 (in Appendix A) provide census details of a selected list of crops and animal production through this period. Corn, oats, wheat, butter, and wool are among the most productive crops, but with more careful analysis, it is clear that corn dominated Pulaski County fields and farms. Admittedly, the county's farmers cultivated a great variety of other crops including rye, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and hay.[8] But these were minor crops mainly for home consumption. Rye production never exceeded the 765 bushels the county produced in 1870, and sweet potatoes in the late nineteenth century never exceeded the 3,426-bushel peak later in 1920. Wheat and oat production was also minimal. The largest output for both was only 200 bushels per square mile of improved farmland (whereas in the wheat growing areas of Missouri, along the Missouri River, over 3,000 bushels per square mile were produced and as much as 1,000 bushels of oats). Through the centuries, the production of the above crops increased until 1900, and then declined. Corn however, yielded as much as 4,000 to 5,000 bushels per square mile of improved farmland in the county, which was at least comparable to more than 7,000 bushels per square mile for the northwestern parts of Missouri farm country. Furthermore, the county increased its yields with each census from 1870 to 1910. Thus, corn was Pulaski County's staple grain, as it was throughout the Upland South.[9]

Tobacco was never a much of a cash crop in Pulaski County. The production levels for tobacco in the county were 10,910 pounds in 1880, 23,350 in 1890, and 8,850 in 1900. While not a cash crop, a little was grown for personal use on almost every farm. Tobacco was actually quite a versatile weed on the farm. It was used as a medicine. It was powdered and sprinkled around plants to keep away insects. Farmers soaked tobacco leaves in water until the water was strong enough for use in killing fleas on dogs or hogs. Tobacco packed in winter clothing kept moths away.[10] While cotton was never a major crop, it also was grown in small quantities at this time for home use. Spinning and weaving clothing was practiced well into the twentieth century although, as general stores became more available, cotton cloth and denim began to be purchased for sewing into shirts and overalls.

Besides corn, the other mainstay of the Upland South diet was pork, and here again, Pulaski County fit clearly into the pattern. Swine production increased until 1890 reaching

23,245 head and then declined slightly. The number of cattle and dairy cows also peaked in the 1890s at 15,177 combined, and then declined. In 1909, there were as many as thirty to forty hogs per square mile, but only two to three cattle per square mile.[11] One advantage hogs had over cattle was their superior ability as foragers on the open range, which allowed Pulaski County farmers to let their stock roam free. Hogs did especially well on acorns, making Pulaski County ideal for open range grazing. Virgil 'Mike' Shelden, born at Hooker, Pulaski County in 1915 remembers how hogs were managed.

> Well now, the hogs would eat grass through the summertime then acorns, called the mast, the acorn crop in the fall and early winter. If you had a late frost you wouldn't have many acorns and you'd have to get the hogs in early. You know the woods were full of hogs, especially in this part of the country, a lot of the country.
>
> You've heard of a cattle roundup. How about a hog roundup? Usually the hogs would gather up where the later crop of acorns came in, a big north hillside. There would be more acorns there. Sometimes we'd build a pen up there. Other times, we'd just start taking corn up there. We'd dump a bushel of corn where the hogs would come to eat.
>
> I attended two of these hog roundups. My granddad had a big old Airdale dog, big old rascal, and they'd point him at a certain hog and tell him to get it. He'd invariably catch him by the left ear. He wouldn't bark. He'd just grab the hog by the left ear and hang on. Well, that hog would drag him 30, 40 feet. He'd brace his feet then in the stock pen the pig would just go around and around and around, but that dog would hang on. Finally, he'd sit down open his mouth and the pig would just fall.
>
> Well, each farmer who had hogs there would bring a wagon with a covered top and a swinging end gate. The hogs had the ear marks. If the hog was one with pigs, an old sow, her herd of pigs would stay with her. Oh yes, you'd hear it squalling. We'd stay right with the hog. Of course, the old sow that had the ear marking, we knowed where that pig belonged. There'd be a man on each side and in front. We'd get him by the front foot and the ear from each side. We'd pick up his two feet and in the wagon he'd go.
>
> But now, you had to watch—if that dog caught a great big old pig—you'd have to beat the old sow off of him. My job was to stand close to a big tree with some low limbs. I was young, little. The old sow's pigs would stay right in that neighborhood. We'd catch everyone of them with that dog. We'd catch every one of them and put them in that wagon.[12]

While hogs were allowed to roam about anywhere they wanted, farmers did not want them to go down along the Big Piney river bottoms. Along the Big Piney grew cockleburs, which were thought to be poisonous to hogs and besides, this land was about the only rich farmland around, so the Big Piney river bottoms were fenced as soon as practical.[13] Wherever hogs roamed there was also the danger that they would go wild and that could be a problem for unsuspecting hunters as long time resident Homer Hildebrand recalled.

> Old sows would get out in the woods and raise a bunch of pigs. In wintertime, especially, they'd bed up. And brother, you'd better stay clear of 'em. Them old sow's eat you up if you're out in the woods where their little pigs was. A lot of people would go out hunting of a night and run into a bed of them. You'd better either get gone, or climb a tree, 'cuz they'd hurt you, a hog would.[14]

No upland farmstead was without chickens, and the census figures for 1880, 1890, and 1900 indicate that chickens were plentiful. In 1880 there were 25,471 chickens in Pulaski County, 91,756 in 1890, and 52,567 in 1900. The total mules counted in the Pulaski County census were 135 for 1870, 928 for 1890, and 1,314 for 1910.

Whether general farmer along the railroad line, or subsistence farmer in southern Pulaski County, the pioneer traditions and lifestyles developed during the antebellum persisted into the late nineteenth century, and also into the twentieth. This was especially true in regard to their economy. In many ways they were much like the Native Americans before them, using the local resources available to clothe and feed their families—hunting and gathering, trapping, tie-hacking, and farming. They were certainly more settled than Native Americans, and had more durable, efficient tools for hunting and gathering and farming. Their population was much larger, and their society and government were, perhaps, more complex. Yet they retained a self-sufficiency nearer that of Native Americans than those living in urban settings of the same time. This self-sufficiency went far beyond obtaining food and clothing, although much, if not most of their time was spent in one of these pursuits or the other. They also doctored, educated, and entertained themselves using local resources. Today, the initial solution to any household problem or need is to purchase a prefabricated product at a store. The Ozark method was to find the raw materials to build, cook, mix, or make something else to trade for what was needed.

Pulaski County resident Homer Hildebrand's family provides a typical example of this persistent self-sufficiency. Homer's great grandfather, Jasper, settled on a 160-acre tract along the Pulaski-Texas County line south of Fort Leonard Wood around 1897. Homer's father, Thomas, was a nine-year-old at the time. Homer still has the family farm deed signed by President McKinley in 1897. Jacob, Thomas, and Homer, who was born in 1921, worked the family farm through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries planting several acres of yellow corn for livestock feed, an acre or so of white corn to grind for meal, and some small grain, mainly wheat or oats, which they took to be ground at mills in Blooming Rose, Licking, or Plato. Homer remembers that most neighbors grew a few acres of grain and that at least three families in the southern part of the county did custom threshing. "But my dad never'd owner a tractor in his life. And I don't know if he ever bought a sack of fertilizer or not either. They just didn't have the money." Homer recalls his father grew about a quarter-acre of tobacco, mainly for himself and selling a little to friends and neighbors. His father also farmed, made ties, and could do about anything with his hands.

> I've seen my Dad set and work on baskets all day long when it was cold winter days and we'd have the floor in the awfulest mess. Sweep her up and put it in the stove. But he made baskets and Dad was a good woodworkman, of course. He never had nothing. All he ever had was an old blower on a sack of coal or something to heat metal. There wasn't no such thing as a welder. Wouldn't have no electricity.

Today if help is needed we hire specialists; the Ozark method was to find a neighbor who was sure to need your help at some later date. Homer Hildebrand recalls this self-help method worked for his family and neighbors:

Back then, you doctored your own animals, and a lot of people doctored their own self. I mean, you take a doctor in Plato. He's 10 miles away and 6 inches of snow on the ground and all he had was a horse and buggy. You'd hesitate about going at 2:00 in the morning in zero weather or 10 above or whatever in an old buggy and take on down the road.

They just took care of things themselves. My mother was a midwife to no telling how many people who couldn't get a doctor. She had no training, not that I know, but off she went everywhere and did that. A verse in the Bible, I don't know where it is and no one's ever said, and she never told. Someone'd have an animal hurt, something wrong with it, be a'bleeding to death and she could take that Bible with that verse and stop that blood. Now, a lot of people said you can't do it, but she did anyhow. They'd come and get her from miles around. Well, she was a veterinarian as well as a midwife.

Emma Page Hicks, a long-time native of Pulaski County, wrote a series of newspaper articles describing life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She is also worth quoting at length regarding the self-sufficiency and ingenuity of these self-reliant people in making due with local resources.

How do you think he [her Uncle Jake] raised these fourteen children? They didn't raise them by going to the store and buying their food.

They raised wheat and corn for their bread. They raised sorghum cane and made sorghum or molasses. They canned and dried apples and peaches and holed-up apples for the winter. They raises potatoes, both Irish and sweet potatoes, cabbage and turnips and holed them-up as they called it, also beets. They raised beans and gathered them dry and hulled them, and put them away to cook in winter. . . . They were vining beans and we would gather them in the corn and gather big sacks full of dry beans and hull them. . . . The family would sit around the fireplace and hull beans and throw the hulls in the fire. They would kill their hogs for their meat that was mostly fattened on acorns. They would render their lard and put it away in big cans or stone jars. Kill a beef, wild game, raise their chickens and have their own eggs. Milk their cows and churn their butter. They had lard and fruit, and made their pies, stack of them out of two different kinds of fruit.[15]

Once the food was harvested, it was kept through the winter by digging a hole and lining it with hay. The hole was filled with vegetables, then more hay and covered with dirt. Some people dug a root cellar. Later, during the twentieth century, some would turn to canning, but that was far in the future. Milk and butter was kept cool at the spring head, where they built a box to store it. Some sugar was purchased, but they would also make molasses. They made their own lye soap from the ashes they saved from the fireplace and made their own clothing from cotton they grew or from cloth and denim purchased at the general store.

Although farming was critical, gathering, hunting, and trapping also made up a significant portion of the farm economy. Forests and grasslands provided a good measure of the residents' subsistence. Gathering wild greens, berries, and roots was a part of the seasonal round both for food and medicine. Nuts supplied a nutritious food, and the Ozarks is known for its hickory nuts and black walnuts. Like many forest resources, the walnuts were not only good food, but also used as a dye, pig feed, and could even be pulverized and thrown into a stream to stun fish.[16]

Most people ignored the laws that regulated hunting. Dogs played an important role in the hunting and social life for the head of the household. Sauer unkindly noted in 1920 that "The more poorly developed the country the greater is the number of hounds kept."[17] However, the hounds performed the important duty of finding game for the family supper table. "Most every small farm used to have dogs. The kids were taught to hunt and put meat on the table and bring back a piece of game for every bullet they took."[18] The dogs were also at the heart of an important social function—the coon hunt—a gathering for trade, talk, and interaction that would serve to order the male community. Such interaction was critical in developing the friendships and social cooperation necessary to rural life.

Indeed, successful hunting required a level of cooperation among members of a local male community. Within a group or collective of friends and neighbors, late nineteenth century farm woodlots and unoccupied forests were considered semi-public land, available for hunting at anytime if you were one of the members. In southern Pulaski and northern Texas County, one group of men referred to themselves as the "rabbits," and the rabbits claimed and protected hunting areas of their own. It was dangerous traveling in these areas if you weren't recognized as one of the rabbits.[19]

The land was full of game. Tales are told of pigeons so plentiful that farmers could go into the woods at night and gather them as they roosted in the lower tree branches. Emma Hicks, whose grandfather's 80-acre farm was in McCourtney's Hollow, wrote that, "It was all big timber of all kinds, and wild grass in the low grounds, over a man's head on a horse. They didn't have any trouble getting meat for there were deer, wild turkeys, wild hogs, rabbit, squirrels, also wild pigeons."[20] Game was so plentiful during this period that some men were able to make a living as professional hunters. Another modern Pulaski County resident, Aileen Hatch, recalled her grandfather, who hired out as a hunter for friends and neighbors.

> My grandfather was a professional hunter. By that I mean the he had dogs and horses and guns. And he would go to a farmer's house and the farmer would keep him, feed his dogs, and him and his horses until he killed their winter's meat. Killed and cured it—they salted it—killed their winter's meat.
>
> Whenever they had all they wanted, then he'd go to the next farm. And he would kill and cure their meat for the winter. I think he started in about October and went all through the winter. What he got out of it was his room, his board, and the furs, the skins of the furs. By spring he would have a wagonload of furs and skins. He would take them to St. Louis and sell them and that would be his money for that year. And evidently, they were a pretty good price, the furs were.
>
> One time my grandfather had come to my friend's house and all the neighboring houses to get their winter's meat. Then came spring and it was time for him to go to St. Louis, sell his furs. So he started to St. Louis with his wagonload of furs piled up, you know, and skins and so on his way, just about to Rolla, the first day and he camped that night and he slept under his wagon. And he built a fire and evidently he got too much fire too close to the hides and you know them, dried suet, that's like grease. And so the wagon and the furs caught on fire and burnt up. Well, that burned up all his property. He didn't have anything else. All he had was that wagon and his horses and his dogs and his guns and the furs. And so that put him out of business.[21]

It wasn't long after the Civil War that the region gained the attention of hunting and fishing clubs as far away as St. Louis. By the 1890s, the combined scenic splendor and abundant fauna of the Gasconade and Big Piney attracted sportsmen in ever increasing numbers. Hunting clubs and fishing expeditions became fashionable, and the local population found employment as guides and outfitters. Arlington, at the intersection of the railway and the Springfield Road, became the gateway to Pulaski County's backwoods sporting paradise. Other railway towns like Crocker and even Waynesville enjoyed the fruits of urban businessmen getting away from St. Louis for the wilds of the Ozarks, and hunting lodges were built along the rivers. For the more adventurous, the Big Piney and Devil's Elbow areas were among the many locations of camp grounds. Eventually tales told by hunters and fishermen attracted sightseers and tourists. Canoe trips and rafting became popular recreational activities (Figure 16).[22] As always, tourism was a mixed blessing. It brought employment, but also brought increased competition for the region's natural resources, which the backwoodsmen needed to live their hunting and gathering lifestyle.

The people of southern Pulaski County fed themselves well, and doctored themselves with equal self-reliance. Doctoring was almost all home remedies, using roots and herbs gathered in the woods. There was always at least one or two doctors in the county through the late nineteenth century, but never more. The only doctor in the Fort Leonard Wood area in the 1880s was Dr. G.W. Stevenson, whose practice was located somewhere "twelve miles south of Waynesville." But doctors were only for extreme cases because they were difficult to get to or to get them out to your homestead, and they charged for their services. So it was mom and grandma's home remedies for colds, influenza, cuts, scrapes, and bites. Birthing was directed by midwives. In fact, although doctoring might be a male

Figure 16. Twentieth century tourists enjoying the Ozark River (courtesy John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

profession, healing at home was the realm of the woman of the house. We have noted that tobacco was a widely used medicine, but other standard plants included bark, sarsaparilla, blackroots, dogfennel, and many other herbs. Chemicals often used included turpentine, alcohol, camphor, and coal oil (or later kerosene).[23] For the mentally incapacitated, and the destitute, a Poor Farm was established in 1876, two miles south of Waynesville. In 1889 it had 100 acres under cultivation but the buildings "are in somewhat inferior condition." The farm had four male, eight female inmates, two of them being of "unsound mind."[24]

During the late nineteenth century, the Ozark landscape of southern Pulaski County exhibited settlement patterns similar to that of the antebellum, intensified only by an increased population and the resultant resource exploitation. After the fertile soil patches in the narrow river bottoms were occupied in the 1840s and the 1850s, settlers began to fill the Fort Leonard Wood region. However, these antebellum settlers continued to locate in small hollows where a spring-fed creek drained into the larger Roubidoux or Big Piney. Hollows came to be named by their earliest inhabitant, and some of these place names survive today, such as Christyson's Valley, McCourtney's Hollow, Baldridge Creek, and Musgrave Branch. By 1860 these good farm sites were becoming scarce. Some sixty-two percent of the 69,320 acres that is now Fort Leonard Wood had been purchased and of those acres, 1,720 had been set aside for schools. No lands were acquired during the Civil War. But reflecting the massive upheaval of people after the war, another twenty-one percent or 14,520 acres were purchased between 1865 and 1869. From 1870 until 1900 most of the remaining seventeen percent of the unclaimed uplands were acquired, although as noted, vacant lands were available even during the first ten years of the twentieth century. Again, land acquisition does not directly reflect settlement but it can be concluded from this that there were two settlement impulses, one in the 1850s and another shortly after the Civil War.

A map dating between 1900 and 1906 is a jewel of information regarding the turn of the century settlement system that had developed in the Fort Leonard Wood area, a portion of which is depicted as Figure 17, and as redrafted by Mr. Leonard Fetterhoff in close-ups Figures 18 and 19.[25] The map includes homesteads, roads, churches, and schools and, given the slow rate of regional development, it is probably representative of the settlement pattern from 1880 to 1920. While it does not accurately depict the exact location of individual homesites, or all the homesites in the region, it does appear that the mapmaker attempted to place homesites within a quarter-section of their actual location on the landscape. The map verifies that the Fort Leonard Wood uplands by this time were widely, if not densely settled. There are still gaps of vacant land though, even at this late date. It is possible that some vacant sections were occupied by squatters or tenants and only landowners are shown on the map. Regardless, it is clear that there were areas of the upland still vacant.

The map does not depict the individual settlement patterns of the average southern Pulaski County farmstead. However, the farms and fields were oriented around the local relief. Though southern Pulaski County ridges and hollows were not as steep nor deep as those found in the Appalachian areas of West Virginia and Kentucky, the settlement

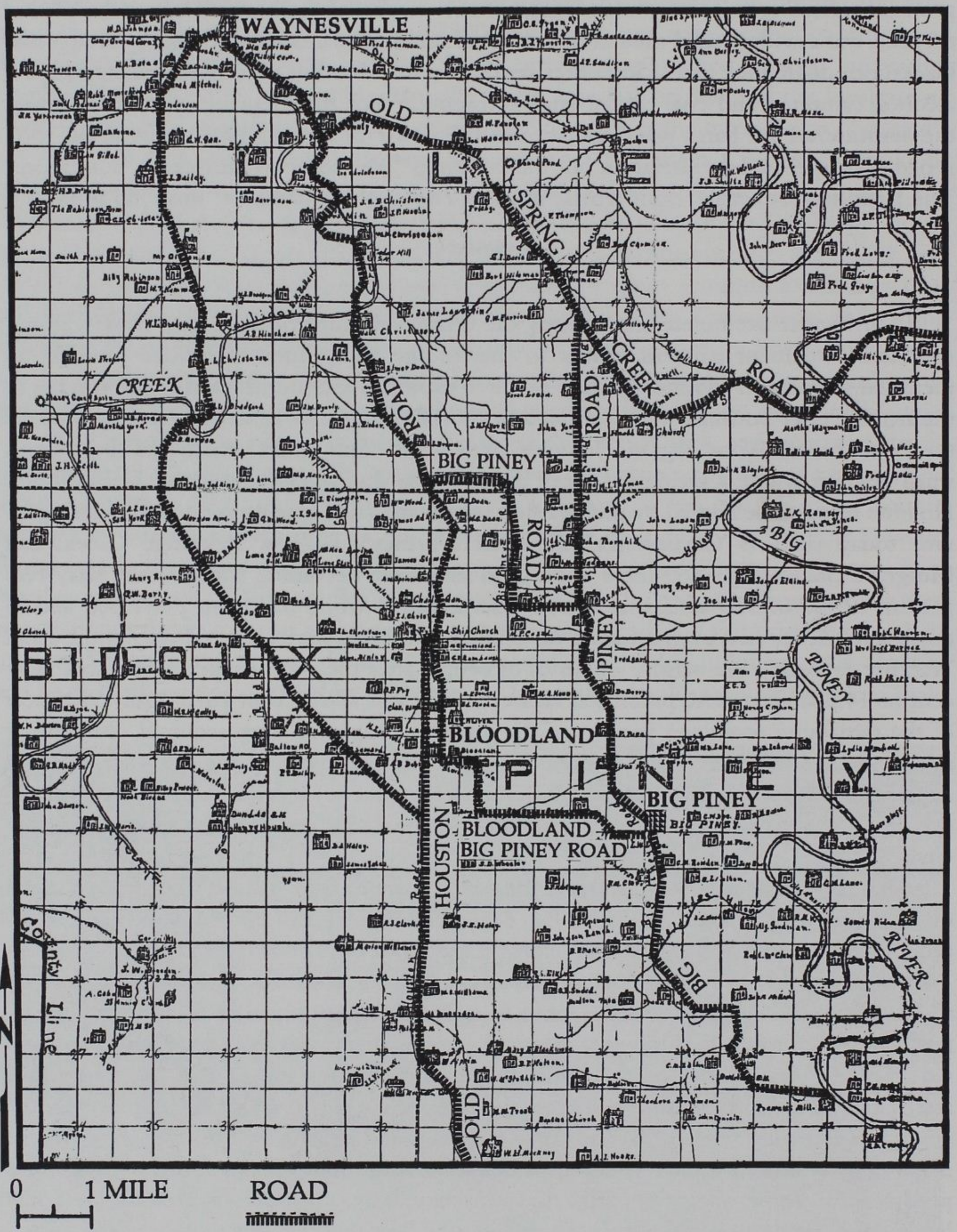


Figure 17. Fort Leonard Wood portion of ca. 1900–1906 map of Pulaski County, Missouri.

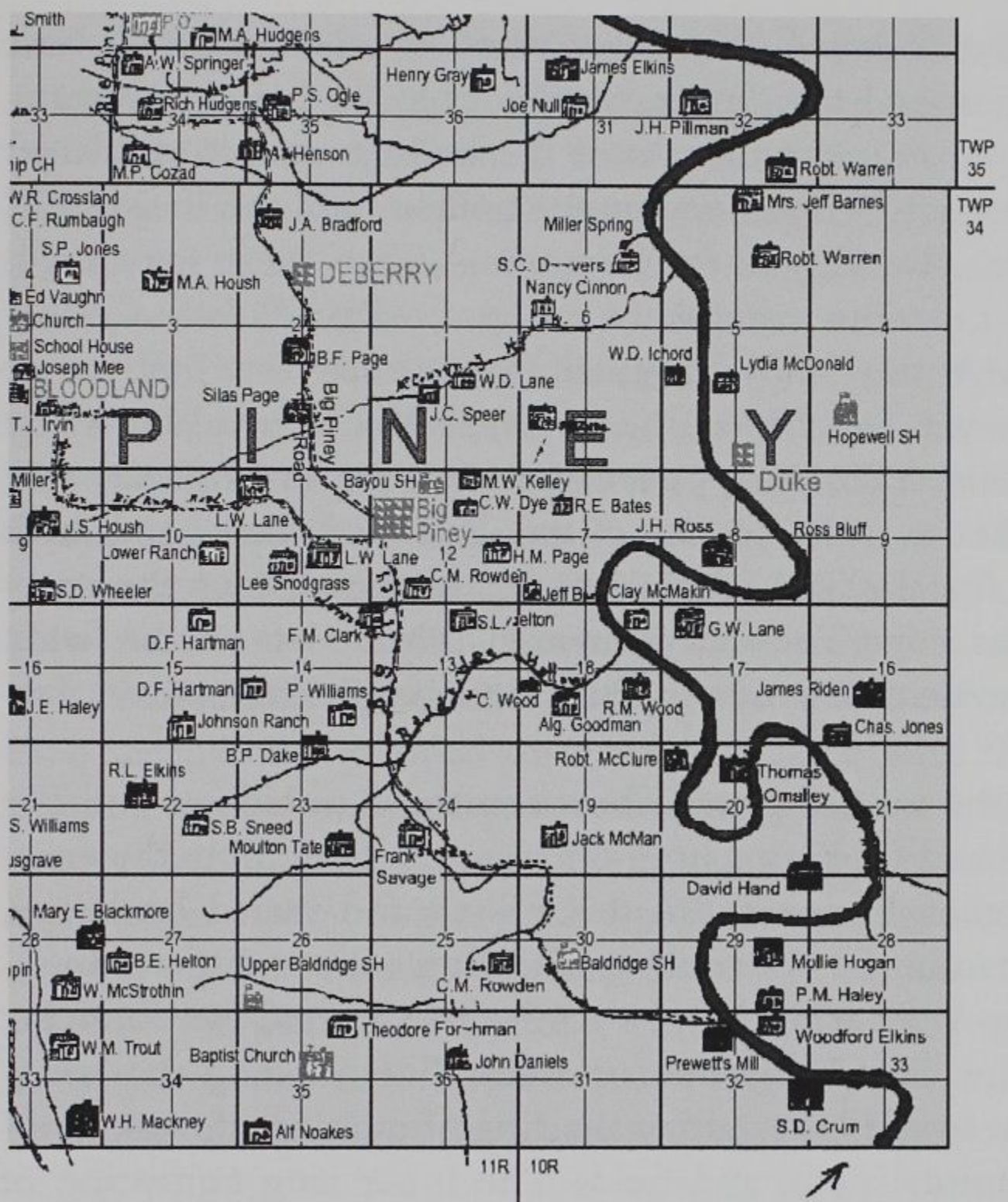


Figure 18. Southeast portion of redrafted 1900–1906 map (courtesy of Mr. Leonard Fetterhoff).

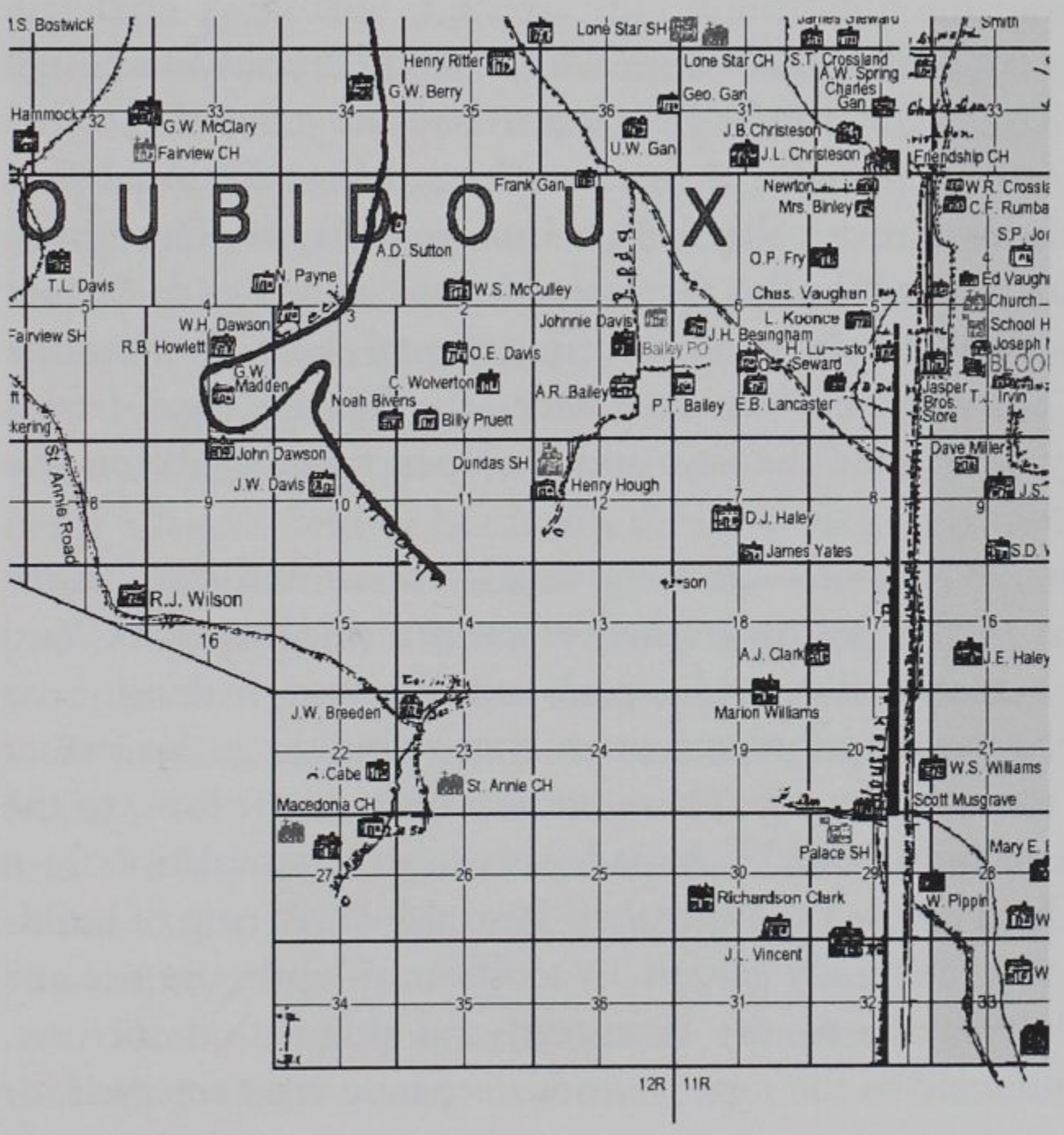


Figure 19. Southwest portion of redrafted 1900–1906 map (courtesy of Mr. Leonard Fetterhoff).

patterns between the two were similar. In Appalachia's narrow hollows, the farmsteads were arranged in a linear pattern, with houses, barns, and outbuildings located along a stream. The first farmsteads were constructed near the mouths of the hollows and, in the larger hollows, the farmsteads were evenly spaced, continuing up the hollow until the "headwalls" were reached. There the slopes were also cleared for homesites. Often these settlements were structured by kinship; the most obvious example of this in southern Pulaski County was the McCourtney family hollow. As the family expanded, homesteads were built on up the hollow. Some hollow settlement was fan-shaped, the farms established in a semi-circle around a headwater with several smaller hollows. Appalachian hollow farm complexes were oriented 'top to bottom,' with the house at the bottom of the slope. Thus barns and sheds were found on the higher slopes in Appalachia, with the house near the road, on the interface between the valley floor and the slope. The valleys themselves were left for the fields. This pattern was most assuredly prevalent in southern Pulaski County's river valleys during the late nineteenth century.[26]

As people began settling on the upland plateau between the Roubidoux and Big Piney during this period, the farmstead took on a little different configuration, the exact layout still oriented to the local relief, however. On this rolling and varied landscape, there was more horizontal space than in the river valleys, allowing a more dispersed pattern of farm buildings. Outbuildings were arranged in a semi-circle around the domicile, which usually faced the road or the most likely human access. Surrounding the house was a yard, and both within and just beyond the yard, was a ring of multifunctional sheds. Beyond the sheds lay the barns, animal pens, and fields. The inner ring consisting of house and sheds was often separated from the barns by a path. Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the function of the average farmstead changed. During the antebellum, few sheds were built besides a smokehouse; the barn was enough for horse and equipment storage. There also might be a corn crib. As general farming increased in the late nineteenth century, there was an increased need for additional outbuildings and sometime around this time root cellars came into general use. The spring was boxed-in for cold storage. But meanwhile the farmstead of the subsistence farmer remained largely devoid of sheds other than a small multifunctional barn. During the twentieth century, chicken coops and pig pens became necessary for the large farms, especially after the U.S. government purchased the land and the open range tradition was being threatened.

As mentioned, there was an inner ring of multifunctional sheds around the general farmer's house. The smokehouse was used as a storage shed when not smoking pork. Yard areas were used for many outside activities like tool repair, laundry, soap making, even preparing food and entertaining. Between the inner and outer ring of buildings the farmer would often lay odds and ends for some future use. These areas, which might look to the unknowing like trash piles, were called "kulsh piles."[27] A road, path, trash accumulation from yard sweeping, and the kulsh pile helped define the inner yard from the outer ring of buildings. At the edge of the inner circle, was the family garden. In addition, an outhouse became necessary as the woodlots were cleared due to the farmstead and population increase. Previously, personal business was conducted in the nearby woods, separate areas reserved for the privacy of men and women.[28]

This farm arrangement was highly functional and practical. Structures were arranged as closely as possible to their primary farm function, and with an eye toward sanitary drainage. Obviously, the outer buildings, containing large farm animals, needed to be on a different drainage system than the dwelling, and this was especially true in the hollows. In the upland this was accomplished by locating the house on the highest local relief but with a nose to the prevailing winds.

Folklorist Henry Glassie was the first to remark that farmstead arrangement was associated with traditional sexual divisions of labor. Ordinarily, women's activities included household and family chores that were performed within the farmstead's inner circle. "The Ozark farm wife's day began and ended with food." The normal day was spent mostly on preparing breakfast, dinner, and supper, while other household chores had to be done in between. Dinner was the main meal, taken around noon. Evening supper consisted of leftovers from dinner. Thus during an ordinary day, the woman was tied to the house and yard. Men meanwhile attended to duties associated with the outer ring of buildings like the planting and crop maintenance, and large animal husbandry. The arrangement also has some relationship to farm economy, especially on the general and specialized farm. That is, the outer circle of barns fields and shed were devoted to production and storage of farm income-related activities like cash crops and animal husbandry. The inner circle was oriented to the processing of home consumables. Both perspectives are equally valid, especially when one keeps in mind that both gender roles and farm economy were traditional, but not at all rigid. For the Ozark woman, work not only consisted of preparing food and raising young children, but also assisting in the planting and harvesting. Older children assisted and often tended the chickens and gathered eggs from the inner circle of buildings. The eggs were not only sold but were consumed by the family. Men also used the inner yard for tool repair and maintenance, butchering, and meat smoking.[29]

The field patterns changed little between the antebellum and the postbellum. In keeping with farms across the Upland South, the fields were arranged around the local topography, bending around hill slopes on the Ozark rolling terrain. Later in the century and in the twentieth century, property lines would be taken into some account when fields were opened, but they generally still followed wood lines, ridgelines, and the road system. Fences were still built around the crops to keep the animals out.[30] Fields were prepared in the winter and spring, each year a little more clearing was done to make a larger field or because a previous field was abandoned. Trees were cut and stumps were burned. On the ridges, quite an effort was spent to clear the rocks off the land, gathering them in a sturdy sled and moving them to a field's edge.[31] Otherwise the woodlands were open and the cattle and pigs searched for their own graze. The cattle were marked in the spring and turned loose, with little care, except to provide salt. Herd leaders were belled, so that when the farmer wanted to round up the herd, they could find the leader and point him home. Strays were so common that the local newspaper routinely ran a column called the "Stray List" in which people reported the strays they had rounded up.[32]

Home and farm architecture remained largely unchanged from the antebellum through the mid-twentieth century, a visible example of cultural persistence across the Fort

Leonard Wood landscape. Across the Upland South the pioneer built his horizontal log house and sheds, using modular (pen and crib) construction. Single-pen, double-pen (dogtrot), or saddlebag (chimney between two pens) were the standard homestead plans throughout this period. Sometime during the late nineteenth century these log structures might be sided with lumber cut from the mill to fashion a siding of board and batten. Here the walls consisted of flat wide slats nailed side by side over the log structure, with thin wood slats covering the cracks between the wider slats. The more prosperous Ozark farmer might even build a two-story doghouse (Figure 20) or a two-story I-house, symbol of opulence in the Upland South.[33] The classic I-house consisted of a rectangular two-story house one room deep and two or more rooms wide, the central room often being a hall between the two rooms. Chimneys' were built along the outside end gables. In the Ozarks, chimney's could be built cheaply with the abundant rock, although some poorer families might build a stick and mud chimney above a stone foundation, or as a nineteenth century history noted "The hills furnished the stone fire-place, ... chimney sticks and mud for the poorer, and stone for the more able."[34] Flooring, if the cabin had flooring, consisted of a hewn smooth log, called puncheons, and the roofs were constructed of slabs of wood cut from blocks and

Figure 20. Two-story dogtrot, home of William Saul McCulley, ca. 1900 (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

placed overlapping to keep out rain. These were called calkboards.[35] The sunless cabin interiors were lit at night using a grease lamp. This was simply a bowl of grease with a strip of lighted cotton cloth as a wick.[36]

Through the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Ozark roads usually followed the ridge tops. While the number of trails increased as the population and traffic increased, they were still dirt trails and usually became impassable after heavy rains. Even the main roads were hardly more than trails. Emma Hicks describes hospitality, Ozark style, of a prosperous farmer who lived along one of the more important roads in the region. "They had an upstairs ... for company as they lived on the County Three Notched Road. This was a road through the County from north to south and was kept by the county so people could travel over it on horse back and in a wagon or buggy. We would call this road a ditch through the woods now. On each side of the road ever so often they would cut three notches on trees so they would know where they are."[37] When the roads became bad, a traveler might show up at the door needing a temporary place to hold-up through the rain. Even on dry sunny days, a trip through southern Pulaski County took a long time. Merchants who opened stores in the Fort Leonard Wood region would travel to the railroad towns to get their goods for sale locally. A round trip in a supply wagon would take two days from Crocker to Big Piney even as late as the turn of the century.[38] Road improvement would not make much progress until the 1920s.

The turn of the century map (Figure 17, page 98) clearly depicts road system development in the Fort Leonard Wood region during the late nineteenth century and indicates little change from the Civil War period. In southern Pulaski County, the old Houston Road is depicted as running south out of Waynesville along Roubidoux Creek for a few miles and then, crossing the creek, rising onto the uplands and following the central ridge line between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney. The Old Spring Creek Road is also shown south of the interior ridge road, but running parallel to it for a few miles before turning south to Spring Creek. There is no sign on this map of the "state road" shown on the 1845 G.L.O. map (Figure 12, page 53) indicating that it probably was a less used trail or had been abandoned in favor of the Springfield Road. Obviously some smaller roads or trails like this existed leading to homesteads, but at the scale projected, they are not shown. In 1889, a Pulaski County history noted that "At present the chief county roads are the old "Wire Road," [Springfield Road] and the Union Road; other county roads are made from towns to some populous settlements whose trade is desired. There are no county bridges; two ferries are on the Gasconade, and twenty-nine fords, with fifteen fords on the Big Piney."[39] This statement hints at the other trails and wagon roads in the county between the Roubidoux and Big Piney. Exactly which road was the Union road is not known, but it probably was another name for the Houston Road.

The turn of the century map shows the old Houston Road leading south from Waynesville following the Roubidoux before turning east to the uplands. The road passes many of the small hamlets that developed during the late nineteenth century that will be discussed further below. It actually crosses Roubidoux Creek twice; once at Kerr's Mill and again further south. The Spring Creek Road, that runs east and west across the plateau, dead ends into the Houston Road north of Kerr's Mill. At that intersection was the county farm or Poor Farm. About two miles east of the intersection along Spring Creek Road is also

found the Irish Cemetery, now the gates of Fort Leonard Wood. The Spring Creek Road crosses Dry Creek Hollow and Republican Hollow before crossing the Big Piney River. At Dry Creek Hollow it also branches south and becomes Big Piney Road passing through Tribune. This road and its branches may actually be the same road that is noted on the circa 1845 G.L.O. map (Figure 12, page 53) thereby making it one of the oldest roads in the region.

The Old Houston Road continues south along the plateau's ridgeline, passing through the hamlet of Bloodland and south past the Palace School house. This portion of the route, from Bloodland and on south, is probably in the same location as modern Highway 17. Above Bloodland, another branch goes to Big Piney; this road also still exists today. There is another road shown on the map leading south out of Waynesville to the Mt. Gibson School house. The road then crosses the Roubidoux and runs southeast back to the Houston Road. It is possible that this road is the remains of the old "state" road shown on the G.L.O. map (Figure 12, page 53). The map also shows that a branch of this same road leads to Cookville and St. Anne; however, from that point the map has been destroyed. The map also shows the location of Smith Hollow, McCourtney Hollow, and Baldridge Hollow. The Big Piney Road, of which there are several branches, heads south out of Big Piney and eventually ends at Prewett's Mill on the Big Piney River. In doing so, it passes across Baldridge Hollow.

These were the principal roads in the region during the late nineteenth century. It is noticeable that most of the roads that became main arteries ran north and south. This indicates Waynesville's importance (and later the importance of railroad towns to the north) to people living in southern Pulaski County. To get goods to market or purchase supplies that could not be acquired at a local general store, one had to go to Waynesville or perhaps farther south to Houston. Furthermore, none of the main arteries follow the Roubidoux or the Big Piney, although the Houston road does follow the Roubidoux for a short length. In any case, the twisting river beds and valleys were unsuitable for getting directly to important market towns. Thus, as settlement increased, river trails became less and less used and roads running directly towards some central node like Waynesville increased in traffic and importance. Small trails along the riverbanks served only for short, local travel between farmsteads. But obviously these trails existed both in the river valleys and in Fort Leonard Wood. On the turn of the century map, for instance, a Lonestar School house is shown with no road leading to it, but some small trail must have existed to get to the school.

The existence of these smaller trails brings up an important aspect of the development and change in both the settlement and transportation system from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth. During the antebellum, Civil War, Reconstruction, and probably as late as the 1880s, the small dirt trails that led off the east-west interior ridge road or the north-south road to Houston meandered toward the valleys and hollows where the southern Pulaski settlers of that time had located their homes and farms. The road's direction and course was determined by the location of early pioneer homesteads and mills that were in the river valleys. Gradually, as the population increased on the plateau between the two rivers, homesteaders settled along these early trails so they could gain access to goods and services at local markets and the mills. As the population continued to increase into the twentieth century, newer roads split off the earlier plateau

roads, running to new farmsteads. By the time the U.S. Army arrived in 1940, settlement concentrated along the roads rather than the river valleys. Thus the settlement system was determined by the road system rather than settlement determining the transportation system as it had been in the antebellum. This change possibly reflected the increasing dependency on goods and services obtained from villages and stores as opposed to the self-sufficient pioneer who only needed a good spring to locate their homesites. Further, it is likely that the dependency for local markets was brought on by the landscape's diminishing natural resources, which could no longer support the population.

The railroad brought an increase in county population, and with it, railroad towns sprang up along the rails where farmers could bring their crops to market and trade could thrive. These railroad towns, Richland, Crocker, Dixon, Swedeborg (Figure 21) and Hancock, served the northern Pulaski County farmers and homesteaders. A promotional handbook written to attract immigrants to Missouri adds the towns of Woodend and Franks to the list of Pulaski County towns, but these were actually only small railroad stops.[40] South of the railroad line, the only major town available for the people between the Roubidoux and Big Piney remained Waynesville, at the county's center. Occasionally, people in the Fort Leonard Wood area would travel the distance to Crocker or Richland,

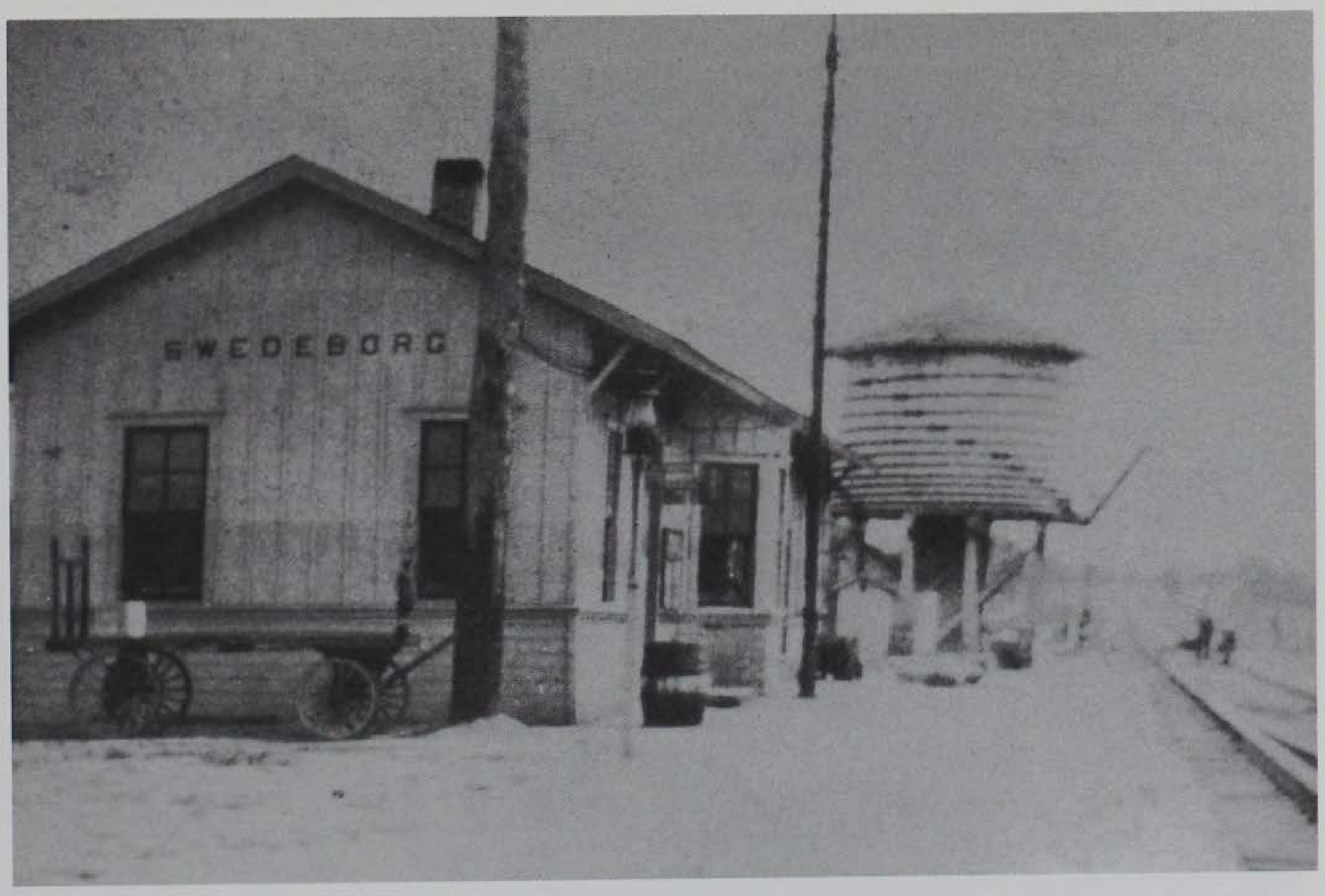


Figure 21. Swedeborg train station (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

especially when hauling railroad ties for sale. But such trips over crude roads were major efforts. Some people even made the journey all the way to Rolla.

Waynesville (Figures 22, 23, and 24) was the distribution center for the people in southern Pulaski County in the late nineteenth century, and the town maintained a tenuous hold as the county seat. Waynesville was a small but viable little community. While the railroad towns received the flux of immigrants, Waynesville's population remained low throughout this period. Eventually enough people settled there to incorporate in 1901, but in 1910 the population was still only 257.[41] The first newspaper in the county, the *Pulaski County Signal*, started in Waynesville in 1871. In 1889, the town included at least two general stores, a barber, watch repair shop, post office, drugstore, stock dealer, meat market, bootery, livery, the Waynesville Hotel, two blacksmiths, one carpenter, a physician, four attorneys, and the *Pulaski County Signal's* offices. Back in 1872, a new brick courthouse had been built, measuring sixty by forty feet, and was twenty-two feet high. Unfortunately, at 3:00 A.M. on June 13, 1903, this courthouse was struck by lightning and burned, destroying most of the county's civic records like deeds, land plats, and marriage licenses.[42]

The loss of the courthouse in 1903 could have been quite untimely for Waynesville's business community if advocates of moving the courthouse had pressed the issue. Through the late nineteenth century, business interests in the faster-growing northern railroad towns had attempted on two occasions to wrest the county seat from the old village on the Roubidoux. Some time before 1890, Richland had tried, but did not get the necessary votes. Then in 1890, several Crocker businessmen again proposed that the county seat be moved to their town. This effort was a serious threat as two prominent Crocker citizens deposited $5,000.00 in a Crocker bank as a down payment on a new courthouse.

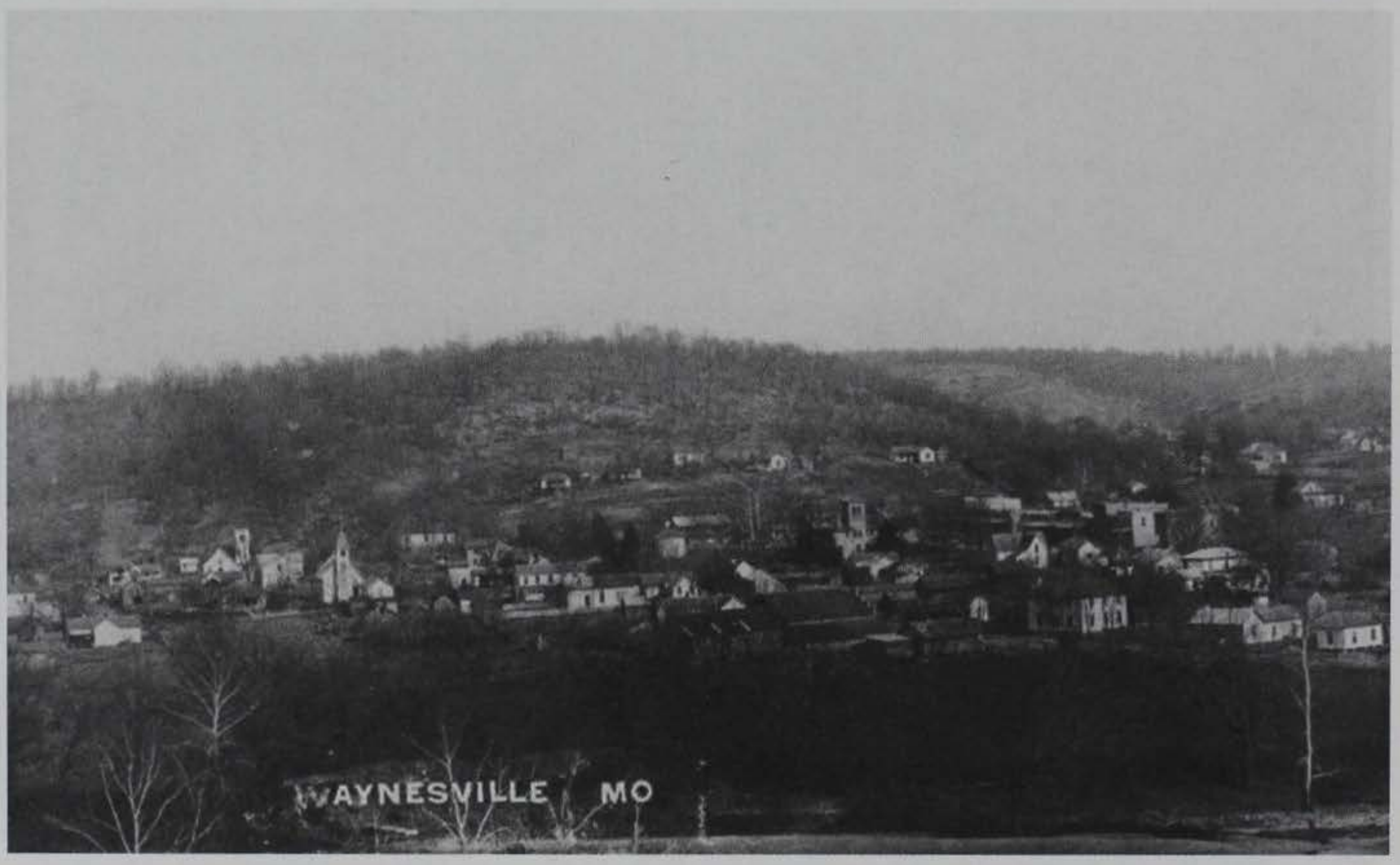


Figure 22. Waynesville, early 1900s (John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

Figure 23. Waynesville, ca 1904 (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

Figure 24. Waynesville, early 1900s (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

The arguments made for moving the courthouse to Crocker reveal the growing cultural bifurcation between the county's more cosmopolitan northern region and its rural southern half. A Crocker newspaper article promoting the move dismissed the traditional argument that Waynesville was the county's center, declaring that three-fifths of the county population was within ten miles of Crocker, which was located in the north-central part of the county. Further, seven-eighths of the population was within sixteen miles of Crocker. Crocker was also on the railroad line and had a greater variety of business interests. Disparaging Waynesville, the article noted that the old town did not have enough hotel rooms for people conducting courthouse business. Taking aim at Waynesville's location in a steep valley away from the railroad, the author boasted of Crocker's cosmopolitan superiority, "Let us move the county seat out on the highway of civilization, where the light can shine on it all day, and where people from the world can come to it any time without the risk of being drowned or thrown over a bluff and mangled on the rocks." The article even implied that the people in the county's southern portion, who relied on Waynesville, were rude country folk: "The people living south of the Gasconade river are mostly agriculturally engaged...and people so engaged have but very little litigation and consequently have to go to court very seldom...consequently there are ten persons that have to attend court from the north side of the [Gasconade] river where there is one that has to go from the south side." But when the votes were tallied, the proposal was roundly defeated by 209 votes. Opposition to the move came not so much from the insulted southerners as from a collation of businessmen in Waynesville, Richland, and Dixon, who were quite aware of the consequences of such a move. Crocker's resultant growth would not only be detrimental to Waynesville, but also to all the other towns. Better that the county seat stay in sleepy Waynesville, where all of the northern towns would be at an equal disadvantage.[43]

Travel to Waynesville continued to be a tiresome journey over rough roads, and as the population around Fort Leonard Wood grew large enough, there was a need for small, local, trading centers (i.e., general stores with post offices included) to serve the population's daily and weekly purchasing habits. There were many of these centers, coming and going with each generation, and it is difficult to gain a sense of their development. However, because one of their many functions was as a post stop, the operational dates of regional post offices provide a measure of their number and distribution (Appendix A, Table 10). Most post offices in this region began operation after 1880, an indication that the plateau region had reached a certain population threshold by that time.

Like the antebellum mills, these little central place nodes served the local farm families as trading, education, and religious centers. They often originated as general stores or as a school or church, built by a settler nearby or on his farm. Once a building was built for one purpose, the structure became multifunctional; a school also was used as a church, for example. Through time, more buildings might be built. A typical hamlet might be established as a store, become a store and post office, then a school building would be built, and on Sundays the school building would be used for church services. In this manner, little villages grew, springing up across the landscape at seemingly random but widely dispersed intervals. In rural areas like southern Pulaski County not only was settlement dispersed but likewise community services.

Place names were fluid, the same name being used for different locations through both time and space, making it difficult for those attempting to reconstruct the history of these

rural landscapes. The name for a single place was also mutable. For instance, a little hamlet twelve miles east of Waynesville along the old Springfield Road was called Pine Bluff during the antebellum, Piney Ford or Wagon Ford after the war, and eventually became Hooker, the name it still bears today.[44]

Indeed, a number of these centers on the plateau had their origins in the antebellum. Perhaps the earliest in southern Pulaski County was Cookville, one of the rare hamlets along the Roubidoux that survived into the twentieth century. Cookville began as Cook's Mill (Figure 7, page 14). The mill probably dates shortly after 1845 when Joel Burton Cook first arrived on the Roubidoux. By 1878 a cluster of buildings, including the store and post office, were built. William J. Cook, postbellum mill owner, is mentioned among a list of prominent Pulaski County citizens in a county history. "In 1883 Mr. Cook located on his present farm, which consists of 320 acres. It is situated on the Roubidoux River [Creek]. In connection with the post-office he keeps a stock of general merchandise, which brings him quite a nice little sum annually."[45] His post office may have been in his home, which would not have been unusual, and his duties as a postmaster would have been a part-time job. Emma Hicks' grandfather was such a part-time carrier. "My grandpa tended a big garden and tobacco patch. He was also postmaster and took care of the mail. The mail was carried on horseback to and from Waynesville. I can remember him fixing up registered letters for there wasn't any bank near then to write checks on. He had shelves and sections to keep the mail in and a table in the corner of the big hued log house by the fire place."[46]

Another little central place or hamlet with antebellum antecedents was Big Piney, on the bluff above the Big Piney River just outside of modern Fort Leonard Wood. Big Piney's origins probably sprang from the building of Piney Baptist church in 1839. As stated in the previous chapter, it is very likely that there was a little cluster of buildings, including a store at Big Piney as early as the 1840s. The village grew slowly through the postbellum and by 1881 included a post office as well as a few homesteads—the number unknown. Around 1906 the hamlet had a barber shop, blacksmith, two dry goods stores, flour mill, school and church, and a cemetery nearby.[47] Big Piney survived the early twentieth century, including a devastating tornado, and remains today as one of the few hamlets remaining on the plateau, a timeless example of the settlements that once thrived there in the late nineteenth century.

According to folklore, Bloodland—destined to be the largest village within modern Fort Leonard Wood—was named for a man named Blood perhaps as early as 1842. But another legend suggests that "many a bloody battle was held among the young men to establish whom to be the better man."[48] Regardless which version is correct, Bloodland's origin as a prominent place name on the landscape probably dates from sometime in the late 1880s. By 1900, it had a schoolhouse, George Jasper's dry goods store (post office), a Methodist church, Frank Brown's mill, and several houses. Its twentieth century growth would be due to its central location in the region combined with the fact that it was along the Houston Road, the main north-south transportation artery for the land between the two rivers.[49]

Other commercial nodes had their origins in the late nineteenth century. On the list of nineteenth century post offices (Appendix A, Table 10) was the Moab post office, which was located along the Big Piney river about seven miles east of Waynesville. Another is Palace. The village of Palace still exists today, just outside Fort Leonard Wood's south gate along Route 17 near the Pulaski County line. The Palace school was located inside the fort, though. Palace may also have been the same little hamlet called Leone in a county history.

"Leone is a town in contemplation in the southeastern part of the county. G.P. Walker heads the enterprise."[50] What is especially interesting from this quote is that it refers to the location as a "town," yet notes at the same time it was an "enterprise" headed by one man. Requirements for town status in the Ozarks were apparently quite liberal in this publication. St. Anne was a hamlet with a post office, church, and school named by soldiers returning from the Mexican War—Santa Anna was the name of a Mexican General. Although the St. Anne post office was closed in 1895, the church survived up to the 1930s. St. Anne was only a mile south of Cookville. The post office was later moved to Laclede County, west of the fort, but retained the name. Tribune was another small post office north of Bloodland along Route 17. A brief survey of local historic newspapers indicates that Tribune was mentioned in the *Pulaski County Democrat's* "Neighborhood News" in 1902. Tradition has it that it was named Tribune because it was a center of local news (gossip?). Yet another such place was Wharton, consisting of a store with a post office in the store (Figure 25). It was located about a mile or two west of Tribune off Route 17. It was named for a Mrs. Wharton, the first postmaster. Melchesedec Brown was commissioned Wharton's postmaster in 1910 and moved the post office a mile south along the same road. He was born in Smith Hollow on June 21, 1876. Later, when the post office closed in 1933, he became a judge.[51] Wildwood, destroyed by the four-lane entrance to Fort Leonard Wood, was established at the same time as Wharton and

Figure 25. Brown family in front of the Wharton General Store (courtesy Bruce C. Clarke Library, Fort Leonard Wood).

lasted until 1933 when the postal service consolidated fourth-class post offices. "It was a wildwood, when Frank Thomson, a homesteader, built a tiny store at the roadside. The post office that the government established there with Thomson as postmaster was named Wildwood, in keeping with the surroundings. Through all the years it has remained a wildwood, with only the store and post office and homestead to justify its name. Thomson laid claim to 160 acres, clearing part of the land for crops and keeping the remainder as range for his cattle and hogs."[52]

The history of the Dundas (Dondas) and Bailey post offices is somewhat unusual. The Dundas School was located north of Cookville (Figure 26). Somewhere nearby the school

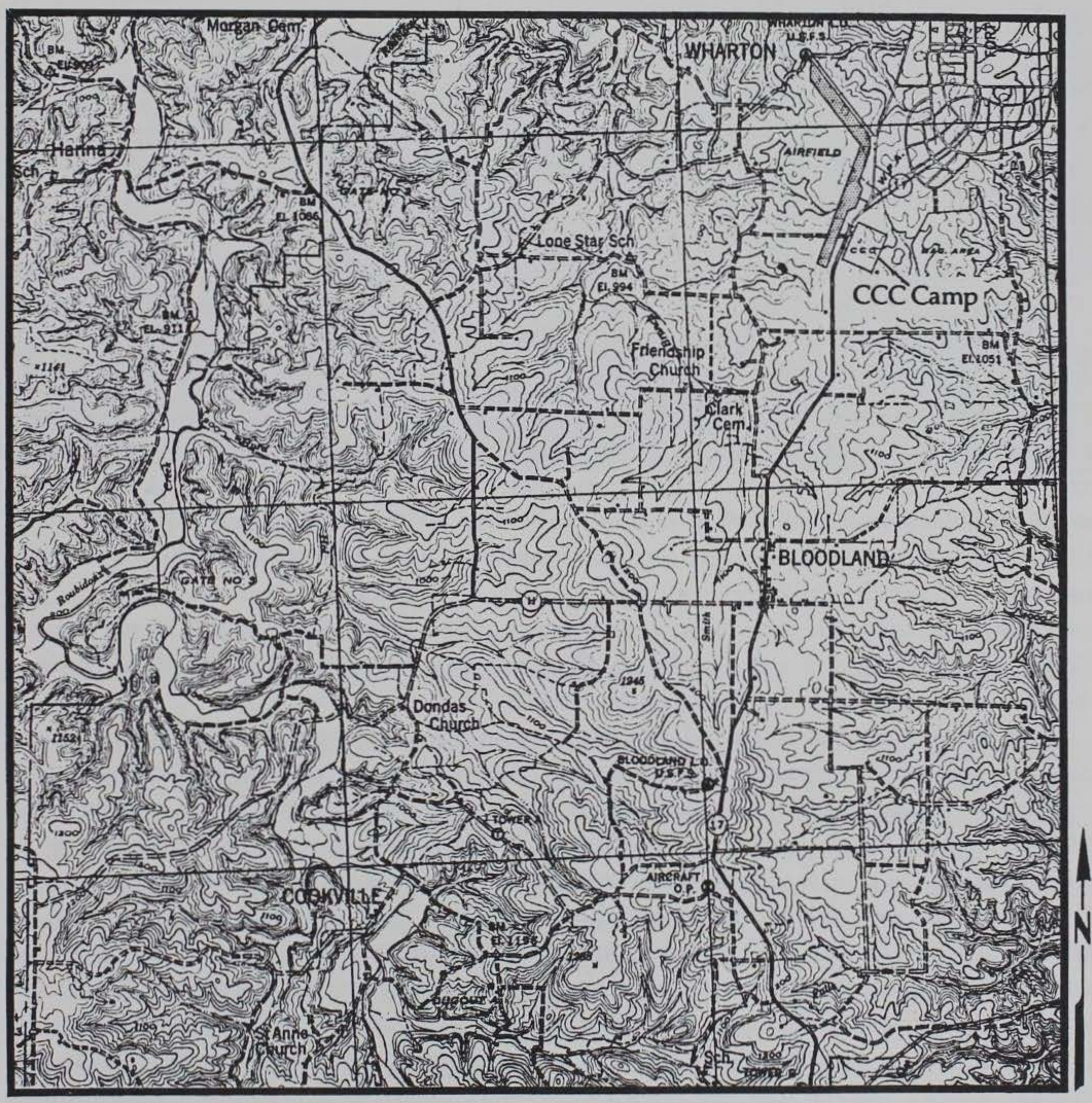


Figure 26 Close-up of a 1942 U.S. Army Engineer map of Fort Leonard Wood (courtesy DEH, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri).

was a general store or home where mail was sent. Dundas had some prominence in the region because it is depicted on a map in a Missouri immigration handbook published in 1881. But in 1884, the Dundas Post Office was changed to the Bailey Post Office—the name being that of the new postmaster. A number of homesteads housing the Bailey clan were just up the road from Dundas School house on Bailey Road. But in this case the hamlet retained its Dundas name while the post office was called Bailey. In 1902, for instance, the *Pulaski County Democrat*, (the Waynesville paper that replaced the *Signal*) discussed activities at Dundas in a weekly section called "Neighborhood News."

Another place name in the region was Lone Star, which had a school at one time. Around the turn of the century, Lone Star (also spelled Lonestar) was big enough to be recognized in the "Neighborhood News" section of the *Pulaski County Democrat*. One entry under Lonestar reads, "A nice rain fell here last Friday, although it nearly washed everything down the hollow."[53] Lonestar was located about halfway between Cookville and Waynesville (Figure 26). Other place names in the Fort Leonard Wood region, for which little else is known, are the Baldridge Post Office, established 1886, and Cave Spring, in Roubidoux Township.[54]

The growth of small community centers in the late nineteenth century is indicative of the landscape's slow transformation from a wild, backwoods frontier to a rural farming community. Besides more farms and roads, schools and churches were visible examples of this transition. A public school act had been passed in Missouri as early as 1839. But as noted in the previous chapter, public education met with resistance from some early Ozark settlers. This attitude persisted into the late nineteenth century. It was not that the conservative Ozark farmers were against education, but rather they were against government assisted and mandated education. A common attitude was that public schools were a form of charity, and as such, public schools were often referred to locally as "pauper schools."[55] Regardless, by 1873, Pulaski County schools were organized into forty-nine districts, located in eight frame and twenty-three log buildings with a total value of $6,115.00. "There were 29 male and nine female teachers, the men drawing an average of $30.91 and women $22.75 per month. The average attendance for each child was fifty-nine days per year."[56] In 1876, the forty-nine districts were consolidated to thirty-eight districts.

In Waynesville and Richland, schools grew in size and importance. At Waynesville, a two-story, two-room schoolhouse was built in 1886. In the early 1900s this schoolhouse was replaced by a concrete block building. At Richland, the Richland Academy was started in 1870 by Captain Davis, Captain H.E. Warren, Dr. Tyree, and Rev. J.A. Bradshaw. The academy originated as private school that eventually was absorbed into the public school system. Teachers were given instruction at two schools of higher education in Pulaski County. One was the Waynesville Summer Institute, which was established around 1885 and operated until 1910. This school was the equivalent of a junior college today, and the teachers in the area attended it to sharpen their skills. The other teachers' school was the Pulaski County Institute at Dixon. In 1896, this institute had twenty-seven male and twenty-seven female students and forty-seven teaching certifications were issued; total expenses for the institute that year was $168.00.[57] There was also a third school for teachers called the Lumpkin Normal School. A photograph of the Lumpkin Normal School shows Pulaski County teachers in front of the county courthouse in Waynesville in the early twentieth century (Figure 27). This may be the same institute as the Waynesville Summer Institute or a differ-

Figure 27. Lumpkin Normal School class in front of Waynesville Courthouse, early 1900s (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

ent teachers school, or a new institute that operated after Waynesville's summer school closed.[58]

The schools in southern Pulaski County were typically one-room log buildings. "Schoolhouses...built of large logs and the benches of smaller logs split in half and mounted with the split side up...polished to a high degree of brilliancy by the application of homespun cloth worn by boys and girls."[59] Since the community men would gather and build a school on public land, school buildings continued to be used for community gatherings and church. Beginning around the 1880s and continuing into the turn of the century, these one-room schools slowly increased in number in the Fort Leonard Wood area. Among these schools was the Bayou School located one-fourth mile from Big Piney. It served the area until 1906. Teachers included George Phillips in 1899, and George Lane Sr. (father of George Lane, informant). In 1899, as many as eighty-one students attended. The Bayou School was replaced by Big Piney #60. Bloodland also had a school, probably established before 1909. Another school was Cedar Hill #50. This school lays claim to the school of "Mr. Spencer," the teacher named in the previous chapter as the first in the county. Lonestar School #51 was in session at least by 1906, and probably earlier. Maze School #57, razed by the army, was located southeast of Devil's Elbow. Maze is described as one of the earliest in the county and if it is the one

depicted on the old geological map (Figure 11, page 51), it probably was. A second building was built in 1890. Sometime prior to 1912, there was a school called Buck's Skull #55, near the existing Rolling Heath school building (see Chapter 7). Rolling Heath replaced it in 1912. South of the fort was the St. Anne school, probably part of the St. Anne community, open by 1897. George Lane Sr. also taught there. Mr. Harley Dye taught there in 1906 with a salary of $33.00 per month. Finally, the Union School #52 was located near the Tribune Store. This school was established at least as early as 1908. Note how almost all of these schools were located near or at the little hamlets mentioned earlier.[60]

Not all the schools were used as churches on Sundays. The faithful built separate buildings as soon as they could. However, the edifices were often built near other public-use buildings like schools and general stores, either establishing or strengthening a central location for community activities. The majority of Pulaski County citizens were Baptists, and as noted earlier, they soon organized under the Southern Baptist Association. The Civil War interrupted the association's activities, but by 1870, annual meetings were being held again. Within the area that became Fort Leonard Wood, Baptist churches rebuilt or established after the war included Friendship, near Bloodland (established 1859), St. Anne, near Cookville (established 1900), Hopewell Baptist in Big Piney (established at least by 1869, see previous chapter), and Rolling Heath. In Waynesville there were two Baptist churches in the late nineteenth century, the H.E. South Baptist (established 1884) and the Missionary Baptist (established 1877). Besides Baptists, the Methodists were also strong in this region. Methodists started a church early in Waynesville history. The founding members of this church included the Christesons, Tilleys, and Ballards all early and well-known Pulaski County families.[61] Near these churches would appear cemeteries, and while the church buildings are gone, the cemeteries are maintained by the U.S. Army today (see Appendix C).

Going to church was a social occasion, serving to bond the community, and lasting long hours or nights. Emma Hicks paints a wonderful picture of Ozark religion around the turn of the century:

> Most of our old preachers spoke loud, so they could be heard by all. They were used to preaching brush harbors and to good size crowds, with some babies crying as they didn't have nurseries then, to leave them in. Mothers held their babies on their laps and when the baby would cry, the mothers would nurse them at their breasts. ... The more noise the children made the louder the preacher would preach.
>
> Sometimes the older preachers would preach an hour or more or until they ran their selves down. . . . I have seen some of these older preachers preach until their clothes would be wet with sweat. The women would take their old fashioned fans and all would be fanning. They all lived through this and loved each other, and had good fellowship.
>
> Bro. Watts would walk from place to place to preach to [sic] old time Gospel. Sometimes in school houses. They took the Gospel to out of the way places to all who needed it. I have seen families go to church in their farm wagons. If they had big families they put hay in the wagon and a bed and spread, a quilt and put if [sic] on the hay and the children would sit on the quilt."[62]

Besides weekly services, there would be great revivals, where people would gather and worship for weeks at a time, families coming and going as they could afford the time away from

their farm duties. One revival at Big Piney around 1903 lasted from December through January.

Once the day's preaching was over, the women would spread a tablecloth on the ground and set down a feast for everyone. Upon the table cloth would be "loaves of home baked bread, stacks of pies, five or six on a plate, big cakes iced, some on cakes stands, big platers [sic] of fried chicken, some baked hens with dressing, bit [sic] pots of warm chicken and dumplings, baked apples, sweet potatoes, pots of beans, baked beans, potatoes, cold slaw, cans of fruit and pickles, beets, cucumbers, corn, boiled eggs, baked ham, and boiled beef."[63]

Religion was local, and so was politics. But Pulaski County farmers were not totally isolated or unconcerned about national issues, especially those dealing with agriculture. Almost immediately after the war (1867) farmers nationwide began joining the Grange Movement, partially in response to the railroad's price fixing. In Pulaski County, the Grange Movement began a few years later, around 1872, and by 1875 there were eight Granges. However, the movement died out by 1885. The Agricultural Wheel that Joseph Turpin and James Overby joined started in 1888 and grew to 928 members.[64] Again, we have no clear idea as to the level of participation among southern Pulaski county farmers. However, it is supposed that with eight Granges and so many active participants in the Agricultural Wheel some of those were from the county's south half.

These organizations served both as methods of making their voice heard in St. Louis and Washington, DC, and as opportunities for information exchange and social interaction. Another way the farmers interacted as a community involved fraternal organizations. In the early twentieth century many fraternal organizations were established in Pulaski County like the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, American Legion, and Woodmen of the World. In northern Pulaski County these organizations met in Richland, Crocker, and Dixon. In southern Pulaski County there was a chapter of the I.O.O.F. in Waynesville (established 1903, membership in 1934 was 20), a chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star (established 1824, but probably a typographical error), and a Masonic Lodge (established 1888). There was also an I.O.O.F. lodge at Big Piney (established in 1898) and one at Relfe.[65]

Besides inheriting the family farm there were few other career opportunities for most Pulaski County backwoodsmen and fewer for women at end of the nineteenth century. There was practically no industry other than the mills and there were few of those. There was a mining operation called the Ozark Onyx Company, which operated a mine in the 1890s in northern Pulaski County "near Frank Switch" and provided employment for forty men.[66] But that was the extent of industry. Even the old water-driven flour and gristmills, once a critical establishment in frontier days, were closing. The 1860 U.S. Census of Manufacturers listed only six flour and meal mills and a single tobacco establishment, with a total of nine persons employed. The 1880 U.S. Census of Manufacturers lists only five flour and gristmills in Pulaski County, with only six people employed.

Ironically, there were no sawmills listed in the postbellum census of Pulaski County. It is ironic because the loss of the timber was the most visible impact to the local landscape. During the antebellum the Gasconade and Big Piney River Valleys had suffered from early nineteenth century pine clearing. Still there were large hardwood stands in the late nineteenth century, but

not for much longer. The construction of the great railway system across the United States that began after the Civil War took a steady toll on these forests. Also, as the population increased at this time, an unknown but significant amount of the woodlands had been cut to clear fields or for firewood. A book on the Missouri Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition described the Pulaski County landscape at the turn of the century stating, "Two-thirds of the timbered lands have been cut over and bordering the railroad and creeks practically all merchantable size trees have been made into railroad ties and rough board lumber."[67] Testifying to the amount of timber in the county, the halcyon days of tie-hacking were still in the future. How much would be cut in Pulaski County is not known, but Missouri cut 559,822 ties in 1900 and in 1912 shipments of Ozark ties in Douglas County alone reached 1.5 million ties, Iron County 536,000, and Wayne County 750,000.[68] With that kind of exploitation, it would not take too many years before the wood was gone, and by the end of the 1920s, it was.

Tie-hacking along the Big Piney River in Pulaski, Texas, and Phelps counties was a steady source of income for farmers and professionals between the late 1800s and the 1920s. The Big Piney emptied into the Gasconade, and downstream of that confluence stood the towns of Arlington on one bank and Jerome on the other. Arlington's strategic point on the river had made it a focal point for trade and timbering along the Gasconade back in the antebellum. At that time it was on the edge of the frontier, beyond which began the forested Ozark river valleys and hillsides. For a time, it was also the railhead for this frontier. With the war over and the railroad in full operation, Arlington became even more important to the tie-hacker. The tie-hacker could either raft the ties to the railhead or haul them with oxen and horses. From Arlington, the ties were usually shipped to St. Louis and then points west. The result was that Pulaski and Phelps Counties were full of railroad tie buyers working with land speculators to find good timber tracts.

With a long steady demand for ties, the people "made it in the timber," according to long-time resident George Lane. If you had a good river-bottom farm, you could make a living as a farmer, but most people in the hills turned to tie-hacking for the cash needed to buy the few things they couldn't make or grow. Around the 1870s a tie-hacker could, on average, make thirty ties per day and sell them for fifteen cents per tie. In 1914, ties delivered to the railhead brought twenty-five to forty-five cents each, but at the stump they were worth about five to ten cents each. At the peak of the tie-cutting days during World War I, ties were going as high as $1.25 a tie. With this kind of money available, ties were cut either by farmers from their own woodlots—especially during the winter months—at the saw mill as a by-product of small logs, or by the professional tie-hacker. The primary source was white or post oak, which the railroad preferred because it gave a little "bounce" when the train ran over the track.[69]

Tie-hacking was an occupation that did not need a large corporation to back it. The giant conglomerate lumber companies of the late nineteenth century ignored the northern Ozarks where the tree sizes were too mixed for large-scale logging. But one, two, or a small group of four or five men could work together to cut and raft the ties downstream to a railhead and sell them to a buyer. The railroad hired many small family-run companies or individual tie-hackers to cut the trees. They also hired the squatters on their own considerable acreage.[70] All one needed was a good saw, axes, a few nails, a wagon and team, and a great deal of strength. To hack-out a tie, the trees were felled with a saw and then cut into lengths. Then the logs were shaped into ties using a wooden maul for splitting, a chopping ax, and

a broad ax. The round logs were scored and then shaped into a rectangle using a broadax to hew or "face" them between the scores. The ties were usually eight feet long and six by eight inches in cross section. However, some 'switch' ties were shorter, and had a six by six cross section. Like all occupations, tie-hackers had their own language. Ties made from large trees, which could make four ties within its girth, were called 'quarter-ties.' Two ties made within the girth of a tree were called 'half-moon ties.'[71]

Once made, the ties were hauled to the river and rafted downstream, or occasionally, hauled overland. A team of oxen could haul about fifteen ties. If rafted, the ties were hauled to a ridge above the river and slid down the steep sides of the riverbank in a chute. These chutes cut deeply into the side of the valley wall, and caused erosion. Some of them are still visible today along the Big Piney. When the trees on the uplands were gone, the trees on the steep sloping sides of the rivers were cut. It took considerable skill to cut a tree, hack out the ties, and chute them down to the river, all on a steep Ozark hillside. In the twentieth century the ties were occasionally collected at Waynesville to be hauled to the railhead at Crocker and sold to the railroad. The courthouse yard became a temporary tie-yard. Men would come down from the hills to work in the yard, get paid in cash, and disappear back into the hills.[72]

Along with tie-hacking, tie-rafting required considerable skill and daring (Figure 28). Added to the dangers of the heavy shifting logs, the men struggled with the weather. Rafting was often conducted in the dead of winter and the men had to contend with icy waters. Rafts

Figure 28. Tie raft along an Ozark River (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

consisted of one or more sections of ties placed crosswise to the river at about two feet apart and bound together using saplings and large spikes. The size and shape of these sections varied; Milton Rafferty stated that they were "one tie wide and about sixteen feet long, holding about twenty ties,"[73] while Arthur stated they were thirty-six ties.[74] Within each section were logs called 'floaters' cut from dry sassafras, ash, or sycamore. The floaters added buoyancy to the raft. Once the sections were complete, several were often coupled together. By coupling a number of sections together, the breaks between the sections allowed the raft to bend around the twisting course of the typical Ozark river. Thus rafts varied in size, depending on river conditions and could be quite large, perhaps as many as 500 ties or larger. The first rafters used grapevines to couple the squares. Later, rope was used and nails were added. Above the ties, the men built a scaffold. The rafters walked this scaffold as they "snubbed" or "set" (stopped or guided) the raft down the river. In poor weather, a tent was built on the scaffold. Bends along the rivers became well known for their dangerous turns and were given names appropriate to their hazard. On the Big Piney, bends included "Devil's Elbow, Turkey Neck Bend, Pike's Defeat, Blind Horse Bluff, Wayman Slide, and Crooked Chute."[75]

Like the flatboatmen on the Ohio River of the early antebellum, Ozark tie-hackers and rafters gained notoriety for their exploits, fighting, and hard living. They were cut from the breed of rough and ready backwoodsmen that had shaped the American landscape since colonial times. The first were solitary hunters, voyagers, and explorers in the van of settlement. They were part of the wandering laborers that worked as flatboatmen along the Ohio and Mississippi, and as lumberjacks in the northern forests, and later the southern pine forests. They included the cowboys on the western plains. In the Ozarks they lived in temporary shacks in the woods with few belongings. They were jacks-of-all-trades, but the trades they chose were often hard and dangerous, and tie-hacking was just one example.[76] Stories and legends of their exploits and deeds grew around all these adventurers. Like the rest of the continent, the northern Ozarks had their own heroes. The strongest man among any group of laboring rafters was called the "best man." He kept his position of authority much like the dominant male in a dog pack. As long as he could beat any of the others, he remained best man. One such ruffian was Nathan Henson, known as "one-lick" Henson, because he needed to hit you only once.

But the most famous of the northern Ozarks rafters was Nathaniel "Stub" Borders, born in 1873. Nathaniel was abandoned first at age ten by his mother and then at age twelve by his father. He and his brother were left to shift for themselves and they began taking on temporary jobs at lumber mills. Wandering through Arkansas and Missouri he worked various jobs under hard bosses, and eventually killed a man in an argument in Mississippi. Leaving the state for Missouri, Borders began tie-hacking, and became a legend by age sixteen for his rafting escapades. He suffered a number of injuries in his amazing career, including the loss of a hand, toe, and eye in a dynamite accident (hence the nickname "Stub"), but these accidents did not stop him from continuing his rafting job. Once, according to the legends, he and two other men were taking a large raft down the Big Piney. As they passed the mouth of Big Piney and entered the Gasconade, the strong cross current caught the raft and spun it around. It immediately began to break up and as it careened downriver they all were thrown into the river. Out of sight of each other they individually made their way to Jerome, not knowing if the others had survived. All did survive their spill but they lost all but one square (about 35 ties) of the original 1,200-tie raft.

As Borders got older, he eventually married, but the couple still wandered, camping in the woods or living with friends and employers. Sometime during that time he survived a serious car accident in which the car turned over, pinning him to the ground for several hours. Borders' last tie raft trip was in 1922. Trucks pretty much had taken over the job by then as they were a much more reliable method of transport. Stub was still alive as of 1940 and probably saw the construction of Fort Leonard Wood.[77]

Along with legendary tie-hackers, who lived life just either side of the law, were the tie-rustlers. These men attempted to gather ties already cut and then sell them to a company before the owner could catch them. For that reason tie companies branded their ties. Between legitimate but wild-living tie-hackers roaming the woods, and tie rustlers along the riverbanks, the tie industry was not looked upon with great love by many of the farmers in the region. Many regarded the tie-hackers with disdain, while to others they were heroes.[78]

Tie-hacking and rafting as a professional occupation continued throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century reaching its peak around World War I. Then it slowly died in the 1920s, the result not only of trucks replacing the raft drives, but also and primarily because so much of the good hardwood was gone. The land owned by the railroad was largely cut over. Tie-hacking changed the face of the southern Pulaski County landscape, but the visual impact was more slow and subtle than that in other counties where large lumber companies came in and cut over large areas, leaving vast open tracts. In Pulaski, Phelps, and Texas counties along the Big Piney, the best wood was chosen and cut first and the woods became thinner and thinner through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[79] Eventually the only oak woodlots left were those on private lands, farms that kept their woodlots as a reserve source of income should the crops fail. For that reason, tie-hacking was still done in the 1930s by private landowners.

Napoleon Bonaparte "Bony" Ramsey grew up along the Big Piney in the early twentieth century. As a young boy, he was privileged to see the last tie raft head downstream, ending an era and an Ozark way of life.

> There was a lot of timber here and lots of ties made for the railroad. They were rafted down this river, down to Jerome where the first railroad is. I saw the last tie raft. That was in 1926, could have been as late as '27 but no later. I was with my Dad. I was about five years old. We walked down to the river from this farm, the little farm we lived on. And there was a raft tied up.
>
> My Dad knew those fellows, most of them. There were about five or six, and as we approached them, he said to me, "Now, they'll offer you some food, don't you take it because they don't have very much." And when I got down there, I'm glad he warned me not to take anything that was offered.
>
> They did offer me things, and what smelled the best was cornbread they made. They put it on a board and spread it out til it was about half-inch thick. They put a prop, a rock under it and let the radiant heat from that fire cook that cornbread. Did that smell good, nice brown cornbread!
>
> They'd made ties up on the flat level. With horses they'd take them over to the top of the hill where the tie slide was made out of wood, two feet wide with high boards on either side and all greased with hog lard. They would put those ties and only one at a time went down; they didn't want any lockups. It must have had about a 60 degree

angle off the bluff. Not quite straight down, and a road at the bottom, but I never really saw it.

My Dad said the ties might dig down, but anyone coming along with a wagon and would know how to step across. That tie might be going 30 miles an hour when it hit the river. And of course, there were fellows out there swimming around to get those ties and they nail them into the raft. They'd use three saplings, an inch or two in diameter. The bigger sapling was right in the middle with spaces between. They'd maybe have about ten or twelve feet of ties and they weren't right together, maybe three or four inches apart as I remember. They only had a center pole so the raft could bend at the curves in the river.

I believe they had five men on the raft, one in the front and one in the back and two in the center. Now, the other one, I don't know what he did, he's probably the cook or something. They usually always had some sort of a boat on the raft that they kept what supplies they had, food, bedding, things like that.

This was the last raft they told my Dad. "I'd like for my son to ride on this raft," he said. "Be down here by 7:30 in the morning and you can ride it as far as you want to," the men said.

Well, we got on and rode that raft down past Stone Mill Spring which would be about four miles from Rolling Heath.

I could hear them signaling. They had a signal. There was a man in the front of the raft, a couple in the middle area, then there's a man at the back with the break pole which was stuck down between a couple of ties. This was dug in the bottom of the river when they'd make certain yells. They would know to let up on the break or to apply a break. If the back end of the raft tried to overtake the front end, it pushed it over against the bank. And they tried to keep that raft, you know, in the middle of the stream.

I know it was a beautiful day and it was warm. I guess it was June. We would walk along on the raft. It would sink down almost to the water. Water would come up on the top of the tie. And my Dad said when he was young, he used to have a fly rod and he would get on one of those rafts and he would flycast for fish. If he found a good hole, he could just walk back on the raft and keep casting in the same place.

As they said, this was the last raft, there wouldn't be anymore. Men hewed those ties just with axes. How many ties in a raft? I'd have to do some calculations. Those ties were about eight inches by eight inches by eight feet or nine feet, they had different lengths of ties. I would say that that raft was less than a quarter of a mile long. I would say maybe about 3 or 4 or 500 yards. In going around the bends in the river, the lead rafter at the front of the raft, who was sort of guiding it with poles in the water, couldn't see the back. His yell would tell the fellow in the back and also the others in the center of the raft to break or not break and they knew what was happening and they wanted to keep it away from the shore also.

I'd have like to stayed on it all day. Of course, I was only about five or six years old. To me it was great fun. I was sorry that it was the last one, the first one and the last one I'd ever ride on. Because they said after that the sawmills would be doing it. And by then, they were getting trucks that could haul it to the railroad. And maybe there might be a place in the railroad closer than Jerome, Missouri. And of course, the only railroad that went through here was the Frisco, St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad.

My Father rode with me. When we got to where the water was shallow—there was a sort of a rapid down past the old Stone Mill and Stone Mill Spring—and we

> walked back home. It was very enjoyable for me, an experience I've never forgotten because it was the only time.[80]

Mary Jane Thomson was seventy-seven years old in 1941 when she lost her Wildwood home on the plateau to the construction of Fort Leonard Wood. She was born in 1864 and her adult memories begin in the 1880s. Her reminiscences of life in southern Pulaski County eloquently describe the late nineteenth century landscape:

> There were few homesteaders on the land that stretched southward between the Big Piney River and Roubidoux Creek. The soil gave back little for the toil that went into it, but there were crossties to be cut and there was game for the hunter and pelts for the trapper, and the Big Piney then as now, was the fisherman's dream come true. There were no settlements south of highway that is now [Route] 66. A few small stores, called trading centers, supplied the needs of the homesteader on the basis of barter, and the cash customers who camped along the Big Piney to fish.[81]

The late nineteenth century in southern Pulaski County was a time of both social and landscape reconstruction. At the same time, much of what is now typified as Ozark folk culture became entrenched. First, there was a recovery period that possibly lasted until the 1880s. During this period some of those whose lives had been disrupted by the war returned to start over. In northern Pulaski County, the railroad stimulated this recovery, creating markets for agricultural production and bringing new material goods into the region. Exactly what material progress this brought to those farther south is not known, but it is probable that the flow of any new material goods into that region was gradual, impeded by poor roads, and a resistant population. However, the railroad did bring a market for the timber in the region, and the area was changed as cross tie production increased, especially by professional tie-hackers. As the trees were cut, the land was opened. These open lands would soon become covered with brush and small trees, mostly small oaks.

The railroad also brought people to the area and the county population increased to around 11,000 by 1910. Many of these new people came from a different region of the country than those who preceded them. The majority of immigrants were no longer from Kentucky and Tennessee, but rather from Indiana and Illinois. Still, they were Upland South people and, except for German and Swedish enclaves, the culture remained the same.

With the increase in population, the hollows were populated with homesteaders and the uplands between the Roubidoux and Big Piney were widely if not densely populated. It was the upland homesteaders that would increasingly turn to tie-hacking as they discovered the poor quality of the soils. The population increase on the plateau created a need for new roads and along these roads churches, schoolhouses, and general stores were found in increasing numbers. Much of the trade in these stores was probably still done through barter rather than cash. The people were a rough and ready bunch, and had to be because the isolation of the area still allowed the lawless a place of refuge. Throughout the nineteenth century, the area retained backcountry characteristics but the people living here were quite satisfied with their lives, their fortunes, and their culture. Almost everything they needed,

they could get from the landscape. They cut and sold ties for cash to purchase anything they couldn't get (primarily sugar, flour, and coffee).

It was also during this period that the Ozark cultural lifestyle probably solidified in the southern Pulaski County region. That is, prior to the Civil War, the wild and rough life of the Ozarks was in keeping with what might be considered typical of a frontier. Lawlessness, independence, self-reliance, freedom, mistrust of strangers, and willingness to defend one's convictions through direct action, were all characteristic of survival traits of a frontier existence that the early settlers brought with them to their new Ozark home. Among the subsistence homesteaders, food was obtained only through one's own actions, and charity was not acceptable. Along with a strong Protestant ethic were beliefs attributable to their English, Germanic, and Celtic heritage. These Ozark traits still exist today. For instance, one informant related that during his childhood in the 1950s and 1960s, "people still believed in little people in the forests, or druids, and were superstitious. If nothing was broke or bleeding, you didn't go to a doctor. Children were birthed at grandmother's house, and the common attitude was that you took care of yourself."[82] If you couldn't do that, you were looked down upon in the community. After the war, however, much of Missouri settled into a society where the law became stronger, public decisions were debated and settled in a political arena, disputes were settled through courts, and the population participated in market economies. In the twentieth century, the northern half of the county would take on more of these new traits, while in the southern half, frontier culture continued, the result of a combination of Upland South traditions persisting in an isolated landscape.

Notes for Chapter 6

1 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* pp. 800–801, 814–815; Mrs. Hazel A. Tyler, *1860 Federal Census, Pulaski County, Missouri* (Waynesville, Missouri: on file, Kinderhook Regional Library, n.d.), p. 3.

2 Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* pp. 157, 165.

3 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland.*

4 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* pp. 178, 180, 182.

5 Tenancy is a complex issue and has received a great deal of discussion by both historians and archaeologists. But for clear definitions of the degrees of tenancy, the most useful still remains Thomas J. Woofter, *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation,* Research Monograph 5 (Washington DC: Works Progress Administration, 1936). For an archaeological perspective see Charles E. Orser, Jr., and Claudia C. Holland, "Let Us Praise Famous Men, Accurately: Toward a More Complete Understanding of Postbellum Southern Agricultural Practices," *Southeastern Archaeology* 3(1984):111–120.

6 Bennett, et al., *GIS Pilot Study.*

7 Ferrell Dabblemont, interview with Alex Primm, May 12, 1998.

8 In keeping with the general diversified farm strategy, sorghum, Irish potatoes, apples, goats, and honey, were also cultivated in small numbers, mostly for home consumption.

9 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* pp. 162, 193–195.

10 Emma Page Hicks, *Early History of Pioneer Pulaski County, Missouri, Families, Articles Written by Emma Page Hicks, Published in the Pulaski County Democrat and The Daily Guide Between 1977 and 1983,* Volumes 1, 2, 3 (Titusville, Florida: Compiled and Privately Published by Donald W. Page, 1994), Volume 1, April 28, 1977. Ms. Hicks lived in the area between 1886 and 1988.

11 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 200.

12 Virgil Shelden, interview by Alex Primm, June 24, 1996.
13 Norman Brown, interview by Alex Primm, November 4, 1997.
14 Homer Hildebrand, interview by Alex Primm, August 22, 1996, and in subsequent quotations.
15 Hicks, *Early History,* Volume 1, July 14, 1977.
16 Milton D. Rafferty, "Missouri's Black Walnut Industry," *Missouri Historical Review*, Volume 63 (1969)2:216.
17 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 184.
18 Alex Primm, "World's Greatest Dog Man," *Missouri Conservationist*, February(1998):17–19.
19 Gary Knehans, "Rabbits of the Hills," *Old Settlers Gazette,* July 30th (1994)12:16.
20 Hicks, *Early History,* Volume 1, March 17, 1977.
21 Aileen Hatch, interview with Alex Primm, May 21, 1998.
22 Lynn Morrow, "The Arlington Hearth: St. Louisans, Perry Andres, and Commercial Tourism," *Newsletter of the Phelps County Historical Society* October (1998):3–18. See also, Lynn Morrow and Linda Myers-Phinney, *Shepard of the Hills Country: Tourism Transforms the Ozarks, 1880s–1930s* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1999).
23 Janet Allured, *Families, Food and Folklore: Woman's Culture in the Post-Bellum Ozarks*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 1988), pp. 200–220.
24 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* p. 809.
25 Figures 18 and 19 are close ups of Figure 17 provided by Mr. Leonard Fetterhoff who painstakingly typed in the home owner names using the original as a base map. The date of this map is assumed based on map details. It depicts Bayou School house just north of Big Piney, and the St. Anne (St. Annie) church just south of Cookville. A county history states that the Bayou School was replaced by the Big Piney school in 1906. Meanwhile a handbook states that St. Anne Baptist Church was established in 1900. These two facts seem to bracket the map's production between those dates, see Pulaski County Historical Society, *Pictures-Stories-History of Pulaski County Rural Schools*, and Douglas Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 95–96.
26 E.J. Wilhelm, Jr., "Folk Settlement Types in the Blue Ridge Mountains." *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, Fall(1967):151–174.
27 Chief Russell Sage Carter, *Re-Tracing Boone's Trail, Plus Trapper's Wife* (Springfield, Missouri: Privately Published by the Author, 1978), p. 43.
28 Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation," p. 151; Steven D. Smith, David F. Barton, Timothy B. Riordan, *Enthoarchaeology of the Bay Springs Farmsteads: A Study of Rural American Settlement* (Washington: National Technological Information Service, 1982), pp. 10–11; David C. Weaver and James F. Doster, *Historical Geography of the Upper Tombigbee Valley,* Report submitted to the National Park Service, Albuquerque, New Mexico (University, Alabama: Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture, University of Alabama, 1982), p. 64.
29 Janet Allured, *Families, Food, and Folklore,* p. 168–170; Henry Glassie, "Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States," *Monograph No. 1. in Folklore and Life* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968), p. 144; Smith et al., *Bay Springs,* pp. 240–241.
30 W.A. Browne, "Some Frontier Conditions in the Hilly Portion of the Ozarks," *Journal of Geography* 28(5):181–188.
31 Hicks, *Early History*, Volume 1, November 24, 1977.
32 Examples abound but see various articles entitled, "Neighborhood News," in the *Pulaski County Democrat.* Two examples, for instance include July 11 and June 27, 1902 (Waynesville: Microfilm, Kinderhook Regional Public Library).
33 Fred B. Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States, a Time-Place Perspective," *Geographical Review,* 56(1966):40–66; Meyer, "Diffusion of Upland South Folk Housing"; Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation," p. 152.
34 Goodspeed Publishing, History of Laclede, etc., p. 108.

35 Hicks, *Early History,* Volume 1, March 17, 1977.
36 Ibid., Volume 1, March 24, 1977.
37 Ibid., April 21, 1977.
38 Ibid., October 27, 1977.
39 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 120.
40 Missouri Immigrant Society, *Handbook of Missouri* (St. Louis: Time Printing House, 1881), p. 226.
41 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* p. 117, 152; "Pulaski County Time Line," *Old Settlers Gazette,* Issue No. 6, (1988):18; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 228.
42 Local resident, Mr. Leonard Fetterhoff, has noted to the author that the local newspaper article reporting the fire makes no mention of the fire's cause, nor of any bad weather that might have caused the lightning strike that morning. Another story about the fire asserts that some men would play cards in the courthouse on Friday nights since it was not locked. According to this story, someone left a cigar burning and that caused the fire. Mr. Fetterhoff is quick to add that neither story can be confirmed. Interview with Mr. Leonard S. Fetterhoff, February 12, 2003.
43 "Crocker's Bid for the County Seat," *Old Settlers Gazette,* July 28, (1990)8:20–23.
44 Leonard S. Fetterhoff, "Hooker," *Old Settler's Gazette,* July 14, 1(1996)14:20.
45 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* p. 780; William Lawrence York and Eula V. York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories,* p. 163.
46 Hicks, *Early History,* April 21, 1977.
47 Ibid., October, 27, 1977.
48 Pulaski County Historical Society, *History of Pulaski County, Missouri, Volume 1,* p. 5.
49 Hicks, *Early History,* June 9, 1977; York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories*, p. 157; Works Progress Administration, "Historical Records Survey," Folder 17364 (Columbia: microfilm on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, 1935–1942); Paul T. Schroeder, "Bloodland, Not Just Another Dead Post Office," *Post Mark Collector's Club Bulletin,* Post Mark Collector's Club, Inc., 1989, 42(6): 10.
50 Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.,* p. 151.
51 Frank Weber, *Place-Names of Six South Central Counties of Missouri,* M.A. Thesis, University of Missouri (Rolla: on file, University of Missouri-Rolla, Library, 1938) pp. 97, 112; Pearl Brown Wilson, "Wharton Store and Post Office," (Fort Leonard Wood: on file, U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, 1990).
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53 "Neighborhood News," June 27th, *Pulaski County Democrat* (Waynesville: microfilm on file, Kinderhook Regional Library).
54 Weber, *Place-Names,* p. 27.
55 Mottaz, *Lest We Forget,* p. 27.
56 Pulaski County Historical Society, *Pictures-Stories-History,* p. 1.
57 Mottaz, *Lest We Forget,* p. 28; Pulaski County Historical Society, *Pictures-Stories-History,* p. 2.
58 Personal communication from Mr. Leonard Fetterhoff, March 13, 2003.
59 Frederick Liesman, "Pulaski County Super-Centenarian."
60 Behymer, "Aunt Mary Jane"; Pulaski County Historical Society, *History of Pulaski County,* pp. 1, 14, 22, 45, 112–113, 117, 165, 180.
61 Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 95–97; Mottaz, *Lest We Forget,* p. 37.
62 Hicks, *Early History,* September 22, 1977, September 29, 1977.
63 Ibid., September 29, 1977.

64 Hofstadter et al., *The United States,* p. 552; Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, pp. 119–120.
65 Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 76–78; Goodspeed Publishing, *History of Laclede, etc.*, p. 120; Josephine M. Helton, *A History of Our Family-Miller-Kelley-Page-Vaughan* (Springfield, Missouri, Privately Published by the Author, 1988), p. 15.
66 Gary Knehans, "That's The Way It Was In 1891," *Old Settlers Gazette,* July 27 (1991)9:4–10.
67 Walter Williams (editor), *The State of Missouri: An Autobiography,* for the Missouri Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (Columbia: E.W. Stephens, 1904), p. 484.
68 Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 183;
69 George Clinton Arthur, *Backwoodsmen,* p. 10; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 183; George Lane, interview with the author, May 16, 1992.
70 James Black, interview with the author, May 12, 1992.
71 Arthur, *Backwoodsmen,* p. 11: Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 173.
72 George Lane, interview with the author, May 16, 1992.
73 Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 179.
74 Arthur, *Backwoodsmen,* p. 13.
75 Arthur, *Backwoodsmen,* pp. 12–14, 20–23.
76 See Solomon Alexander Wright, *My Rambles as East Texas Cowboy, Hunter, Fisherman, Tie-Cutter,* arranged with Introduction, by J. Frank Dobie (Austin, Texas: Texas Folklore Society, 1942).
77 Arthur, *Backwoodsmen,* pp. 56–71.
78 Ibid., p 43; Sauer, *Geography of the Ozark Highland,* p. 183.
79 James Black, interview with the author, May 12, 1995; Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* pp. 172–190.
80 Napoleon Ramsey, interview with Alex Primm, October 18, 1997.
81 Behymer, *Aunt Mary Jane.*
82 James Black, interview with the author, May 12, 1992.

Chapter 7

The Landscape Exhausted

In 1912, Charles Ousley of Crocker, Missouri, bought a red Chandler automobile, the first in Pulaski County.[1] His purchase marked the halcyon days of the county's Ozark traditional culture. Indeed, the first decade of the twentieth century the county's population reached its peak, agricultural production was up, and its sylvan culture industry reached its greatest production. Pulaski County at this time was full of promise and peace. The cultural landscape in southern Pulaski County was a rural community as fully developed as it would ever be. Timber and game were still sufficient to support the people within the Fort Leonard Wood region in its backwoods lifestyle. The horrors of a guerrilla war had long receded to be replaced by reminiscences of heroic deeds. Though the soils were poor, a farmer could still raise a crop by clearing a new field. It was a good time to be an Ozark farmer. It could be argued that population and settlement had reached the natural landscape's carrying capacity by 1910. Across this landscape, evidence of human occupation was everywhere. There were dirt roads connecting tiny communities and small neat farmsteads. People were fond of saying that there were houses every forty acres, although in actuality, some land was still vacant.

But the good years were short-lived. Gradually, from the 1920s until 1940, the landscape would slowly loose its ability to support the continuing exploitation of its naturally poor soils and finite timber resources. During the early twentieth century, the trees almost disappeared from the landscape, the topsoil eroded away, and game became scarce. Further, although still isolated from urban markets, southern Pulaski County was not beyond the impact of the coming worldwide economic depression. The Depression would exacerbate the stress on both the cultural and natural landscape. All of Pulaski County became increasingly tied to the national and world economy during the early twentieth century. Cultural geographer Milton Rafferty has designated the period from World War I up to the present, the Cosmopolitan Phase of human occupancy in the Ozarks, and Pulaski County was no less affected than other Ozark counties.[2] This was a period when the backwoods farmer was introduced to the world, and the world was introduced to the Ozarks. While the railroad

continued to play its part in exporting timber and bringing modern material goods into the county, there were other elements that brought the Ozarks and the outside world together. The development of mechanized transportation and farming (automobiles, airplanes, farm machinery), World War I, Prohibition, the Depression, and finally World War II, all contributed to the people's awareness and dependence on the world beyond the Ozarks. Through the next thirty years Waynesville remained "the seat of Pulaski County wealth and accordingly the home of the first aristocrats," but other towns like Richland, Crocker, and Dixon along the railroad line grew faster and were of increasingly greater importance to the county's economy.[3] Continuing a trend that began in the late nineteenth century, the county's southern portion was left behind in seeing modern improvements.

The drop in county population during the first half of the twentieth century reflects the downward trends seen across the county landscape. County population peaked in the 1910 census, dropped by eight percent between then and 1920, and then leveled off until the army arrived (Appendix A, Tables 11, 12, and 13). It is difficult to get a precise picture of the population change in the Fort Leonard Wood region, but at the township level it would appear that the population remained almost static. Cullen, Roubidoux, and Piney townships encompass the county's south half, but Cullen Township also includes Waynesville and the main corridor of nonrail transportation. Throughout the period between 1910 and 1940, Roubidoux and Piney townships, in the county's extreme southern portion, held less than eighteen percent of the population, while Cullen actually increased its population, reflecting the growing importance of the interior road, now called the Springfield Highway. Meanwhile, the northern and western townships had the greatest population loss during this period.

To be sure, none of Pulaski County had ever been densely populated, nor would that change in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1930, Pulaski County's population per square mile was only 19.8, not nearly as dense as counties along the Missouri River like Franklin (34.7) and Cole (79.3), but not as sparsely settled as other Ozark counties like Texas (16) and Dent (14.7).[4] Still, the population density of Tavern, Union, and Liberty townships reached as high as 26 per square mile while Cullen, Roubidoux, and Piney only reached a maximum of 15.7—comparable to lightly populated Texas and Dent Counties in Missouri's southern region. This had been the case in the nineteenth century and remained the pattern until the army arrived on the plateau. So, if Pulaski County folk were saying that there was a house every forty acres, some of the houses must have been empty. Census figures indicate that there were only 187 families in 187 dwellings in Roubidoux Township in 1910 and there were 209 families in 208 dwellings in Piney Township. Again, the characteristics of the southern Pulaski County landscape resembled its Ozark neighbors to the south while the northern part of the county resembled Missouri counties north of Pulaski.

The population loss for this period can be partly explained by the landscape's decreasing ability to support the population, but it was also in keeping with the declining national economy. Between 1910 and 1920, Missourians began to leave the farm and settle in urban areas where there were more opportunities and where money and credit were easier to obtain. As the farm economy collapsed through the 1920s, the trend continued. In 1920,

46.6 percent of the state's population was urban, by 1930, 51.2 percent was urban.[5] Driving the decline in the rural population was the loss in farm jobs as farm mechanization increased. Successful cash crop farms were turning to machinery to increase production.

Throughout this period, the minority population gradually but steadily decreased. The African American population had reached as high as sixty persons in 1880, but fell in the 1920s and 1930s (Figure 29). Finally, in 1940 there were only three African Americans, a single family living in Cullen Township. The void of African Americans in the region eventually became a problem for the U.S. Army during World War II. When the fort was planned, the army described the local population as "distinctly white" and there was said to be "outspoken antipathy" toward blacks in the region. A book, thinly disguised as a novel, written by Joseph Nelson who taught school in southern Pulaski County in the 1930s, provides a portrait of this antipathy.[6] In the book, the protagonist's house burns down as a result of a suspicious fire after he lends a black student a book. The army's problem was that since there were no blacks locally and few regionally, African American soldiers stationed at the new Fort Leonard Wood would have no civilian support system and nowhere to find recreational outlets. As thousands of African Americans poured into southern Pulaski County during the war, segregated recreational facilities were built at Waynesville, Rolla, and

Figure 29. Brickmakers, including an African American crew member near Waynesville, early 1900s (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

Lebanon, Missouri. Buses and trains also provided transportation for black soldiers to visit St. Louis. Meanwhile, wartime training schedules kept the African American soldiers busy and there was little time for trouble or interaction with the civilian population. In the end, there were only a few insignificant racial incidents, especially in comparison to the racial incidents that occurred in other white dominated parts of the South such as around Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and Fort Stewart, Georgia. Of those that did occur in the county, most were on the installation.[7]

The population remained not only white but also rural and overwhelmingly occupied by agricultural pursuits, especially in the county's southern portion. For example, an occupational survey from the 1910 census for Piney Township indicates that 168 males listed their occupation as farmers, and 136 others (mostly farmers' sons) were listed as farm laborers. Other occupations were represented in low numbers: nine retail merchants (general stores), five tie-makers and five tie rafters, four men with independent incomes, three mail carriers, three laborers, two teachers, two physicians, two salesmen, two carpenters, a stock runner, a stable manager, a hired hand, a blacksmith, an engineer at a sawmill, a store manager, a bank cashier, and a retail salesman (general store). Female occupations included three servants, two dressmakers, two telephone operators, and a photograph artist. Adjacent Roubidoux Township had an identical pattern, with some unique additions like two private cooks (female), two washer women, a chamber maid, a poultry man, a miller, and a patent medicine salesman. Also included are five women listing housekeeping as their occupation, only one working for another family.

Little changed in this pattern over the early decades of the twentieth century. An analysis of the 1930 county occupations indicates that the entire county was still rural and agricultural. The county's total population in 1930 was 10,755, with 3,219 males, and 341 females listed as "10 years old and over engaged in gainful occupations." Of the males, 2,064 were farmers or farm laborers (sixty-four percent), twenty-one were in forestry and fishing, sixty-eight were in mining, eighty-seven were in the building industry, and twenty-three worked in saw mills. Other male occupations that employed twenty or more individuals included twenty-three listed as "independent hand trades," ninety in "construction and maintenance of streets, etc.," sixty-one working at garages and greasing stations, twenty-nine male postal workers, fifty-five railroad workers, twenty-one men working the telegraph and telephones, sixty-eight men in "other transportation and communication jobs," 199 males in wholesale or retail trade, thirty-one men working in filling stations or automobile agencies, seventy-two in professional or semiprofessional service, twenty-one males at restaurants or boarding houses, and 141 in "other" jobs. Of the 341 females listed, sixty-nine (twenty percent) were in farming (fifty-four as owners or tenants and sixteen as laborers), forty in wholesale or retail trade, seventy-one in "other professional and semiprofessional service," and sixty-eight in "other domestic or personal service." Other professions listed for females included two in the paper or printing industry, six in "independent hand trades," six postal workers, nine telegraph and telephone workers, six in recreation and amusement, and four in banking and brokerage.[8]

The five tie-hackers and five tie-rafters noted above highlight the fate of this occupation as timber became scarce.[9] The age of professional tie-hacking came to a close in the 1920s. Tie-hacking continued after that right up to the building of the fort, but it was mainly

confined to private farmers cutting their own woodlots. During the period between the end of the great rafting days and the arrival of the U.S. Army, ties were hauled by wagon or by truck rather than rafted. Whereas the ties used to be hauled to Arlington and rafted down river to St. Louis, ties and posts were now hauled to Crocker or sometimes Newburg or Salem.[10] In keeping with the tradition that the land was free to all, ties were cut on anyone's property and often the tie-cutter didn't know or care who owned the land. If the cutter saw a good tie tree, he cut it. "You had to eat, that's about all there was ... and guiding on the rivers, that's about all there was."[11]

Joseph Nelson found that the farmers sold the posts for a profit of three to five cents above the cost of cutting the trees and, according to Nelson, ". . . this was what kept many of them eating and off relief." He describes a typical Ozark morning scene:

> A pair of lean post-cutters waved at us as we met them on their way to some cedar break. Burdened with bucksaws and axes and splitting hammers- the handles black with cedar gum- and pockets sagging with wedges, they were hurrying to get in some good licks in the coolness. The posts would end up in Kansas or Iowa, and pull some local farmer through a lean period. For their own use here men cut oak posts, which far outlasted the cedar though it was not so smooth and pretty.[12]

Another 'occupation' that became legendary during the twenties and thirties was moonshining. Distilling liquor was a normal part of backwoods nineteenth century life. But as the late nineteenth century Temperance Movement began gaining strength in Missouri, production had to go underground. By 1889, fifty of Missouri's counties were dry, increasing to ninety-six by 1917.[13] When the 1919 Prohibition Amendment passed, the local distillers were 'positioned,' as a modern stockbroker might say, to make a "good living."[14] Although moonshining was illegal, it was difficult if not impossible for rural Missourians to see moonshiners as villains. Reputable people had made whiskey before Prohibition and continued to do so. Declaring distilling an illegal activity probably only made it taste better to the average antiregulation, antigovernment backwoodsman. One old gentleman interviewed in 1920 noted that "whiskey has improved only in price since the day when 20 cents would buy a gallon of it and it was a shiftless man who did not own a still."[15]

Stills were difficult to find and bootleggers difficult to catch in the rugged southern portion of the county. If it wasn't dangerous before, certainly it was especially dangerous for strangers to wander the woods during Prohibition, for if they stumbled onto a still in some hollow, they might become part of the natural landscape. Moonshiners and bootleggers were not only hard to catch, they were also almost impossible to convict. The practice was so common that any given jury was apt to contain sympathetic citizens who would ensure that the defendant walked. Prohibition only encouraged moonshining and bootlegging and assured moonshiners a good price for their product. Even the authorities made a profit off Prohibition. On court days after a trial, the canning jars seized as evidence during an arrest were taken out to the street and their contents emptied, giving the center of Waynesville a distinctive odor.[16] Then the jars were lined up on the courthouse lawn and sold. They were, of course, bought by moonshiners. By 1933, Prohibition was a failure and it was repealed, but the moonshining tradition continued.

Pulaski County native George Lane provides an apt description of the interplay between moonshiners and the law.

> Yes, it was good money, making moonshine, and it wasn't considered criminal. It was just a way of making a living. There were several people who were known as good whiskey-makers. They had a reputation in St. Louis. It eventually ended up in St. Louis. If it was selling for $1 a pint, you'd get $2 for Pulaski County's. Well, they had a reputation for making good whiskey. And it was good. And they sold a lot of alcohol. Everybody knew how to make it.
>
> Every family had someone in it that could bootleg. It was essential. Just part of the family plan, you know. And while the rest of them were plowing, they was minding the still. Oh yes, even Baptists would trade to get sugar for whiskey-making.
>
> Malt was expensive for that time and hard to get and my dad—no telling how much malt he bought. He'd buy a bottle for every family. He'd go to Springfield, or have it shipped out from Springfield. And they had whiskey shipped out too.
>
> We had a doctor—Doctor Tyler was a wonderful old man. He was also a drinker and a hell of a good doctor and a hell of a good man. And he would send to Springfield to get whiskey bottled in bond. This was long before they thought of Prohibition. He'd go to Springfield to a doctor's meeting about once a month and he'd come back with a little whiskey. Old Haner, they called it. Old Haner. And you'd go into Doc and complain about something—and what you needed is several doses of Old Haner. He'd go to Springfield the next week and bring you some. He had to sign for it you know. He sold a lot of whiskey and done a lot of good. Good man.
>
> Oh, they had a lot of them good moonshiners. Making whiskey gets ahold of you. It's an easy way to live. And you have to have the ingredients. They made all kinds—Kentucky—but most of it was White Lightning. By God, it was White Lightning too. Strong. It wasn't bad tasting, but by God, it'd hit you before you knew it.
>
> I always thought this was kind of funny. The Scotts, they were a big family and a good family. I was raised with those boys. They used to live out on a farm overlooking Waynesville and had a bunch of donkeys, ten or twelve. They had a boy my age and I'd go up there and stay for three or four days and ride the donkey to town and get the mail, you know. That was a big deal.
>
> I was always hanging around the courthouse. The sheriff had an old sawed off shotgun. I guess it was either a sixteen or twenty gauge. I don't know who owned it. It always was in the sheriff's office. I was a big boy and always in there. Every time they'd bring anyone in I'd be there. My dad was in the courthouse. And that little shotgun just laid around there. One day—I guess I was about fourteen or fifteen years old—I was walking across the courtyard. It was on a Sunday. The sheriff come over the hill—him and his son. They were pretty big operators. They were trying to rid the county of bootleggers and everybody in the county was against them. I don't know how they ever got elected.
>
> I was going across the courtyard and the son said, "George, come and go with us. We're going to raid a still, the Scott boys." And I said, "Hell, I can't do that. I'm about half-way kin to them." They're my friends. Well, the sheriff's son was a smart-aleck so he said, "I deputize you." I didn't even know what the hell they meant. I said, "hell, you can't deputize me." He said, "Hell I can't. I deputize you. You come with us. We're going to raid the Scott boys."
>
> So he went in, and come out with that old shotgun. Well, sh*t, I was afraid to shoot it but I took the damn thing, and he said, "Let's go." I said, "Well, my God, you're going to have to throw me in jail." And he said, "We'll do that. You go or we'll throw you in jail." Well, I got in with them.

We went out there and stopped at a little old cabin. Mr. Scott had his still down below it. The sheriff said, "Now if we go down there, they'll know us. They'll run. You go down and get Scott and bring him up here and we'll arrest him."

"Hell, I can't do that," I answered that. But I had to go on down the sheriff said. Scott came running up as I walked down, and he said, "What the hell you doing, George? What you are doing with that damn shotgun?" And I said, "Hell, the sheriff's up there and they want me to bring you in. You start running. I'll shoot and you run.

"Hell!" he hollered, and started running. I went down there by that still and lifted that old gun up and let off a blast. Damn near killed me. Went over his head. By God, I never saw a guy run like he did, knocking over trees and everything else. Of course, I went back up there and said I saw him but he ran and I shot at him. They asked if I hit him and I said—I don't think so because he picked up speed.

Well, I never thought much about it and about twenty years later, first time I run for office, old man Scott moved to Richland and had a garage over there. A hell of a fine man, a good man, in the garage business. They had a hell of a lot of money. And by gosh, I dropped in, campaigning. And I forgot the damn shooting at him. I'm there just having a big time and he said, "George, I'm going to vote for you. By God, I oughten'd to, you son of a bitch, you shot at me!" I said, "Scott, if I'd a shot at you, I mighta hit you. I just shot over your head."

"I don't give a dam," he said, "the leaves just sprinkled all around me when you shot." But he was okay, and I think he did vote for me. The first time I run for office, I was pretty old by then. When I took that shot I was only thirteen or fourteen.[17]

Moonshining, bootlegging, tie-hacking, and operating general stores and post offices were what might be called part-time occupations. Almost everyone still farmed in some capacity or another in Pulaski County. At the turn of the twentieth century and for the first two decades thereafter, county farmers like their counterparts in the rest of Missouri were enjoying prosperity. As an agricultural state, Missouri ranked second among the states in the number of farms in 1900, and its fortunes were tied to crop, dairy, and animal markets. At that time, livestock was the chief product on half of Missouri's farms, butter was becoming an increasingly important commodity, and Missouri ranked fifth among the states in corn production. Prosperity continued up through World War I, and the war brought even greater demand, inflating prices. By 1919, wheat was selling for $2.09 a bushel and corn for $1.38 a bushel.[18] Farmers rushed to take advantage of these prices, clearing more land and mortgaging their homes to buy new equipment. Armistice Day was good news to those in the trenches, but for Missouri farmers it was bad news. Suddenly there were surpluses, no markets, and for some, bankruptcy. For the market-oriented agricultural community, that is for most of the general and special farmers of Pulaski County, the Depression years began early, and relief did not come until World War II. But it was no better for the subsistence farmer in the southern part of the county. Bill and Eula York relate the fate of a typical Fort Leonard Wood hunter-gatherer-farmer, "times were hard in Pulaski County back during the war," and times continued that way afterward. "He [Uncle Newt] and my dad went coon hunting a lot at night. Fur hides were a good price and jobs and money were hard to come by. Our livestock 'ran out' because we didn't have a stock law in the county then." Eventually, after a drought in the late 1920s destroyed their crops, the York family sold out and moved to Arkansas.[19]

The 1930s brought continued hardships. Nationwide, "total income for rural America had dropped so that farmers had only one-half the purchasing power they had enjoyed a decade earlier." Between 1930 and 1934, 18,000 Missouri farms were seized for taxes. By 1939, there were 70,000 fewer farms in Missouri than in 1900. Added to the economic miseries of the nation, droughts occurred in 1930, 1934, and 1936.[20] All this brought about an increase in tenant farms to as high as thirty-one percent by 1940.

Despite natural disasters and the downturns in the economy, farming in the Ozarks persisted. The number of farms less than fifty acres was 304 in 1920 and 290 in 1930, an insignificant change. The average farm size remained steady, at approximately 152.7 acres in 1920 and 151.9 in 1930 (Appendix A, Table 14). In Pulaski County, as the land grew less productive, dairy farming and raising cattle became one of the more productive survival mechanisms (Appendix A, Tables 15 and 16). This commodity became so important in the 1930s that the northern Ozarks, including Pulaski County, was called the "Ozark Meat Production" region.[21] Thus, through the first half of the twentieth century the number of horses, sheep, and swine fell while beef cattle rose. The number of milch cows increased only slightly and butter production actually declined through this period. Ironically, records indicate that in the early 1920s, the County Extension Service set as their goal "to make Pulaski County the center of dairying in the Ozarks."[22] Obviously, they did not meet their goal. However, the statistics regarding how the Pulaski County farmer was using his land do indicate a greater devotion to grazing animals by the 1930s. At that time only twenty-five percent of Pulaski County agricultural land was in cultivation, while thirty-one percent was in pasture. Of the 88,163 acres classified as "cultivated land," thirty-four percent of it was also listed as "pasture." It is not known exactly what criteria the census takers used to distinguish between pasture and cultivated pasture land, but this classification does indicate that the landscape included vast open areas for grazing. Testifying dramatically to the loss of timberlands, only three percent was classified as woodland in 1930. This figure is in stark contrast to the turn-of-the-century landscape, when upwards of two-thirds of the average farm was in woodlot.

Just prior to the building of Fort Leonard Wood, the U.S. Department of Interior sponsored a detailed study of the land between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney. Published in 1941, this study confirms the importance of cattle on the plateau, while at the same time noting that the farms there were not large ranches, but small family-run farms. "Although livestock production is the chief source of income for the farmers of the area, thirty-five per cent of them had less than six animal units upon which dependence for a livelihood was placed." Albert Mussan, the author of the study, did not praise the cattle's quality. "This is especially true of the farms on the ridges. It is a common site to see a heard of cattle or flock of sheep that are being mated with sires of very inferior quality and breed type.... For the most part the appearance of the livestock would indicate that parasite control is being seriously neglected." The problem, according to Mussan, lay with the open range system. "Not much can be expected along this line [improved livestock quality] until the stock is segregated in the pastures and prevented from running on the range where scrub males prevent any systematic development."[23] Pulaski County ended open-range grazing just prior to World War II, while in Texas County, south of Pulaski, the range remained open until the 1950s.

Corn remained the dominant crop, covering twenty-eight percent of the county's cultivated land in 1930. Oats also played a role, as did wheat (Appendix A, Table 16). During the 1930s, tomatoes became a popular crop among the farmers in the prairie areas around

Bloodland and where a tomato-canning factory was built. Again emphasizing the change in the landscape, farmers in the Fort Leonard Wood region were also growing clover as graze.

Although valuable for county level analysis, the census figures give only a vague notion of the Fort Leonard Wood landscape. Better is Mussan's description of the plateau lands soon to be transformed into a military training ground:

> The land in the area that is devoted to the production of crops is devoted largely to the river and creek bottoms although some of the ridge land is farmed. On the ridge land there is very little corn produced, some sweet sorghum, and millet, a small amount of wheat and oats and a very little barley. Legumes have seldom been found on the ridge land with the exception of lespedeza. Lespedeza seems to be the crop that is most widely grown on the ridge land and it is utilized mainly for pasture although occasionally one will find where some has been harvested for hay and seed. The crop on the bottom farms is devoted largely to the production of corn although there is an occasional field of red and sweet clover and some wheat. A noticeable thing found was the fact that a large per cent of the corn was white rather than yellow.[24]

Roads finally saw improvement during the twentieth century, largely because of the automobile. The momentum for road improvement first came as a result of the establishment of Rural Free Delivery, which spread across the state at the turn of the century. For a new mail route to be approved, it had to be along a road passable throughout the year. The degree of impact of Rural Free Delivery on the county transportation system is not clear. But certainly the Centennial Road Act of 1921 had a profound impact. The act's goal was to create a road network connecting Missouri's county seats. The state followed this act in 1927 with a bond issue for farm-to-market gravel roads. Both acts assisted in the improvement of the Old Springfield Highway, which became Route 66 in 1926, and was fully paved by around 1930. In 1958 a new road, an interstate following the general lay of the old interior road, was designated I-44. With the arrival of the automobile, this road became the main artery for goods coming into and going out of the Ozarks.[25]

For southern Pulaski County, the farm-to-market road bill had a more profound impact on the landscape than improvements on Route 66. This act provided the impetus to refurbish Highway 17, the old Houston Road, which ran north-south along the small ridge from Waynesville south, through Bloodland and to Houston in Texas County. The road's improvement was quite welcome by the local residents, and not only for easing their trips to Waynesville. As teacher Joseph Nelson explained, "The new farm to market road, which the W.P.A. [Works Progress Administration] was building was bringing steady pay to several Big Piney families."[26] Eventually, the road was rerouted in the 1950s, north of Bloodland. South of Bloodland, the road remains today primarily as it was originally routed.

Thus, Charles Ousley's horseless carriage not only marked the grand days of Ozark Upland South culture, it also marked the first serious breaching of the isolated southern Pulaski County landscape. The appearance of automobiles along the dusty county back roads was a vivid sign of change to these formerly segregated lands. The change was not lost on the local inhabitants. William York remembers "running about a quarter of a mile to Ben

Posten's place to see a car or truck pass along" around the beginning of World War I. At that same time, in the skies above, airplanes were first seen and caused an equally dramatic sensation.[27] The opening of the two main routes through the southern Pulaski County landscape was quickly followed by improvement of the numerous smaller dirt roads leading off Route 44 and Highway 17, following the ridge tops, and down into the Roubidoux and Big Piney valleys. Pulaski County was proud of these roads. State representative James W. Armstrong, bragging in a 1923 radio address, said "... there is not a remote corner of the county that is not readily accessible by a good graded road, much of which is surfaced with gravel."[28] The funds for these improvements came via the W.P.A. and the labor via the C.C.C. [Civilian Conservation Corps]. As one resident said, "Up to the time the area was chosen for the fort, there had been little change except that the building of roads had made life less primitive." Another added, "The county and W.P.A. built roads through the woods and hills until now most of them [residents living on the plateau] can drive an old Ford to town instead of walking."[29] Backcountry folk may have remained strongly attached to agricultural customs and traditions of their ancestors, but they quickly adopted changes in methods of transportation. Some forty-five percent of the residents in the area had automobiles by 1941.[30] Like the rest of the world, automobiles not only revolutionized access to markets, but created jobs. In Bloodland, autos could be serviced at Moore's Service Station or O'Quin's Service Station.[31] The tomato farms and canning factory also owe their success to the ability to get their product to state markets.

The road system in and around Fort Leonard Wood during the first half of the twentieth century is illustrated very well in three maps dating after 1925. Figure 30 is a magnification of a county-wide plat map, probably dating to the late 1920s or early 1930s.[32] The map shows the main county roads noted in the previous chapters plus a few roads leading away from the old Houston Road. The older roads can be distinguished from the newer roads in that they meander across the map, following the topography. Newer roads are straight lines following section lines, much like roads seen in flat landscapes like northern Indiana and Illinois. In keeping with the rolling topography, there are few straight roads. The map also nicely depicts the location of homesteads in relation to the road system. By this time, homesteads cluster along the roads, although there are still a number of houses located off the main county road system. A 1940 tourist map (Figure 31) highlights the little communities and trading centers in the area, providing a wealth of information on the area just prior to the construction of Fort Leonard Wood.

But the 1942 (Revised 1944) Corps of Engineers topographic map of the plateau (Figure 26, page 111) provides the greatest detail regarding both the road and settlement patterns at that time. Highway 17 is shown as a secondary hard-surfaced road. The map shows only two other secondary hard-surfaced roads. One is Highway H, which begins west of Waynesville and skirts south along the Roubidoux before rising out of the valley onto the plateau where it ends onto a short stretch of dirt road leading into Bloodland and intersecting with Highway 17. The other is a short length of Highway D, which crosses the Big Piney and runs to the fort. All other roads shown are dirt roads. On this map one can more clearly see the straight twentieth-century roads surrounding Bloodland; an area of relatively flat topography. However, as the dirt roads approach the Roubidoux or the Big Piney, they inevitably begin to follow the east-west ridgelines, plunging down into the river valleys when

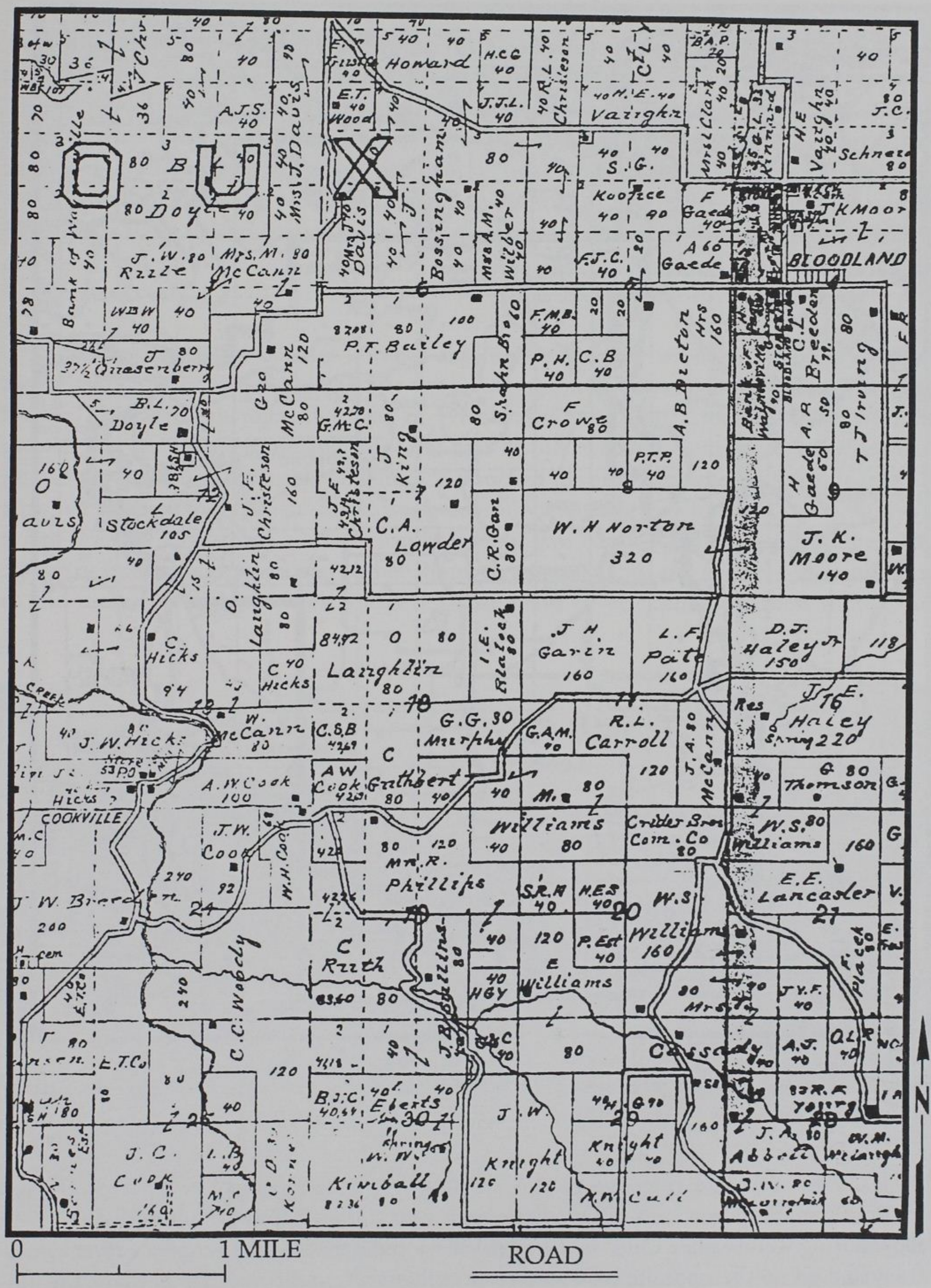


Figure 30. Close-up of a ca. 1930 Pulaski County plat map (on file, Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Rolla Missouri).

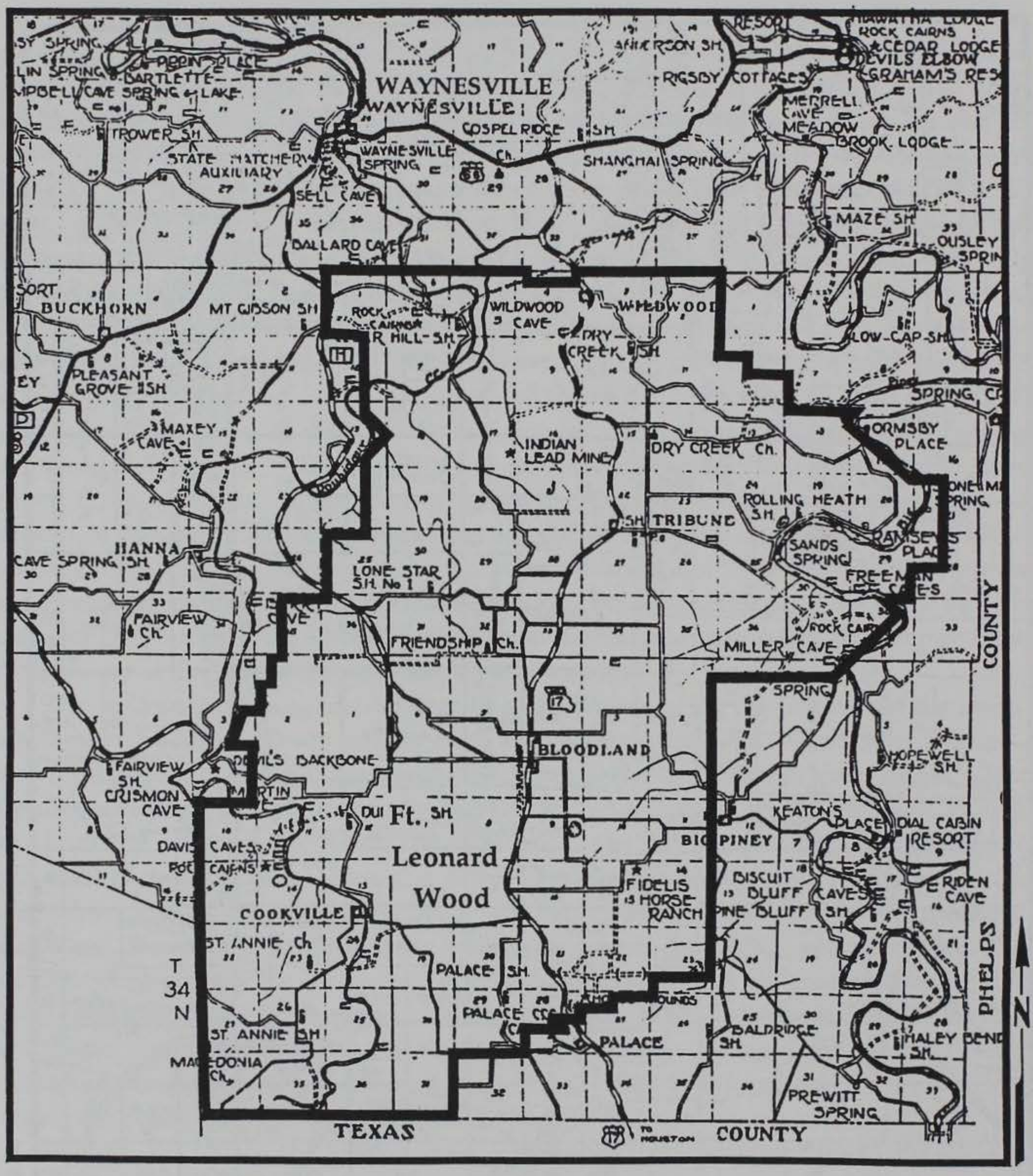


Figure 31. Close-up of a 1940 tourist map of Pulaski County (Road and Resources Survey of Pulaski County).

they reach the end of the ridgeline. In looking at the map's topographic lines, these roads drop with startling abruptness, and it must have been near impossible to get up out of the river valleys during wet weather. Once in the river valleys, these roads usually cross the river immediately and go up the opposite hillside. Occasionally, they hug the interface between the hillsides and the river valley. Placing the roads near the hillsides probably kept them safe from flooding during heavy rains, and also kept the road from using up the only truly rich farmland

in the area. This map also illustrates the settlement pattern immediately prior to the fort. Most of the houses are located along the ridge-top roads. Occasionally, there were houses along the river bottoms and in the hollows, but it is evident that these houses, like the roads, hugged the interface between the valleys and the hills. When the homes were located in the hollows, there were trails leading up to the roads along the ridges. What is evident is that many homesteads in the river valleys and hollows had been abandoned for the upland plateau, and that settlement by this time had changed to the road system rather than the river system. Most likely, these upland homes had to rely on dug wells for their water rather than springs.

We have seen that Charles Ousley's automobile was the harbinger of things to come for Pulaski County. The car can also be seen as a portent of Waynesville's twentieth-century revival. The northern railroad towns of Richland, Dixon, and Crocker continued their growth and development during the early part of the twentieth century and Waynesville's future was indeed questionable (Figure 32). Crocker, for example, where Ousley worked as a cashier at the Crocker State Bank, was practically a bustling city for the Ozarks. In 1921, it had seven general stores, a ladies furnishing store, two banks, three mills, a furniture store, a jewelry store, two dentists, two barber shops, three restaurants, and a hotel—all in addition to the more typical backwoods village establishments of blacksmiths, harness shops, drug

Figure 32. Automobiles in Dixon, Missouri (John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

stores, and hardware stores.[33] Without the automobile, Waynesville could not compete against such enterprise and most likely would have languished farther and farther behind in its importance to the county during the 1930s. It is true that Waynesville continued to serve the residents of southern Pulaski County, but Bloodland, at the center of the plateau, most certainly was cutting into its business, and without the promise of goods and services provided by a modern highway, those people south of Bloodland might just as well go on south to Houston for their business. But with the automobile's introduction and the necessary improvements to Missouri's road system to support the auto and truck, Waynesville found itself once again on the main pathway into the Ozarks—an important stop between St. Louis and Springfield (Figures 33 and 34). A 1925 travelogue testifies to this revival:

> Waynesville is a little jewel of the backwoods in this verdant setting. A quaint little city that is trying to forget its old-fashioned ways by dressing up in gasoline filling stations and white-fronted cafes, it is a picturesque mountain village. Some one said that 1500 automobiles per day pass through it over the state highway that forms its main street. ... Waynesville no longer casts jealous eyes toward Dixon and Crocker, through which runs the railroad. The county seat is assuming an importance it has not felt since those days of the covered wagon.[34]

By 1930, Waynesville had all the necessary businesses to survive, if not quite flourish, like the railroad towns. Peter York and J.E. Robinson ran sorghum mills there, and Volner and Son employed twelve people making barrel staves. There was also Doolins Feed Mill. Of course, Waynesville still was the center of government, and attracted other civic occupations

Figure 33. Automobile traffic reviving Waynesville, Missouri (John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

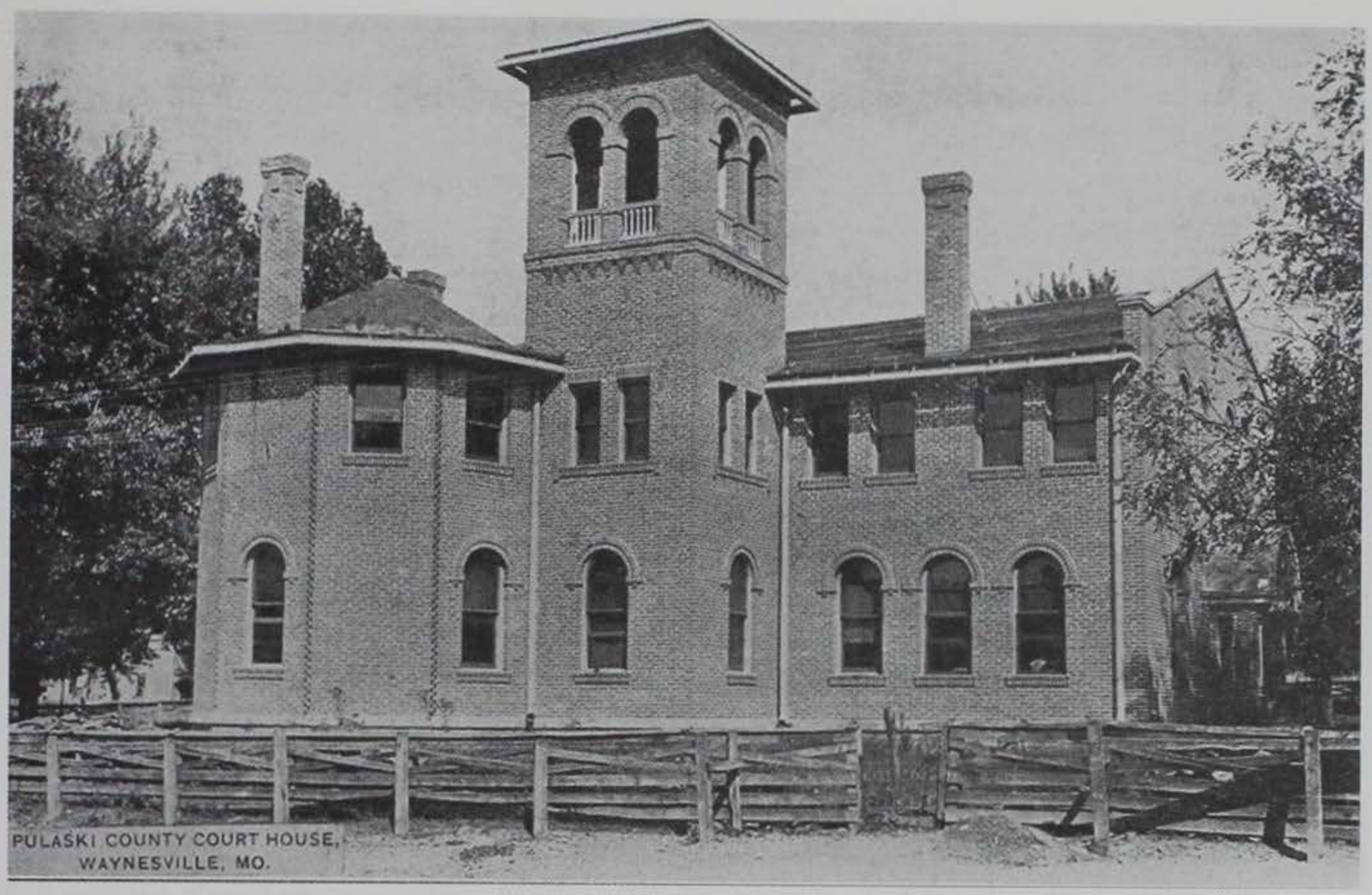


Figure 34. County Courthouse, Waynesville (John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

and attorneys. Waynesville also was the home of Dr. Charles A. Talbot, the only doctor in the northern section of the Fort Leonard Wood region in 1934. (Within the entire county there were only nine doctors and no hospitals.) Waynesville continued as the home of the widely-recognized county newspaper, the *Pulaski County Democrat,* but it was in tough competition with the *Crocker News,* the *Dixon Pilot,* and the *Richland Mirror.* Although Waynesville survived quite well during the early twentieth century as a result of the automobile, it remained a fact that much of the county's business hustle and bustle was still in the railroad towns. Waynesville did not grow as expected in the 1930s, only from 392 at that time to 468 by 1940.[35] A 1941 guide to the state describes quiet little Waynesville—the description obviously written before Waynesville was turned inside out by the construction of Fort Leonard Wood:

> It has a leisurely atmosphere, unmarred by the smoke of industry and the impatient panting of trains, and but little jarred by farmers' Saturday visits or meetings of the county court. Hill people buy their blue denim and flour, their coffee, salt, and sugar, with unhurried deliberation. Between purchases they talk. All are called by first names, except the very old. These receive the title of "uncle" or "aunt," and are always referred to by both given name and surname as "Uncle Jim Corbin."[36]

Though Waynesville continued to serve the needs of many of the residents in southern Pulaski County, Bloodland grew to become the largest village in the Fort Leonard Wood region. By 1930, Bloodland had a population of 100 people. Two town maps exist, one of which is shown in Figure 35, and was drawn by an unknown cartographer for the

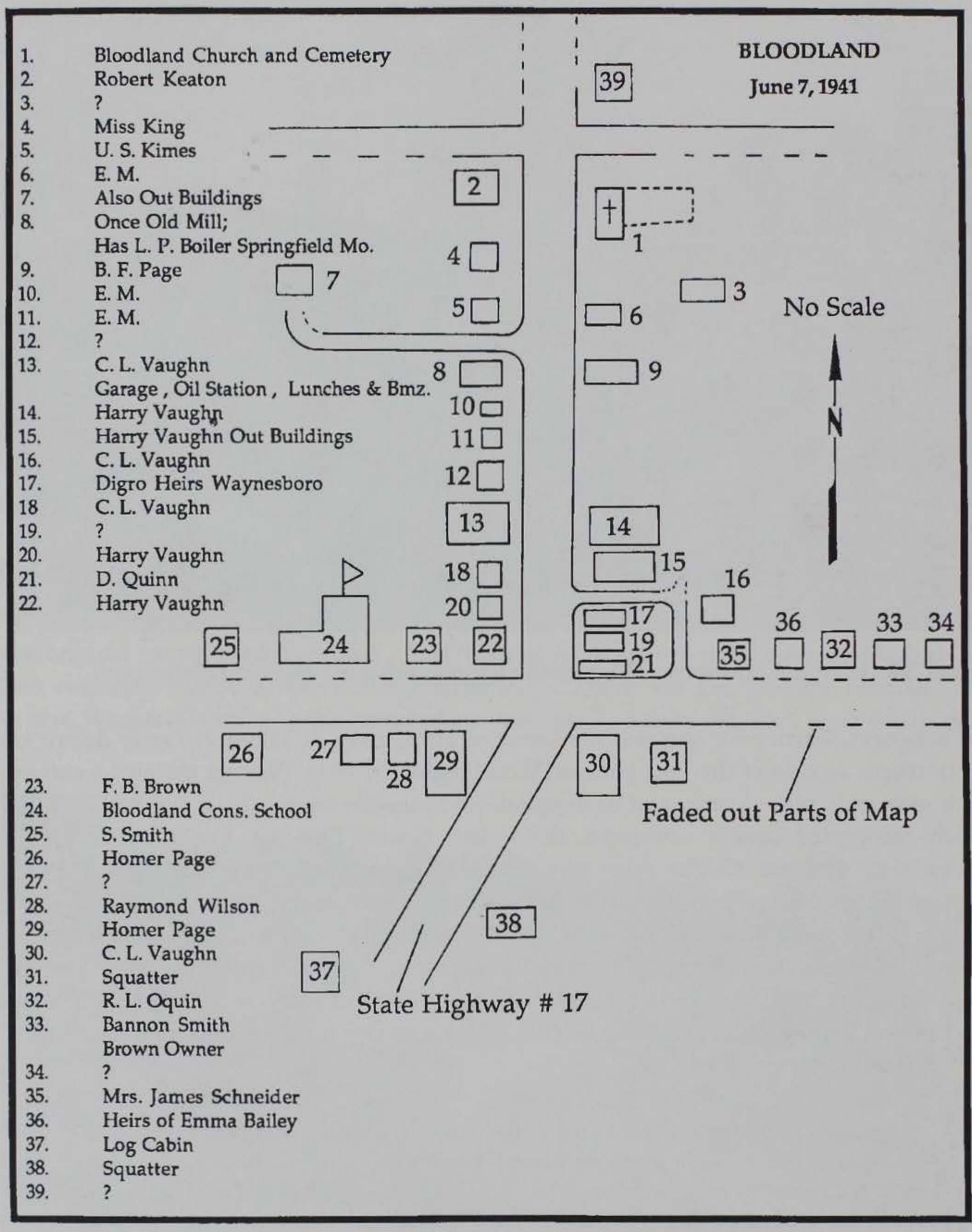


Figure 35. Bloodland, drawn by an anonymous informant (courtesy Fort Leonard Wood).

Army Museum.[37] Both show a wide range of stores, mills, and services available to the local people (Figures 36 and 37). Some of the more noteworthy buildings are a barbershop, a bank, two churches—M. E. South and Friendship Baptist—McGlaughlin Sorghum Mill, Anderson Grist Mill, Hilton Grist Mill, and Moses Brothers Stove Mill with twelve employees, and several stores, including a gasoline station. Also of interest is a tomato canning factory. From around 1924 to 1932, "about everyone around Bloodland raised tomatoes." Both men and women worked at the factory, the men scalded the tomatoes and the women peeled them and put them in cans. They got ten cents per hour for their efforts. Meanwhile, at the Bloodland Stove Mill, built some time between 1929 and 1931 and operating until around 1937, laborers got 12½ cents an hour. They sold the stave bolts, 10 to 16 inches and weighing in at 100 pounds, for around nine cents a foot.[38]

Though Bloodland had no hotels for visitors, there were several tourist camps along the nearby Big Piney, like Dials Resort and Keaton's Place, and Bloodland served as a supply base for these recreation spots. At one time the village had its own doctor, named Cyrus Mallett.[39] Bloodland never grew beyond 120 souls in 1940, but it stood in stark contrast to any other hamlet on the plateau as it had as many as forty homes and businesses.[40] During the construction of Fort Leonard Wood the town exploded into a tent city for construction

Figure 36. Scott's Store in Bloodland, Missouri (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

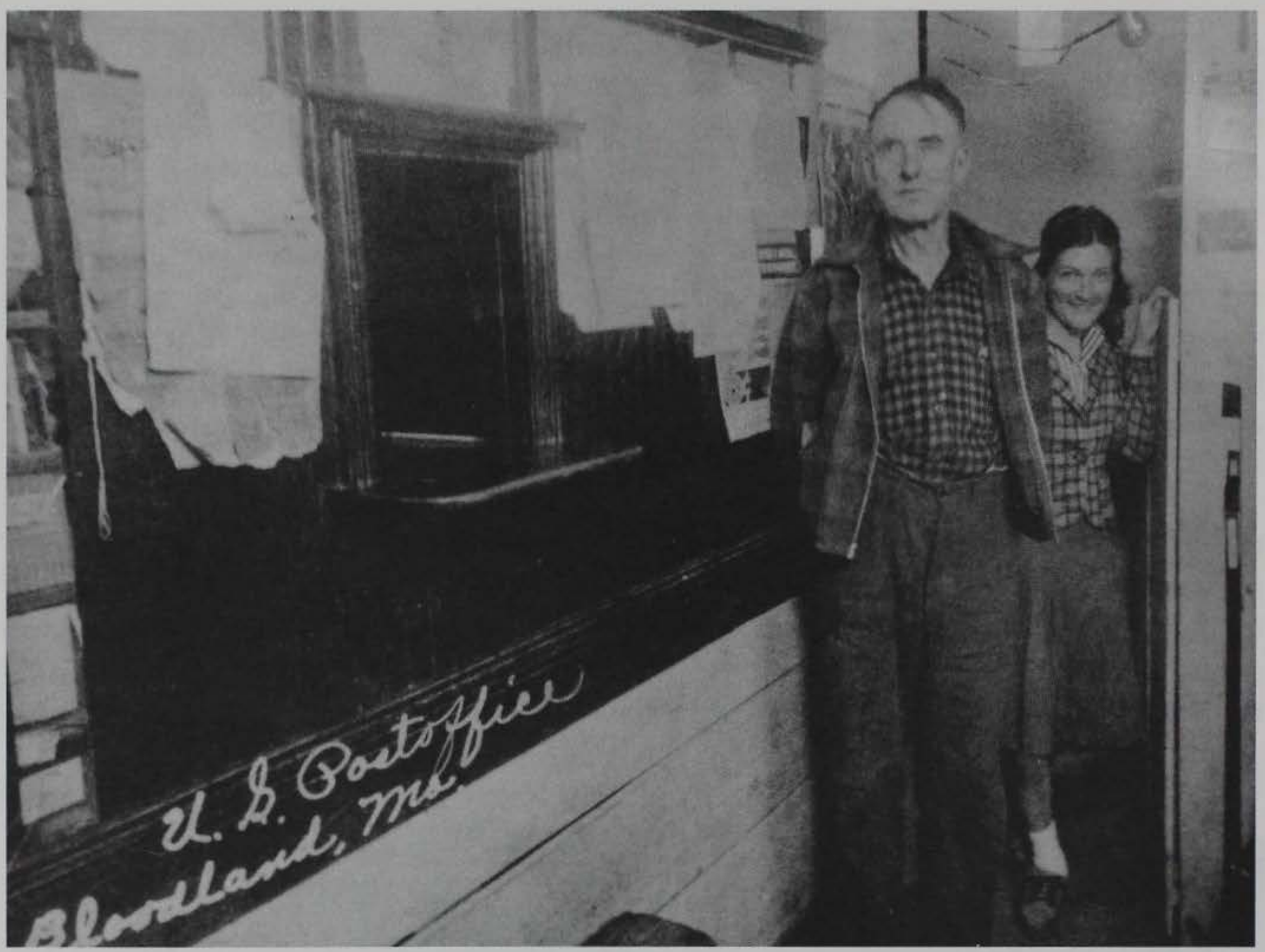


Figure 37. Bloodland Post Office inside Scott's Store (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

workers but was closed as the installation developed. Today only one structure and the cemetery mark Bloodland, the largest village in what is now Fort Leonard Wood.

As the focus for commerce and industry in the center of the plateau, Bloodland became the local gathering place for picnics, festivals, and—to the delight of many—circuses. One of the bigger annual gatherings during the twentieth century was the Fourth of July picnic. The celebration drew people from all across southern Pulaski County. "Quite a number of Cookville and St. Annie people enjoyed themselves at Bloodland on the fourth" was a typical entry in the Neighborhood News section of the Waynesville newspaper at the turn of the century. In keeping with backwoods roots, entertainment included pugilism. Angry fistfights were notorious for ending these picnics, and occasionally someone was killed.

On more ordinary weekends, the people of the plateau still turned to Bloodland for entertainment, and it was the scene of many country-dances, weddings, and other festive occasions. Dancing to fiddle tunes was a requirement for such happenings, and out of southern Pulaski County came one of the most famous fiddlers of the early twentieth century, James "Uncle Jim" Haley. Haley's reputation grew in part due to another new invention that was opening the Ozarks to the world—that being the telephone. On Saturday nights, when the weather was too raw to gather together for a dance, Uncle Jim would play his tunes over the telephone. At that time, all telephone lines were party lines and Uncle Jim would get on

his end of the line and start playing. Six short rings meant that Uncle Jim was about to commence his telephone concert. In Bloodland the operator would patch through his line to people as far away as St. James, Missouri, east of Rolla. Listeners soon learned that if their telephones were put in an empty metal bucket, the sound would be amplified so everyone in the room could hear Uncle Jim. On Saturday nights in the northern Ozarks, hundreds of people would be huddled or dancing around milk pails in one- or two-room cabins.[41]

Bloodland made headlines beyond the Fort Leonard Wood region as a result of its singular crime spree. Reminiscent of Bonnie and Clyde, in 1923 three young men, Alfred Smith, Arthur Ray, and Rueben Walters, arrived in Bloodland in a stolen car and robbed the post office, getting away with only a few dollars. The "gang" grabbed some clothing from the general store, and headed for Dixon, Missouri. According to legend, some 50 to 100 Bloodland citizens, which must have been most of the town and the surrounding neighborhood, took off after them. The villagers were held at a distance though, by the gang's pistol fire. The authorities eventually caught them a mile southeast of Dixon.[42] The robbery became one of those events in time that mark one's life—villagers could long remember where they were and what they were doing when the Bloodland Bank Robbery took place.

Another of those events that marked their lives was the tornado of 1927. The storm hit Bloodland rather hard, but completely destroyed the town's only possible rival in the Fort Leonard Wood region, that being Big Piney. Big Piney also had a population near 100 people in 1930, with a post office and telegraph station. A tour guide of the state describes Big Piney as "... a tiny crossroads village." The village also boasted a church and school. Nelson's autobiographical novel of his life as a schoolteacher in Big Piney states that there were two molasses (sorghum) mills in the village, although they are not listed in the 1934 study by the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission. Nelson describes the village as consisting of a "... store-post office, a smithy, church, grade school, and a clump of farmer's houses." Nelson's book gives the reader a vivid picture of Ozark life on the plateau, including the language of the local residents. "To me a most interesting facet of the speech of the people of Big Piney and all their kin is the shifting of sounds—a process which has been going on in the Aryan languages since prehistoric times." Vowels were pronounced at a progressively higher point in the throat. Nelson also describes the shortening of words, and the dropping of consonants, like he'p for help, and th'ow for throw.[43]

The development of Bloodland and Big Piney probably stymied the development of the plateau's other villages. The landscape could not support much more of the agricultural population than it had, and without a population increase, additional large trading centers were not necessary. Still, for daily needs, the people in southern Pulaski County shopped or traded at the dispersed little trading centers throughout the area like Cookville (1930 population, 48), Bailey (5), Moab (10), Tribune (20), Wharton (19), and Wildwood (20), Devil's Elbow (15), Hanna (26), Duke, and Palace (interestingly, listed as having 0 population in one study). Not listed in the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission study, but noted in the previous chapter, are the place names Dundas and St. Anne. The Dundas post office closed in 1884 and St. Anne's closed in 1895. But these locations still were recognized by the population in the 1920s, and may not have been counted because they were not evident to the commission researchers.

Most of the little trading centers that sprang up in the late nineteenth century survived the early twentieth century but did not grow substantially beyond a general store-post office, and perhaps a few residents. Cookville kept its post office in the 1930s, as did Palace,

Devil's Elbow, Hanna, and Tribune. You could send a telegram at Hanna, Wharton, and Wildwood. Palace proudly offered the Payne Sorghum Mill. Devil's Elbow was described as a "resort center" for hunting and fishing with a population of 15 in 1940.[44] Wharton, which was located along the old Houston Road, was typical of these little centers. There, Melchasedec Brown (see previous chapter) was the postmaster and general store owner beginning in 1910 (Figure 25, page 110). His wife and he had four children, the last adopted and born in 1933. That same year the post office closed because the postal department closed all fourth-class post offices at that time. During the Depression, his regular customers bought items on credit but could never repay. Eventually broke himself, Brown mortgaged the store. Wildwood was also closed at that time (see previous chapter). Tribune remained until the fort was built (Figure 38).[45]

While the twentieth century saw greater access to goods and services, this did not always translate to an improvement in community social needs. Characteristic of the Ozarks, Pulaski County's educational system lagged a little behind the more prosperous sections of Missouri. For instance, in the 1930s many Ozark counties still were on an eight-month session. But the school year was not the only problem. From top to bottom, Pulaski County schools in the early twentieth century were little different from their nineteenth century

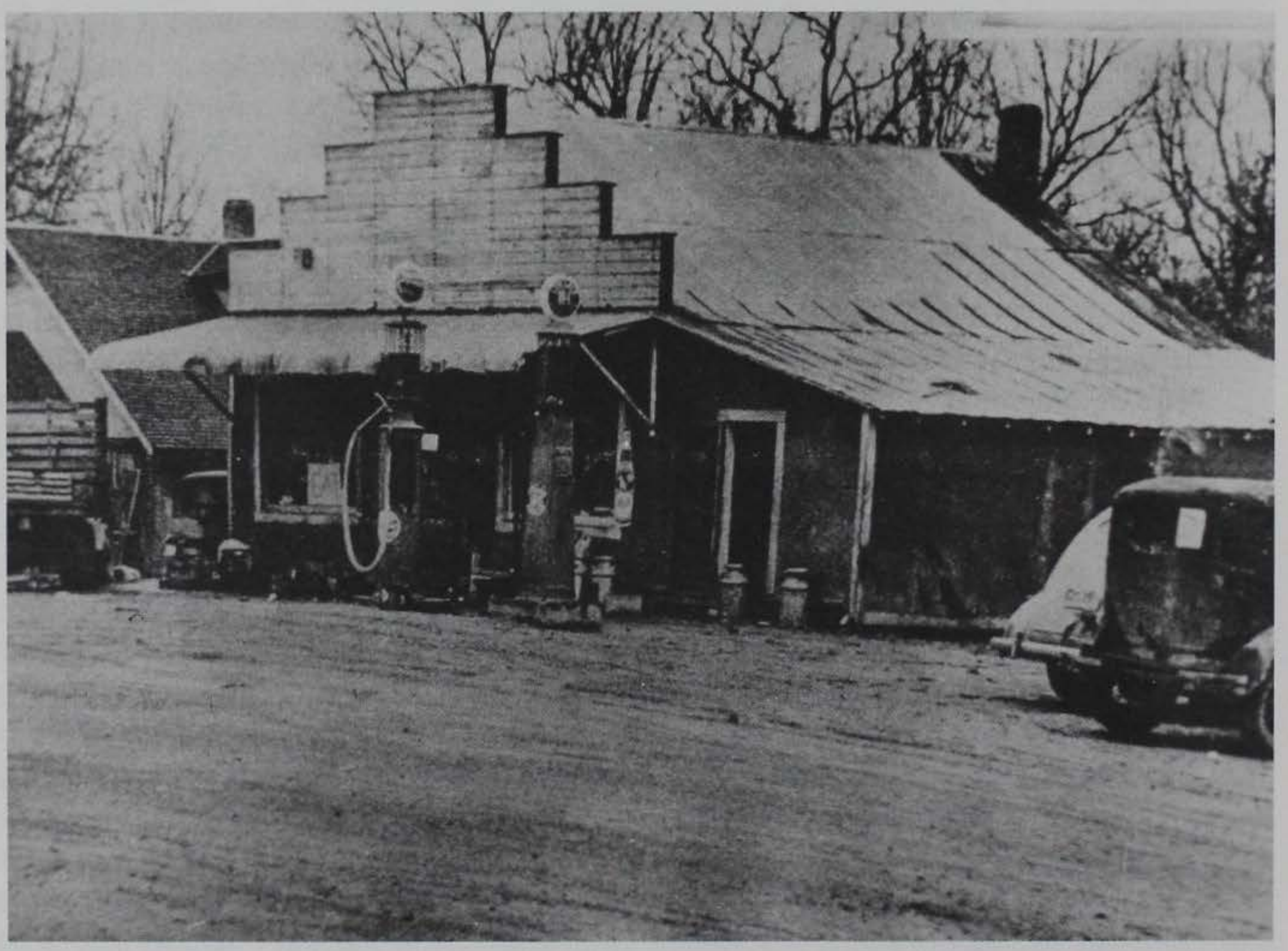


Figure 38. Tribune in the 1930s (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

predecessors. "The organization of the schools of Pulaski County has changed little since the present [1934] district plan was authorized more than a half-century ago." In 1915, Pulaski County had 58 schools, five being "State Approved." None of the five were in southern Pulaski County. In the 1930s, Pulaski County had sixty-one schools; fifty-three of them had only one teacher. Classes were on average only fifteen minutes in duration. School population in Pulaski County remained fairly constant but dropped slightly throughout the early twentieth century. In 1920 the school population was 3,432, in 1925 it was 3,340, and in 1930 it numbered 3,162. There were no public libraries in the county until around 1938.[46]

Not all the county schools were poor. The high school at Dixon, for instance, had a strong music program, with a band, orchestra, glee clubs, and a trophy case full of awards at state competitions.[47] Waynesville, Richmond, and Crocker schools had similar programs. Except for one school, school buildings on the plateau remained one-room affairs. Each school house seemed to be a district on its own. In 1914, Bloodland, Palace, and Dundas school districts on the plateau, combined into one district called C-1 (Figure 39). School districts changed and consolidated throughout the twentieth century and when the fort was built, this area encompassed parts or all of the districts in Bloodland, Maze, Rolling Heath, Cedar Hill, Lone Star no. 1, Union, Dry Creek, Low Gap, and St. Anne. Many of these were one-room schoolhouses, including Dry Creek, with an average attendance of 30 in 1933, Maze with 12 students, Lone Star with 44, Rolling Heath with 21, St. Anne with 22, and Union with 36 students.[48]

Figure 39. Girls basketball game; Bloodland, Palace, and Dondas meet at Bloodland, ca. late 1920s (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

For their efforts, Pulaski County school teachers received what probably amounted to a good wage for the times and place. In 1918, Big Piney's teacher earned $55.00 per month (it cost the community an additional $690.00 to run the school). Miss Norma Lea Anderson at Rolling Heath received $85.00 a month and that included her other job as bus driver.[49] Although automobiles and new roads did not improve the school system, they did assist in the children's access to these schools. At the turn of the century school attendance suffered from a lack of good roads, but after the building of the farm-to-market roads, the state also agreed in the 1930s to provide bus transportation for each child living two or more miles from their school. This did not mean school buses. Miss Anderson, who taught at Rolling Heath just before Fort Leonard Wood was built, was both teacher and school bus driver—the "bus" being her own vehicle.

The exception to the one room schoolhouse was the Bloodland High School, which became a first-class school in 1927, with three teachers and an enrollment of 50 students. By 1933 this enrollment had grown to 174. A substantial two-story stone high school was built in 1929 by the W.P.A. and must have been a source of pride to the community, standing out for miles around on the open prairie upland. The Bloodland school had recreational activities like chorus, folk dancing, glee club, and sports. This building was lost when the fort was built.[50]

However, the one-room schoolhouse called Rolling Heath was the norm. It held and continues to hold a special place in the heart of those who lived on the plateau before it became Fort Leonard Wood. Napoleon "Boney" Ramsey talks about its construction and the typical self-sufficiency that characterized the people there: "The families [at Rolling Heath] were strong. I'm of Scottish derivation and the Scots were hard workers and they believed in education. That's why this school was built here. My grandfather supplied the land and I'm not sure about the raw materials, but he wanted it to be built out of local products and so the sand and the gravel to make the concrete blocks did it. Rolling Heath is an old English name but I cannot tell you why it was used here."[51] Napoleon's grandfather was on the school board and his children went to the school.

Between 1928 and 1940, Norma Lea Anderson, her sister, Mildred Anderson, Christine Perkins, and Opal Bailey taught school at Rolling Heath. Norma Lee recalls her love of teaching at the school:

> I love children, and there was something about teaching that was inspirational. If you can't receive a lot of reward just from teaching, then you shouldn't be in the business. The only thing I didn't like about teaching was it became so routine. You had fifteen or eighteen children in all eight grades, which means seven or eight subjects for each child. You had to stay on your toes all day long, there was no relaxing anytime.
>
> When I started at Rolling Heath School I was nineteen, fresh out of high school. I studied more than any child I had in the room to keep ahead of them. I stayed with my sister and brother-in-law on his family farm, the old Ramsey place right where the golf course is now at Fort Leonard Wood. Some of the children came by boat, but I drove a school bus. It was a second-hand '36 Chevy car with two doors. We could use that because it didn't have four doors. They thought the driver could more or less protect the two doors, then the children in the back couldn't get out except going out the front seat.[52]

Today, Rolling Heath is one of two pre-installation structures still standing within Fort Leonard Wood, and it has been carefully restored by the army for use as a community and interpretive center (Figures 40 and 41). Each year when autumn comes to the Big Piney,

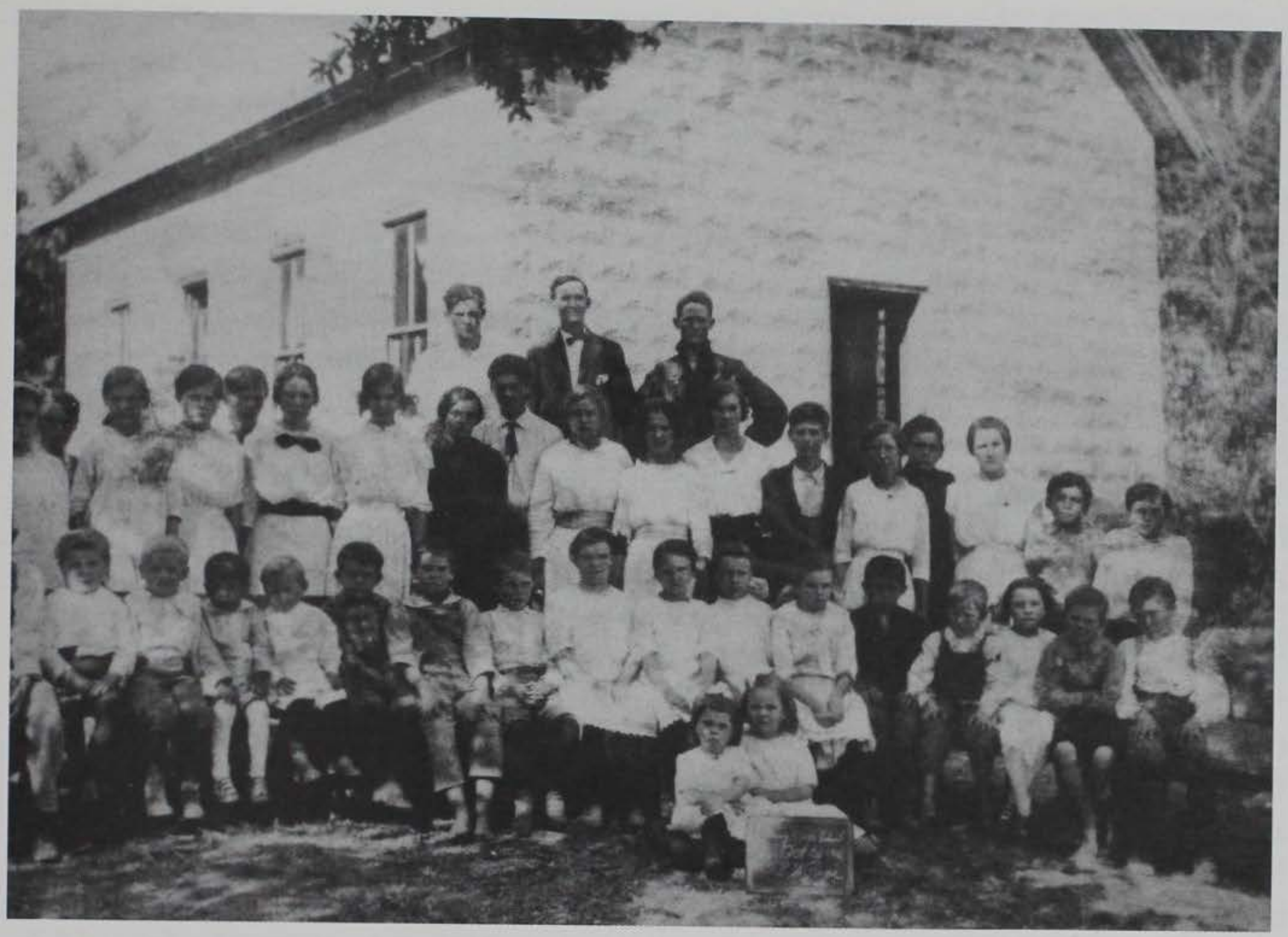


Figure 40. Rolling Heath class (courtesy Fort Leonard Wood).

Figure 41. Restored Rolling Heath school (courtesy SCIAA).

students and teachers, including Napoleon and Norma Lee, now in their 60s, 70s, and 80s, meet at Rolling Heath School as they did three generations ago. The reunion is a time to return to the river and listen to the people who were once young, who saw the world through youthful eyes. The Rolling Heath School provides a link for past and present generations of Fort Leonard Wood people.

Religion continued to play an important role in Pulaski County in the twentieth century, and most of the churches established during the latter part of the nineteenth century maintained a continuity of the faithful throughout the early twentieth. The revivals and all-day Sunday preaching changed very little. About the only change that occurred was a bifurcation of congregations. That is, new churches were established, and as the population grew only slightly, one must conclude that the older churches split into smaller congregations. This probably spread the churches across the landscape, shortening the distance members had to travel. Within Pulaski County, churches established after 1910 included the Calvary Baptist church (1929) at Devil's Elbow, the Pleasant Grove Christian Church (1918) in Laquey, the Cedar Bluff Baptist Church (1910) at Plato, the Palace Community Church (1930) at Palace, and the Bulah Baptist Church (1911) in Swedeborg.[53]

For adults and children alike, there were many social organizations available in Pulaski County. In Waynesville, Relfe, and Big Piney, the I.O.O.F. (Independent Order of Odd Fellows) continued to meet through this period, and in 1932 the O.H.O., an educational and social club, began to meet with thirteen members. One year later, a Baptist youth group began meeting weekly in Waynesville with fifteen members. Throughout the 1930s, probably in part due to the social programs throughout the state, Pulaski County expanded its social organizations. An American Legion post was established in 1931, Woodmen of the World was established in 1925, the Christian Endeavor was established in 1930, and a P.T.A. (Parent's and Teacher's Association) was established in 1933, all located in Crocker. The P.T.A. had a membership of seventy people, and the Woodmen of the World had a membership of seventy-nine. In Richland, a Ladies Aid society was organized in 1918, a Boy Scout troop in 1933, another P.T.A. in 1934, and a Music Club in 1934. Dixon's P.T.A. was organized in 1925 and had ninety-five members. Exactly how often or how many members of these groups came from the southern portion of the county is unknown, but chapter locations were mostly in northern towns.[54]

Health organizations were also organized in the northern and central part of the county, including three branch offices of the American Red Cross, in Richland, Crocker, and Waynesville, organized in 1918. A county nurse was available at the Pulaski County Health Service. The nurse served the local physician in the examination of school children, and in establishing clinics for crippled children and trachoma cases. As previously stated, there were no hospitals in Pulaski County during the early 1930s, and only nine doctors in the county. For the plateau people there was one at Waynesville and Bloodland.[55]

In the early 1930s it became clear to many plateau residents that not all was well. After some 120 years (1813 to 1933) of scattered American occupation on marginally productive farmlands in southern Pulaski County, the natural and cultural landscape was nearing exhaustion. For the previous six years the residents in the Fort Leonard Wood region had

suffered from a national depression and for perhaps as many as ten years they had endured poor agricultural production. Tenancy increased to twenty-eight percent of the Pulaski County farms in 1930 and would continue to climb to thirty-two percent in 1940 (Appendix A, Table 17). Wages had dropped. Farm labor wages between 1926 and 1933 dropped from $1.25 to $.50. A tie-hacker, who on average could make $3.00 a day in 1926, could only make $1.00 in 1933. Informant Ferrell Dabblemont's father, a squatter, lost his main means of support. "When my dad was young, before I remember him, he was a tie-hacker. Him and the uncles were tie-hackers—oh I don't know how long. But they finally went out of business [during the Depression], maybe ties wasn't worth much at all."[56] In Waynesville and the railroad towns, the wage for waitresses had dropped from $1.50 a day to $1.00. Wages for skilled labor in Pulaski County had fallen as much as fifty percent between 1926 and 1934, and unskilled labor as much as forty-three percent. The number of registered unemployed persons in Pulaski County totaled 1,844 in 1933. Twenty-nine percent of the county was on relief and this amounted to, on a per-month average, as many as 3,142 people. This figure was the highest in the northern Ozarks. To the east in Phelps County the average number was only 1,260 and to the west, Laclede County only averaged 774. Only Green (6,284), and St. Francois (5,340) counties exceeded Pulaski for the whole southern half of Missouri.[57]

The landscape was suffering also. Topsoil erosion was a serious problem throughout the Ozarks. In the Fort Leonard Wood region, where there were few acres of decent farmland in the first place, erosion had exacerbated soil infertility. Since initial settlement, the Ozark settlers had learned to rely on the forest's abundance for their subsistence. However, much of the forest was gone and with it went the game population. Modern conservationists now note that the deer population was almost eliminated in Missouri by the late 1930s.[58] By the 1930s it was almost impossible to maintain an Upland South subsistence lifestyle on the land between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney. However, Upland South traditions remained ingrained. Self-reliance had served them well for many generations and for that reason there was great reluctance to change their ways. But it was becoming increasingly clear that the landscape simply could not support the traditional lifestyle. A study of the plateau just prior to the occupation of the land by the army paints a graphic picture of a resource-depleted landscape. The U.S. Army had just purchased 65,000 acres (12,000 of which were already owned by the U.S. Forest Service). The study notes for this area that:

> The soil for the most part is gravelly and shallow and throughout the area where the timber has been removed, severe sheet erosion has taken place. In the second bottoms along the two rivers there are signs of severe sheet erosion and also gullying erosion has taken place. There is very little evidence that farmers in the area have adopted many practices such as terracing and contouring to control erosion. A considerable number, however, have seeded their land to lespedeza. The large percentage of the area would be considered timber land although most of the timber has been cut-over and burned until only a very small amount of good timber remains.[59]

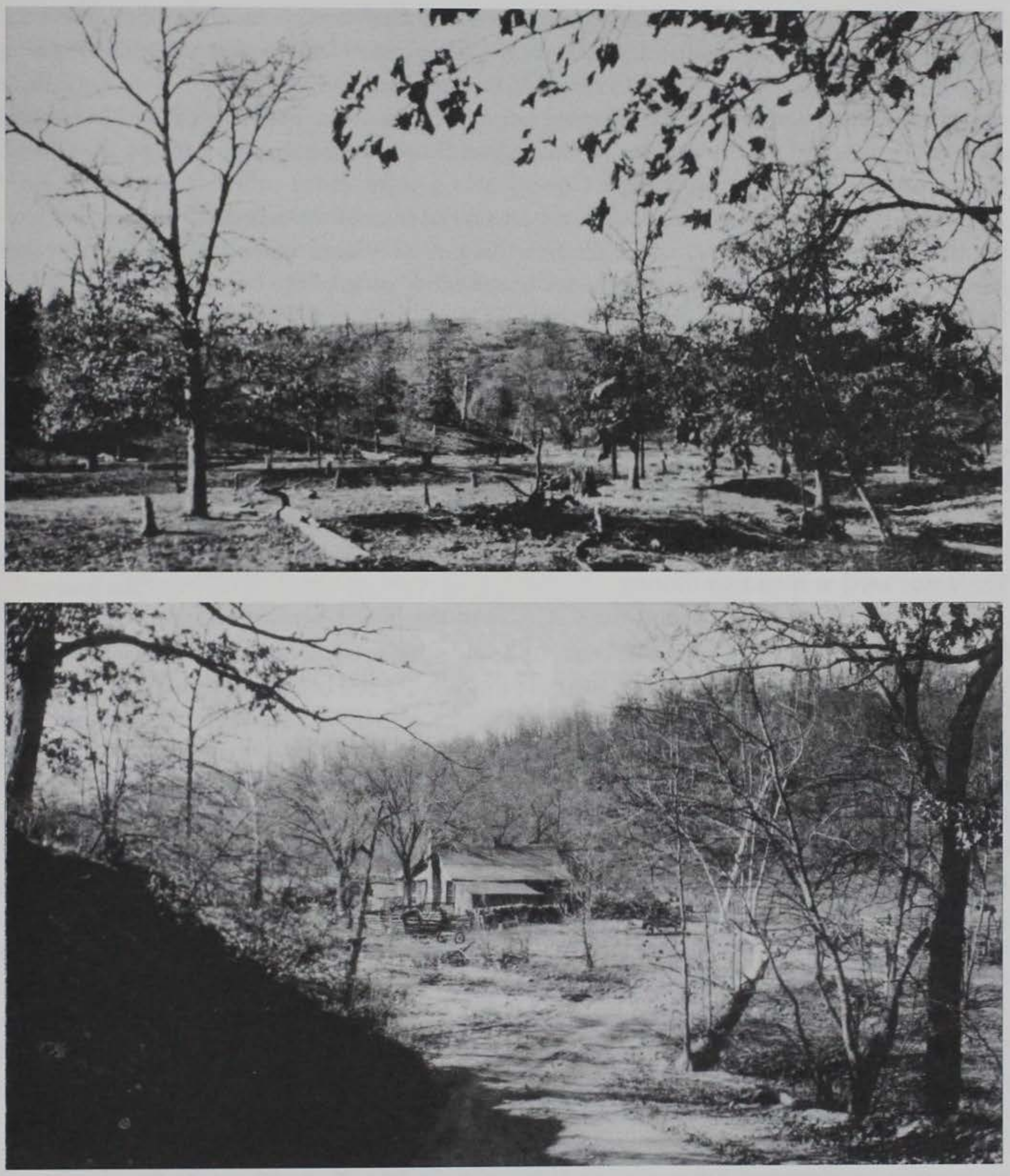
By 1940 much of the landscape was literally downstream. Recent research into stream disturbance along the Little Piney east of the plateau provides clear evidence of what had happened

along the Big Piney, Roubidoux, and Gasconade. Early settlement of the bottomlands caused some moderate decrease in the ability of the land to resist erosion. This initial disturbance did not help, but it was the timber boom period in the early twentieth century that created the greatest problem in the valleys. Corportate-level timber cutting did not occur in the valleys of the Big Piney and Roubidoux, but the early pine industry of the antebellum period along the Big Piney and Gasconade played its part in sediment production. Meanwhile, the greatest disturbance to the uplands along the Little Piney, that is, the greatest erosional problems, occurred after the timber boom as a result of crop cultivation. Again, transferring these findings to the plateau region, it is probable that increased land clearing for crops and increased population played their parts in creating erosion problems there. Land clearing had changed not only the topography of the Fort Leonard Wood region but also the stream courses. Prior to settlement, the stream channels were narrow and deep. Over the years the river channels had become wider, shallower, and unstable. Large gravel bars developed along the stream beds. Another phenomenon that occurred during the early twentieth century was the decrease in spring and stream flow. Whether or not this was caused by human occupation is not confirmed.[60] Photographs of the area at this time depict a depleted landscape (Figures 42 and 43). These conditions apparently had existed for at least ten years.

One could argue that the erosion problem and the economic description above could have been anywhere in the South during this time. And there is good evidence that this is true. Other studies of lands purchased by the Department of Defense during the national mobilization indicate that the people on the plateau were not alone in their poverty and landscape depletion at this time.[61] Many sections of the eastern woodlands were exhausted also, and further, the nation was suffering from an economic depression that was a worldwide phenomenon. Because this was a national and worldwide problem that had its beginning in the 1920s, the people of the plateau were about to see their isolation widely broached by outside interests. The nation was undergoing tremendous change and the people of southern Pulaski County were no longer going to be passed by.

With the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, the problems of the Ozark farmer became the Federal government's problems. For the next seven years, until the army came and purchased some 71,000 acres in southern Pulaski County, Ozark subsistence farmers saw the infusion of Federal agencies and personnel. Massive government programs were initiated in an attempt to bring relief to the entire nation; those programs with the greatest impact on the lives of farmers in the Fort Leonard Wood region were the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the enabling act of the U.S Forest Service, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Submarginal Land Acquisition Program, all established in 1933 or shortly thereafter.[62]

The first of these programs began in the fall of 1933 when the U.S. Forest Service began purchasing property in Missouri. The Mark Twain National Forest was born and one of the first tracts purchased was the Gasconade Unit that over the next three years would encompass some 33,842 acres of Pulaski County. Not only did the Forest Service purchase property, taking it out of private hands, but either through or in conjunction with the Forest Service's efforts, many of the other programs were instituted. For instance, the Agricultural Adjustment Act paid farmers to withdraw acreage from production and the Sub-marginal Land Acquisition Act allowed the Department of Agriculture to purchase poor lands in order to retire them from use, preventing further erosion. The Forest Service moved quickly



Figures 42 and 43. The landscape around Fort Leonard Wood, ca. 1930s (courtesy Albert Mussan, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Columbia, Missouri).

to achieve the goals of retiring the submarginal lands, relocating families on these lands to better farmland, offering part-time employment to people needing jobs, and providing loans to subsistence families in need. Assisting these people was a major effort, for within the Gasconade Purchase unit there were 2,126 families totaling 7,886 people. Of those, 193 families were squatters who were moved off the lands purchased by the Forest Service.[63]

One of the most widely known programs in association with the Forest Service's conservation efforts was the Civilian Conservation Corps. In 1935 there were only fifteen camps in Missouri, but by the end of the C.C.C.'s tenure, there were some twenty-three camps established within the Mark Twain National Forest alone. In southern Pulaski County there were at least two camps, one at Palace and another somewhere north of Bloodland. Just across the Big Piney in Phelps County was a third camp called Blooming Rose.[64] Nationally, the C.C.C. had a profound impact on the lives of thousands of young men, giving them an opportunity to learn skills, providing employment where there were no other job opportunities, and offering the chance to see other parts of the country. Some have also argued that it provided a disciplined setting for these men that assisted in their later transformation into soldiers during WWII. While there was no drill or real military discipline, there was structure and rules that probably did alleviate the shock of the armed services for those that entered the C.C.C. and later enlisted or were drafted into the military. In the camps, the boys ate, slept, and recreated together under the army's oversight. Their work, lasting six hours a day, was organized and managed by the Forest Service or other agencies. The boys were also given an opportunity to further their education in night classes. For their labor they were given $30.00 a month, $25.00 of which was sent home and the remaining $5.00 was used as spending money.

In southern Pulaski County, the C.C.C. and the Forest Service's impacts on the local landscape were clearly visible. The boys built and improved many miles of road; some of those improvements can still be seen today. They built fire towers at Wharton and Bloodland. The also strung telephone wires, built and repaired bridges, and planted trees, beginning the process of landscape stabilization. The Forest Service took additional action to recover eroded lands. A major effort was made to reestablish the deer population by fencing off tracts of land and importing deer into the area. Turkeys were also reintroduced. The Forest Service claimed that the annual burning by farmers was depleting the cover and food for small game. They instituted wildlife plots to increase forage. Ponds were constructed. A grazing policy was instituted. Permits were issued to select local farmers allowing them to graze cattle, hogs, goats, and sheep. Meanwhile, the Forest Service continued to purchase properties up until the time of the fort in 1941.[65]

While the Forest Service made progress in landscape recovery, they were less successful in providing direct help to the people in the Fort Leonard Wood region. The service did not employ many locals. In 1936 there were three enrollees in the C.C.C. who lived within the boundaries of the present Fort Leonard Wood. The number of local enrollees for the following four years were: 1937—4; 1938—4; 1939—10; and 1940—12.[66] There may have been more employed at other National Forest units. The Forest Service also assisted the region by hiring local men with needed skills to teach the boys various tasks. How many of these men were hired is not known, but it could not have been very many.

As might be expected, government intrusion into the lives of independent, self-sufficient folk like those around the region was not always appreciated. Job opportunities were welcome, as was assistance. But the acquisition of large land tracts by the Forest Service was a source of continuing friction. These frictions sprang directly from the long-established Upland South traditions like the open range system and squatting. The Forest Service fenced their land against open range practices so that only those with permits could use the land. Unlike the railroad, they frowned on squatters and moved them off the land, although they attempted to find places or employment for those they moved. Grudge fires, long used in

the Ozarks to intimidate an enemy, or to settle a perceived wrong, were set on Forest Service property in an attempt to thwart the service's goals. Animosity against the Forest Service continued long after the 1940s. This animosity was not always a one-way street. In an undated history of the Mark Twain Forest, an author paints an unflattering picture of the Ozark squatter, suggesting some contempt for their lifestyle:

> As a rule, squatters lived in humble circumstances and their lives could at best be considered primitive. Their homes were usually located in inaccessible places, not visible from any road. Children, dogs, and chickens were often the living signs of a squatter's cabin. These cabins often had no window curtains, shades, window panes, or screens. The furnishings in the squatter's cabins were meager and the floor was usually dirt.
>
> Because there was little money, only the barest necessities were purchased. Men, women, and children usually showed signs of rickets because there wasn't a proper diet for the family. Even milk was rare since most families could not afford a milk cow.
>
> Some squatters were actually considered very good timbermen, but this was often because of the tremendous waste in their logging process. Those men noted for moving quickly onto "Grandma's Land" and stealing timber were called "tie-hackers." It was said they would fell a tree and hack and load the tie before the tops hit the ground as the tree fell.[67]

Indeed, the lives of the subsistence farmer and squatter in southern Pulaski County by this time were hard and poverty stricken—diseases plaguing their health and reducing their ability to support themselves. Two studies conducted in the area as it was being purchased by the U.S. Army, paint a vivid picture of the Depression landscape and people.[68] The objectivity of these studies might be called into question today, and it must be understood that it is probable that the severe conditions they describe were not unique to southern Pulaski County, but rather common to the entire Upland South, from Arkansas to Appalachia, at this time. As noted previously, there are similar stories in studies of other lands beyond Missouri purchased by the Department of Defense in the early 1940s as part of the mobilization effort. But at Fort Leonard Wood, we have detailed studies available for more in-depth analysis so that we should make use of their findings, keeping in mind the general state of health across the country. Agricultural economist Albert Mussan's report is especially graphic in the health and welfare of the people.

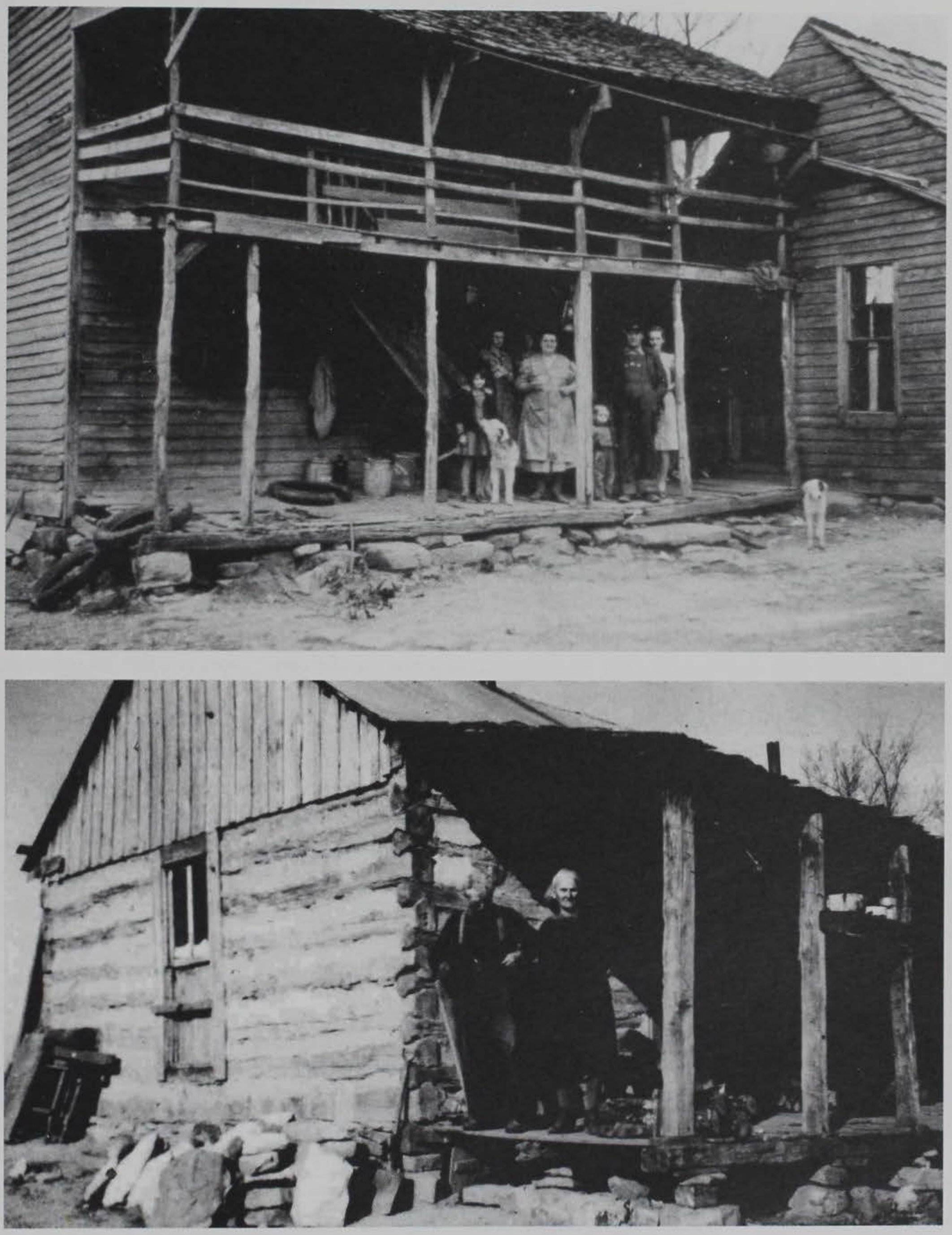
> It was seldom found that the family enjoyed the comfort of running water, electricity, or telephone. However, it is surprising to know that a large per cent of the families have a radio. The houses, for the most part, are small, many having only two or three rooms. There are, of course, occasional houses with six or eight rooms but these large houses are usually very old... The out-buildings generally consist of one or two log sheds and native plank poultry houses. Occasionally one finds a sizable barn. However, there are many farms in the area that have no barn of sufficient size for the livestock and forage storage. Most of the families in the area raise a garden and many of them can large amounts of fruits and vegetables.[69]

When the Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission did their study of the county in the early 1930s, students were inspected by the State Board of Health. A total of 754 students in Pulaski County were inspected over the course of four months. Of those inspected,

they found eighty-six cases of malnutrition, thirty-six cases of "Defective Vision," 442 cases of decayed teeth, 246 "Nose," and 242 "Throat" problems, along with a few cases of obesity, poor posture, flat feet, poor ears, poor skin, and other problems. The report noted, "Some of the schools are still using the bucket and one cup. Many of the students do not understand yet how important it is to have individual drinking cups, brushing their teeth, eating the right kinds of food. So many things yet for them to learn." The report also notes that "Very few of the county schools have sanitary toilets." In fact, many had no toilets at all. Nelson writes in his novel of life as a teacher at Big Piney that "Until last year, Helms told me, when the W.P.A. built toilets, only the girls had one. Before that the boys went down into the west hollow and the teacher went into the hollow back of the schoolhouse." Nelson quotes a native as explaining "Thataway they wasn't allus a fuss bein' raised over him catchin' the kids smokin' or them catchin' him." The Board of Health report goes on to note that after a public health program was started, with the help of the Mother's Club, the Red Cross, and the Welfare and Community Club, improvements were made. "In checking our schools we have found many corrections, especially on teeth. The Waynesville school has had hot lunch this year, and so many have gained weight. Last night the health club there met to talk over the hot lunch project, sanitary toilets and drinking fountains."[70]

But conditions did not change much by the early 1940s. Mussan's 1941 study consisted primarily of a survey of families who were going to be displaced by the creation of Fort Leonard Wood (Figures 44, 45, and 46). There were, according to Mussan, 304 families who were going to be moved. Mussan states that within this area, fifty-nine percent of the population had been on public assistance at least temporarily during the Depression. Of 253 families who answered Mussan's survey and who lived in the "open county" (probably meaning the upland prairie area), 143 were farm owners, nine were farm laborers, and 101 "were merely living there depending on non-farm income," meaning in many cases, public assistance. In 1940 there were seventy-three cases of Work Relief, eighteen cases of Aid to Dependent Children, twenty-four cases on General Relief, and twenty-four cases on old age pensions. Roberta Routh, conducting a similar study of the population within the confines of the fort for the Pulaski County Social Security, Division of Public Assistance, found similar statistics. She states that of 278 families, sixty-four were receiving Old Age Assistance, and Aid to Dependent Children.[71]

In terms of material culture, the families in southern Pulaski County probably were typical of the entire Upland South during the Depression. Some of Mussan's findings concerning their economic status illustrate this. Of the families studied, only eight percent had a net worth of over $5,000.00, and twenty-nine percent had property worth more than $1,000.00. But most of this wealth was land. When their land was excluded, this percentage dropped to fourteen percent. However, it must be noted that these figures may not take into account the impending installation construction of the fort, which probably had an adverse effect on property values. Over seventy percent of the families surveyed had less than $10.00 cash on hand at the time of the survey, and sixty-four percent had gross annual incomes of less than $500.00. Still, some forty-five percent of the families had automobiles and an approximately equal number had radios. Despite the Depression, though, there were people in the area who had solid incomes, and were living well, compared to the rest. For instance, those who owned farms, in contrast to those who owned no property, had gross incomes



Figures 44 and 45. People displaced by Fort Leonard Wood (courtesy Albert Mussan, Western Historical Manuscript Collection—Columbia, Missouri).

Figure 46. People displaced by Fort Leonard Wood (courtesy Roberta Routh, Western Historical Manuscript Collection—Columbia, Missouri).

exceeding $500.00. Mussan notes also that some fifteen households (of 281 reporting) had a net worth of over $10,000.00.[72]

While the above statistics seem to paint a depressing picture for many of the people within the Fort Leonard Wood area, the indomitable spirit of these Upland South people remained unbroken. In direct contrast to the landscape, the peoples' own words during this time speak of a life of contentment and bounty. Time and time again during interviews with survivors who had lived on the plateau, or whose ancestors lived there, the author heard expressed "you didn't need money in those days." To the people living there, the land was full of resources like timber and game, allowing the residents to live a good life, with everything that one needed, available for those who worked for it. Bill Akers was a boy during the Depression and remembers "People talk about those times being so hard, but I can't remember them being so hard. We worked, sure we worked, but we'd go hunting, fishing, and my dad, until it got where he couldn't—when us kids was grown and his crops were laid by and his hay put up—we went to the river and stayed for a week [fishing].[73]

This love of the land and life in southern Pulaski County before the war cannot be dismissed as sentimentality, for the same self-reliant optimism was found by Routh and Mussan at the time. Routh noted that the people "loved the land" and one army officer stated to her "I have never seen people so well satisfied with themselves," while another said, "The Ozark people are so connected with living that they don't care to bother with earning money while the rest of us are too busy earning money to live." Mary Jane Thomson, wife of Frank who owned and operated the Wildwood store during his life, was interviewed about leaving the area for the fort. She stated that Frank wouldn't have liked the people looking over the property, which "meant more than money to him." She had noticed the changes over the past few

years, however, "I wish sometimes that we had the old times back again. Life was no harder then than now. We had to work hard but we raised our own livin' and we weren't worried about starvin' as people are now. We had plenty of firewood and we raised our own cotton and made our workin' cloths, and our Sunday clothes didn't cost much."[74]

Thus, despite the problems and real hardships of living on the depleted landscape, the people did not want to move. "We hate to be put out of our home. We are getting old. We can't stand changing around too much," one old couple told Albert Mussan. "We don't like the idea of getting kicked out," said another. "It was certainly a shock to us when we learned that we would have to move from this farm," said still another. And yet, they understood the world situation and why they were being moved off the plateau. The people also told Mussan, "Guess though, we should do our part in preparing for war and hope we'll never have to fight." "Guess its alright to get ready for war, though. Pa was born in Germany and God knows we never want to be bossed by Hitler." and, "We fully realize it is necessary to prepare to defend the country and we are certainly willing to do our part. We doubt seriously that another area of this size could be purchased without a lot of folks making sacrifices although we feel that our sacrifice will be greater than the average for the area." Many also recognized that the land was no longer supporting their lifestyle. "Its bad here but it could be worse, I suppose. Our breakfast this morning was bread, lard, and coffee." Some even saw the army's arrival as good fortune. One resident noted, "The defense program needs land so why shouldn't it be us to sell and move out as well as any one else,—I've been waiting to sell my no-account land and that the chance has come I sure don't aim to kick up no rumpus and act like I didn't want to leave." Another, lamented the loss of community "it looked like a wolf had got into a bunch of sheep and they would all be scattering in every direction, old neighbors maybe will never meet again, but in most cases they would all be better off financially."

Overall, people were simply frightened of the unknown future and had questions. Would they get enough for their land, and where would they go? In answer to the first question most residents were realistic, stating that they didn't get much money for their land, but it wasn't worth much either. In answer to the second question, most people moved only a few miles. Mussan reported that of 229 families reporting, forty percent were moving within Pulaski County, another thirty-eight were moving to other Ozark Counties. Only three percent were moving outside the state. For the people of this isolated region, the change was crucial. Some of the people had never been more than fifteen miles from their Ozark homes. Local residents got jobs building the fort and "Many apparently husky fellows hired for work on the camp site were forced to take lighter jobs after a few days because improper nutrition over long periods of time had made them unsuitable for heavy work." There was, in the end, an amazing resiliency among the people of the plateau.[75]

On October 1, 1940, the U.S. Army officially announced that it was going to purchase 65,000 acres in southern Pulaski County. Originally, the fort was to be built in Iowa, but the water supply appeared to be better in Pulaski County than in Decatur and Wayne counties in Iowa. Also, 16,000 of the acres in this area already had been purchased by the U.S. Forest Service and this land was available for army use. The occupation was rapid and

shocking. Planning teams arrived as early as November 1940 and land purchases were actively being concluded by Christmas. Laborers flooded the area shortly after December 11th when the first earth was turned. Incredibly, four construction firms planned and completed the entire six square mile cantonment area, containing 1,600 buildings, in only seven months (Figures 47 and 48). Over fifty-two miles of vitreous and concrete tile were laid for sewers, fifty-eight miles of roads, and seventy-five million board feet of lumber were used. A railroad line was also built to the fort.[76]

The effect of the construction was felt far and wide in the Ozarks. At the peak of construction, some 30,775 workers were camped within a fifty-mile radius of the fort and the payroll set a record for the largest in the United States. Newburg, east of southern Pulaski County, became a railhead. Building materials were sent there by train, unloaded, and transported to the fort. But until the railroad was built, some 7,000 vehicles a day inched their way over Route 66 and country roads to bring supplies to voracious workers. Nearby, "The little town of Waynesville, seven miles from camp, had a population of 462 in November 1940. By February 1941, the population had skyrocketed to over four thousand." Everyone in Waynesville cleaned out unused rooms, sheds, or anything that had a roof, to house the arriving workers. A camp sprang up outside of Waynesville down by the Roubidoux River to house an overflow of workers. These people lived in horrible conditions, "At one time

Figure 47. Workers constructing Fort Leonard Wood (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

Figure 48. Fort Leonard Wood construction (courtesy John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

forty families in trailers and tents were using one outdoor toilet." The population explosion continued through the war, especially in Waynesville. "At the peak of the boom in 1942 and 1943, Waynesville leaped to a population of 12,000—nearly thirty times the pre-war census."[77] Newberg also exploded in population and expansion. Regional resorts opened their doors to laborers and soldiers since there were never enough barracks for all the military personnel during the massive buildup. One veteran, for instance, wrote the author about his experiences during the first year of the installation's existence but had little memory of the fort itself. There was no room for him on post, so he had lived with a family near Newberg. Each morning he got up, drove in, trained soldiers, and drove home at night. He was so busy with the training that he never ventured farther than his own training area, and could offer no insights into life at the fort during those hectic times.[78]

It is clear that profound changes in the landscape and people began around World War I and continued up to the building of the fort. The turn of the twentieth century found the people of Pulaski County recovered from the Civil War and beginning to participate in a nationwide economy. Even southern Pulaski County was making significant, if slower, progress. The farmers in the Roubidoux and Big Piney River valleys probably were doing as well as their northern Pulaski County neighbors. Those in the upland prairie and woodland areas were making a solid living, many from subsistence agriculture and others from specialized farming

like raising dairy and beef cattle. Still others obtained what they needed from occasional tie-hacking, and some even were making a full-time living at it. The latter occupation though, created a major impact on the woodlands, as they began to disappear at an ever-increasing rate.

During the period from around the 1880s to the 1920s, a number of social organizations were started. Churches and schools provided the facilities for these social organizations. Progress continued during the 1920s, especially in road construction, but at the same time the national economy started its steady decline. In fact, the 1920s seem to have been the turning point in the lifestyles of the Ozark people. The agricultural upturn failed after World War I, the age of tie-hacking ended, the national economy turned sour, Prohibition created conflicts, and eventually some of these independent self-reliant folk were forced to turn to the government for assistance. What may not have been evident to them at the time, but appears clear now in hindsight, is that for a combination of reasons, the landscape upon which their lifestyle depended became exhausted during this period. Farming poor soils, cutting the trees, and increased pressure on game species all contributed to the collapse. By the time the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. Army arrived, first in the mid 1930s and then in the 1940s, much of the landscape upon which the population depended was spent. Many recognized that the land needed to recover and the people needed the benefits of outside assistance, yet they were understandably reluctant to leave what they had worked so hard to make home. For the youth in the area, the fort brought new hope and opportunity; for the old, it brought a clear recognition that a lifestyle and culture were passing.

Notes for Chapter 7

1 Nellie (Stites) Wills, *The First Hundred Years of Crocker,* p. 38.
2 Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 70.
3 Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 7–8, 34.
4 Ibid., p. 20.
5 Duane Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri—A History* (St. Louis: State Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 596–597.
6 Joseph Nelson, *Backwoods Teacher* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1949), pp. 74, 100–101.
7 Steven D. Smith, *A Historic Context Statement for a World War II Era Black Officers' Club at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri* (Champaign, Illinois and Columbia, South Carolina: U.S. Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories and the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology, 1998), pp. 36–43.
8 Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 123.
9 It is unfair to blame the loss of timber totally on tie-hackers. As noted in the previous chapter, an unknown quantity of wood was cut for firewood. Tom Turpin states that "Small portable saw mills moved across the county in the 1900s and exhausted most of the timber suitable for rough lumber and stave bolts," see Turpin, *Our Ancestors,* p. ii. While no other reference to this kind of timbering has been found, Pulaski County timber was cut for stave bolts so it is likely that portable sawmills played a significant roll in the loss of timber resources.
10 Roberta Routh, "The Army Comes to the Ozarks: As Seen Through the Eyes of the Pulaski County Social Security Division of Public Assistance" (Columbia: typewritten manuscript on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, 1941) pp. 3–4; York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories,* p. 14.
11 Robert "Corky" Hargis, interviews with Alex Primm, October 25, 1997 and November 6, 1997.

12 Nelson, *Backwoods Teacher*, pp. 46, 106.
13 Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* p. 434.
14 George Lane, interview with the author, May 16, 1992.
15 Frederick Liesman, "Pulaski County Super-Centenarian."
16 George Lane, interview with author.
17 George Lane, interview with Alex Primm, May 8, 1998.
18 Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* p. 566.
19 Writers Program, *Missouri: A Guide,* p. 69; York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories,* p. 82.
20 Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri,* p. 632: Writers Program, *Missouri: A Guide,* p. 70.
21 Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 132.
22 "Reports of the Farm Bureau Extension Agent," Missouri Farm Bureau Records 1915–1930, Folder 41 (Columbia: on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri).
23 Albert H. Mussan, "Implications of Land Use Adjustments In Connection With the Defense Program: The Relocation of Families Disturbed In the Construction of Fort Leonard Wood," Division of State and Local Planning, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture (Columbia: Typewritten Manuscript on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, 1941), pp. 16, 67, 74.
24 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
25 York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories,* p. 105.
26 Nelson, *Backwoods Teacher,* p. 203.
27 York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories,* p. 81–82.
28 "Our First Radio Speaker," *Old Settlers Gazette,* July 26 (1997)15:36.
29 Behymer, "Aunt Mary Jane," March 14; Routh, "The Army Comes to the Ozarks," p. 4.
30 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use Adjustments," p. 67.
31 Works Progress Administration, "Historic Records Survey, Missouri," Folder 17364 (Columbia: Microfilm on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, 1941).
32 This date is based on: (1) the advertisements surrounding the map, not shown; (2) the fact that the map depicts Wharton and Wildwood post offices which closed in 1933; and (3) none of the land was platted in Forest Service ownership, which came in the mid-1930s.
33 "Crocker in 1905," *Old Settlers Gazette,* July 14 (1996)14:40.
34 "Pulaski County," A Travelog of Missouri Counties, Volume 2 (St. Louis: Scrapbook on file, Missouri Historical Society Library, ca. 1925).
35 Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 115, 119, 120; Works Progress Administration, Microfilm.
36 Writers Program, *Missouri: A Guide,* p. 417.
37 The other is in York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories.*
38 Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 104; York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories,* p. 158.
39 Exactly when Mallet practiced is not known as he is not listed in the 1934 Missouri Relief and Reconstruction Commission study of Pulaski County.
40 Pulaski County Historical Society, *History,* Volume II, pp. 11, 43–44.
41 Douglas Charles Wixson, "The Oral Tradition of Fiddle Music in the Early Days of Radio: Uncle Jim Haley of Pulaski County," *Missouri Folklore Society,* Volume 1 (1979):2–17.
42 "Neighborhood News," July 11, 1902, *Pulaski County Democrat;* George Lane, interview with the author, May 16, 1992; Harry Morgan, interview with the author, May 18, 1992; Van Beydler, "The Great Bloodland Post Office Robbery, *Old Settler's Gazette,* Volume 7, (Waynesville: KJPW Radio, 1999), p. 15.
43 Ensminger, *Handbook*, p. 104; Writers Program, *Missouri: A Guide,* p. 417; Nelson, *Backwoods Teacher*, pp. 62, 64, 132.
44 Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 104, 119; Writers Program, *Missouri: A Guide,* p. 416; Moser, *Directory,* p. 3.

45 Wilson, "Wharton Store and Post Office," pp. 1–2.
46 Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 27-28; Pulaski County Historical Society, *History,* pp. 2–3; Rafferty, *The Ozarks,* p. 232; York and York, *Forty-'Leven: Stories*, p. 180.
47 Shannon Chenoweth Graham, "Dixon: 1930!," *Old Settlers Gazette,* July 30 (1988)6:4.
48 The Rolling Heath schoolhouse merits special attention as it stands today as one of only two installation buildings still standing on Fort Leonard Wood that were built before the fort. Built in 1912 of perma-stone blocks made in Waynesville, Rolling Heath was restored by the Department of Defense Legacy Resource Management Program and the Directorate of Public Works, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. The school is used today as a meeting place and interpretive center for the Big Piney River.
49 Dee Dixon, "Mayor Tells History of Post's Oldest Building," *Guidon,* June 12, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri (1986): 6; Nelson, *Backwoods Teacher,* p. 64; Pulaski County Historical Society, *History*, pp. 3, 58, 112, 119, 154, 165, 181.
50 Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 35; Pulaski County Historical Society, *History*, p. 26.
51 Napoleon Ramsey, interview with Alex Primm, October 18, 1997.
52 Norma Lea (Anderson) Mihalevich, interview with Alex Primm, August 23, 1996.
53 Ensminger, *Handbook,* p. 98.
54 Ibid., pp. 76–77
55 Ibid., pp. 62–63, 85.
56 Ferrell Dabblemont, interview with Alex Primm, May 12, 1998.
57 Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 121, 142–143.
58 Lonnie Hansen, "Success Story," *Missouri Conservationist* (1992):17
59 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use," pp. 12–13.
60 Robert B. Jacobson and Alexander T. Primm, *Historical Land-Use Changes,* pp. 90–91; Alex Primm, "Of Gravel and The River," *Missouri Conservationist,* August 57(1996)8:28.
61 See for instance, Steven D. Smith, *A Good Home For a Poor Man, A History of Fort Polk and Vernon Parish, Louisiana* (Tallahassee, Florida: National Park Service, 1999), and Christopher Ohm Clement, Steven D. Smith, Ramona M. Grunden, Jill S. Quattlebaum, *Archaeological Survey of 4,000 Acres on the Lower Little River, Cumberland, Hoke, and Moore Counties, Fort Bragg, North Carolina* (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1997).
62 Hofstader, et. al. *The United States,* pp. 720–724; John A. Salmon, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Study* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967), pp. 2–25.
63 Richard T. Malouf, "Thematic Evaluation," p. 5; "The Development of the National Forests In Missouri," United States Forest Service, Rolla, Missouri, Mark Twain National Forest Local History Collection (Rolla: Microfilm on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, n.d.) p. 4; Writers Program, *Missouri: A Guide,* p. 416.
64 *Happy Days CCC Directory,* The Happy Days Publishing Company, Daily News Building, Washington DC (Columbia: on file, Missouri State Historical Society), p. 76; Malouf, "Thematic Evaluation," p. 24; Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin, *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933–42,* United States Department of Agriculture, U.S. Forest Service (Corvallis, Oregon: Pacific Crest Research and Services Corporation, 1986), p. 61.
65 "History of the Mark Twain National Forest," Mark Twain National Forest Local History Collection (Rolla: Microfilm on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, n.d.) pp. 4–11.
66 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use," p. 64.
67 "A History of the Mark Twain National Forest," p. 27.
68 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use"; Robert Routh, "The Army Comes to the Ozarks" (Columbia: Typewritten manuscript on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, 1941).

69 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use," pp. 14–16.
70 Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 90–92; Nelson, *Backwoods Teacher,* p. 55.
71 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use," p. 64; Routh, "The Army Comes to the Ozarks," p. 4; Routh's number of families disrupted by the construction of Fort Leonard Wood is only 278.
72 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use," pp. 66–67.
73 Bill Akers, interview with Alex Primm, August 27, 1996.
74 Behymer, "Aunt Mary Jane"; Routh, "The Army Comes to the Ozarks," p. 20.
75 Mussan, "Implications for Land Use," p. 25, 27, 38, 61, 72; Routh, "The Army Comes to the Ozarks," pp. 18, 20.
76 Mary Alice Beemer, *Hello From Newberg! Bicentennial City* (Rolla: Bixler Printing Company, 1976) p. 20; Don H. Mays, *Fort Leonard Wood* (Fort Leonard Wood: U.S. Army Engineer Museum, 1941), p. 12–13; Mussan, "Implications of Land Use," p. 20; Smith, *A Historic Context Statement,* pp. 58–59.
77 Mary Kimbrough, "Houses for Rent in Waynesville," *Star-times,* April 5, 1946 (St. Louis: Clipping on file, Missouri Historical Society).
78 Mary Kimbrough, "Houses for Rent in Waynesville"; Routh, "The Army Comes to the Ozarks," p. 20; Mr. Edward Reep, letter to the author, April, 1998.

Chapter 8

Landscape and Isolation

If you had a good river bottom farm you could make it. But it was a poor livin in the fort. The people there grew everything they needed. But mostly, people there made it in the timber.

George Lane, May 16, 1992

Today, the land between the Big Piney and Roubidoux Creek in southern Pulaski County is the home and training ground of thousands of soldiers. They live and maneuver across a landscape that is carefully managed by natural resource experts who are charged with the responsibility of preserving the flora and fauna while minimizing the impact of soldier training. Much of the plateau has been reforested either by the U.S. Forest Service or the U.S. Army. This landscape is an artificial, cultural construct. The forests and grasslands are controlled in favor of certain types of military training and for certain species recognized as endangered by the federal government. Without this management, the landscape would have a much different vantage. While looking wild and natural, it is in fact a managed cultural landscape, as opposed to a natural landscape, as modern silvaculture makes possible. In the on-going interaction between culture and nature, culture presently has the upper hand at Fort Leonard Wood.

Hidden among the trees of these managed forests are the occasional reminders of past landscapes, less controlled. Rolling Heath school, numerous house foundations, abandoned and filled wells, fragments of gravel driveways, livestock pens, scattered artifacts and trash dumps, and twelve cemeteries all serve to remind the visitor that the land was once home to a rather unique people and culture. This culture, variously labeled after its geographical parameters as the Upland South or frontier backcountry, was an amalgamation of successful living strategies from both continents. Its moral, political, and familial traditions were from the Old World. Its economic and subsistence strategies were largely adapted from Native Americans in the New World. Within only a few generations, and using these living strategies, the residents had migrated to Missouri from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina

across vast eastern American woodlands. By the time they got to the Missouri Ozarks, they were indeed "pre-adapted," as cultural geographer Milton Newton has argued, for a life between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney.[1] From Josiah Turpin to George Lane, the Christeson, Overbey, Colley, Tilley, McCourtnay, Cook, York, and other families settled down, hunted, gathered, grew a few crops, and made a living in the timber.

As they settled the region, Upland South people were reshaping the natural landscape into a cultural landscape. In the beginning, nature largely dictated the terms of daily survival, isolating the people from supporting institutions and markets to the east and north. Still, while these settlers had difficulty getting goods and services into and out of the region during most of the period between 1800 and 1940, extra-regional events, changes, and technological development eventually influenced and changed the lives of those between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney. They were isolated, but never totally cut off from the ebb and flow of national and world history. The Civil War did not pass them by. A Great Depression hurt them as it did the rest of the nation. So one might ask, what did Carl Sauer mean by labeling the northern Ozarks an isolated landscape? A few final comments are offered in response to this question.

What has been seen in the previous chapters is that the history of settlement and development on the plateau from 1800 to 1940 was a history of a slow, inevitable breaking of the nature's isolating grip. Although Sauer regarded the landscape's natural isolation as the principal cause of the delayed settlement, and this has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, it has been argued herein that culture also shaped this isolation. That is, the people who chose to settle there found the natural landscape desirable. The land was avoided by those settlers who placed a high priority on rich farmland, but it was sought out by Upland South people. These people desired a life apart; a life that included isolation and the independence it fostered. The evidence for this is as abundant as the natural resources that were once characteristic of the landscape. Among the clues are monoethnicity, overwhelming Protestantism, dispersed settlement, persistent subsistence-level lifestyle, self-reliance rooted in traditional solutions to everyday problems, kin-based settlement and society, and a reluctance to change even after the natural resources that sustained the culture were gone. Indeed, because the natural resources were so abundant initially, and were exhausted only as a result of overexploitation in the early twentieth century, the cultural landscape fashioned in the antebellum period persisted, relatively unchanged, well into the mid-twentieth century. The isolated natural landscape provided a sanctuary for the culture, sheltering the people from the changing outside world. Their self-sufficiency, which was once a necessity for survival in an isolated settling, may even have become a hindrance to changes that were needed for the health and welfare of that society around the time of the Depression. The establishment of Fort Leonard Wood precludes an examination of what would have happened to the people had they been allowed to remain on the plateau until today. But the evidence indicates that the people living there just prior to the fort were isolated as much, perhaps more, by their culture, as by nature.

Perhaps culture always played a greater role in Ozark isolation than previously believed. For instance, recent evidence from prehistoric archaeological studies indicates that the natural landscape did not act as much a barrier to prehistoric peoples as it did for historic settlement. Early archaeological surveys and excavations had painted a prehistoric landscape used temporarily by hunters and gatherers with their permanent settlements

elsewhere. This notion had been imposed on the prehistoric landscape based on Sauer's and other's characterization of the historic landscape, because archaeologists lacked evidence for large, rich, archaeological sites like those seen along the Mississippi River. Caves showed evidence of occupation, as did the discovery of a few small scatters of artifacts along the river bottoms, but not the big mounds of earth characteristic of the Mississippian Period. This lead to the conclusion that the northern Ozarks 'backwoods,' descriptive of the historic period, had always had been a backwoods.

The systematic archaeological survey of Fort Leonard Wood has changed this picture. The large agricultural complexes seen to the east are still not evident, nor are they expected. However, the abundance of sites, especially those of the Woodland period, indicates that the land was well used by Native Americans from their initial migration into the region. Spread over 11,000 years, the sites represent only a modest occupation at any one time. Still, it is clear that the land was not vacant at any time after the first Native Americans arrived, except for the short period just prior to the arrival of the first historic settlers. For sure, the northern Ozarks had its lowest population at this time. This population vacuum was the result of the devastating European diseases and resultant catastrophic reordering of Native American groups across the eastern woodlands. Thus, the very first historic settlers were far more isolated than their prehistoric predecessors. In any case, the reason for prehistoric occupation was the same as the reason for historic settlement—the abundant land offered a certain number of people the ability to be self-sufficient and free.

Slowly the isolated natural landscape was transformed to the more easily accessed cultural landscape we see today. But not so much by the people and culture that settled on the land. Rather, what transformed the regional landscape were changes occurring in the technological and political spheres of the greater American landscape. What had the most profound effect in breaking the region's natural isolation while preserving its cultural isolation was the national transportation network and its development. Long ago, historian Oscar Winther remarked that "More than any other factor, transportation routes shaped both the direction and the ebb and flow of the three-century-long migrations that peopled the North American continent."[2] Here we can add not only the transportation routes, but also transportation technology. It was not only the development of the routes into the region that affected the landscape, but the industrialization of transportation technology. One can understand how this happened by reviewing the region's settlement sequence.

The earliest transportation routes into the Missouri interior, especially north and central Missouri, were by water. A few settlers made their way into the northern Ozarks up the Gasconade and Big Piney rivers. But this was not the main route into the northern Ozarks. There, the shallow, winding, quick-running streams like the Big Piney were not navigable by steamboat and for that reason they did not become the gateway for new settlers nor for goods into the region. This lack of a reliable water network delayed the development of the region. Instead, the Gasconade and the Big Piney were used as a means of getting raw materials out of the region. Along with the very first settlers, frontier entrepreneurs like Daniel Morgan Boone traveled up the Big Piney in search of good timber, and found it in great quantities. As early as 1816 sawmills could be found on the Big Piney. By the 1830s much of the pine timber along the Gasconade River was already gone. By mid-century the pine farther into the interior was also depleted. The oak remained for the future.

It was another route that became the main artery of settlement and goods into Pulaski County. Long before the hunters and lumbermen canoed down the Gasconade River, French explorer Claude-Charles Dutisné led the way, using a Native American trail that would eventually become one of the most widely known roads in popular American culture—Route 66. From the early nineteenth century until today, its various names express its history. First known as the old Indian Trail, it came to be called the Kickapoo Trace, the old wire road or the old Springfield road, then Route 66, and the same general route is now Interstate 44 (Figures 49 and 50). Because the rivers were not navigable, this route became the main route of settlement and the lifeline for any supplies needed by the early pioneers from the major urban market of St. Louis. Along this road flowed most necessities that could not be made locally, the mail, and eventually a tri-weekly stagecoach. When this road was closed due to rain or snow, the people were largely, if temporarily, cut off. The course of settlement and development of the region during the antebellum period was dictated by the development of this artery that ran from St. Louis through Pulaski County to Springfield.

After the Civil War this overland route was still important, but the railroad would soon have a profound effect on the landscape in southern Pulaski County. As noted in previous chapters, the planned route was through the middle of Pulaski County, and right before the Civil War, railroad workers were blasting their way through the hills just south of Waynesville. The railroad's location there would have significantly changed the people's fortunes in southern Pulaski County and Waynesville. But the war came instead. After the war, when railroad construction was restarted, its route was changed to go along the county's northern half. The result was that new towns like Crocker, Dixon, Richland, and Swedeborg were built along the railroad line and were inhabited by a new people who migrated into

Figure 49. Route 66 at Devil's Elbow, Missouri, 1930s (courtesy John F. Bradbury Postcard Collection).

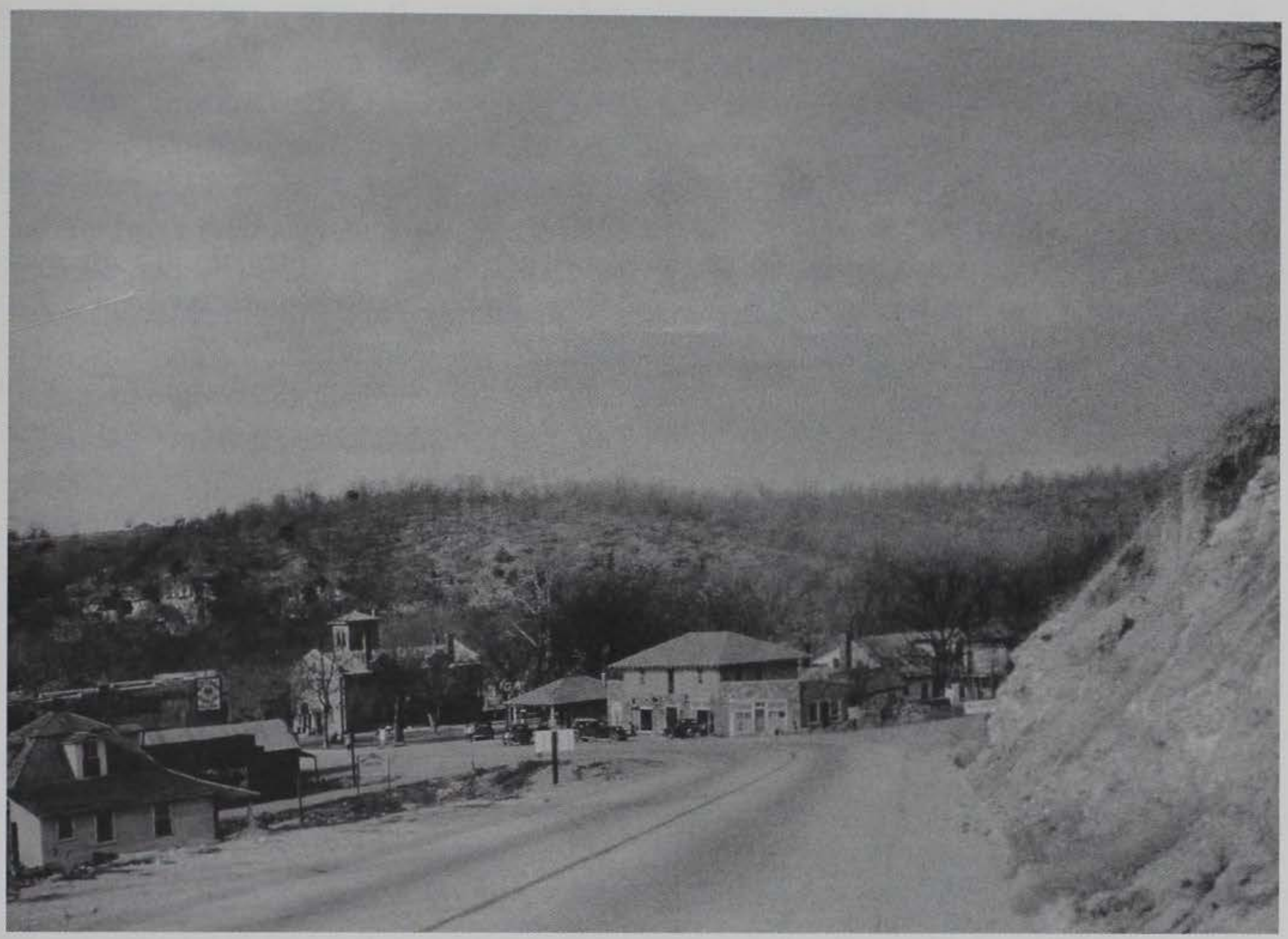


Figure 50. Route 66 leading into Waynesville, Missouri, 1930s (courtesy Pulaski County Historical Society).

the county during the tremendous post-war uprooting of the American population. These towns and the northern half of the county, instead of Waynesville and other southern villages, became the main distribution points for agricultural products, services, and goods into the county and the exporting of cross ties to the American west. Southern Pulaski County was left without a railhead, and the area continued to be isolated throughout the late nineteenth century. Thus, one lasting effect of the railroad on the region was indirect. It shifted the course of county development northward from its center. What improvements the railroad might have made in southern Pulaski County by being built through the region cannot be determined, but what is obvious is that by not going through this region, it perpetuated southern Pulaski County isolation, keeping the population from easily accessible markets. The people's lifeline remained the old Springfield road in the center of the state and other smaller roads leading east. Gradually, the old Springfield road became a distinct boundary line between the new cosmopolitan Ozarks[3] to the north and the old Upland South Ozarks to the south, creating two landscapes in the county.

Yet another impact the railroad had on the landscape was its voracious appetite for ties. As the railroads moved west across the plains, there was a ready market for oak ties. In 1865 there were 35,000 miles of railroad track in the nation. Only eight years later, this

mileage had doubled, and by 1904, some 200,000 miles of track were in use.[4] Around the 1870s, the average tie-hacker could make thirty ties a day and sell them for fifteen cents per tie.[5] A book written for the Missouri Exhibit of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1900 described Pulaski County stating "two thirds of the timbered lands have been cut over bordering the railroad and creeks."[6] While the pine forests disappeared in the region through the nineteenth century, the cutting of oak continued into the mid-twentieth century. The cutting was done by small local firms, tie-hackers, and by farmers for fuel and ties. Because the forests were thinned rather than clear-cut by large industrial firms, the trees lasted, as did the profession of tie-hacking, up until the Depression. Even during the Depression, local subsistence farmers cut trees for much-needed cash. Tie-hacking kept the people in coffee, salt, and flour. Oak ties as a reliable 'cash crop' allowed for subsistence level living to continue in relative comfort for a long time.

A final effect the railroad had on the southern Pulaski County landscape was brought about because, though there were no tracks in the region, the railroad was still the largest corporate landowner in the area. This land became a home for squatters. These people lived on the railroad lands and cut the timber for ties. While the railroad officially did not approve of them, the squatters were needed as a ready source of labor for making ties, and an informal symbiotic relationship developed, again allowing the culture to persist into the early twentieth century.

While tie-hacking and the railroad indirectly preserved the landscape, it was yet another type of transportation that eventually broke the landscape's isolation. In 1912, Charles Ousley of Crocker purchased the first automobile in Pulaski County. Along with World War I, the automobile opened up the Ozarks to the world. The automobile brought the main route of commerce back to the central part of the state, further opening the southern part of the county to the United States and the world. Route 66 became a major American corridor and link between the east and the west. Traveling along this route, much of America met the Ozarks for the first time. While the impact of the automobile was felt almost immediately, its greatest influence on Pulaski County would not be felt until after World War II, when the southern Pulaski landscape was transformed again by the establishment of Fort Leonard Wood. Still, Waynesville revived, and today, with Interstate 44 being the main corridor through the northern Ozarks, though it is still small, it is the most important town in the county.

From the old interior road of the nineteenth century, there were few roads that penetrated into the heart of southern Pulaski County. But there was one main route that went from Waynesville to points south and eventually to Houston, Missouri, and which helped break the landscape's isolation. The old Houston Road, as it became known, bisects the Fort Leonard Wood installation today as Route 17. Throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century, this route was probably the only path that could be called a 'road' in southern Pulaski County. Indeed, when the local county history was written as late as 1889, there were no bridges in the entire county, although there were two ferries on the Gasconade, and twenty-nine fords, fifteen of which were on the Big Piney. From the old Houston Road, trails led off to the east and west across the central prairie to the ridgetops near the two rivers, the Roubidoux and the Big Piney.

While the old Houston Road sliced open the isolated southern Pulaski landscape, it also shifted the settlement pattern, not only bringing goods to the people, but bringing the people closer to the goods. The little trails leading off the old Houston Road of the late

nineteenth century wound their way back to the little homesteads in the valleys and hollows of southern Pulaski County. Gradually, the valleys were filled and settlement moved to the upland prairie. More and more homesteads appeared along the roads in the uplands that formerly were only routes to homes in the valleys. This change became more dramatic with the arrival of the automobile in the twentieth century. At an increasing rate, dirt roads were created and old houses in the valley were replaced with new houses on the plateau along the roads. One might imagine that the people would not take to the automobile, being tied to a traditional, conservative Upland South lifestyle. This was not the case. By the 1930s some 45 percent of the population in the Fort Leonard Wood area had an automobile or truck.[7] By the 1930s, maps of the area show most of the houses along the roads. Again, while the railroad in many ways strengthened the isolated landscape, it was the automobile that opened the region to the world.

Today the northern Ozarks are quickly accessible from most parts of Missouri, although Missourians still think of the region as isolated. Beginning in the early twentieth century the region became a haven for tourists wanting to get away from the pressures of the city. Hunting camps and spas were opened and thrived even during the Depression. Local residents found employment as fishing and hunting guides. The Ozarks are even more popular today as a recreational, vacation, and tourist area. The reforested Ozark landscape is revered for its beauty and for its isolation. The land is purchased for second and getaway homes. As roads improve into the Ozarks and it becomes more and more accessible, city folk go deeper into the land, and higher into the hills to get away. The isolation of the Ozark landscape is now cherished and is the reason why environmentalists preserved it.

Ironically, while Americans seek the amenities of the natural Ozark landscape, at the same time they trivialize the culture that once thrived on this landscape. Ozark traditions and people are often dismissed as backward. Ozark people are still called crackers, rednecks, or hillbillies. Their traditional beliefs and lifeways are ridiculed, parodied, and stereotyped by urbanites and Hollywood. Hunting is considered unfashionable by city dwellers; gathering has been forgotten. Self-sufficiency as an American trait is quickly becoming an aberration of character.

Not all of America's response to Ozark culture is negative. Traditional music is loved and collected, quilts sell for thousands of dollars, frontier skills like blacksmithing and tie-hacking are demonstrated to school children. Books about Ozark traditions are avidly bought. But in the dismissing of rural people and in the commercialization of Ozark survival skills, something is overlooked. It has been forgotten that these people, this now archaic culture, provided the foundation for the present. It has been forgotten that America began as a hunting, gathering, agrarian nation. Ninety-five percent of the population lived on a farm in the Colonial Period; landscapes like the Ozarks, where Upland South traditions were successful survival mechanisms in a harsh isolated environment. At that time, hunting, gathering, sowing, harvesting, quilting, tie-hacking, was not simply recreational. Life was a strenuous, physical experience with the sorrows of early death and the pains of daily existence. Isolation meant no healthcare facility, no police department, no help a

phone call away. It was a life common to our ancestors and now foreign to most, and thus one misunderstood in ignorance and denial of the past.

Victor Davis Hanson, in his defense of the passing agrarian idea entitled *Fields Without Dreams,* asks about a future America without the family farm, a future without the kind of people who made the isolated landscape between the Roubidoux and the Big Piney their home from 1816 to 1940:

> Where will be the often unpleasant individual, the veteran of a continual struggle with nature, the now cultural dissident, who will choose still to go it alone in order to protect his old notion of a community, who will by nature have distrust for authoritarianism, large bureaucracy, and urban consensus? Is there another besides the ugly agrarian whose voice says no to popular tastes, no to the culture of the suburb, no to the urban enclave, no to the gated estate? What other profession is there now in this country where the individual fights alone against nature, lives where he works, invests hourly in the future, never for the mere present, succeeds or fails largely on the degree of his *own* intellect, physical strength, bodily endurance, and sheer nerve?[8]

Hanson's commentary raises profound questions for the current generation. Traditions that at one time defined the American Zeitgeist are now passé and undesired in a modern world that seeks comfort and false security in a large, paternal, centralized government and urban setting. The culture of the Fort Leonard Wood people was a culture of simplicity, self-sufficiency, strong kin and community ties, suspiciousness of outsiders, and familiarity with the land. Their anti-authoritarianism and their direct daily struggle with the landscape brought a true freedom unprecedented in the history of a once-free America. Their freedom was bought at a high price. But on the plateau, success or failure was theirs alone to find or endure. That is the meaning of Ozark isolation; it was the freedom of self-determination.

Notes for Chapter 8

1 Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation," pp. 143–154.
2 Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West 1865–1890* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. v.
3 Rafferty, *The Ozarks.*
4 Hofstadter et al., *The United States,* p. 522.
5 Arthur, *Backwoodsmen,* p. 10.
6 Williams, *The State of Missouri,* p. 484.
7 Mussan, "Implications of Land Use," p. 67.
8 Victor Davis Hanson, *Fields Without Dreams, Defending the Agrarian Idea* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), p. xii.

Appendix A

Census Enumeration and Other Tables for Pulaski County, 1840–1940

Table 1. Population Figures for Pulaski County: 1840–1860[1]

Date	White	Black(s)	Black(f)	Total
1840	6,338	190	1*	6,529
1850	3,885	113	—	3,998
1860	3,779	56	—	3,835

[1]Pulaski County was established 1833 and included parts of modern Dallas, Webster, Texas, Phelps, Maries, Miller, Camden, and all of Laclede, Wright, and Pulaski counties in 1840. The single free black was a female under ten.

Table 2. Animal Production for Pulaski County: 1840–1860[2]

Year	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1840	3,785*	—	10,513*	—	6,600	25,131
1850	2,124	1,141	1,886	3,547	5,034	15,030
1860	1,122	792	990	1,971	2,977	7,428

[2]In 1840 horses included mules (mules in 1850 numbered only 181 and 106 in 1860). Cows in 1840 included milch cows, oxen, and cattle.

Table 3. Crop Production for Pulaski County: 1840–1860[3]

Year	Wool	Wheat	Corn	Oats	Sweet Potatoes	Tobacco	Flax
1840	10,672	18,680	385,860	23,143	11,622	19,091	55
1850	11,894	11,352	246,430	32,828	8,821	4,780	7,545
1860	5,634	7,396	205,205	7,687	698	2,600	414

[3]Wool and tobacco are valued in pounds, all others are in bushels.

Table 4. Civil War Actions in the Waynesville Area: July 1862 to January 1865[4]

Date	Type of Action	Location
July 6–8, 1862	Scout	Big River/Big Piney
July 25–26, 1862	Skirmish	Big Piney
Nov. 25, 1863	Skirmish	Big Piney
July 5–6, 1864	Scout (from)	Big Piney
Aug. 25–30, 1864	Scout (to)	Big Piney
Nov. 1, 1864	Skirmish	Big Piney
Dec. 3, 1864	Skirmish	Big Piney
Jan. 16–22, 1865	Operations	Big Piney
Aug. 29, 1862	Skirmish	California House
October 18, 1862	Skirmish	California House
Feb. 12, 1864	Affair	California House
Jan. 1865	Skirmish (see above)	McCourtney's Mills
May 31, 1862	Skirmish	Waynesville
July 6–8, 1862	Scout (see above)	Waynesville
Aug. 29–Sept., 1862	Expedition from	Waynesville
June 20–23, 1863	Scout	Waynesville
Aug. 25, 1863	Skirmish (see above)	Waynesville
Oct. 26, 1863	Skirmish	Waynesville
Nov. 25, 1863	Scout	Waynesville
Sept. 30, 1864	Skirmish	Waynesville
Nov. 1, 1864	Skirmish	Waynesville
Dec. 1–3, 1864	Operations from	Waynesville
Jan. 16–22, 1865	Operations (see above)	Waynesville
March 5–12, 1865	Scout	Waynesville
Mar. 29–April 2,1865	Scout	Waynesville
May 23, 1865	Skirmish	Waynesville

[4]Frederick Dyer, *Compendium of the War of Rebellion* (1908; reprint ed., Dayton, Ohio: National Historical Society in Partnership with Press of Morningside Bookshop 1979), pp. 600, 603, 630, 655, 656, 790, 791.

Table 5. Population Figures for Pulaski County: 1870–1910

Date	White	Black	Total
1870	4,689	25	4,714
1880	7,190	60	7,250
1890	9,364	23	9,387
1900	10,357	37	10,394
1910	11,416	22	11,438

Table 6. Population of Cullen, Roubidoux, and Piney Townships, Pulaski County, Missouri: 1870–1910

Date	Cullen[5]	Roubidoux	Piney	Total	% County
1870	849	677	541	2,067	44%
1880	1,252	768	535	2,555	35%
1890	1,668	829	731	3,210	34%
1900	1,986	842	929	3,757	36%
1910	2,091	980	1,040	4,111	35%

[5]Waynesville incorporated in 1901 with 257 people.

Table 7. Farm and Farm Size in Pulaski County: 1880–1910[6]

Year	Farms	<3	3–10	10–20	20–50	50–100	100–500	500–1000	>1000
1880	839	—	2	6	98	290	436	7	—
1890	1,307	—	11	50	171	344	721	8	2
1900	1,512	3	13	31	221	404	828	12	—
1910	1,696	2	38	47	304	453	833	16	3

[6]Note, the breakdown of farm sizes was consistent until 1910, when farm units were broken down into 3–9, 10–19, 20–49, etc., acres.

Table 8. Animal Production for Pulaski County: 1870–1910

Year	Horses	Oxen	Cows[7]	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1870	1,481	661	1,271	?	3,886	10,154
1880	2,077	135	2,270	4,410	4,509	19,870
1890	3,295	142	4,262	10,915	6,197	23,245
1900	3,794	—	3,314	8,414	8,803	20,271
1910	4,750	—	4,217	9,479	15,722	19,557

[7]Milch cows.

Table 9. Crop Production for Pulaski County: 1870–1910[8]

Year	Wool	Wheat	Corn	Oats	Butter
1870	7,150	28,037	201,019	20,873	78,580
1880	11,991	57,573	478,652	39,920	69,995
1890	17,847	77,127	596,732	99,764	187,068
1900	24,820	57,530	616,070	40,360	205,432
1910	—	28,349	673,300	12,835	230,773

[8]Wool and butter are valued in pounds, all others are in bushels.

Table 10. Post Offices in the Fort Leonard Wood Region[9]

Name	Dates of Operation	General Location
Bailey	1884–1914	Within FLW(?)
Big Piney	1881–1972	East border of FLW
Bloodland	1898–1941	Center of FLW on 17
Cookville	1878–1941	Within FLW, SW area
Devil's Elbow	1927–present	North of FLW ~ 2 miles
Duke	1897–1906	East of FLW ~ 5 miles
Dundas	1869–1884	Moved to Bailey 1884
Dundas School		N. of Cookville (FLW) ~ 1 mile (?)
Hanna	1901–1943	West of FLW ~ 1 mile
Moab	1891–1929	N.E. FLW ~ 1 mile
Palace	1909–57	South of FLW > mile
St. Annie	1867–1895	S. of Cookville, moved to
(St. Anne?)		Laclede County, 1878
Tribune	1879–1941	North center FLW along 17
Waynesville	1834–present	Northwest FLW ~ 4 miles
Wharton	1907–1933	North center FLW
Wildwood	1907–1933	North gate FLW

[9]Robert G. Schultz, Missouri Post Offices 1804–1981, Branch Number 4 (St. Louis: American Philatelic Society, 1982), pp. 7, 14, 16, 17, 25, 36, 41, 47, 55, 56.

Table 11. Population Figures for Pulaski County: 1910–1940

Date	White	Black	Totals
1910	11,416	22	11,438
1920	10,476	14	10,476
1930	10,749	6	10,755
1940	10,772	3[10]	10,775

[10]This single African American family lived in Cullen Township.

Table 12. Population Figures for Cullen, Roubidoux, and Piney Townships: 1910–1940

Date	Cullen	Roubidoux	Piney	Total
1910	2,091	980	1,040	4,111 (35%)
1920	1,840	853	880	3,573 (34%)
1930	2,200	695	820	3,715 (34%)
1940	2,488	711	810	4,009 (37%)

Table 13. Population Density per Square Mile for Pulaski County Townships: 1920 and 1930[11]

Year	Tavern	Union	Liberty	Cullen	Roubidoux	Piney
Size*	90	81	106	141	61	63
1920	23.7	25	26	13	14	14
1930	25.8	25.3	25	15.7	11.4	13

[11]Ensminger, *Handbook,* pp. 21, 22, 102.

Table 14. Farm Sizes in Pulaski County: 1910–1940

Year	Farms	<3	3–9	10–19	20–49	50–99	100–499	500+
1910	1,696	2	38	47	304	453	833	19
1920	1,454	9	15	41	239	346	762	42
1930	1,454	7	39	39	205	308	817	39
1940	1,570	–	70	122[12]	195	343	800	52

[12]Categories differed from decade to decade. In 1940, acreage breakdown was from 10–29 and 30–50 acres.

Table 15. Animal Production for Pulaski County: 1910–1940

Year	Horses	Mules	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1910	4,750	1,314	4,217	9,479	15,722	19,557
1920	4,280	1,496	4,627	12,264	6,356	19,235
1930	2,577	1,304	3,693	17,316	8,099	11,609
1940	2,175	758	4,796	15,565	4,327	13,720

Table 16. Crop Production for Pulaski County: 1910–1940[13]

Year	Wool	Wheat	Corn	Oats	Butter
1910	—	28,349	673,300	12,835	230,773
1920	24,909	—	372,799	40,301	178,270
1930	21,642	13,563	585,252	15,634	134,574
1940	19,833	43,107	467,240	20,854	113,857

[13]Wool and butter valued in pounds, all others in bushels.

Table 17. Farm Owners and Tenants in Pulaski County: 1910–1940

Year	Farms	Owners	Managers	Cash Tnts	Share Tnts	% Tntcy
1910	1,696	1,254	11	99	332	25
1920	1,454	1,104	15	67	268	23
1930	1,454	1,045	6	22	311	28
1940	1,570	1,073	2	200	295	32

Appendix B

A Word on the Oral History Collected for This Book

by Alex Primm

Interviews throughout this book offer recollections of the Fort Leonard Wood area. The overall purpose was to gather glimpses of life in southern Pulaski County a half century and more ago. As part of the effort to preserve local historical resources, I conducted two separate series of oral history interviews. Two main topics inspired the interviews: for oral history conducted under a 1996 contract, it was land use effects on streams; a second project in 1997–98 focused more on traditional life and culture predating Fort Leonard Wood. For both projects, a schedule of questions was developed with assistance from author Steven D. Smith, Dr. Richard Edging at Fort Leonard Wood, the late Dr. Paul Albertson of the University of Missouri-Rolla, and Ms. Suzanna Langowski and Dr. Lucy Whalley of the U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center's Construction Engineering Research Laboratory. Some fifty different questions were covered on the second schedule, the first group was much more limited. Not all informants were asked all questions. The interviews were tape-recorded, but these sessions were not formal, structured events. Rather, the questions served more as starting points for recollections by these people who generously gave their time. As open-ended conversations, these interviews flowed as naturally as possible to let topics move from one subject to the next as seemed natural at the time. Not many topics could be covered in detail this way, but if a speaker had strong feelings or memories on some issue, that would be explored as thoroughly as possible before discussing other aspects of local life. The interviews usually were two sessions, sometimes three. Most transcriptions were done by Cathy Primm, wife of the oral historian, who takes care to catch each word and meaningful pause as might be expected of a computer programmer/systems analyst-by-day.

Most interviewees were able to review these transcriptions for accuracy. If a person for some reason was not able to examine the words printed in this book, each was able to

review his or her interview summary before the contractor's reports on those earlier projects. Such review is not only good literary practice; it is also required by the Oral History Association, whose guidelines were followed in this project. In most cases these short transcriptions have been slightly edited by the interviewer for readability. Most people will hem and haw when recollecting things long ago. The oral history tapes and summaries will be donated to the Western Historical Manuscript Collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri, and will be available for inspection and use there.

Many people interviewed were distantly related or were friends, which is not surprising. Those interviewed often suggested others. This method of participant referral is commonly used in survey research. If several people suggested the same person as having a good memory, that person would undoubtedly prove to be knowledgeable and usually willing to discuss life as remembered on the uplands between the Big Piney and the Roubidoux. Obviously many knowledgeable persons were not interviewed. The portions of oral history used here suggest the value of additional interviews by family members or researchers in the future. Interview transcripts in this book may be the first time many of these people have seen their words in print.

Biographical details on some of the people quoted in the text follow:

Bill Akers comes from the family who established the famous Akers Ferry on the Current River. His grandfather disagreed with his brothers over the Civil War, and Bill grew up during the Depression in the Big Piney watershed. He has worked in the timber most of his life and still farms.

Ferrell Arthur Dablemont was born 1927 in Texas County and raised near Sand Shoals on the Big Piney. Like his father, he has been a guide on the river and a jon boat builder with one of his products on display in the BassPro museum in Springfield. His son Larry continues the family guiding tradition and has written books and newspaper columns on the Ozarks.

Ollie Elliott was born to Hiram and Stella Brookshire Miller on a farm near Relf on Democrat Ridge in Phelps County. Her father was a tie-hacker and powder monkey on dam construction. She was nineteen when she married her husband Sam who was twice her age. They sawmilled and farmed.

Aileen Meadows Hatch, featured in *The Missouri Conservationist* for her skills as a hunter, takes pride in her Osage ancestry. She quit her last teaching position opening day of deer season when she realized what she was missing. She made sure, however, that a suitable substitute was available to take her place.

Homer Hildebrand was born and lived most of his life in a log cabin on the family homeplace in Texas County. He farmed, worked at the Post Exchange at Fort Wood and, like his father, can do most anything with his hands.

George Lane, born in 1913, was well known throughout Pulaski County as the long-time county clerk, as one of the most knowledgeable county historians, and as its leading storyteller. He ran for office nine times and only once had an opponent.

Norma Lea Anderson Mihalevich grew up near Laquey in a family of school teachers, which in part explains why she began teaching at age nineteen in the Rolling Heath School. She went on to help her husband in his medical practice in Crocker and later served several terms as mayor of the community.

Clyde Russell McWilliams was born in 1912 on the old family place near the site of Old Evening Shade where he spent most of his life farming. He took pride in being one of

the first in the area to use chemical fertilizer and to always know his neighbors and community history.

Napoleon Bonaparte "Boney" Ramsey said he has always felt fortunate to have been born in the Ozarks in 1921, though he retired as a professional engineer in Virginia. He remembered hunting, guiding fishermen, gigging, trapping muskrats, and the fall colors when he returned for reunions at the Rolling Heath School.

Virgil Mozelle Shelden was born in Hooker in 1915, worked at Fort Leonard Wood, and farmed across the river from Devil's Elbow. He remembered when everyone raised everything they had to eat because "we didn't have the dagdum grocery stores, big food markets like we have nowadays."

Many other former residents were interviewed about change and history in the Fort Leonard Wood but are not included in this book. They include: Norman Brown, Houston/Rolla; Lester Buch, Newburg; Leo Cook, Newburg; Tollie Dablemont, Houston; Bruce Debo, Devil's Elbow; Kenny Foster, Waynesville; Robert "Corky" Hargis, Dixon; Bud Massey, Big Piney; Harold McLaughlin, Plato; Irene Morgan, Waynesville; Ronald & Roger Potts, Bloodland; Joe Richardson, Houston; Mildred Rollins, Laquey; Finis Shelden, Hooker; Jesse Shelden, Rolla; Curt Stone, Texas County; Reyburn Webb, Edgar Springs; Etta Williams, Roby; Ray Wood, Rolla. Their interviews will also be available at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society.

I would also like to thank the following for making this oral history possible: John Bradbury and Mark Stauter of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection office in Rolla; Ray Brassieur, the Missouri State Historical Society's first oral historian, now a New Orleans folklorist; Bill Debo and Leonard Fetterhoff, local historians in the Devil's Elbow area; Poncho Elliott, guide to Paddy Creek; Tim Fox, then editor of *Gateway Heritage,* journal of the Missouri Historical Society, which printed an article on the Fort Wood region in January 1999; John Grinstead, retired forester; Sheryl Goltz, director, Rolla Free Public Library; Harriet Graham, teacher, Waynesville; Gayle and Mary Hildebrand, active citizens of Roby; Mike Lybyer, retired state senator, Huggins; Ellen Gray Massey, writer, Lebanon; Jerry McBride, retired state representative, Edgar Springs; Rich Spahr, Rich's Last Resort, at Ross Bridge on the Big Piney. Thank you all for sharing your insights.

Appendix C

Fort Leonard Wood Cemeteries

Pulaski County Historical Society. *Tombstone Inscriptions of Pulaski County: Combined Edition,* Waynesville, Mo., 1995.

CLARK CEMETERY

Brown, Elizabeth
Feb 1842
Jan 1900

Brown, Isiah
Hus of Elizabeth M. Brown
26 Dec 1822
26 Nov 1882

Clark, Barbara Jane
Wife of Jos. Clark
3 Apr 1883
22 Feb 1907

Clark, Barbary
20 May 1888
29 Apr 1891

Clark, Ebbie
25 Jan 1872
20 Jan 1903

Clark, George W.
1 Dec 1866
24 Feb 1889

Clark, Susan F.
23 May 1856
8 Sep 1887

Gan, Sarah A.
Birth not legible
Death—not legible
Dau of Geo & __ Gan

Henson, Andy
13 May 1865
3 Jul 1888

Owens, Nancy L.
11 Jan 1868
17 May 1889

Preutt, Mother Maggie
Birth: 1886
Died: 1939

Preutt, Vernice May
12 Sep 1906
6 Nov 1906
Dau of J. L. & M. Preutt

CLARK CEMETERY (*continued*)

Clark, J. J.
5 Dec 1869
4 Dec 1901

Clark, John W.
15 Jun 1863
28 Jan 1899

Clark, Joseph J.
5 Apr 1814
11 Jan 1886

Clark, Louiza M.
No Dates

Clark, Martha L.
1 Mar 1886
15 Oct 1892

Lowens, Nancy
11 Jan 1865
17 May 1889

Scott, L. V.
Born: Oct 1862
Died: 25 Feb 1873
Dau of Levi and Lucinda Scott

Taylor, Benjaman S.
Born: 16 Nov 1859
Died: 28 Oct 1872
Son of Hayden and M. J. Taylor

Taylor, Wills R.
Born: 22 Nov 1870
Died: 7 Oct 1872
Son of Hayden and M. J. Taylor

Yates, Elizabeth A.
2 Dec 1861
1 Jan 1891
Wife of J. R. Yates

Taylor, Mary Jane
21 Feb 1865
28 Oct 1872

ROCKWELL CEMETERY

Tucker, Nora S.
4 Aug 1891
20 Nov 1926

Rockwell, Chester
30 Apr 1825
20 Sep 1903

Tucker, Eunice
1919–1920

Logan, John
__ __ 1767
12 Sep 1871

Helm, Cora Mae
Date Unknown

Logan, Sarah T.
8 Jan 1815
3 Aug 1889
Dau of E. John & Elizabeth

Tucker, Maxine
1917–1918

Rockwell, Mabel Esther
Dau of John F. & Nancy L.
9 Dec 1901
17 Nov 1904

Koch, John H.
30 Oct 1840
7 Mar 1913

Morrow, Alfred L.
2 Oct 1852
1 Jan 1927

Atterberry, Marion W.
1884–1935

Bales, Clarence H.
13 Aug 1919
25 Jun 1920

Vaughan, John P.
13 Aug 1850
11 Oct 1923

Bales, Stella Emeline
10 May 1913
19 Aug 1914

Steward, James F.
24 Feb 1893
3 Feb 1922
PVT. 130 MG Bn 55 Div.

Steward, Stella
28 Feb 1901
21 Mar 1931

Davis, George Washington
27 Feb 1865
2 Mar 1922

Bales, Clarence H.
23 Dec 1918
10 Jan 1919

Ousley, Catherine Virginia
12 Aug 1825
5 Oct 1899
Dau of John & Elizabeth Logan

Atterberry, Mary G.
1889–1933

Logan, Margaral
12 Sep 1836
3 Nov 1923

Kinnaird, Lemon
1873–1924

Logan, Jacob Henry Garrson
17 Aug 1830
15 Nov 1915

Kinnaird, Cora
1880–1970

York, Andrew J.
1853–1936

York, Lavina
12 Dec 1861
17 Aug 1923

Helm, Mary Hattie
11 Jan 1897
26 Nov 1937

Walterberry, Martha L.
24 Sept 1879
14 Nov 1903

ROCKWELL CEMETERY (*continued*)

Atterberry, F. M.
10 Jan 1836
25 Oct 1904

Fields, James A.
6 Jun 1840
17 Mar 1907

York, Christopher
18 Jan 1900
12 Apr 1947

York, Lloyd C.
30 Jan 1931
22 Mar 1931

Steward, William A.
7 Feb 1892
1 Dec 1920

Fields, Sarah A. Logan
9 Sep 1845
11 Mar 1907

Logan, Elizabeth
9 Dec 1787
15 Mar 1868
Wife of John Logan

Logan, James Briggs
27 Feb 1861
__ __ 1930

Rockwell, Betsy A.
4 May 1892
19 Aug 1901

Tucker, Nora S.
4 Aug 1891
20 Nov 1926

Helm, Eugene
17 Jan 1920
__ __ 1923

Shultz, Henrette Bittick
Dates unknown

Helm, Ernest
1919–1923

Reagan Infant
28 Dec 1935
28 Dec 1935

Helm, Alva
1922–1923

Tucker, Alf
__ Apr 1891
__ __ 1935

Bales, Ephriam
15 Mar 1858
18 Sep 1930

Bales, Sarah
B. 1866
7 Feb 1924
Nee Wagner

BLOODLAND CEMETERY

Hudgens, Mary
16 Nov 1878
18 May 1952

Hall

Siles
20 Mar 1839
20 Apr 1915

William
Jan 1856
24 Sep 1920

Wade, John F.
11 Jun 1911
20 Mar 1980

Shultz, Emily E.
17 Jun 1892
1 May 1947

Vaughan, Roy E.
No Dates

Hough, Dora A.
15 Mar 1880
25 May 1951

Hough, Markham A.
25 May 1873
22 Nov 1916

Mee, Joseph
17 Jun 1910
Age: about 76 Yrs.

Hough, Joseph
20 Sep 1842
16 Nov 1920

Deaton, Lucy
16 Aug 1885
25 Feb 1927

Robinson, Lillie
28 May 1880
15 Sep 1913

Thornhill, Barbara E.
16 Jun 1903
24 Jan 1922

Hudgens

Dorothy E.	B. W.
1912–1913	1871–1940

Jasper

Phillip	Elizabeth E.
18 Jan 1829	23 Feb 1830
5 Dec 1907	16 Jan 1902

Bisghoff

G. F.	Margaret H.
1872–1921	1870–1952

Vaughan, Rosa E.
26 Feb 1907

Vaughan, Eva C.
11 Aug 1921
9 Feb 1924
Dau of H.E. & P.M.

Wade

Nellie M.	James R.
13 Nov 1884	29 Dec 1879
23 Aug 1958	23 Feb 1962

Thornhill

Sarah J.	James L.
1884–1929	1877–1967

Shearer, Willoughby
No Dates
Co. C 151 PA Inf.

McCann, Archie R.
24 Sep 1900
13 Oct 1917

Welch, James Albert
1854–1935

BLOODLAND CEMETERY (*continued*)

Jones, Ailsey A.
26 Jul 1935
27 Dec 1937

Watson, Walter T.
9 Aug 1885
12 Mar 1914
Hus of Sarah Maxwell

Shultz, Wayne
29 Oct 1916
26 Aug 1937
Son of Homer & Lizzie

Thompson, Sarah Ellen
16 Apr 1884
4 Aug 1950

Sirl, Sophrona R.
1910–1912

Stennett, F. M.
1835–1915

Peck, Susie
15 Aug 1855
6 Aug 1931

Jasper, Loyd
14 Jun 1903
12 Sep 1908
Son of S. E. & Emma

Koonce Nellie E.
30 Jun 1877
19 Apr 1958

Peck, Stephen
D. 29 Sep 1915
Age: 75Y 6M 3D
A Mason

Bush, Bennie
25 Oct 1902
27 Jan 1933
Wife of R. J.

Doyel, Raymon
2 Jun 1907
11 Dec 1909
Son of B. L. & Sadie

Irvin, Mayme Aurelia
10 Dec 1898
28 Oct 1971

Piper

Caroline	D. N.
1844–1924	1842–1920

Wood

Belle	James K.
No date	__ 1928

Doyel, Farmer J.
1872–1938

Gaede

Lydia	Fred
1866–1932	1858–1933

Courson

Arthur T.	Hanna J.
1856–1929	1857–1914

Myers Infant
26 Sep 1936
14 Oct 1936
Son of Loren & Lorene

Deaton, Filena
14 Feb 1844
5 Sep 1933

Black, Laura
26 Dec 1889
28 Jul 1906
Wife of W. W.

McCann, Mary M.
1858–1935

Thornhill, Samuel R.
4 Sep 1892
10 Dec 1970

Wenger, Jean Lorene
16 Dec 1936
7 Feb 1938

Kimes, Mary E.
26 Oct 1870
16 Jul 1930

Doyel, J. H.
20 Oct 1849
27 Sep 1910

Rumbaugh, G. F.
22 Aug 1861
11 Jul 1902

Wood, E. T.
1872–1936

King, John Vernon
14 Jan 1934
30 Jun 1934

Koonce, Samuel G.
4 Jun 1875
5 Oct 1941

Irvin

T. T.
25 Jan 1845
2 Feb 1932

Mary C.
10 Nov 1855
26 Sep 1916

Schneider

Jane B.
1861–1943

John C.
1861–1937

Fisher, Lawrence
8 Nov 1875
4 Feb 1909

Wood

Daisy
1882–1946

Thomas W.
1871–1925

Irvin, Altha
11 May 1921
25 Sep 1924
Dau of John & Mayme

Wood

Blanch T.
30 Jun 1848
16 Jan 1931

George M.
12 Jul 1845
8 Sep 1911

York, John
9 Jul 1904
7 Nov 1915

Potts, Thelma Lee
__ 1925

Hough, Coral E.
21 Apr 1908
25 Oct 1909

Bailey

A. R.
13 May 1842
6 Feb 1918

Artie M.
21 Apr 1847
18 Apr 1922

BLOODLAND CEMETERY (*continued*)

Deaton, A. B.
22 Nov 1839
3 Nov 1913
Politically a Prohibitionist

Posten, Myrtle A.
29 Oct 1900
17 Nov 1942

York, William C.
9 Sep 1904
11 Apr 1961

Gaede, Dorsey
24 Nov 1910
3 Nov 1922
Son of Albert & Etta

Carrell, Rosa B.
10 Dec 1903
1 Dec 1905

Griffin, Selustina
19 Mar 1855
16 Jan 1905

Buchholz, Eva
29 Mar 1904
27 Nov 1912
Dau of E. G. & L. G.

Springer, Sophie M.
1 Feb 1880
15 Mar 1955
Wife of Elmer

Davis

Alene	Paul B.
4 Jun 1906	25 Jun 1910
24 Jun 1906	3 Aug 1915

Bailey

Preston T.	Emma V.
21 Apr 1866	1 Sep 1875
14 Jul 1930	15 Jul 1966

McCann

Mary Effie	Helen Lorene
1913–1934	1933–1933

Bailey, Harry Lloyd
4 Mar 1932
20 May 1938

York

Elizabeth	Samuel M.
28 Jun 1873	5 Sep 1870
26 Oct 1946	23 Jan 1934

Degro

Charles	Annie
1869–1934	1877–1934

Springer

Rhoda	A.W.
4 Aug 1851	28 May 1838
30 Jan 1933	21 Jul 1931

Springer, Oliver L.
30 Jul 1872
16 Nov 1918

Springer, Elmer A.
4 Aug 1869
13 Dec 1946

Rumbaugh, Louisa E.
29 Jan 1863
23 Feb 1920

Buchholz, Lenoia Grace
31 Aug 1880
19 Apr 1916

BLOODLAND CEMETERY Section 2—St. Anne

Singleton, Cordia
21 Aug 1912
29 Jun 1919
Dau of E. O. & Livella

Cook, Jessie G.
20 Aug 1865
1 Feb 1929

Cook, W. T.
9 Oct 1841
23 Oct 1931

Sullins, F. M.
12 Jun 1853
2 Apr 1908

Wood, T. E. or J. E.
No Date

Sullins, Infant
6 Feb 1911
Son of J. F. & E. T.

Breeden, J. W.
6 Feb 18__ (2-6-18__)
21 Mar 193__ (3-21-193__)

Breeden, Lois Reagan
1887–1914

Crismon

Estella C.	Gilbert M.
22 Jul 1887	1 Jun 1885
9 Feb 1920	No Date

Robinson

Martha F.	James
1858–1937	1856–1940

Wood, Ralph
1906–1925

Griffin, Selustina
19 Mar 1835
16 Jan 1905

Hamilton, Donald
Son of Ross & Orpha

Haynes, Ranson R.
7 Nov 1905
6 Feb 1909
Son of T. H. & D. B.

Henson, J. C.
15 Dec 1866
26 Sep 1925

Tice, Mary Effie
13 Nov 1913
4 May 1934

BLOODLAND CEMETERY Section 2—St. Anne (*continued*)

Powers, Lacey L.
12 Feb 1908
20 Apr 1908

Green, Maud Bell
1890–1940

Breeden, _____
__ Jun 1846 (6-1846)
21 Mar 1931 (3-21-1931)

Hicks

Eliza
1868–1959

James W.
1856–1927

Breeden, Delia
28 Dec 18?? (12-18-18??)
17 Aug 1933 (8-17-1933)
Wife of J. W.

Woody, Pauline
(No dates)
Sis of Irene and Paul

Woody, Irene
(No Dates)
Sis of Paul and Pauline

Woody, Paul
(No dates)
Bro of Irene and Pauline

BLOODLAND—Section 3—Hicks

Skidmore, Caroline
23 Jan 1847
16 Sep 1887

Robinson, Nancy
24 Jan 1848
1 Nov 1867
19Y 9M 7D

Robinson, Sterling C.
29 Feb 1872
18Y 9M 24D
Son of I.W. & E.

Robinson, Elizabeth
24 Sep 1826
23 Nov 1871
Wife of Isaac

Robinson, Sarah
10 Jan 1878
Age: 60
Wife of W. (Will)

Robinson, Will
23 Dec 1812
28 Mar 1881
Hus of Sarah

Robinson, Eliza J.
22 Apr 1856
18 Jul 1878
22Y 2M 18D
Wife of C. A.

Robinson, Isaac
__ Aug 1820
__ May 1874

BLOODLAND—Section 4—Routh

Baker, Lucinda
4 Mar 1803
6 Sep 18

Baker, James
1801 __?

Finley, Fedela
7 Dec 1862
4 Oct 1881

Cook

Joel
23 Apr 1800
25 Nov 1887

Margaret
1806
27 Oct 1886

Hicks, Margarett
4 Dec 1875
6 Dec 1879

BLOODLAND—Stones just in a pile.

Musgrave, Olive
19 Jul 1800
26 Oct 1869

Sarah Ann
No Dates
23 Apr 1869

Musgrave, Olive
11 Mar 1810
25 Oct 1886

Mahala Wife of
No Dates

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29 Jan 1848
21Y 2M 24D

RAMSEY CEMETERY

Ramsey, Lydel Parks
17 Sep 1918
14 May 1919
Son of M. & M.T.

Ramsey, James K. P.
13 Nov 1913
7 Jul 1918
Son of M. & M.T.

Ramsey, Eva P.
1 Nov 1903
12 May 1919
Dau of M. & M.T.

Shultz, Lavonia P.
17 Nov 1868
25 Oct 1929
Wife of J. B.

LAUGHLIN CEMETERY

(at least 10 marked by rock only)

Ballard, Bland N.
7 __ __
21 Feb 1861

Piper, Rubie A.
20 Dec 1898
22 Nov 1902

Ballard, Margaret
16 Jan 1800
5 Aug 1870
Delight of Bland N. Ballard

_____ Charles M.
Son of J.J.

Ballard, Infant
29 May 1874
6 Jun 1874
Son of B.M. & S.M.

Long, Marton G.
9 Aug 1884
26 Oct 1885

Piper Infant
B & D 15 Dec 1905
Dau of A.D. & O.L.

Laughlin, B. W.
15 Sep 1827
14 Jun 1894
Age: 66 Yrs.

Ballard, Kenneth Max
8 Dec 1936
6 Jan 1937

Laughlin

Catharine	John J.
31 Mar 1830	14 Apr 1818
12 Jan 1914	21 Jan 1875

Ballard, Infant
no dates
Son of N.B. & Ida E.

Piper, Clyde L.
17 Jun 1907 D
25 Oct 1904 ? B

Ballard, Joan Elizabeth
22 Feb 1945
11 Dec 1946

Anderson _____
5 Sep 1903
5 Sep 190?
Son of Lafe & Sarah

Laughlin, _____
__ Jul 190?
Age: 39 Yrs.

Laughlin, Dolly
no dates
Infant of Roy & Jeretta

Ballard

B. N.	Elizabeth E.
10 Feb 1834	31 Jan 1842
19 May 1900	30 Dec 1932
A Mason	

Vaughn, Minerva A.
2 Jun 1841
25 Mar 1910
Wife of Byron

Laughlin, Monta
7 Sep 1892
10 Sep 1892
Dau of James & Estella

Laughlin, _____
8 Jan 1853
22 Oct 1882

Ballard, Sarah M.
7 Feb 1844
22 Mar 1878
Wife of B.N.

_____, Margaret
16 Apr 1851
9 Mar 1886

Ballard, Ethel
6 Jul 1909
17 Jul 1920

Lane, Walker B.
26 Aug 1876
9 Apr 1908

FIRE BAPTIZED HOLINESS CEMETERY

Wallace, Elizabeth
16 Sep 1858
4 Oct 1934

Titman, William H.
1863–1933

Marrow, Mary A.
6 Dec 1883
10 Apr 1934

Marrow, Lawrence E.
1906–1946

York, William D.
29 Sep 1936
19 Aug 1940

Piper

Andy Denis
7 Apr 1876
no date

Ora Lea
16 Dec 1874
29 Mar 1938

Laughlin, Infant
B & D 15 Jun 1899
Son of James & Estella

Laughlin, Claude M.
1 Jun 1897
17 Jan 1912
Son of J. & E.

Laughlin, Jas.
22 Jan 1864
28 Apr 1911

Ballard, Infant
B & D 21 Mar 1906
Son of N. B. & Ida E.

Pummell, Randolph
10 Oct 1849
1 Aug 1936

Titman, Mary E.
1866–1938

Manson, Ida Martin
31 Dec 1877
26 Mar 1946

Wallace, Thelma
1900–1980

Manson, Frederick Wm.
21 Sep 1878
22 Nov 1960

FIRE BAPTIZED HOLINESS CEMETERY (*continued*)

Wallace, George M.
8 Nov 1886
28 Sep 1955

Marrow, Houston E.
18 Apr 1880
7 Oct 1934

Marrow, Lawrence Jr.
Infant son of Lawrence & Gladys Marrow
April 5 1939

HALE CEMETERY

Jones, Fred
1908–1972

Stevenson, Infant
27 Dec 1891
6 Sep 1892
Infant of W. J. & E.

Jones, Verda M.
1908–1939

Hale, Mary A.
__ Sep 1838
11 May 1879

Jones, Mary L.
6 Dec 1853
26 Dec 1899
Wife of J. N.

Jones, Arthur E.
20 Mar 1885
16 Sep 1966

Jones, F. O.
29 May 1876
13 Feb 1927

Steward, William
23 Oct 1887
17 Apr 1893
Son of J. M. & L. E.

Jones, Nancy L.
1871–1955

Logan, Lorinda
30 Aug 1871
26 Aug 1872
Dau of J. H. & L.

Jones, J. N.
1848–1931

Jones, Millie
1901–1972
Metal marker

Hale, Minnie E.
27 Dec 1882
19 Jul 1883
Dau of S. P. & Prudie

Wade, Richard W.
20 Sep 1938
Son of Henry & June

Deer, A. J.
26 Dec 1831
12 Dec 1883
Hus of N. A.

Hale, Andrew J.
3 Jul 1874
30 Sep 1874
Son of S. R. & M. A.

Thornhill, Corie C.
11 Aug 1884
21 Oct 1887
Dau of J.L.S. & L. J.

Steward Minnie F.
4 Jun 1886
21 Jun 1886
Dau of J. M. & L. E.

Logan, John H.
CO 1-6 Kans. Cav.

Logan, James
6 Nov 1869
27 Sep 1889
Son—John H. & Lucinda

Logan, Lucinda
23 Aug 1837
9 Nov 1880

Hale, Edward S.
11 Feb 1870
2 Sep 1872
Son of S. R. & M. A.

Hale, Jessie P.
__ Dec 1883
Dau of S. R. & Prudie

Duncan, Minnie Pearl
19 Dec 1885
2 Jun 1896
Dau of S. M. & M. A.

Deer, Nancy A.
30 Sep 1828
24 Nov 1881
Wife of A. J.

Jones, John P.
1879–1958

Duncan, Nancy Ann
28 Jul 1884
28 Aug 1884
Dau of S. M.. & M. A.

Jones, John N.
29 Jul 1931
19 Sep 1969
MO A1C USAF Korea-DFC

Logan, Mary E.
19 Oct 1886
7 Feb 1887
Dau of B. W. & N. E.

Steward, James M.
30 Nov 1891–D & B.?
Son of J. M. & L. E.

CEDAR HILL OR BRUSHY HILL CEMETERY

Row 1

Christeson, James N. B.
6 Jul 1847
30 Nov 1916

Christeson, Wiley
B & D Mar 1890
Son of James & Louisa

Christeson, Louisa V.
6 Nov. 1858
7 Dec 1916

Christeson, Baby
no dates

CEDAR HILL OR BRUSHY HILL CEMETERY Row 1 (*continued*)

Christeson, Cyrus Elisha
24 Dec 1851
21 Apr 1940

Christeson, Permelia Angeline
9 Feb 1860
21 Dec 1923

Dickson, Minnie B.
19 Dec 1880
11 Mar 1890
Dau of Joe L. Dickson

Dickson, Ethel G.
5 Jun 1890
26 Mar 1892

Row 2

Christeson, Margaret Eve
1 May 1856
9 May 1935

Christeson, John B.
9 Apr 1858
17 Feb 1926

Christeson, Howard G.
17 Dec 1898
2 Oct 1911

Christeson, Anaestelia
1 Aug 1894
18 Oct 1896

Christeson, Walter Ray
24 May 1896
13 Jan 1911
Son of Thomas J. Christeson

Christeson, Thomas J.
22 Jul 1849
19 Apr 1907

Christeson, Sarah G.
1 Dec 1825
9 May 1908

Christeson, Elijah Jordan
24 Nov 1819
4 May 1902

Row 3

Christeson, Maggie
30 Mar 1842
13 Apr 1893

Cynthia Janie
25 Feb 1860
9 Sep 1903
Dau of E. J. Christeson

Row 4

Hinshaw, A. J.
1854–1935

Hinshaw, Permelia
1826–May 3, 1898
Wife of Levi Hinshaw

Christeson, Albert
12 Feb 1880
17 Apr 1917

Unknown (Infant)

Christeson, Matt
31 May 1870
29 Jun 1949

Christeson, W. W.
11 Jan 1840
6 May 1917

Christeson, Emily C.
15 Aug. 1847
26 Jun 1927

Christeson, Jessie A.
19 May 1873
23 May 1903

POST CEMETERY

Anderson, Floyd P.
1 Apr 1938
30 Jun 1942

Long, Dabney H.
2 Feb 1909
12 Apr 1969

Marshallena, Icho
2 Aug 1924
25 Aug 1943

Grefstad
18 Jun 1905
4 Sep 1944

Cranford, Albert C.
29 Apr 1929
11 May 1969

Nikitenko, Andrew S.
7 Jun 1939
27 Apr 1958

Burgess, Izeal Jr.
26 May 1969—Infant

Hertrich, George
5 Dec 1908
24 Jun 1959

Johnson, Donald
22 Feb 1940
24 Sep 1959

Jones, Walter
3 Jun 1911
15 Feb 1965

Davis, Frank N.
17 Feb 1901
4 May 1969

Dooley, Clifford E.
22 Jun 1911
12 Feb 1966

Lytell, Bert V.
14 Feb 1902
1 Jun 1966

Wilkerson, Adam
3 May 1969—Infant

Davis, Bertha
30 Oct 1892
8 Sep 1978

Wilkerson, Rebecca
7 May 1973—Infant

Westlund, Carl W.
3 Mar 1898
5 Mar 1967

Parson, Thomas M.
16 Jan 1904
12 Jan 1967

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Elick, Lisa E.
28 Nov 1914
18 Jun 1969

Norman, Alvin
29 Oct 1932
28 Apr 1962

Hazelwood, Donald R.
13 Dec 1918
13 Aug 1962

Hieb, Paul
20 Mar 1920
2 Sep 1969

Cooper, James C.
6 Apr 1931
7 Jun 1973

Thomas, Paul M.
30 Jun 1944
18 Jan 1964

Witthoft, Velma
26 Sep 1904
13 Nov 1969

Forrest, William
9 Aug 190__
30 Jul 1964

Tyree, Thomas
25 Nov 1908
18 Nov 1969

Steward, Bee
_____
_____

Bates, Theo W
13 Jan 1925
23 Jan 1966

McKenzie, Edward
1983—Infant

Helseth, Fred M.
28 Oct 1920
8 Jun 1967

Riffe, Charlie T.
7 Jul 1915
6 Jun 1967

Hieb, Doxie
15 Feb 1913
25 Apr 1971

Fassett, John
27 Jul 1907
17 Apr 1968

Stephens, Paula
21 Feb 1929
27 Apr 1968

Witthoft, Herman A.
2 Jan 1902
23 Jan 1970

Libby, Infant
15 Aug 1981

Foster, David L.
18 Jun 1929
17__ 1983

Tagge, George C.
_____
5 Oct 1968

_____, James B.
Infant 20 Feb 1960

Webber, Jack
20 Feb 1904
16 Jan 1970

Elwell, Richard
27 Jan 1971

Hutton, Herman
12 Nov 1934
12 Feb 1983

Sanchez, Lureann
15 Feb 1970—Infant

Everhart, Infant
9 Mar 1971

Prescott, Robert __
15 Feb 1970—Infant

Seeker, John
24 Oct 1959
11 Jan 1981

Kappes, Harold A.
29 Apr 1928
23 Mar 1970

Knoblock, Henry
28 Jul 1912
10 Spr 1970

Zenor, Danya D.
24 May 1971—Infant

Ely, Dorinda J.
4 Jun 1965
12 Dec 1970

Hughes, Zoann
13 Apr 1970—Infant

Trumblay, Leonard J.
25 Oct 1945
6 Apr 1971

Andrade, Harriet __
5 Apr 1931
8 Sep 1970

McGuire, Everett A.
4 Jul 1915
29 Apr 1971

Rast, Alex J.
22 __ 1979—Infant

Williams, Infant
11 May 1971

Hatfield, Tracy L.
18 Mar 1970—Infant

Perry, George
2 Nov 1956
18 May 1971

Behrens, Peter __
3 Nov 1944
4 Dec 1970

Davis, Angela R.
7 Dec 1970
15 Dec 1971

Hughes, Gloria
12 Apr 1970—Infant

Pittman, Daniel
26 Sep 1952
4 Jul 1971

Bradford, Tommy
6 Jul 1971—Infant

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Brown, Albert L.
19 Nov 1932
17 Jan 1971

Austin, James
8 Jul 1971—Infant

Sappington, Hildegard
19 Feb 1936
25 May 1970

Agnew, Teresa A.
27 May 1970—Infant

Nicholson, Francie R.
11 Feb 1971
12 Feb 1971

Phillips, John Jr.
19 Jul 1970
21 Jul 1970

Neupauer, David A.
28 Jun 1945
19 Feb 1971

McDewitt, Infant
6 Aug 1970

Barnhill, George __
26 Jan 1940
10 Aug 1970

Wadlow, Tina Lynn
28 Apr 1971
23 Aug 1971

Wilder, Jeffrey A.
4 Jun 1972—Infant

Dowbor, Don
10 May 1935
7 Jan 1972

Ballentyne, Vanessa
24 Sep 1957
25 Sep 1957

Sipp, Infant Dau.
17 Jul 1971

Williams, Jackie
26 Jun 1932
3 Feb 1971

Grigsby, Ruth V.
24 Jul 1971—Infant

Neupauer, Brinda
9 Mar 1949
19 Feb 1971

Colby, Ingrid A
8 Aug 1971
9 Aug 1971

Justin, Howard
1 Jan 1982
30 Nov 1982

Funk, Infant Son
27 Jul 1971

Brock, Jay R.
13 Nov 1915
4 Apr 1971

Delacruz, Max
3 Oct 1957—Infant

Miller, Stephen
20 Sep 1971—Infant

Thomas, Shigeko
1 Dec 1931
29 Jun 1972

Reese, Infant
20 Oct 1971

Shoemake, Issac W.
30 Jul 1905
30 Oct 1971

Sally, Taya
3 Oct 1957—Infant

Leek, Thomas H.
9 Nov 1971—Infant

Beattie, Vero D.
6 Sept 1939
25 Dec 1971

__auhane, _____
3 Jul 1957—Infant

Syplus, Walter
30 Jan 1930
10 Jan 1972

Harris, Deborolane
6 Jun 1957—Infant

Willfong, Doris
12 Dec 1959—Infant

Dillion, Francis
4 Feb 1941
19 Feb 1972

Winters, Karen
13 Sep 1959
23 Dec 1959

Renaker, _____
5 Mar 1972—Infant

Howe, Fred H.
18 Nov 1916
6 Mar 1972

Storey, Edward
16 Jul 1959—Infant

Conlon, Karol
28 Oct 1959
31 Oct 1959

Kurtz, Ricky
22 Aug 1959—Infant

Vasper, Raymond
22 Aug 1957—Infant

Edwards, Robert
9 Mar 1963
10 Mar 1963

Cook, Billy
17 Nov 1959—Infant

Gipson, Jerome
22 Nov 1957
23 Nov 1957

Leftwich, Haracie
30 May 1957—Infant

Reinhardt, Mellisa
27 Feb 1972—Infant

Gavino, Shirley
12 Apr 1957
13 Apr 1957

Chapman, Mary
29 Oct 1958
17 Dec 1959

Compas, Robert
19 Aug 1956
27 Aug 1956

Roman, Loranne
15 Oct 1956
8 Dec 1956

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Doty, Alice
13 Feb 1956
16 Jan 1960

Foster, Larry
18 Dec 1956—Infant

Magnuson, Paul
1 Jun 1957
8 Jun 1957

Milner, Joseph
31 Mar 1972—Infant

Bushley, Jenifer A.
1 Jun 1972—Infant

Clarl. Robert
13 Aug 1929
9 Nov 1979

Stalsberg, Terry
15 June 1957
22 June 1957

Dollison, Annette
13 Mar 1960—Infant

Dollison, Edward
13 Mar 1960—Infant

Gancary, Theodore
28 Apr 1971
24 Sep 1979

Monceaup, Connie
23 Mar 1960
25 Mar 1960

Klappel, Wm
17 Nov 1960—Infant

Hicks, James C.
25 May 1923
16 Mar 1972

Farmer, Johnny
31 Jan 1960—Infant

Laribee, Kenneth
20 Feb 1924
31 Mar 1981

Pendergrast, Homer
2 Sep 1960—Infant

McKnight, Bernetha
13 Feb 1960—Infant

Pahula, Michael
26 Dec 1926
24 Mar 1980

Wolf, Wm.
5 Oct 1960
6 Oct 1960

Williams, Victor
11 Oct 1960—Infant

Brown, Anna
19 Mar 1960—Infant

Ingalls, Diane
7 Nov 1960
10 Nov 1960

Clements, Carl
24 Nov 1909
27 Aug 1979

Hooks, Toni
25 Nov 1960—Infant

Monceaup, Bonnie
23 Mar 1960
25 Mar 1960

Cummings, Frank
31 Aug 1980—Infant

Delarge, Susan
23 Feb 1960
21 Apr 1960

Velligas, David
2 May 1960
4 May 1960

Krooch, Christy C.
21 Mar 1952
17 Jan 1979

Hendrie, James
29 May 1960—Infant

Pinkston, Stanley
27 Jun 1960
30 Jun 1960

Krooch, Nicholas A.
17 Jan 1979—Infant

Barrett, Michael
11 Jul 1960—Infant

Zwangiger, Perry
24 Jul 1960—Infant

Simmons, Cecil C.
31 Apr 1949
10 Dec 1979

Coke, Clarence
11 Aug 1963
18 Nov 1976

Weaver, Louis
2 Aug 1960—Infant

Irwin, Richard
20 Nov 1912
12 Jun 1979

Smith, Rhonda
20 Dec 1960—Infant

Oberdiear, Terry
21 Nov 1904
8 Mar 1979

Whitt, Gene
17 Oct 1960
26 Dec 1960

Jenkins, Ralph
6 Nov 1924
22 Jan 1979

Shackers, Michael
17 Jan 1961—Infant

Schneider, Peter
24 Jan 1961
25 Jan 1961

Cothron, Mario
27 Jan 1961—Infant

Childs, Infant
17 Jan 1979

Gauromski, Wm.
29 Jul 1960—Infant

Cole, William
13 Jan 1965
18 Nov 1978

Fox, Oakley
24 Feb 1902
2 Dec 1979

Heykoop, Betty
3 Sep 1960

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Pakula, Violet
17 Apr 1923
8 Nov 1979

Hale, Infant
12 Apr 1980

Bradford, Vincent
14 Feb 1961
13 Feb 1981

Cole, Chun Yal & _____
16 Apr 1950
6 Jan 1981

Galloway, Richard L.
11 Feb 1980—Infant

Walther, Alfred __
8 Mar 1920
24 Dec 1980

Price, Junior C.
9 Feb 1925
11 Dec 1980

Morgan, Maralyn K.
18 June 1948
17 Mar 1979

Johnson, Carl S.
29 Apr 1935
24 Nov 1980

Morgan, Pamala K.
15 Nov 1970
21 Jan 1979

Morgan, Douglas R.
22 Nov 1974
21 Jan 1979

Manasterski, Russel
Allen II
5 Apr 1980
6 Apr 1980

Greene, Infant
18 Aug 1980

Bunch, X. Vernon
26 Oct 1893
28 Jan 1980

Howard, Donald Ray
27 Jun 1927
9 Jan 1980

Bass, Infant
11 Nov 1979

Starr, Gertruid Maria
3 Sep 1936
17 Nov 1981

Wildfoster, F.A.O.
1 Nov 1909
7 Nov 1981

Merriman, Harvey A.
12 Dec 1921
17 Aug 1981

Hinojosa, Diane
5 Sep 1981—Infant

Gramms, Meta M.
23 Apr 1914
13 Nov 1980

Cooper, Earnest W.
2 Jan 1931
7 May 1981

McFarland, Gordon A.
23 Feb 1924
4 Nov 1981

Galloway, James H.
18 Jan 1931
13 Apr 1981

Natasha Nicole
10 Aug 1981
15 Sep 1981

Davis, Cammie L.
16 Nov 19__
1 Sep 1981

Rolin, Arthur O.
22 Feb 1926
25 Apr 1981

Gil, Diego __
29 Aug 192__
13 May 198__

Schuller, Ronald J.
14 Apr 1939
16 Apr 1981

Hamann, George R.
14 Apr 1924
13 May 1980

Franklin, Walter __
3 Sep 1926
9 Apr 1981

Freeman, Edward D.
9 Nov 1909
26 Apr 1980

Wise, Nancy J.
22 Jun 1959—Infant

Dobbins, Verlin __
23 Apr 1914
16 Oct 1980

Williams, Eric S.
24 Aug 1966
21 Mar 1981

Mayhew, Patricia
8 May 1924
4 Sep 1980

Baskin, Emery
7 Oct 1922
28 Apr 1980

Hardison, Harvey G.
8 Apr 1926
26 Apr 1980

Fay, Harold Scott
1 Feb 1920
8 Jan 1980

Austin, John G.
26 Apr 1908
24 Jun 1980

Spackman, Vernon __
13 May 1919
19 Apr 1980

Fann, Elbert W.
22 Mar 1919
12 Apr 1980

Moore, Byron Eugene
26 Oct 1958
27 Oct 1958

Kramer, Francis
26 Jun 1959—Infant

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Liebig, John C.
9 May 1918
3 Aug 1980

Slowell, Wm. D.
11 Jul 1959—Infant

Monett, Cadrill
1 Apr 1979
18 Sep 1980

Dyer, Lemual T.
20 Jun 1924
22 Oct 1980

Brown, Linda Sue
9 Dec 1958—Infant

Evelelk, Robert Jerry
13 Dec 1954—Infant

Shaw, John Michael
20 Jan 1959
24 Jan 1959

Ridgeway, Wilbur L.
7 Nov 1916
1 Dec 1980

Stanch, Kevin
31 Jan 1955—Infant

Baven, Infant
14 Dec 1980

Frizzle, William L.
28 Sep 1926
12 Jan 1981

Merritt, Sharon Marie
13 Sep 1953—Infant

Kirchner, Hallie
22 Apr 1974
19 Jan 1981

Boseman, Hannibal Mick
28 Oct 1958
29 Oct 1958

Taylor, Billy Joe
20 Jun 1959—Infant

Hamel, Joseph Rene
6 Nov 1958
7 Nov 1958

Perkins, Barnez O.
20 Aug 1928
14 Nov 1980

Wendendahal, Joanne
11 Oct 1958—Infant

Shields, John Allen
3 Oct 1958—Infant

Wise, Leonard R.
1 Oct 1958
2 Oct 1958

Wilson, Denise
11 Feb 1959
12 Feb 1959

West, Katherine
1 Oct 1958

Brylla, Charles David
22 Sep 1958—Infant

Coullard, Valerie C.
17 May 1959—Infant

Moore, Janet Kareen
14 Apr 1959—Infant

Turner, Brylou__ Cecile
12 Jan 1957
10 Sep 1958

Kirchner, Jeffrey I.
16 Apr 1976
19 Jan 1981

Adams, Donald __.
11 Aug 1958
18 Aug 1958

Rohaley, Deborah L.
27 May 1959—Infant

Lively, James J.
27 Aug 1957—Infant

Fox, Nancy F.
16 Sep 1957

Wilson, Dennis
22 Oct 1958
22 Oct 1958

Baseman, LaFayette
22 Mar 1958—Infant

Valentine, Autumn
24 Oct 1962
27 Jan 1963

Johnson, Peter
8 Jun 1958
9 Jun 1958

Fox, Nancy F.
16 Sep 1957—Infant

Sally, Ta ja Althea
3 Oct 1957—Infant

Schuckenbrock, Stephen
28 Apr 1958
29 Apr 1958

Parker, Charles
8 Mar 1963—Infant

Green, Jerry C.
25 Oct 1954—Infant

Tannis, Dennis
19 Apr 1958—Infant

Wasson, Marie A.
5 Jun 1959

Johnson, Joseph __. Jr.
30 Apr 1958—Infant

Holfler, Mark D.
28 May 1959—Infant

Ewing, Lewitt __
3 Apr 1958
4 Apr 1958

Roman, Rebecca
2 Nov 1957—Infant

Miller, Diana
18 Feb 1963
19 Feb 1963

Ramirez, Joann
30 May 1958
31 May 1958

Pyles, Steven
16 Feb 1963—Infant

Lively, James J.
27 Aug 1957—Infant

Barnett, Carol
8 Jun1962
9 Jun 1962

Figura, David
24 Jul 1962—Infant

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Barbrow, Roberta
24 Mar 1958—Infant

Welhington, Lee Jay
19 Feb 1958
23 Feb 1958

Figura, Daniel
24 Jul 1962—Infant

Miller, Jodye A.
19 Feb 1958
20 Feb 1958

Vaquer, Jay
24 Jan 1958—Infant

Boecher, James
2 Nov 1962—Infant

Strangland, Lynnda
6 Nov 1962—Infant

Purdy, Richard
13 Nov 1962—Infant

Van Epps, Lisa C.
5 June 1960
6 Jun 1960

Akers, Teddie
9 May 1963
10 May 1963

Van Epps, Thersa J.
5 Jun 1960—Infant

Rhodes, Vickie Linn
29 May 1960

Sweet, George
1 May 1967—Infant

Shoemaker, Kevin
Jun 1962—Infant

Bivens, Dorothy
16 Mar 1963
17 Mar 1963

Alberts, Mary
24 Mar 1963—Infant

Fox, Terry L.
13 Aug 1957
2 Jan 1958

Cook, Dina
17 Apr 1963—Infant

Sims, Chandler
29 Apr 1963—Infant

Bauder, Steven
18 Dec 1963
20 Dec 1963

Kinney, Terry Ray
5 May 1963
6 May 1963

Dodison, Darrell
14 Nov 1962
17 Nov 1962

Blake, Murice
18 Mar 1960
24 Jan 1963

Wilmoth, Oral
14 Dec 1962—Infant

Chudej, Larry
16 May 1963—Infant

Fountain, Jimmy
14 Dec 1962—Infant

Tanis, Dennis G.
26 Nov 1957
27 Nov 1957

Winters, Paula Ann
7 Nov 1957
8 Nov 1957

Shoemaker, John
9 Jun 1963
10 Jun 1963

Cook, Robin
19 Feb 1964
20 Feb 1964

Thompson, Terry
3 Jul 1963—Infant

Davis, Aubrey
8 Mar 1964—Infant

Pease, Stephine
9 Aug 1963
10 Aug 1963

Kanney, Wallace
28 Aug 1940
29 Feb 1960

Hartley, John
4 Sep 1963—Infant

King, Ethel
19 Mar 1930
13 Dec 1960

Stewart, Mary
3 Sep 1963—Infant

Rodriguez, Abel
22 Sep 1963—Infant

Sain, Sherry
18 May 1963
23 May 1963

Chartom, Michael
2 Sep 1962—Infant

Bullard, Zachary
8 Mar 1956
4 Dec 1959

Daugherty, Cindy
26 Jul 1959
5 Dec 1959

Brock, Edward
26 Feb 1964—Infant

Everett, Terry
29 Aug 1963—Infant

Fristae, Romona
10 Dec 1959
13 Dec 1959

Hill, Martin
25 Feb 1964
21 Mar 1964

Alberts, Harry
27 Mar 1964
28 Mar 1964

Schriener, Phillip
6 July 1964
7 July 1964

Tate, Frederick
6 June 1964—Infant

Wilson, Robert
10 Jun 1964—Infant

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Space, Dorothy
19 Aug 1921
14 Dec 1961

Bakken, James
22 Oct 1963
23 Oct 1963

Andrus, Camille
23 Oct 1963—Infant

Sitch, Clara
22 Mar 1912
30 May 1964

Davis, Angela
11 May 1978—Infant

Henderson, Kenneth
27 Nov 1963
27 Dec 1963

Maloy, Tina
27 Jan 1964
28 Jan 1964

Wethington, Tamy
17 Feb 1964—Infant

Hand, Michelle
11 Feb 1964
12 Feb 1964

Ontaga, Jean N.
26 Dec 1961
7 May 1962

Mundt, Joanne
2 Jan 1945

Perkins, Heidi
13 Aug 1964—Infant

Nichouse, Lois
11 Oct 1917
13 Mar 1964

Waldrup, John
18 Jun 1964
28 Jun 1964

Layton, Robert
18 Jun 1964—Infant

Stevenson, Marion
20 Mar 1923
6 Jun 1964

Guthrie, Martin
26 Jun 1964—Infant

Campbell, Earl
15 Oct 1916
28 May 1978

Cozad, Mayme
4 Nov 1916
23 Jul 1964

Aaron, David
27 May 1978—Infant

Henderson, Norma
20 Oct 1920
28 Jul 1964

Whitey, Genevive
1 May 1942
29 Aug 1959

Davis, Warren
7 Aug 1964—Infant

Baswell, Rex
19 Jun 1961—Infant

Nix, Raymond
12 Apr 1962—Infant

Peavy, Kathy
5 Sep 1964—Infant

Staakley, Edric
22 Sep 1964—Infant

Sharp, Charles
10 Oct 1964
11 Oct 1964

Walfrom, Barbara Ann
4 Sep 1966—Infant

Starlint, Barbara
5 Feb 1961—Infant

Yates, Kevia
16 Jan 1961
7 Mar 1961

Supon, James
29 Sep 1961—Infant

Wynn, David
9 Aug 1960
5 Apr 1961

Capo, Lay Lea
18 Apr 1961—Infant

Ray, Nalalie Cherie
4 Aug 1966—Infant

Howe, Sharon
15 Jul 1957
18 Apr 1961

Slavens, Henry
6 Jan 1962—Infant

Dickins, Pamala
7 Sep 1966—Infant

Branson, Ralph
28 Apr 1961
1 Jul 1961

Harris, Sharon
13 Jul 1961—Infant

Zeller, Daniel
6 Aug 1961
7 Aug 1961

Powers, Donald
16 Aug 1961—Infant

Maran, Sherie
22 Aug 1966
23 Aug 1966

Pierce, Tina Marie
9 Aug 1966
11 Aug 1966

Johnson, Darrell John
12 Aug 1966—Infant

Thomson, Francis
20 May 1959
23 May 1959

Cole, Jeff
1 Dec 1961—Infant

Stein, Veronica Faye
7 May 1966—Infant

Reatherford, Katherine
4 Dec 1961
8 Jan 1962

Sundell, Tom
10 Apr 1966—Infant

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Cochran, Dawne
11 Aug 1957
12 May 1961

Crow, Ara
11 May 1961
15 May 1961

Cooper, Delmae
10 Feb 1962—Infant

Russell, Rona
19 May 1961—Infant

Barraga, Stephen
18 Jan 1966
21 Jan 1966

Reeves, Robert
16 May 1961
22 May 1961

Ruark, Mark
7 Jun 1961—Infant

Flareh, Michelle
15 Jan 1966
16 Jan 1966

Cooper, Ronald Edward
5 Nov 1967—Infant

Moon, Morris D.
17 Feb 1963
9 Jan 1966

Wilking, Margaret
26 Oct 1965
11 Nov 1965

Alberts, Kasenda Lee
No dates

Halperin, Linda Sue
2 Jul 1962
9 Jul 1966

Jones, Steven
8 Jan 1962
9 Jan 1962

Bell, Randy Keith
1 Jul 1966—Infant

Nelson, Jon Rose
25 Feb 1962—Infant

Reeves, Phillip
4 Apr 1962
5 Apr 1962

Marsh, Kenneth J.
20 Feb 1962
25 Feb 1966

Sharkus, Mary
5 Mar 1962—Infant

Davies, Irene E.
26 Dec 1913
19 Mar 1967

Rivera, Jasen Andrew
16 Mar 1967—Infant

King, Jay Wm. Jr.
22 Oct 1967
25 Oct 1967

Chastain, Elmer E. Jr.
25 Feb 1951
15 Feb 1967

May, Robert Donald
9 Sep 1967—Infant

Fleenor Valorie
3 Nov 1965
4 Nov 1965

Buckler, Kenneth
15 Sep 1967
16 Sep 1967

Townsend, Carrie Ann
21 Feb 1968—Infant

Maksen, Mike A.
30 Sep 1930
5 Jan 1968

McCray, Arlester
11 Aug 1967—Infant

Smith, Ila Ann
7 Aug 1967

McDade, Tancia Y.
26 Jun 1967—Infant

Diaz, Elma Maria
27 Nov 1967
9 Dec 1967

Becault, John Robert
24 Jun 1967—Infant

Enlow, Harold
20 Sep 1927
14 Mar 1983

Smith, Melissa Jo
29 Nov 1967—Infant

Walker, Warren A. Jr.
9 Sep 1967—Infant

Hamblin, Wayne
29 Oct 1919
21 Aug 1966

Jackson, Helen F.
12 Apr 1917
28 Jan 1967

Welty, Wm. Donald
17 Aug 1964
14 Mar 1967

Kelly, Scott Wm.
9 Sep 1967—Infant

Jordan, Grady M.
25 Apr 1915
24 Dec 1967

Johnson, Arthur Joseph
10 Mar 1967—Infant

Brooks, Sherry L.
26 Feb 1967—Infant

Bell, Jaqualine R.
29 Dec 1966—Infant

Talley, Marie Louise
22 Nov 1966
29 Nov 1966

Gary, Infant
11 Nov 1966

Turner, Thomas D.
8 Mar 1967
15 May 1967

Arrington, Infant
12 Oct 1966

Hinojoshar, Joe Ray
5 May 1967—Infant

Parkins, Jerimie A.
13 Nov 1972
5 Nov 1974

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Vallance, Elizabeth
23 Feb 1929
22 Jun 1966

Heykoop, Gordon W. Jr.
1 May 1967—Infant

Alloff, Shawn Marie
23 Mar 1967—Infant

Rogers, James C.
30 Nov 1972—Infant

Pierce, Vernon C.
26 Aug 1919
13 Mar 1975

Hall, Lorraine
12 Apr 1927
4 Apr 1975

Robinson, James T.
23 Nov 1919
31 Jul 1973

Barnes, Charlene L.
15 Jun 1924
9 Apr 1975

Henderson, Charles
19 Jun 1907
16 Mar 1973

Brown, Tawanda
29 Oct 1974
10 Apr 1975

Sanderson, Milton
17 May 1933
27 Apr 1975

Jones, Clara B.
12 Dec 1922
25 Jan 1966

Pelletier, Infant
24 Nov 1974

Lemke, Nancy L.
28 Jun 1956
4 Jan 1975

Hughes, Mary Marie
22 Mar 1967—Infant

Cassidy, Francis E.
8 Aug 1918
7 Jul 1973

Sommers, Ina R.
23 Feb 1925
5 Jan 1973

Hellinger, Robert
31 Mar 1942
4 Sep 1973

McGlothed, Diane
11 Jan 1973
16 Jan 1973

Robinson, George
16 Jan 1918
17 Aug 1973

Reichard, Robert J.
18 Nov 1908
23 Jan 1973

Newell, Eric
27 Jan 1973
28 Jan 1973

Hastings, Ira E.
1 Nov 1973—Infant

Morrison, Thomas W.
9 Apr 1912
23 Jul 1972

Snow, Edwin E.
10 Apr 1910
10 Dec 1973

Hamilton, Preston
26 Jul 1972—Infant

Caldwell, Teresa Jane
31 Jul 1972—Infant

Hodges, Priscilla
21 Nov 1982
15 Feb 1983

Buchanan, Floyd __
15 Aug 1918
24 Apr 1973

Haggard, Lisa Shayne
9 Aug 1972
11 Aug 1972

Golding, Terrell
21 Mar 1943
24 Sep 1972

Lightfoot, Whiting
12 Dec 1896
23 Apr 1974

Butler, Bryan
18 Apr 1972
9 Nov 1972

Miller, Lonnie B.
15 Nov 1972
16 Nov 1972

Gubala, Edward
21 June 1974—Infant

Clark, Michelle __
18 Feb 1973
15 Mar 1973

Sitch, Lloyd M.
8 Apr 1914
20 Oct 1973

Bushley, Janett
1 June 1973

Bennett, Amanda __
21 Mar 1973—Infant

Wargo, Jennifer
24 Feb 1973
26 Mar 1973

Wallace, Felix
23 Dec 1973
27 Dec 1973

Wallace, Felicia
23 Dec 1973
27 Dec 1973

Puckett, Aubrey
3 Nov 1927
17 May 1973

Lumpkins, Crystal
31 Feb 1974
14 Mar 1974

Pennell, Thomas
27 Nov 1911
4 Jun 1973

Martin, Raymond __
5 Apr 1970
12 Aug 1975

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Smith, Infant
21 Mar 1974

Lesher, Jennings B.
Oct 2 1930
13 Aug 1974

Jones, James
2 Nov 1914
27 Apr 1974

Jones, Gertrud
D. 14 Sep 1974

Rasmussen, Hannelora
6 Jan 1941
27 Sep 1974

Lee, Mary L.
8 Aug 1930
8 May 1974

Cummings, John
8 Jan 1907
12 May 1974

Davis, Peggy J.
3 Jun 1931
10 May 1974

Windham, Artis L. Sr.
4 Jun 1917
18 Apr 1975

Estep, Nora
1 Nov 1898
13 May 1974

Baldwin, Allison
6 May 1975—Infant

Estep, Elmer D.
2 Dec 1898
9 Jan 1979

Hagerty, James D.
25 Apr 1974—Infant

Sharkey, John J.
21 May 1926
6 Aug 1975

Sharkus, Charles J.
12 Sep 1923
12 Sep 1974

Shirley, Infant
21 Mar 1976

Scott, Jesse D.
15 Sep 1915
22 Aug 1975

Kirk, John N.
15 Jun 1916
7 Oct 1974

Thomason, Loyd
2 Apr 1905
26 Mar 1976

Zulkosky, Infant
24 Oct 1974

McVay, James R.
21 Aug 1924
1 Mar 1976

Forrester, Rachel L.
21 Dec 1975
13 Feb 1976

Luthy, Nabaka P.
D. 2 Jul 1978

Luthy, James P.
27 Jul 1927
15 May 1975

Boyd, Jack
8 Jul 1919
26 Aug 1975

Bennett, Willie
24 Jun 1929
23 May 1974

Swygert, Benita L.
24 Jun 1974—Infant

Griffin, Bobby L.
2 Jul 1975—Infant

Price, Carroll D.
18 Apr 1917
26 Jun 1974

Underwood, Norman
4 Apr 1916
22 Jul 1974

Hovey, Joseph O.
26 Mar 1928
4 Aug 1974

Boggs, Frances T.
21 Sep 1923
2 Feb 1997

Kesterson, James
20 Nov 1919
24 Jan 1977

Watkins, Jack
30 Sep 1919
24 Jan 1976

Hawkins, Wesley
3 Dec 1957
17 Jan 1977

Lynch, Wilbur W.
5 Nov 1918
3 Jan 1977

Chubb, George F.
24 Feb 1917
22 Sept 1975

Wade, William
25 Aug 1928
13 Sep 1975

Young, Cynthia
20 May 1975—Infant

Brown, Michael
16 Jun 1975—Infant

Fantroy, Maurice C.
14 Mar 1977
8 Apr 1977

Brothers, Richard A. II
6 Jul 1975—Infant

Foster, Melvin
8 Nov 1956
17 Feb 1977

Johnstone, Albert F.
9 Dec 1921
27 Jul 1975

Dixon, Angelita N.
10 Apr 1957
27 Jun 1965

Dixon, Mathew K.
22 Jun 1965—Infant

Horsely, Paul C.
10 Mar 1915
21 Jan 1976

Candelaria, Lisa H.
13 Jun 1965
14 Jun 1965

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Borysenko, Jeffrey J.
22 Apr 1965
23 Apr 1965

Clancy, Herbert J.
3 Mar 1923
2 Jan 1977

Hankins, Linda
27 Dec 1975—Infant

Holt, Wilburn E.
7 May 1924
26 Dec 1976

Thurston, Theodore S.
7 Aug 1903
10 Dec 1976

Russell, Inge Renee
24 Oct 1964—Infant

Bradbury, John
13 May 1904
29 Nov 1976

Decker, Elizabeth Ann
3 Oct 1965
4 Oct 1965

Hilburn, Billy
12 Dec 1930
24 Nov 1976

Bosky, Walter F.
2 Nov 1914
30 Oct 1976

Frye, Infant
29 Sep 1965

Lynch, Francis J.
2 Nov 191
2 Oct 1976

Torres, Ilse
20 Apr 1929
30 Dec 1975

Brigante, Wm. R.
4 May 1965
6 May 1965

Brejcha, Robert Lee
19 Mar 1965—Infant

Head, lloyd
29 Mar 1959
21 Dec 1975

Tommie, Karan
4 May 1936
28 Nov 1975

Neeley, Infant
28 Feb 1965

Price, Thomas
18 Aug 1924
19 Nov 1975

Supon, Amy Elma
13 Dec 1964
22 Dec 1964

Szulkowski, Anthony
11 Sep 1930
20 Apr 1978

Preston, Kimberly
25 Apr 1977—Infant

Brister, Kenneth G.
24 Oct 1964—Infant

Quick, Everette E.
2 Nov 1927
20 Dec 1978

McKeeby, Janice
1 Aug 1965—Infant

Henley, Bobbie __
24 Oct 1937
21 Jul 1976

Gobble, James
15 Jan 1923
11 Jun 1976

Gasque, Jacqueline D.
11 Apr 1965—Infant

Boone, Dudley
20 Jan 1920
28 Jan 1975

Webb, Jason Lee
16 Mar 1983—Infant

Kaffer, Keith G.
19 Feb 1953
21 Nov 1978

Nutt, Guy N.
15 May 1921
10 Nov 1978

Rice, Hubert Lloyd
27 Feb 1921
16 Mar 1962

Pinney, Raymond S.
21 Nov 1904
29 Oct 1978

Cox, Thomas M.
17 Nov 1919
19 Oct 1978

Glover, Donald
20 Sep 1948
19 Dec 1977

Smith, James Bryant
14 Sep 1965—Infant

Weimer, David
14 Nov 1917
3 Dec 1978

McCord, Frank
25 Nov 1925
29 Nov 1978

Boecher, Infant
4 Apr 1965

Knight, Wilbur H.
3 Jan 1917
24 Jun 1978

Robertson, James E.
13 May 1968—Infant

P.O.W.
Bartolis, Aldo Pvt.
22 May 1945

Roberts, Michele Lynn
11 Apr 1968—Infant

Hind, Stephen
12 Jun 1931
2 Mar 1978

P.O.W.
Koether, Gerhard
Gefreitter, Germen
24 Dec 1944

P.O.W.
Schiller, Wendlen
Gerfreiter-Germen
26 Aug 1943

Peacock, Willis
22 Nov 1929
7 Feb 1978

POST CEMETERY (*continued*)

Wethington, James
26 Jun 1923
7 Jun 1977

Boyd, Darius Alexander
23 May 1969—Infant

Sampon, Virgil L.
24 Jun 1929
30 Jul 1978

McGrew, Billie D.
23 Jan 1924
9 Aug 1978

Craig, Wallace
12 Aug 1923
19 Oct 1977

Jarrard, Nesbit E.
30 Nov 1917
21 Nov 1965

P.O.W.
Wanninger, George
3 Jun 1945

York Infant
8 Oct 1968

Candie, George
28 Jan 1918
6 July 1978

Gregory, Joey
19 Mar 1927
28 May 1977

Bares, Wayne Troy
21 Oct 1968—Infant

Washburn, Melburn
21 Sep 1920
5 Jun 1977

Laverty, Harry
21 Mar 1923
20 Dec 1977

Whitaker, Karen
10 Apr 1969—Infant

Livingston, Forrest
8 Apr 1906
17 Nov 1977

Warren, Thomas C.
19 Feb 1969
20 Mar 1969

Long, Foy
20 Jan 1926
9 Nov 1977

Turner, Angela Marie
22 Feb 1969
20 Mar 1969

Sulava, Rhonda Leanne
20 Dec 1968
2 Mar 1969

Perry, Djamil
31 Oct 1977—Infant

Evans, Elmer
7 Jul 1919
12 Sep 1977

Killian, Robert
1 May 1922
13 Aug 1977

Clayton, Infant
9 Aug 1968

Siegel, Donald
2 Aug 1934
20 Feb 1982

Lightfoot, Helen R.
21 Mar 1897
27 mar 1975

Gould, Roger
21 Dec 1920
6 Dec 1982

Hyde, Donald E.
18 Oct 1927
19 Nov 1982

Goodwin, Gerald
13 Jan 1926
2 Nov 1982

Goodrich, Frank
11 Nov 1905
27 Oct 1982

McCaster, Joe
8 Sep 1918
6 Jul 1982

Ruston, Laureny
9 Jul 1922
14 Jul 1982

Perry, Betty
2 Jun 1907
9 Sep 1982

Sandifer, Wm. H.
15 May 1912
28 Sep 1982

Gleave, Norman
23 Jan 1920
14 Apr 1982

Lair, Phillip
9 Feb 1936
26 Apr 1982

Palon, JoAnn
23 Feb 1934
25 Feb 1982

Fountain, Fay
23 Nov 1908
3 Apr 1982

Felix, Woodrow R.
5 Sep 1917
17 Nov 1981

Walter, Andrew
10 May 1913
24 Nov 1981

Hood, Weldon F.
25 Dec 1981
26 Dec 1981

Webb, James
20 Nov 1910
29 Jan 1982

Ross, Paul
14 Feb 1907
24 Oct 1965

Spaulding, Raymond
23 Mar 1920
10 May 1982

Miller, Jack
2 Apr 1936
14 Jun 1982

Scott, William
11 Nov 1920
5 Feb 1982

BRADFORD CEMETERY

Wade, Lawrence
4 Feb 1913
4 Jun 1915
Son of J. R. & N.

Wade, Lois
2 Sep 1906
Dau of J. R. & N.

Beeler, Martha E.
9 Nov 1856
11 Jan 1912

Thomas, Martha E.
4 Sep 1888
18 Mar 1890
Dau of W. L. & M. L.

Thomas, Georgia
14 Feb 1885
10 Jul 1900
Dau of W. L. & M. L.

Gale, Emma
30 Jan 1874
20 Nov 1904

Hudgens, Mary J. Thompson
9 Mar 1847
__ __ 1920

Graves, Emeline
1863–1911

Duncan

Martin A.	Rhoda
10 Jan 1819	12 Dec 1824
22 Feb 1884	5 Jun 1879

Thomas, Martha L.
24 Apr 1850
11 Oct 1911
Wife of W. L.

THOMPSON CEMETERY

Robinett, Norma
15 Dec 1929
24 Feb 1930
Dau. of Vernon & Beulah

Lambeth, Joseph
D. 24 Feb 1884
Age: 78Y

Lambeth, Mary J.
2 Apr 1872
25 Jun 1878
Daug of L. P. & S. E.

Wayman, Andrew J.
24 Dec 1881
Age: 35Y

Lambeth

L. P.	Sarah E.
21 Aug 1851	10 Mar 1852
24 May 1818	24 Jan 1921

Foster, Mary
17 Dec 1880
18 Sep 1924

Atterberry, Clarence E.
14 Feb 1912
6 Mar 1928
Son of N. T. & Ellen

Thompson, Laura J.
5 Mar 1866
14 Oct 1916

Lambeth, Laurence
27 Dec 1910
8 Jan 1911
Son of Fred & Lula

Barnhill, Robert
16 Dec 1835
16 Aug 1887

Thompson, Ida
29 Mar 1876
12 Nov 1889
Dau of J. M. & S. A.

Barnhill, S. W.
No Dates

Lambeth, Roland
9 May 1899
30 Jun 1916
Son of Wm. & Cora

Lambeth, Infant
B & D 3 Jul 1901
Son of Wm. & Cora

Thompson, James Henry
5 Jul 1895
31 Dec 1917
Son of S. T. & Dollie

Atterberry, Ellen R.
7 Apr 1886
4 Jul 1917
Wife of N. T.

Thompson, Elizabeth
3 Sep 1890
21 Sep 1920

Atterberry, Jasper Lee
14 Dec 1881
31 Jan 1925

Thompson, Twins
No Date

Barnhill, Harriet E.
25 Dec 1891
23 Jul 1917
Wife of R. B.

Lambeth, Uzella
12 Jan 1903
19 Jul 1906

Thompson, Robert Edward
1 Apr 1898
18 Feb 1920
Son of S. F. & Dollie

MACEDONIA CEMETERY

Green, G. P.
1856–1940

Carpenter, Pearle
1889–1890

Robinson, Edna
1907–1915

Anderson, Lula
__ Jun 1882
10 Dec 1918

Bell, John T
1868–1914

Bell, Carrie
1874–1914

Cook, Thayer V.
1918–1919

Gilbreath, Marrion
1906–1906

MACEDONIA CEMETERY (*continued*)

Anderson, Silas E.
27 Jan 1878
13 Mar 1959

Robinson, Frank
1866–1919

Robinson, Justina
1874–1950

Gilbreath, Anna
23 Mar 1888
15 Nov 1938

Gilbreath, Mary
2 Dec 1851
4 Apr 1935

Kidd, Ada
1899–1935

Bell, Howard
1915–1938

Gilbreath, D. L.
1854–1936

Bell, Robert
1834–1920

Stevens, Infant
1918–1919

Gilbreath, _____
1917–1939

Bell, Lucinda
1844–1936

Walker, Annie L.
__ __ 1864
7 Jun 1946

Gilbreath, Samuel
1906–1906

Martin, Edna
1908–1910

Martin, Maggie
1872–1902

Dethrow, Dorothy
1909–1910

Myers, Leota
1936–1937

Walker, William
1863–1937

Crisman, Gilbert
1901–1902

Crisman, Infant
1903–1903

Crisman, Myra
1848–1925

Crisman, Gilbert
1840–1917

Ricks, Infant
1915

Ricks, Lee
1913–1915

Cook, Harold
1918–1918

Pruitt, Nettie
1878–1911

Grisham, Luvena
1896–1897

Myers, Maggie
1897–1913

Myers, Christopher
1829–1896

Myers, Sarah
1853–1894

Myers, George
1850–no date

Carpenter, Jane C.
1820–1894

Myers, Mary
1852–1913

Woody, Sallie A.
1851–1948

Vincent, Eugene
1909–1910

McElroy, Malinda
1828–1916

McElroy, Samuel
1818–1897

Cook, Maud
1894–1915

Cook, L. B.
1856–1927

Green, G. P.
1856–1940

Grisham, Arthur
1887–1904

Myers, Vircial
1886–1887

Myers, Velma
1911–1911

Myers, Margaret
1830–1912

Hunshaw, Earl
D. 1935

Carpenter, Thomas
1819–1888

Pettitt, H. T.
1859–1890

Ricks, Forrest
1907–1907

Cook, Laura
1892–1920

Cook, Letha
1882–1913

Cook, Kizzie
1882–1931

Maxey, Bertha
1906–1906

Cook, George
1835–1902

Cook, Elizabeth
1846–1931

Cook, _____
no dates

MACEDONIA CEMETERY (*continued*)

Green, Annie
1854–1938

Cook, Susan
1862–1927

Cook, Infant
1906

Barnes, Norman
1857–1922

Barnes, Melvina
1860–no date

Barnes, Minda
1887–1900

Cook, W. H.
1847–1936

Cook, Elizabeth
1856–1900

Cook, Kenneth
1920–1933

Preissinger, Margaret
1902

Preissinger, Leonard
1907

Green, Eliza
1838–1905

Woody, Robert H.
1841–1915

Cook, John Thomas
1825–1910

Cook, Margaret
1821–1919

FRIENDSHIP CEMETERY

Williams, Emerald Learoy
B & D 8 Jan 1926
Son of Floyd & Bessie (Lambeth)

Gan, Kermit M.
1913–1939

Laughlin, Celina
23 Feb 1861
9 Oct 1880
Dau of T. M. & E. E.

Morn, Mary M.
27 Oct 1857
2 Dec 1880
Wife of Thomas

Williams, Ernest Joseph
B & D 26 May 1933
Son of Floyd & Bessie (Lambeth)

Gan, Frances M.
1873–1957

Lane, Martha S. A.
19 Apr 1886
29 Jul 1887
Dau of W. D. & S. J

Gan, George M.
12 Dec 1878
__ Mar 1879
Son of J. H. & M. E.

Yates, James
6 Oct 1829
12 Dec 1915
Father of Esther Simpson

Thornhill, Lydia J.
1 May 1850
16 Aug 1926
Wife of John

Donaldson, Eva
1867–1939

Anderson, Chris Martin
2 Jul 1878
25 Oct 1881

Gan, Infant
1920
Son of F. M. & A. M.

Gan, Susannah
2 Jun 1828
1 Jan 1907
78Y 6M 29D
Wife of George—Born in Va

Kanaka, Martha M.
2 Oct 1879
18 Sep 1880
Dau. of Henry & Mary.

Gan, Ada M.
1881–1920

Gan, Infant
10 May 1898
Dau of G. W. & Anna

Gan, George W.
24 Nov 1861
14 Mar 1933

Gan

Mary E.	John H.
1861–1919	1859–1934

Graves, William Lance
9 Sep 1848
7 Sep 1935

Gan, Marion
No Dates

Dickson

Harriet	John M.
26 Jan 1826	26 Jun 1826
27 Apr 1887	13 Aug 1887

Gan

Franklin	Christine
1866–1950	1871–1940

Blake

Frances	Sullivan
22 Nov 1867	29 Jan 1852
8 Dec 1940	20 Jan 1939

Gan, Earnest B.
1 May 1897
1 Aug 1897
Son of G. W. & Anna

Crossland, Floyd
No Dates

Gan

Arena L	James E.
1871–1917	1867–1937

Saling, Mabel Lea
24 Apr 1899
19 Apr 1957

FRIENDSHIP CEMETERY (*continued*)

Gan, Anna Mariea
28 Jul 1864
29 Nov 1952

Gan, Alice
17 May 1868
23 May 1901

Lewis, William C.
8 Mar 1880
27 Dec 1936

Anderson, M. Marie
6 Sep 1846
8 Aug 1888

Brown, Lois G.
26 Apr 1924
15 Dec 1932

Crossland, Sarah J. Wood
4 Nov 1850
7 Dec 1921

Gan, Henry Howard
Infant–21 May 1936

Bell, John
__ __ 1838
15 Jun 1906

Gada, William A.
31 Jan 1883
Son of Fredrick & L. S.

Girdner, Barbara Jean
13 Aug 1932
22 Oct 1934

Lewis, Raymond V.
25 Feb 1933
14 Dec 1936

Pinegar, Myrtle
28 Apr 1889
30 Apr 1901
Dau of Alice Gan

Simpson, Esther
13 May 1858
1 Apr 1924

McDaniel, Matthew
4 Jan 1817
19 Aug 1886

Crossland, Abbie
1927–1927

York, Josie Bell
18 May 1918
7 Jun 1923

Adkison

J. J.
1882–1960

Lucinda
1896–1960

Bowland, Susan H.
16 Mar 1840
5 Aug 1870

Lancaster, L. M.
28 Feb 1889
6 Nov 1917

Doty, Olive
1 Jul 1822
1 Nov 1875

Rector, Jacob
22 Nov 1856
28 Mar 1933

Miller, Ada Lee
1929–1931

Hinshaw, Ferrel H.
2 Dec 1891
2 Nov 1893
Son of W. W. P. & M. A.

Wood, Emmet E.
12 May 1902
19 Feb 1904
Son of W. A. & Annie M.

Page Infant
16 Oct 1884
Inf. of N. E. & D. F.

Dean, Mary A.
2 Jan 1844
26 Oct 1876
Wife of J. H.

Dickson, Oley
13 Jan 1883
3 Jun 1884

Wilkins, Jennie M.
1875–1932

Christeson, Infant
4 Feb 1907
Inf. of Joe & M. L.

Christeson, Inf.
24 Dec 1901
18 Mar 1906

Anderson, Peter
2 Sep 1837
22 Jan 1898

Christeson, John E.
5 Oct 1874
18 May 1956

Christeson, Martha R.
15 Jun 1878
No Date

Blalock

William	Sarah
6 Dec 1859	13 Aug 1863
18 Oct 1921	4 Jun 1940

Blalock

Richard	Sarah
1863–1933	1870–1922

Page, Marion
21 Mar 1883
19 Apr 1883

Firestine, J. H.
15 Feb 1833
23 Aug 1913

Page, Minnie F.
12 Sep 1870
27 Sep 1887

Foster, J. L.
1853–1917

Firestine, Frank
8 Mar 1876
Couldn't read date

Firestine, Richard
20 Dec 1886
26 Feb 1887

Anderson, Peter Andrew
29 Jul 1880
23 May 1902

Blalock, J. W.
12 Dec 1830
4 Oct 1886

Graves, Wilma
13 Feb 1915
8 May 1915

FRIENDSHIP CEMETERY (*continued*)

Blalock, Mary Jane
1835–1910

Zumwalt, Margret
24 Mar 1874
31 Mar 1877

Crossland, Robert Morris
11 Feb 1919
4 Feb 1923

Crossland, Thomas Aubrey
21 Feb 1917
23 Feb 1920

Phillips, Harley
1904–1965

Courtwright, Charles Moses
16 Nov 1887
13 Nov 1933

Phillips, George T.
31 Mar 1908
6 Nov 1951
S2 US Navy WWII

York, Infant
28 Sep 1933
Dau of Thomas R. & Frieda

Long, Catharine
16 May 1842
5 Jul 1883

Anderson, Snodin
1938–1939

Long, John Fredrick
4 Jul 1835
24 Mar 1923

Bradford, Frank J.
Infant—no dates

Graves, Mary
16 Apr 1921
28 Jan 1924

Adkison Infants

Warren	Gloria
20 Dec 1933	23 Feb 1933
20 Dec 1933	15 Mar 1933

Phillips

William H.	Rachel S.
1 Oct 1861	28 Jan 1869
22 Jul 1932	26 Oct 1950

Crossland, John H.
16 Nov 1876
29 Aug 1940

Smallwood, Rebecca J. Crossland
15 Jul 1887
4 Mar 1958

Foster

Beulah	Earl
1896–1934	1894–1969

Foster, Everett	Martha
18 Oct 1907	27 Mar 1879
4 Nov 1912	20 Mar 1935

_____ Elizabeth
20 Dec 1876
30 Oct 1882

Tompkins, Vernie
Infant—no dates

Thornhill, John I. S.
21 Nov 1850
7 Aug 1938

Williams, Ella
9 May 1905
19 Mar 1923

Long, Silva L.
17 May 1919
11 Jul 1920

Long, Lester
17 May 1908
25 Nov 1931

Crossland, Elizabeth
8 Jul 1810
28 Nov 1893

Donaldson, Eva
1867–1939

Crossland, William R.
22 Nov 1859
18 Feb 1926

York, Margaret
1816–1911

Crossland, S. T.
1 Mar 1847
20 Aug 1924

Wood, Baby Edward T.
1908

Crossland, Luesinda
27 Mar 1847
23 Mar 1929

Williams, John
27 Dec 1803
13 May 1884

Hinshaw, Levi L.
5 Dec 1885
7 Feb 1901

Hancock, Ruth L.
1 Mar 1893
15 Sep 1930
Wife of Homer

Williams, John
18 Mar 1932
Pvt. MO Dep. Bn.

Courtwright, Sally Gan
16 Aug 1892
20 Oct 1979

Payne

A. Everett	J. Elizabeth
1893–1954	1889–1951

York, Kate
No Dates

Lewis, Joseph H.
20 Jan 1934
MO Pvt.

York, W. M. Wayne Washington
1815–1929

Hughes, Belle (Tuck)
15 Jun 1887
24 __ 1939

Blalock, Mary
1870–1891

Adkison, Ernest
25 Feb 1908
10 Mar 1908

Adkison

John R.	Chloey M.
16 Apr 1880	27 Dec 1883
20 Jan 1951	2 Jun 1964

Gan

Amanda E.	James F.
1883–1936	1886–1965

FRIENDSHIP CEMETERY (*continued*)

Adkins, Oscar
21 Nov 1849
11 Dec 1899

Gan, Nina E.
17 Jun 1914
10 Oct 1914

Hinshaw, Susan Ida
20 Jan 1880
11 Apr 1881
Dau of W. W. P. & M. A.

Coogan, Maggie
D. 27 Oct 1877
Age: 21Y

York, Dorothy
1916–1932

Adkins, Nancy
21 Jun 1819
14 Aug 1921
Wife of James

Christeson, Clyde E.
24 Sep 1909
4 May 1958
MO Inf. WWII

Christeson, Martha
30 Oct 1882
22 Mar 1971

Adkins

James S.	Mary
20 Feb 1848	30 Apr 1852
24 Mar 1922	2 Sep 1898

Gan

Artie B.	William H.
23 Oct 1877	31 Mar 1883
11 Jan 1965	13 May 1958

Tatham, Infant
12 Dec 1873
15 Dec 1873
Son of Lewis & Martha

Dean

Virginia A.	James E.
22 May 1878	29 Jul 1867
16 Sep 1965	8 May 1923

York, George M.
1899– ____

Dean

William C.	Mary P.
10 Oct 1836	21 May 1842
13 Feb 1912	17 Jun 1894

Atterberry Sisters

Imogene	25 Mar 1926
	10 Aug 1926
Alice Bell	24 Jan 1923
	4 May 1923
Mary Ellen	9 Feb 1922
	5 May 1922

Adkins, James
22 Jul 1815
22 Oct 1903

Dean, James W.
30 Mar 1886
17 oct 1895
Son of Charles & L. E.

Christeson, Thomas J.
15 Mar 1877
15 Apr 1950

Coogan, Mary E.
18 Apr 1850
21 Nov 1911
Wife of D. E.

Coogan, D. E.
17 Mar 1836
1 Jul 1901

Steward, Edward C.
21 Jul 1896
26 Nov 1927

Curtis, Charles
12 Aug 1825
19 Mar 1876
Born in Parkmar, ME.

Steward, Floyd E.
1905–1924
Son of J. M. & L. E.

Dreuland, Henry Allen
18 Dec 1886
23 Feb 1917

Bailey, Mallise
1869–1919
Wife of Ed & C.

Steward, Edward C. Jr.
10 May 1927
16 Jul 1929

Dean

Prof. E.
1864–1905

Baby Edie
1871–1902

Dean, Josephine
1 Apr 1884
17 Jul 1888

Gan, Emley Ruth
25 May 1926
4 Jun 1926

Steward

James M.
21 Jul 1860
12 Apr 1928

Laura E.
4 Feb 1866
No Date

Atterberry

Mary Eugena
1891–1963

William J.
1877–1940

Coogan, Sarah
20 Apr 1840
27 Jul 1871
Wife of D. E.

Duncan, John Richard
14 Nov 1884
15 Dec 1937

Dean, W. O.
30 Oct 1871
__ __ 1907

Dean, Priscella Blanche
__ __ 1894
19 Jul 1895

Norle, Elizabeth
20 Dec 1816
30 Oct 1882

FRIENDSHIP CEMETERY (*continued*)

Gan, W. Orville
(Son) 1901–1921

Gan, A. Connie
(Hus) 1872–1939

Gan, Martha A.
(Wife) 1880–1947

(brother) Gan, Judge George
__ __ 1824
25 Jul 1907

Graves, William H.
1933–1933

Brown, Raymond L.
19 Apr 1906
28 Sep 1931

Payne, Juliana Elizabeth
Age 61Y

Payne, Lucy May
D. 1929
Age 8Y

Crossland, B. F.
1873–1951

Brown, Clyde W.
No Dates

Firestine, Rome—Infant
11 Jul 1916

Gwin, (sister)

Helen F.	Cecil Oliver
19 Jan 1919	31 Aug 1901
20 Jun 1924	16 Feb 1927

Christeson, Joseph
__ __ –1904

Christeson, Elizabeth
9 Sep 1856
29 Sep 1932

Payne, C. W.
Age 61Y

Posten,

Benjamin	Alice
1872–1932	1879–1939

The following are buried here—but markers cannot be read, and some without markers.

Gan, Andrew F.
1866–1950

Duncan, Infant
16 Mar 1936
17 Mar 1936

Duncan, James Roy
21 Sep 1917
22 Feb 1937

Graves, Nan Brown (No Dates)

Rector, Elmer (No Dates)

Hancock, Catherine
D. 1933

Freeman, George F.
D. 3 Jun 1935
Age: 76Y

MC CANN CEMETERY

Quesenberry, Elizabeth
28 May 1837
8 Jul 1889

Hays, Elmer
4 Sep 1853
13 Nov 1892

Forbes, Inf.
1929

Lemons, A. D.
No Dates

Forbes, Chas. H.
Inf. 1931

Bailey, Horace
10 Jun 1895
17 Nov 1896

Hicks, W. S.
No Dates

Bailey, Allegra
25 Nov 1903
13 Dec 1903

Campbell, Joseph
20 Feb 1847
21 Feb 1893

Allen, Clarence
17 Dec 1894
6 Oct 1895

Moyer, William
1 Jan 1829
14 Dec 1894

Spaulking, Mamie
6 Oct 1881
15 Nov 1886

Bickford, Nathan
10 May 1874
25 Oct 1896

Koonce, George
13 Jan 1843
11 Dec 1894

Miller, John
1882–1892

Lemons, E.
No Dates

Craft, Edwin
No Dates

Brownfield, Elizabeth
20 Aug 1820
14 Apr 1894

Hoff, Robert
No Dates

Allen, W. F.
28 Apr 1833
9 Dec 1903

Morgensen, Jens
2 Oct 1825
12 May 1882

Morgensen, Anna
4 Apr 1874
17 Jul 1881

Storie, Martha
22 Jun 1879
1 Sep 1883

Laughlin, Infant
28 Sep 1900
28 Sep 1900

MC CANN CEMETERY (*continued*)

Hicks, Margaret

Laughlin, Edna
22 Jul 1837
7 Nov 1904

Stephenson, C. W.
18 Sep 1818
23 Aug 1890

Stevenson, Mary
27 Feb 1842
16 May 1892

Wolverton, Sarah
25 Oct 1820
16 Dec 1900

Wolverton, Chaunce
24 Dec 1850
24 Jun 1911

Vinton, Richard
1861–1898

Davis, Ada
25 Oct 1906
6 Jul 1910

Davis, James
15 Sep 1891
18 Sep 1907

Davis, Robert
25 Jul 1897
13 Sep 1923

Purdy, Nancy
16 Feb 1852
29 Dec 1884

Purdy, Lee
1847–1901

V. F. W. CEMETERY

Ferret, Martin
1913–1984

Young, Patrick
1931–1984

Barba, Stanley
1926–1984

McKendrick, Edwin
1917–1984

TILLEY CEMETERY

Tilley, Elizabeth
13 Dec 1807–4 Jan 1892

Tilley, Infant
Dau of W. L. & Susan

Several unmarked graves

Tilley, Wilson M.
27 Jun 1807–10 Sept 1864

Tilley, Jasper Y.
22 __ 1888

Selected Bibliography

In searching for records pertaining to Pulaski County, the following resource archives and libraries were visited between 1992 and 1999.

Illinois State University, Milner Library, Normal
(computer search of all Illinois University Libraries)
Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri
Cultural resource files of the Environmental/Natural Resources Office
Bruce C. Clarke Library
U.S. Army Engineer Museum
Pulaski County Court House, Waynesville, Missouri
Kinderhook Regional Library, Waynesville, Missouri Branch
Kinderhook Regional Library, Richland, Missouri Branch
Pulaski County Historical Society, Waynesville, Missouri
Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri
Missouri State Library, Jefferson City, Missouri
Missouri Department of Natural Resources
Division of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (SHPO), Jefferson City, Missouri
Division of Geology and Land Survey, Rolla, Missouri
Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri
Missouri Historical Society Library and Collections, St. Louis, Missouri
Lucy W. James Memorial Library, St. James, Missouri
Western Historical Manuscript Collection,
University of Missouri-Rolla Branch
University of Missouri-Columbia Branch
Pulaski County Abstract and Title Co., Inc.
Ellis Library, Rare Book Room, University of Missouri, Columbia
KJPW Radio Station, Waynesville, Missouri
Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia
South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia
South Carolina State Library, Columbia

St. Louis Mercantile Library, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Richland County Library, Columbia, South Carolina
Informant interviews were also conducted of Fort Leonard Wood and Mark Twain National Forest personnel and private citizens with knowledge of the area. The following individuals were formally interviewed about life in the Fort Leonard Wood region: Mr. John Grinstead, Mr. James Black, Mr. Harry Williams, Mr. George W. Lane, Ms. Cindy Wyant, and Mr. Van Beydler. In addition, Dr. Milton Rafferty (geographer, Southwest Missouri State University), Dr. Robert Jacobson (geologist, U.S.G.S., Rolla, Missouri), Mr. Thomas Burge (formerly an archaeologist with the Mark Twain National Forest, now with National Park Service, San Francisco), Daniel Haas (Shawnee National Forest, Illinois), Mrs. Betty Pritchett (local photographer), Mrs. Lorraine Rigsby (President, Pulaski County Historical Society), and Mr. Maurice Vaughan (resident) were briefly interviewed about possible sources of regional history. See contributor Alex Primm's Appendix for additional people interviewed.

Collections and Primary Documents

Bradford Family Papers. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Rolla.

Bennett, Lyman G. Collection. Diary, December 1861 to April 1862, Folder 4, on file, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri, Rolla.

Berriger, John W. Papers. St. Louis Mercantile Library, University of Missouri, St. Louis.

Ellis, John B. Letter to J.P. Sanderson, April 21, 1864. Original, "Union Provost Marshalls' File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians," National Archives Microcopy, No. 416, Roll 33. Copy obtained from private collection of John F. Bradbury, Jr.

Ledgerwood, Samuel. Memoranda Book, 1851–52. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collections, University of Missouri-Rolla, 1851–1855.

Little Piney Regular Baptist Association. Minutes of the Little Piney Regular Baptist Association. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Rolla, 1846.

Little Piney United Baptist Association. Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Little Piney United Baptist Association. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Rolla, 1837.

W.I.I. Morrow Journal. W.I.I. Morrow Collection, February 24, 1839, Folder 2051. On file, Rolla: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri.

Mann, Clair Collection. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Unversity of Missouri, Columbia.

Mark Twain National Forest Local History Collection. The Development of the National Forests in Missouri, United States Forest Service. Rolla: On file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Rolla.

Missouri Council of Defense Papers. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia.

Missouri Farm Bureau Records, 1915–1930. Reports of the Farm Bureau Extension Agent, Folder 41. Columbia: On file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri.

Official Records of the War of the Rebellion. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Series I, Volumes 13 (Part 1), 22 (Part I), and Series 4, Volume 41 (Part 4), U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C, 1880–1891.

Railroad Papers. Railroad Advertisement Flyer. Eureka Springs Arkansas and Frisco Line. Ms. on file, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Sever, William Collection. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia.
South Pacific Railroad Company Records. Various files, Land Department, Mercantile Library, University of Missouri.
Stone, A.H. Letter to Ida, February 20, 1864, Private 2nd Wisconsin Cavalry. Ms. on file, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri Rolla.
United States Census. Sixth Census of Population, Missouri District, 1840.
Seventh Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1850.
Eighth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1860.
Ninth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1870.
Tenth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1880.
Eleventh Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1890.
Twelth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1900.
Fifteenth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1930.
Sixteenth Census of Population, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1940.
Eighth Census of Manufacturers, State of Missouri, 1860.
Tenth Census of Manufacturers, State of Missouri, 1880.
Sixth Census of Agriculture, District of Missouri, 1840.
Eighth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1860.
Tenth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1880.
Twelth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1900.
Fourteenth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1920.
Sixteenth Census of Agriculture, Pulaski County, Missouri, 1940.
Viles-Hosmer Collection. Federal Employment Relief, Pulaski County. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia.
Watts, John Jones Collection. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, Rolla.
Welsh Family Letters 1839–1854. File R391. On file, Rolla: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Rolla.
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Books, Dissertations, Theses, and Manuscripts

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Arensberg, Conrad M. and Solon T. Kimbal. *Culture and Community.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1965.
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———. *Campbell's Gazetter of Missouri.* St. Louis: R.A. Campbell, Publisher, 1875.

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