

MILLER COUNTY SURVEY

for

FY 80-81 Historic Preservation Program

Center for Ozarks Studies

Southwest Missouri State University

Springfield, Missouri

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Introduction

The Miller County Survey is an historian's survey, so to speak, in an area of inquiry usually reserved to practitioners of other intellectual disciplines. Subjects of this report include many of the normal concerns of historians: the character of significant persons and populations over time; origins and processes; crucial events; and cultural patterns in a given time and space. Here the particular subject is an Ozarks County and its built environment. The inventory of structures raises questions for the historian, and vice versa. Certainly more questions are raised than answered, although suggestions are offered from time to time as to the direction in which answers might be found. How has Ozarks geography effected the cultures that inhabited the land in historical time; and how has it effected the consequent cultural landscape? What were the patterns of livelihood woven into that geography, and how do they reflect distinctions among various cultural groups of different origins and histories? In particular, how are the characteristic Ozarks German and Scotch-Irish landscapes to be compared and contrasted, and what is to be learned about those groups as a consequence? How may the apparent chaos of "tumble downs" and stylistic vagaries on the landscape of Miller County be read so as to speak to us of the past (as well perhaps of the present and future)? When is "log cabin" not really a cabin at all? These are matters approached at least in a preliminary way in the following pages of text, and by implication in the inventory itself.

The choice of Miller County was determined by the family nativity there of Lynn Morrow, the primary research historian of this project.

The Scotch-Irish Morrows and the German Ponders and Skaggses, his forebears for many generations, were home primarily on Richwoods Township of Miller County. His long-standing relationships, acquaintances, knowledge, and interest were unique resources in the present work. The oral history components, for example, provided directly from kin and the friends of kin, as did direction to some of the properties surveyed.

The area and intensity of the survey were determined by the following factors: The attention of the survey conducted by the Lake of the Ozarks Council of Local Governments was directed to the northern half of the county. Consequently the Center for Ozarks Studies survey took place primarily in the southern half (the division was not formally bounded, and a few properties in the north are included here). However, the historical and geographic narratives treat the whole county. The present survey was truncated by a reduction of nearly half the funds anticipated to be provided for the project as originally conceived. The number of sites inventoried is therefore somewhat reduced, and their distribution is perhaps less systematic, than would otherwise have been the case. Nevertheless, the amount of research accomplished was prodigious. The results are such that the original intent is adequately realized: a typology of rural Ozarks dwellings is exemplified in the inventory; basic culture and historical patterns appear; and some particularly significant structures have been identified and inventoried.

The Miller County survey uses typologies of traditional and quasi-traditional folk buildings based primarily on plan forms and structural characteristic rather than on art history styles. Such a method may be new to survey and inventory in the Historic Preservation Program of Missouri. It is however a typology familiar to "folk housing" scholars.

In the present report, the typology was expanded and modified to embrace, as far as possible, a variety of structures as they were actually encountered in the field. In other words, a typology was applied to the inventory, not the other way around, as is so often the case in folk housing studies. The use of types rather than styles is more appropriate to description and generalization of the built environment of Miller County, as of most of the counties of the Ozarks. The apparently common and commonplace can thus be seriously considered in its own frame of reference, and does not fall into oblivion in face of a search for the stylish, the famous, or the monumental.

At the outset and by way of introduction readers and users of this report are invited to look at the following structures in the inventory itself:

I-1. The Vall Farmer house. Two single pen houses built of different materials but in identical plan form, conjoined in a distinctive manner.

I-2. The Ray Jack Godfrey house. Prototypical single pen log of fine joinery occupied by its owner since its building by his father c.1900.

II-16. Single pen log stack of fine workmanship and artful, styled detailing. Probably German-built, it deserves careful comparison with Scotch-Irish buildings of the same type.

II-17. Fine board-sided log house within a hundred yards of a modern bank, used-car lot, etc., on U.S. 54 in Osage Beach.

III-23. The Myers-Stout house. Rare and beautiful c. 1867 log mansion

in the "dog-trot" configuration. A house to be nominated to the National Register.

IV-27. John Platter house. Characteristic German expression of art double-cell, mirror-image configuration.

IV-31. Paul McCray house. Characteristic Scotch-Irish expression of the double-cell, mirror-image configuration.

V-60. Prototypical Ozarks example of the two story hall-and-parlor configuration with the facade suggesting that it is a high-toned central-passage I house.

V-61. Curtis Irwin house. The asymmetrical facade reveals its hall-and-parlor interior.

VI-65, 67. Typical landmark Miller County central passage I houses with vernacular Palladian porches. Rear ell of #65 is probably the original, early structure to which the main block was added later. Such an order of building is common in the Ozarks. The first buildings are often log with stone fireplaces, as here.

VI-66. German expression of the central-passage I house.

VII-79. J.R. Wells house. Monumental Queen Anne house of a prosperous Osage River valley farm. Marshall.

VII-80. Marshall Keeth house. Tuscumbia townhouse of prosperous German merchant family remodelled from an "old fashioned" central-passage I house into a Victorian high-style.

VIII-99-103. German vernacular townhouses, St. Elizabeth.

Geographic Setting

Miller County lies in the Osage-Gasconade Hills subregion of the Ozark uplift and in the northern Missouri Ozarks. The Osage-Gasconade takes its name from the two major rivers which, with their major tributaries, are deeply entrenched in the Ozarks plateau and give the sub-region its distinctive steep relief and generally rugged topography. The rivers and streams have characteristic meandering courses. Cut-off meanders are not uncommon. A local name for the detached portion of the upland remaining after the cut-off occurs is "lost hill," because to many Ozarkers a hill is part of a continuous ridge. The Osage-Gasconade, like much of the whole Ozarks, is characterized by its karst features: springs, caves, sinks, and natural bridges. Bennett Springs north of Lebanon and Hahatonka Spring near Camdenton are two of the best-known large springs (Rafferty and Mantei, 1976). Agricultural lands are in normally ascending order of quality, 1) ridges and upland prairies, 2) bench lands or "second bottoms," 3) "slip-off slopes" of meanders, and 4) bottom lands of the flood plain. Miller County (593 square miles, or 379,520 acres in area, 57th in size among Missouri's 114) possesses all four types. Miller lies toward the northeast of the Osage-Gasconade subregion, shading off toward the gentler topography of the northern Ozarks border. Its slope is therefore less steep and its relief less pronounced than Camden County, for example. As a whole, the county may be described as a plateau, much dissected by valleys, inclining from north to south. An imaginary plane touching the ridge would slope upward from an altitude of about 750 feet in the northern

part to nearly 1,000 feet along the southern boundary. The Moreau, a north-flowing tributary of the Missouri, rises in a highland of which northwest Miller County is a part. The greater part of the county however is drained by the Osage River and its tributaries. The Osage bisects the county in its course from west to northeast. The county comprises two contrasting topographic regions: 1) the "river breaks," or hilly country along the Osage and its main tributaries, and 2) the gently rolling to rolling and much smoother northern and central southern sections, referred to locally as the "prairie." Through the central part of the county, flanking the Osage bottoms, is a belt of hilly country averaging 12 miles in width. Here, near the river, erosion has cut the surface into valleys and ridges. Most of the arable land and the dwellings in the belt lie in the valley bottoms.

The northern prairie extends along and north of an irregular line between Rocky Mount and Mary's Home. This section constitutes the divide between the drainage of the Moreau and the Osage. The Osage tributaries on the south side of this upland have formed steeper slopes by far than those of the Moreau tributaries. The change from the northern prairie topography to the much rougher country flanking the Osage bottom watershed is sudden, the line of separation being plainly evident. The northern prairie is predominantly gently rolling to rolling, the eminences having rounded summits and gently slopes. A large proportion of this prairie is arable and has been susceptible of cultivation. The uplands in the southern part of the county, greater in area than the northern prairie, are typically rougher as well. The ground is more stony, the slopes are steeper, the ridges sharper, and the valleys deeper and much more numerous. A smaller proportion of the land consequently is suited

for cultivation. Portions of this southern section, however, such as the prairies around Iberia and Ulman, are similar to the northern prairies.

The Osage was, before its impoundments, easily navigable for eight or nine months of the year. The flat-bottomed Osage valley is enclosed by bluffs or steep slopes which rise on each side to elevations of from 20 to 200 feet. The valley averages three-fourths of a mile in width. The Little Gravois, Saline, and Cub Creeks are important north shed tributaries of the Osage; on the south the chief tributaries are the Bear, Dog, and Big Tavern Creeks. The Big Tavern is actually a minor river, being second only to the Osage itself in the amount of flow and the extent of its arable bottom and terrace lands. Grand Glaize Creek, another important tributary, flows for a short distance through the southwestern part of the county. These major tributaries, have flat-bottomed, relatively wide valleys in their lower courses. The upper parts of the valleys tend to be V-shaped. The smaller, secondary streams are usually intermittent.

Some 45 percent of the land surfaces of the county were not suited to tillage as a result of their being too steep or too stony. The most extensive aggregation of such lands were the "breaks" flanking the valley of the Osage and its tributaries. Timbered with black, white, post, and blackjack oak, hickory, elm, and black walnut, they formed a long-persisting cover for wildlife as well as pasturage for hogs. This timber was stunted in comparison with that of the more fertile bottoms and uplands.

The Moreau Valley differs from that of the Osage in being wider and having gentle slopes leading to the uplands. Abundant aquifers beneath the prairie provide well water for the uplands at depths of less than 100 feet. On the slopes and in the valleys are numerous fine springs, especially near outcrops of sandstone (Miller County Soil Survey, 1914).

Miller County has always been and continues to be essentially rural, with numerous hamlets dispersed over the countryside. Three towns have predominated, one in turn for each of the three major geographical districts of the county. Eldon, the largest town in the north, as of the entire county, is the only major town on a railroad (Rock Island), and serves as a distributing point for the northern prairie. Iberia is the chief town of the southeast upland. The county seat at Tuscumbia, once a major Osage river port, centers the county and was in the nineteenth century its chief town.

Orientation to Economic History of Miller County

In surveying the history of Miller County, especially its economic and agricultural history, the Soil Survey Report of 1914 has been of particular value. That document provides a good overview of the county between the Civil War and 1914 and has served as something of a predictive guide to the built environment. The following introduction to settlement patterns, economies, stock-raising, and agriculture rests heavily on its descriptions. Late-nineteenth-century "beginnings" there described in fact created much of the cultural landscape in Miller County that persists to the present. Underlined emphases have been added in order to identify statements which indicate locales that may contain important historic structures, or that describe general cultural phenomena reflected in the built environment. (Pre-Civil War structures may be anticipated to be rare, and should be regarded when discovered as especially significant to the county.

Miller County was created from parts of Cole and Pulaski Counties in 1837. In the early settlement period of Miller County the Osage was the principal means of communication with the outside, not only for



"Classic" Miller County Scotch-Irish single cell pioneer houseplace c. late nineteenth century. Fine squared logs with square notching, fine finished chinking, roofing, weather boarded gables, six-over-six sash, floored loft, finished stone chimney with drip cap. Split rail fencing with finished gate.

immigration, but for the export of furs, hides, and other commercial products. The first settlers were trappers and hunters, and these occupations were combined with those of simple herding and cropping for several generations, until the fur supply was practically exhausted. The first settlements were made on the northern prairie and along the Osage bottom and its tributaries, especially Tavern Creek.

In addition to fishing and hunting, the earliest settlers herded some stock. An abundance of bluestem grass and other native forage plants afforded ample pasturage. Along with livestock raising, small fields were planted with corn or sowed with wheat, oats, and hemp. The early farmers used primitive methods of cultivation. Oxen were used for hauling and plowing, and corn was dropped by hand; very little work was done with machinery. Grain crop surpluses provided additional food for hogs and cattle. Livestock and furs and were the county's principal exports and were shipped to markets in Jefferson City and St. Louis. Supplies were freighted overland from the Missouri River or brought by flatboats up the Osage. This simple economy continued until the 1850s.

In that decade a true commercial agriculture developed. A considerable influx of settlers, mainly from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia greatly expanded the population, which reached 3,854 by 1860. Many of the newcomers took up improved lands vacated by earlier settlers who had left for the Oregon country. Wheat, corn, flax, and hemp were grown in addition to all manner of produce. It was a time of great pioneer hope.

In 1859 a "high" Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanian of Presbyterian persuasion immigrated to the Richwoods of southeast Miller County, and began the pioneer life of a new Missourian. He was part of a great

Richwoods
Jun 9th 1859

Dear Brother

We have written to Wm. Steanes. I think it is time we had an answer. I will write you a few lines and let you know how we are. We are all well. I think it is healthy here. At least the neighbours tell us so. There is very little lowland in the neighbourhood of Richwoods. We have better water than most parts of Mosouri. I have saw no part of Mo. that I like as well as where we are. The land here is good. There are rocky ridges of lime stone. It would astonish you to see the grass that grows on these ridges. People here never pretend to enclose this state. Horses, mules, cattle, sheep and hogs all run in the woods from spring till fall and do well. There is cattle here now fat enough to kill out of the woods. We have bought

three cows with calves. Good cows with calves can be bought for \$15 to \$20. We do not allow to buy any more stock till fall. We have bought a farm joining where we live of a hundred and sixty acres and got my deed for it. We do not get posesion till Oct. It is very handy to where we live. I can be at work all the spare time I have. We have four acres of



corn out on the lot we live on. There is vacant land joining where I bought. Good land I can get at 50 cts pr acre. I have paid for forty acres of it. I have not got an answer from the land office yet. We have rented the house we live in till the first of November for fifteen

dollars.

Corn is the prinsiple crop here. It looks well so far. They say we are going to have a better crop of wheat from the appearance than they have had for some years. Oats looks fine. Game here is plenty. Squirrels, fox and grey, are very plenty. I saw one on the ridge I believe would have weighed thirty lbs.

They kill them here that weighs over thirty pounds. I saw one deer since I have been here close to where we live. There has been several shot close by. I do not like the idea of killing them this time of year. Rabbits you can see them every place you go. Fruit is not going to be very plenty. That is apples and peaches. There is apples but few peaches in this neighbourhood. There will be blackberries by the bushel. They grow on high bushes in vacant places in the woods. They say they

are excelant berrys of all kinds. Are plenty persimmons and grapes by the waggon load. Wheat is worth \$1.00 dollar. Corn 70 cts, bacon 12½ cts. George has been out at work ever since we came here. The rest of the children are all going to school except Livy. The school house is a mile off. The children all appear to be very well contented. Sarah is very well pleased with the farm we bought. We paid thirteen hundred dollars for it. We have a store almost in site, a mill 2½ miles off. Provisions are scarce and dear. Fall would be the time to move out here. Everything then is low. Mr. Brown from White Deer and another gentleman was here last week. Relations of Mr. Moors. They were pleased with the country. They intend moving out either in the fall or spring. Mr. Lore on Camrous farm and a nephew of his. His nephew staid and works

Richwoods Jun. 9th 1859

Dear Brother

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I think it is time we had an answer I will write you a few lines and let you know how we are. We are all well I think it is healthy here at least the neighbours tell us so. There is very little low land in the neighbourhood of Richwoods we have better water than most parts of Mosourid. I have saw no part of Mo. that I like as well as where we are. The land here is good there are rocky ridges of lime stone. It would astonish you to see the grass that grows on these ridges. People here never pretend to inclose these state. Horses, mules, cattle, sheep & hogs all run in the woods from spring till fall and do well. There is cattle here now fat enough to kill out of the woods. We have bought three cows with calves good cows with calves can be bought from \$15 to \$20. We do not allow to buy any more stock till fall. We have bought a farm joining where we live of a hundred and sixty acres and got my deed for it. We do not get posesion till Oct. It is very handy to where we live. I can be at work all the spare time I have. We have four acres of corn out on the lot we live on. There is vacant land joining where I bought. Good land I can get at 50 cts pr acre. I have paid for forty acres of it. I have not got an

Photocopy of
original Irwin
letter, 1859.

with him, same man that George does a very steady.

They both intend buying here. He could tell you what the country is like here. You had better go and see him and tell him I see his nephew every week and is getting along well. Tell him I bought joining where we live. There is people moving in here from all places. Mosouri is filip up fast. Land raising every day. It is well I closed my bargain. The man was offered \$1500 hundred since I bought. The people here are nearly all battists. We expect to have some presbyterns in here after a while. Wm Kelby has been through here. I have saw him two or three times although he has not been to see us. Mr. Moors and Gitus have been to see us fre-

quently. The people here are friendly and great for getting married. Get married at twelve and fifteen years of age. I wish you would tell Wm. Steanes to send the Cronacle out to us as we get no paper and I will see that he is paid. We want you to write and send us all the news. Write soon. Remain your

Affectionat Brother,
Wm L Irwin

(Written to Major John W. Simonton, Mifflinburg, Pa.)

westward surge of the populace in the years just before the Civil War which effected Miller County as well as hundreds more counties on southern and western frontiers. A June, 1859, letter home to his brother provides a window upon the activities as well as the perceptions of a cultivated newcomer whose family and descendants were to remain in Richwoods Township to the present:

. . . We are all well. I think it is healthy here. At least all the neighbors tell us so. There is very little lowland in the neighborhood of Richwoods. We have better water than most parts of Missouri [Irwin spelled it "Mosouri"] Game here is plenty . . . squirrel, fox, rabbits, deer,The land . . . is good. There are rocky ridges of limestone. It would astonish you to see the grass that grows on these ridges. . . . Horses, mules, cattle, sheep and hogs all run in the woods from spring to fall and do well. . . . There is cattle here now fat enough to kill out of the woods People here never pretend [intend?] to enclose this state.

Irwin has obviously tried to buy all the land he can possibly afford: 160 acres for \$1300, a relatively stiff price for the time and place, but a bargain as far as he is concerned. "It is well I enclosed my bargain. The man was offered \$1500 since I bought it." One assumes the farm to have been well-improved at that price. He urges those at home who plan to come to Missouri to do so at once as the state "is filling up very fast. Land raising every day." But other nearby land yet remains cheap. Under terms of the Graduation Act of 1854, which graduated prices downward for all unentered public lands in proportion to the time they had remained open to entry but unsold, large quantities of Missouri land, especially in the Ozarks, were to be had at the lowest prices ever. Irwin was apparently a buyer of some of this too. "There is vacant land joining . . . Good land I can get at 50¢ per acre. I have paid for forty . . . have not got an answer from the land office yet." He is sanguine about crops. Corn is the principal grain crop, he says; oats look fine, and the wheat crop will be the best in years. He

has only four acres of corn in the ground himself. Fruit is not abundant, though there are apples, and a few peaches. But wild berries abound--blackberries, persimmons, and grapes "by the wagonload."

As for society, the children save the eldest and youngest (apparently) are going to school, which is a mile distant. "The children all appear to be very well contented." Of religion: "The people here are nearly all battists. We expect to have some presbyterns in here after a while [sic]." So one may assume that most of his neighbors may well be of Scotch-Irish descent like himself, but of a subtly different social texture. German Catholics are at a distance apparently.

Many evidences of a vigorous pioneer economy exist in the Irwin letter. George, perhaps the eldest son, "has been out at work ever since we came here." There was a store "almost in site," but provisions were "very high:" Wheat a dollar, corn seventy cents, bacon twelve-and-a-half cents. A mill is only two-and-one-half miles distant.

So on the eve of the Civil War, the Irwins described a forward-looking frontier socio-economy with confidence and optimism. (For the complete text of the Irwin letter, see Plate 8.) As was the case elsewhere in the Ozarks, as throughout the South, the high hopes of the pioneers in the 1850s were dashed by the horrors of the 1860s. Commerce was disrupted, society was violated, many fled or were killed, much improvement was destroyed or fell into dälapidation, fields grew up in brush and sprouts.

The Civil War-and-Reconstruction generation, neatly scribed by the twenty-one-year period from the outbreak of war in 1861 to the completion of the Bagnell spur of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in 1882, was a watershed of history in Miller County as elsewhere in the South. But like most counties of the Ozarks, the shifts in the direction of modernization were modest. Traditional patterns persisted, a

persistence based in culture, the modest character of the natural resource base, and other regional factors apparent but not easily explicable. The fur trade with Jefferson City and St. Louis, semi-subsistence to small-scale commercial agriculture with stockraising primary and cropping secondary, tie-hacking and tie-shipping, the slow increase of the movement of goods over the rails with a corresponding decline of the role of the river as highway, characterized the economy. To the aggregate of things produced for export were added products of mining: lead and iron ores, tiff, coal, and limestone. These began to challenge cattle in dollar value of exports by 1870. A society family- and clan-centered (and in the German districts, parish-centered) living in small rural neighborhoods served by tiny hamlets and a few small towns, the old county seat town of Tuscumbia at the center which made the point that in reality the county had no center--this was the society of Miller County in transition from the milieu of pioneers to that of their grandchildren. Even with the region-wide "boom" of post-war immigration, Miller County population had by 1870 not yet regained its 1860 level.

In the late nineteenth century the Germans, combining with American agriculturists, developed in that portion of the Osage River lying in Miller and downstream Osage County a more extensive row crop production than existed in upriver Camden County. This circumstance was greatly aided by Tuscumbia being the "terminal of all boats at an ordinary stage [water level] of the river." The strategic location of Tuscumbia as the year-round head of navigation accentuated its role as the division point on the river. Hauensteins, Kallenbachs, and Fendorfs were prosperous and influential German merchant families in Tuscumbia. The county population in 1910 had grown to 16,717, a gain of some ten percent every ten years since the Civil War.

Owen Riggs, an antebellum immigrant, established "Old Elizabeth" near the Osage River in 1869. By 1870 it had the first Catholic church in Miller County. Catholic missionaries from Osage County established parishes. An anecdote concerning two of these priests lost in the Miller County wilderness while looking for St. Elizabeth told of their good fortune encountering a young girl wearing wooden shoes--a profound cultural circumstance in which these Germans from continental Europe immediately recognized one another.

At the end of the 1870s Charles Holtschneider, a Westphalia merchant, planned a new town. He bought land for back taxes and established Charlestown and a site for the church of St. Lawrence in what became St. Elizabeth. By 1882 Mary's Home was founded and in 1906 St. Anthony came into existence. These German-American hamlets developed in a much larger rural German landscape. Captain Henry Castrop indicated that the Anton Luetkemeyer farm near Capps was the "farthest upriver farm owned by a true German." Castrop's comment is understood in the backdrop of the obvious differences in agricultural practices of Germans and southern uplanders. As Castrop wrote further defining the cultural differences in "upriver" and "downriver," wheat in those days was not grown to

"any extent in Camden or Morgan Counties...because of the contentment of the American farmer with his cornbread and bacon. The European farmer was very scarcely represented or had not invaded this part of the Ozarks at all."

The Autogram newspaper on March 24, 1927, continued these observations:

Osage and Jim Henry Townships, because of their common interests and their close relationship, are spoke of as a unit, and are divided by the Osage River. Both of these townships are in the main agricultural region, possessing many broad acres of fine producing land. These two townships are populated largely by people of the German Catholic descent, who being very thrifty cause the two townships to be very prosperous. St. Elizabeth and Mary's Home are villages in Jim Henry township.

Presently a modern cultural fault line in the built environment may be readily observed west and east of highway 17 north of the Osage River. The landscape east of 17 has "kept" domestic environments with both dwellings and outbuildings in good states of repair. West of 17 such conditions are less apparent.

The generations following the Civil War witnessed a continuation of pioneering settlement and small-scale economic development, such as the addition of railroad tie-hacking to the list of cash-product possibilities. In the early 1880s a branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad was built south from the main line (Sedalia-Tipton-California) to Bagnell. Bagnell, on the Osage at the western border of the county became a major take-out point for ties cut upriver. The Bagnell branch railroad greatly stimulated the tie economy. Bagnell was by the turn of the century the busiest tie entrepot in Missouri, shipping more than 200,000 ties annually. In 1903-05 the main line of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad was built east-to-west through the northern tier of townships. When the Rock Island built a roundhouse at the little village of Eldon, its growth was assured, and Eldon surpassed Tuscumbia permanently as the county's most populous town. The southern townships of the county were to remain far from railroads. The relative slowness of economic development and modernization in the southern part of the county was due to the relatively great distance to a railroad shipping point. Especially was this true of Glaize Township. The nearest railhead for southern Miller County was on the Frisco line at Crocker, some ten crow-flight miles south of Iberia and considerably farther from most farms by the roads of the time.

The principal nineteenth-century wagon roads usually followed the ridges and were fairly good, but the valley roads were frequently poor.

Note two double-cell, mirror image houses with single cell additions-painted house behind, unpainted in front, upper left. These buildings appear virtually identical in plan form. The house above and behind Cole & Sons warehouse (upper left center) is a double cell mirror & image stack with end bay. It is without the second door, but is otherwise true to form.



Bagnell, depot, and tie yard, 1918. The boxcar is of the Chicago and Alton Line.
Courtesy Missouri State Historical Society.



Bagnell tie yard, 1918, before the Bagnell Dam.



Plate 3

Bagnell tie yard, 1918

Photos courtesy of the Missouri State Historical Society.

To some extent the roads on the upland followed survey lines; but more frequently they followed the boundary between the upland and the broken country. The roads in 1914 remained poor despite the ready availability within the county of material for surfacing the road beds, such as stream gravel and the cherty subsoil material of the uplands. (Continued on page 23)



Intersection of Main and St. Louis, Iberia, 1901. Plain, unadorned, frame commercial buildings dominated the streetscape as opposed to many brick commercial districts of rail



Iberia Post Office, 1901. Phots courtesy of the Missouri State Historical Society

In 1881 the national penchant of tourist-health spas produced a hopeful development in Miller County. Promoters platted at least five spa towns: Aurora Springs, Vernon Springs, DeLeon Park near Eldon Springs, Elixir Springs near Iberia, and Robinett's Division of Excelsior Springs near Brumley. Aurora Springs, with an academy, hotels, and exports of its mineral water, was the only one to be successful. It became a boom town for two decades, and boasted a population triple that of the county seat of Tuscumbia.

By 1900 the total number of farms in Miller County was 2,251, and the average size was 123.3 acres. Most of the land was fenced with woven or barbed wire. There was no longer any free range for stock, in sharp contrast to Courtois Hills counties. Land values ranged from a few dollars upwards to \$75 or \$100 an acre; the price depended on the quality for agriculture and the proximity to railroads and towns. As a whole the farming land was relatively cheap. By 1914 approximately 40 percent of county land was under cultivation. The rest was forest or brush. The cost of clearing the forested land and getting it ready for the plow varied from \$4 to \$8 an acre. Trees were cut, piled, and burned. Sprouts grew from the stumps year after year. If the land was to be used for pasture they were often cut from six to eight times before the roots died, thus incurring additional costs as great as the original clearing. Land put under cultivation ceased to grow sprouts in less time, as the roots and stumps rotted much faster. Abandoned fields grew up in sassafras and persimmon brush which covered the entire surface in a short time if not cut. About 70 percent of the farms of the county were owner-operated. Tenantry increased somewhat between 1900 and 1914. Both the share and cash systems of rental were practiced. Cash rents varied from \$2 to \$6 an acre. On the basis of shares, the landlord received from one-third to one-fourth of the crops. Most of

the labor was done by owners or tenants, as farm laborers were scarce.

Stock raising continued to be the most extensive agricultural pursuit. Not enough corn and hay was produced to winter all the cattle however, and many were shipped out in the fall to market, or driven into the counties to the north to be fed out. In 1910 the number of farm animals in the county was as follows: cattle, 15,787; hogs, 17,976; sheep, 7,660; horses, 6,578; and mules, 2,430.

Corn was the chief grain crop for the county as a whole; wheat was a close second, followed by hay, oats, and cowpeas, in order of importance.

By 1914 several orchards of considerable size had been set out in the county. The apples grown were Ben Davis, Winesap, Missouri Pippin, Huntsmans Favorite, Maiden Blush, Early Harvest, and Yellow Transparent. Over 50 percent of the total plantings were Ben Davis. Most of the apples were consumed locally, though some were shipped to St. Louis. The soils were suitable to fruit growing, but the climate was not. Warm weather in the early part of March and April forced the bud which were often killed by later frosts. A number of crop failures occurred, especially in peaches, and caused much discouragement. Smudging to protect the trees from frosts had not been tried. As a result many orchards were by 1914 already neglected and in bad condition. Spraying for insects or fungus diseases was seldom practiced.

Many farms in Richwoods township in the southeast constituted a kind of "wealthy district." Farms in Tavern Creek valley and on the prairies in the vicinity of St. Elizabeth and Iberia also contributed to such an image. Although Iberia was platted before the Civil War, it did not become a significant service center for southeast Miller County until the Frisco railroad was constructed some ten miles away through Crocker in Pulaski County.

The agricultural conditions of the county began to show a marked improvement. Better methods of farming were being practiced, better farm buildings constructed, and modern implements purchased. The soils as a rule lacked organic matter, and some were in need of drainage and liming.

Timber resources had always been a principal resource of settlers. Virgin stands in the Big and Little Richwoods districts in southern Miller County were among the best stands in nineteenth-century Missouri. Much timber remained in the early twentieth century. A 1910 Missouri University Extension report described Miller County as "less than one third improved, leaving two thirds still timber covered"--perhaps an exaggerated estimate. The forest, said the report, consisted of 35 percent black jack oak, 30 percent post oak, and the remainder in hickory, sycamore, elm, maple, and walnut.

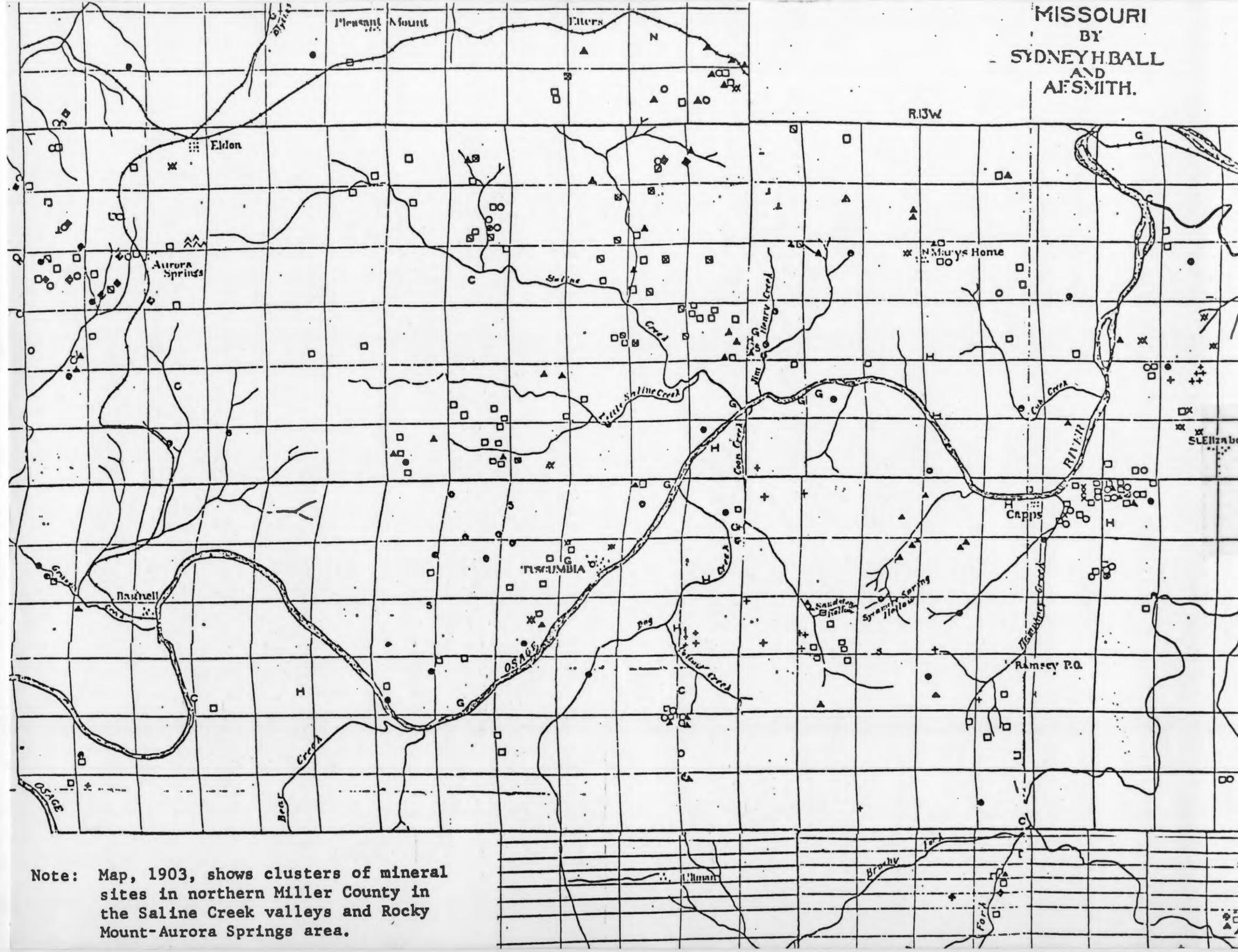
The best farm buildings, fences, and farm improvements were to be found in the northern part of the county in the prairie region and in the southern prairie region around Iberia. Along the Osage River and the larger tributaries farms and buildings were "good." In the rough broken country flanking the Osage and its tributaries, very little of the land was farmed except along the small draws. Here the improvements were not so good as elsewhere. The soils were characteristically the poor Clarksville stony loams, and the buildings were usually log houses. The farms were small, and little was grown.

The pioneer and modernization histories of Miller County were not dissimilar from those of many Ozarks counties with the local variation of geography, especially the Osage River, and large numbers of Germans. *No P* From its beginnings before 1837 until after the Civil War, the county changed little in lifestyle and local economies. Fur trading with

Jefferson City and St. Louis, stock raising, subsistence and limited commercial agriculture, hamlet neighborhoods, and the county seat town of Tuscumbia were principal settings. The Harrison family played a major role in the founding of Tuscumbia as they had at the first Crawford County seat of government (present Jerome-Arlington vicinity), and at Lebanon in Laclede County. Civil War was vicious and destructive in Miller County. Destruction to property was general, and resulted in sharp population decline, from which recovery was slow. By 1870, mining had begun to play a major economic role as minerals challenged cattle as the leading export. In the 1870s Catholic German-Americans from Westphalia and Koeltztown in Osage County began to found new settlements, the most westerly of the Osage Valley German communities. With the building of railroads into and adjacent to Miller County, the northern half of the county especially benefited from the availability of the new transportation to national markets. Agriculture, minerals, stock, and timber all fed into the railhead at Bagnell and the mainline towns of Eldon, Etterville, Eugene, Henley, and Meta (the latter three just outside in adjacent counties). Meanwhile steamboat traffic on the Osage declined. Some agricultural freight was still exported on the steamboats, and tiff was stacked on the banks at docking points such as Capps, to serve as a backup export when the hulls were not filled with wheat, oats, and tobacco. The steamers continued to operate, including tourist and recreation excursions, into the twentieth century. Miller County has been divided historically into halves, first by the Osage River, and second by the location north of the river of the railroad. Banking, schools, newspapers, a resort spa, most of the developed mineral deposits, and the Bagnell entrepot were all north of the river; or they came to the north years before they developed in the south.

Paved roads were also a phenomenon of the north county before the south. Highways 54, 52, and 17 were all paved by World War II, and before any pavement was laid in the south. Miller County in both its history and its surviving historic built environment reveals the prolonged and persistent culture of the Ozarks frontier, together with the uneven progress of modernization, also a characteristic of Ozarks history.

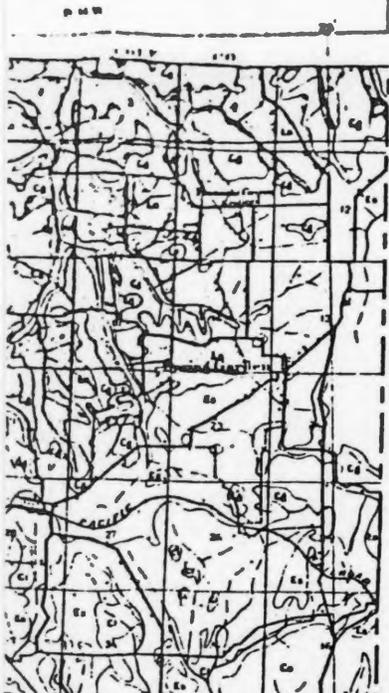
MISSOURI
BY
SIDNEY H. BALL
AND
A. F. SMITH.



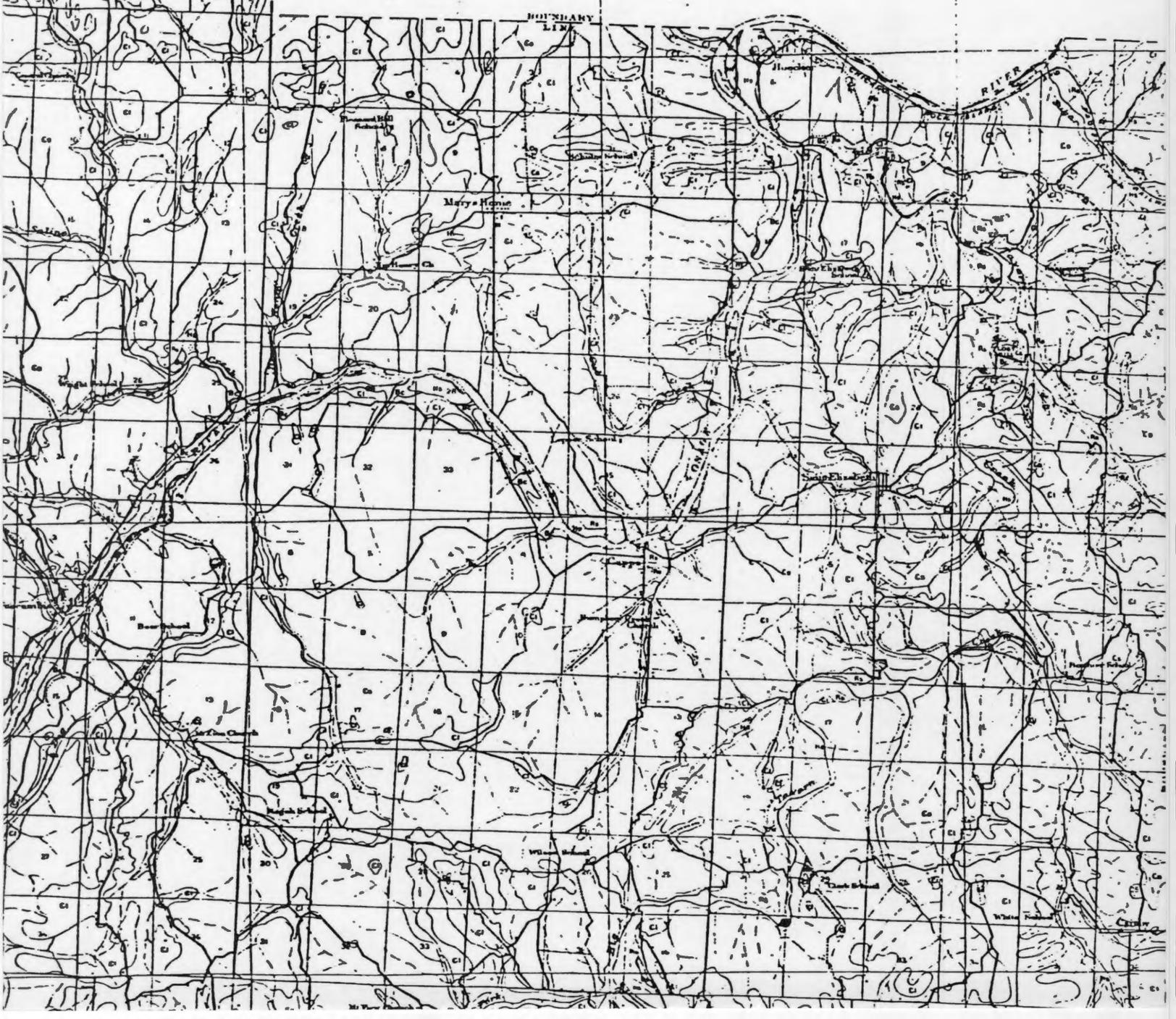
Note: Map, 1903, shows clusters of mineral sites in northern Miller County in the Saline Creek valleys and Rocky Mount-Aurora Springs area.



Note: Map, 1904, shows frequently travelled roads. Notice the combination of valley and ridge roads.



Note: Soils map, 1912, shows numerous rural schools, churches, roads, and buildings along the roads.



TUSCUMBIA: OZARKS RIVER TOWN

Tuscumbia is the town of Miller County selected for brief historical treatment in this report because of its age, location, function, and the peculiar interest of its setting and built environment.

Tuscumbia is on the north bank of the Osage. The town is built on the flood plain of the river, atop a high bluff above it, and to an extent on the very steep terrain between the two. In this regard it is reminiscent of Natchez Mississippi, Louisiana Missouri, and innumerable other river towns. Tuscumbia has in addition a low flat-bottomed coulee at the mouth of Shutin [sic] Creek, a small stream which breaks the line of bluffs. This coulee is some 300 meters wide and 600 meters deep, and is near the same elevation as the flood plain of the river upon which it opens. The flood plain below the bluffs which parallel the river bank is especially narrow right at the town site, being no more than about 100 meters across. Just above and below the town the riverbank moves away from the bluffs and widens the plain. (perhaps when the town site was selected the riverbank was not so close as at present.) The elevation of the floodplain is c.570 feet, while that of the bluff-top is c.740. The courthouse was sited upon the bluff, while the business buildings were below it, creating a characteristic "upper town," "lower town" ambience. The Shutin Creek valley offered additional space for private structures. Its fringes, at the foot of the bluffs, offered attractive sites for fine homes just a bit higher than the plain and above the terrible recurrent floods of the Osage. Consequently they include some of the relatively few surviving nineteenth century dwellings of the lower town. The street and staircase-footwalk between upper and lower

towns are very steep, but were flanked by both business buildings and dwellings built along them.

Tuscumbia and Mt. Pleasant (Pleasant Mount before the Civil War) were the only two named settlements in existence when Miller County was formed in 1837. Tuscumbia, in Equality Township, was the only center for trade and services in the first generation of Miller County. As was usually the case in frontier counties, the seat of government was the seat of trade and travel as well.

The Civil War disrupted development and business here as it did almost everywhere in the Ozarks. During the war, flags of both sides flew over Tuscumbia. Guerrilla warfare and vigilante movements were intense near the town. However, development resumed soon afterward. Although in 1867 the county still had no newspaper, bank, or doctor, Tuscumbia did have a grist mill, two stores, several tradesmen, a hotel, school and a population of some 200--not far from its peak population of 285 in 1910. Before the war the buildings in the upper town, on the bluff, were the public buildings of the county. After the war private structures began to be erected there. A few new town people had arrived with relatively cosmopolitan interests as was exemplified by the establishment of Masons' and Odd Fellows' lodges. In the county hinterland four other hamlets experienced some growth: Mt. Pleasant, Spring Garden and Rocky Mount north of the river and Iberia in the south. In 1875 the county government offices were all situated in the upper town, where they remain. Most buildings were built along the narrow bottom near the river, however. Tuscumbia had acquired a newspaper, the Osage Valley Sentinel, (later moved to Richland) and the Vidette, with several others to follow. Population remained stable at near 200.

The location of Tuscumbia on the main highway of the day--the Osage River--naturally stimulated the town's development. Furthermore, the great pioneering family Harrison came, bringing skills, experience, and means from the Little Piney-Gasconade country. In 1888, R. M. Marshall and some Westphalia and Osage County merchant-steamboat men merged their businesses. In practical terms Marshall and his steamer, Frederick, handled "upper river" business which was joined at Tuscumbia with the trade of the "lower river" partners. The firm was incorporated as the Osage and Missouri River Packet Company with Marshall as manager and Captain F. G. Shoener, agent. By 1890 the chief merchant firms in Tuscumbia were Hauenstein and Marshall and Anchor Roller Mills. Both owned and operated steamboats. Three hotels were built: The Home, City Hotel, and the Kentucky House. In 1885 the Autogram began publication at Tuscumbia, and continues today in Eldon as the longest continuously published newspaper in the county. Several other new businesses appeared in the 1880s, including Simpson and Company, tie contractors, and Dr. J. B. McGee, physician. Hack and mail traffic and a heavy wagon trade existed between Tuscumbia and northern Miller County.

Although mining had been locally profitable in Miller County during the late nineteenth century, it does not appear to have had a significant effect on Tuscumbia's economy. During the 1920s, the Clark mines near Tuscumbia yielded a high grade of tiff (Barite), but was soon mined out.

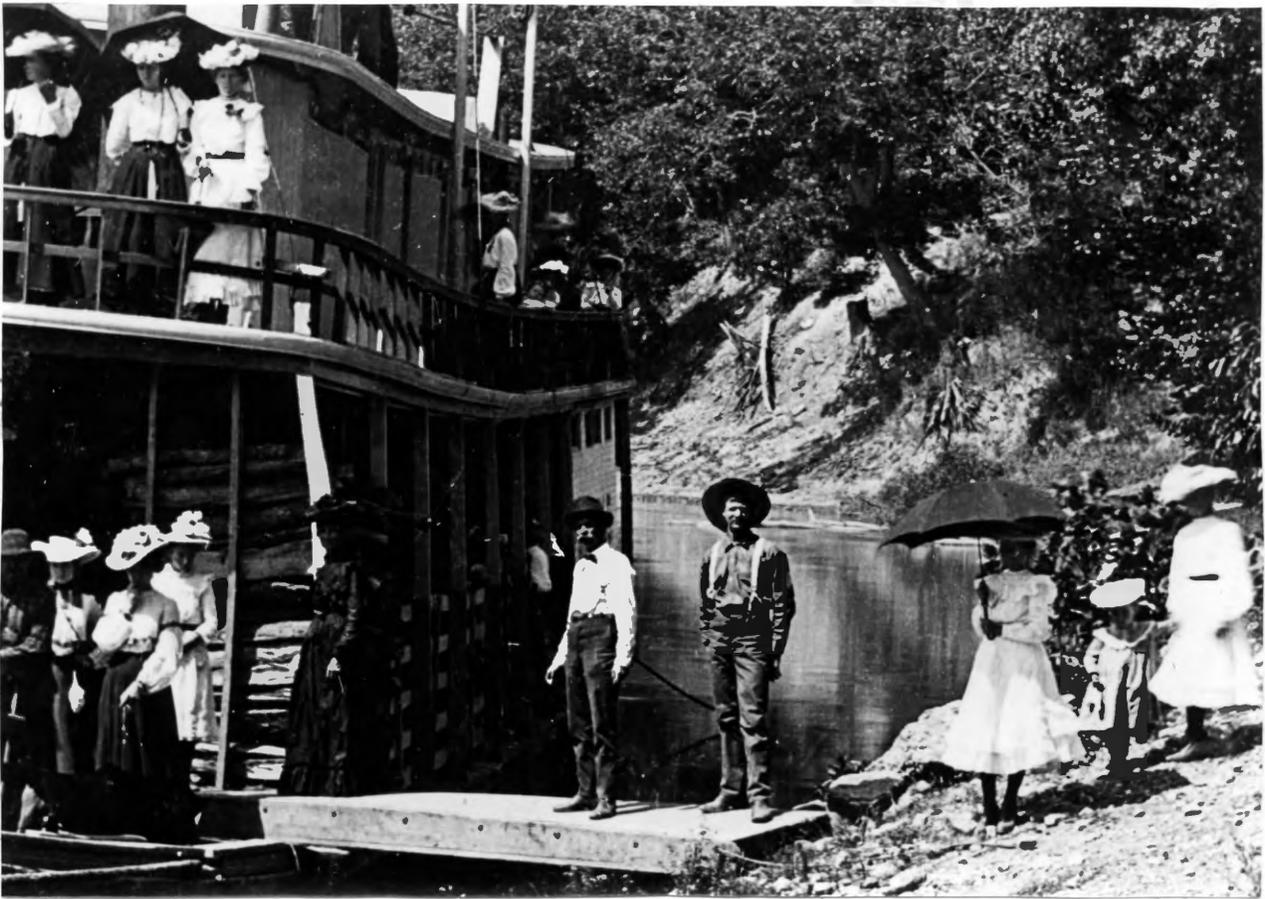
By 1910, Tuscumbia, like many other small rural Ozarks towns, had begun to use cement, plaster, and concrete as a common building material.

The "J. R. Wells," constructed locally in 1898, famous steamboat for freight and excursions, had begun to freight these construction materials to the county seat town by 1908. Tuscumbia's steamboat traffic served much of Camden, Miller, Morgan, and Osage counties. The steamboats docked at many points up and down the Osage, and stopped regularly at

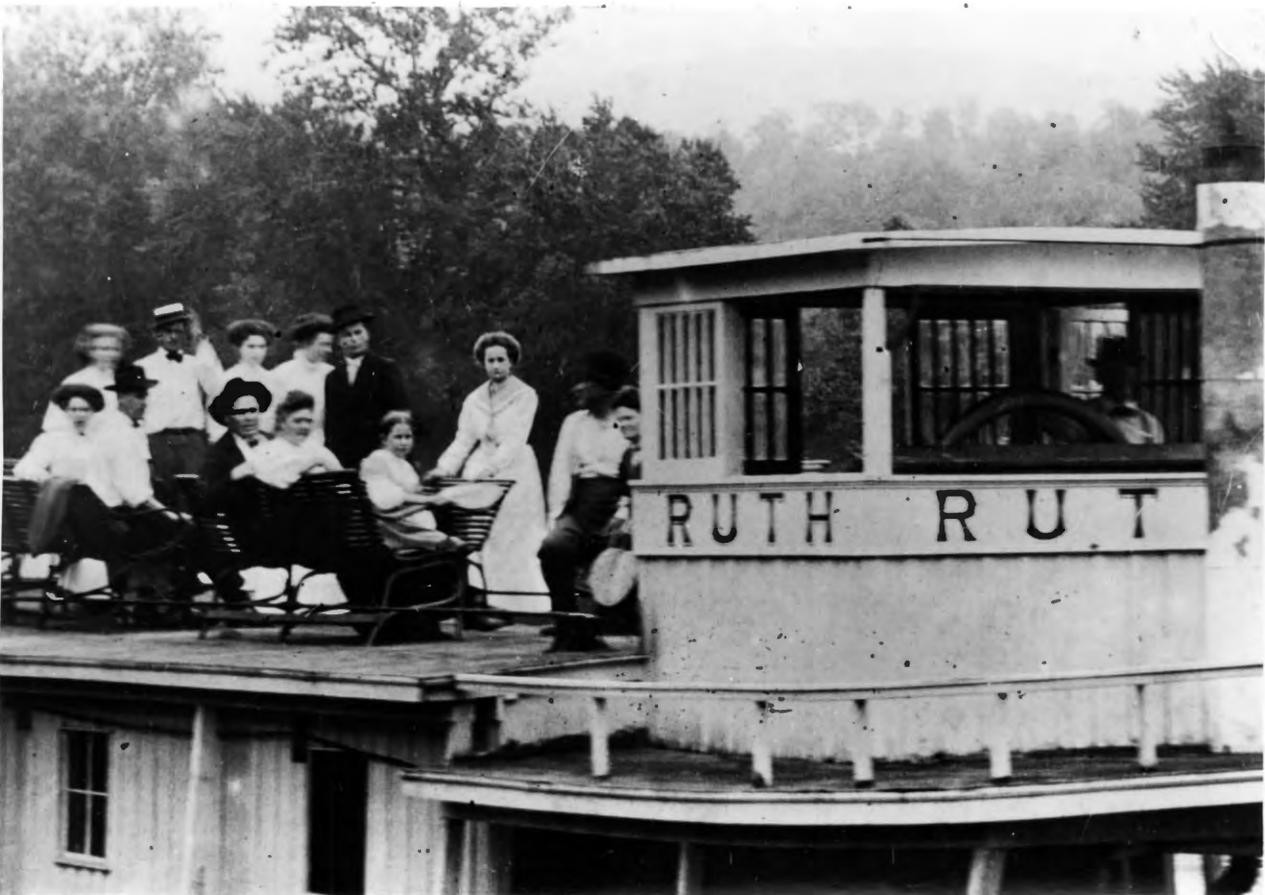
Bagnell and Hoecker to unload livestock for the railroads. Even St. Louis, some 150 miles downstream, was an occasional destination for the Tuscumbia steamboats.

Inasmuch as Tuscumbia is on the north bank of the river, ferries served as connectors with the south county until 1905, when Tuscumbia citizens led by R. M. Marshall constructed a wire suspension bridge, the first in the county. Three main county routes radiated from Tuscumbia at this time: to Aurora Springs, to Ramsay-Capps-St. Elizabeth and to Iberia. Missouri's state road building program of the 1920s increased accessibility for many rural towns, and Tuscumbia was no exception. During the twenties, state highways 17 and 52, farm-to-market road E, and a "free" steel bridge across the Osage River were all constructed. These events in part abetted regular truck service to St. Louis. In the thirties a tourist-fishing economy appeared that was a spillover from the new Lake of the Ozarks. Several new buildings were constructed in Tuscumbia including residences, Riverside Park dependencies, a jail, a nearby County Home, and substantial fencing for the cemetery.

Tuscumbia became a busy little town by the end of the nineteenth century, and reached its maximum wealth, size, and scale of function on the eve of World War I. In this regard it was similar to many of the county seat towns of the Ozarks and of Missouri. The population in 1910 was 285. Between 1910 and 1940, that population remained stable; but the population began to age. In the generations following World War II Tuscumbia has neither prospered nor disappeared; and its cultural landscape remains in the late twentieth century a striking reminder of the nineteenth.



Excursion group boarding the regionally famous J. R. Wells steamer.



Another excursion tour in progress aboard the Ruth.



Plate 4

Tuscumbia, looking southwest from the Hill. Date unknown, but probably 1890s. The Marshall-Keeth house, center right distance still stands in 1980.



Plate 5

The great majority of structures here have "disappeared."



Plate 6

Tuscumbia (date unknown, but probably between 1880 and 1900). All structures are gone.



Plate 7

Dr. McGee and granddaughter afloat in McGee's front yard. The house, now gone, was a part of Tuscumbia's fashionable west side.

HISTORICAL ETHNICITY AND THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT
IN MILLER COUNTY: SCOTCH-IRISH AND GERMAN AS CULTURE TYPES

Probably the most numerous white populations in the United States that comprise cultural groups with identifiable "critical masses" of historical culture traits are those we term "German" and "Scotch Irish." In Miller County, both traditions exist and have stamped the cultural landscape with their indelible benchmark. To use the concept of historical ethnicity, difficult as it is to manage, in order to better understand and attribute significance to the surviving landscapes assayed in the present survey, is the intent of this section of the report. Although the German landscapes are the most clear-cut and self-evident, they are but little represented in the survey of structures itself, and so are dealt with in more general terms in the following essay. Their significance is primarily for comparison with the Scotch-Irish landscapes of the southern part of the county.

Germans in the United States, like the less-numerous but even more distinct ethnic groups of Italians, Slavs, Latinos, etc., have a non-English language heritage as a chief distinction around which other culture traits have clung and persisted. The German-speaking parish, (whether Protestant or Catholic) a whole community with families, church, school, business and fraternal institutions, together with other attributes of social organization, has been the typical nexus for the survival of German culture. The length of tenure of the Germans is a significant factor too in their surviving as an identifiable cultural group. Two great migrations occurred. The earlier one, in the first half of the eighteenth century, consisted primarily of Palatinate Germans of radical Anabaptist religious tradition, usually Mennonite bodies, who included

the "Pennsylvania Dutch" as well as the communities spreading south and west from Pennsylvania through the Southern Highlands and beyond. The second, greater migration began c.1830 and continued until World War I. These Germans were predominantly of Catholic or "churchly" Protestant tradition--Lutheran and Reformed--and came into the American Middle West. That second, later migration is the source of most of the identifiably German cultural groups that survive in the United States today. The parishtowns of St. Elizabeth, St. Anthony, and Mary's Home in Miller County, Missouri, are almost archetypal examples of German survivals of the nineteenth century immigration.

The Scotch Irish on the other hand, are not so readily identifiable. They adopted much of colloquial English speech even before immigration to America, tended to eschew formal institutions, including the church, as carriers of their cultural traditions, and did not possess a strong literary tradition. They come in large numbers only before the American Revolution. The term "Scotch Irish" itself may be the most apparent characteristic of an otherwise shadowy group. It is an Americanism coined by persons of Ulster Protestant descent c.1830s to differentiate themselves from the flood of Catholic Irish immigrants then arriving in the United States. Folk of Ulster descent before content to call themselves and to be called simply "Irish," now claimed their earlier Scottish roots to become "Scotch-Irish." In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these Ulster Protestants did express strong self-consciousness in cultural matters at Princeton College and throughout much of the Presbyterian establishment in all manner of historical and geneological endeavors. This "high" Scotch Irish culture, like that of other vigorous culture groups, was the victim of its own success as far as identity was concerned: it became merely "American." However, among the less self-conscious, the

more culturally naive and culturally isolated, the less schooled (or unschooled and illiterate), the culture of the Scotch Irish has perhaps persisted to the greatest extent. Among what we might term the "low Scotch Irish" was a resistance to the forces of modernity and cosmopolitanism that everywhere and always tend to assimilate the more sophisticated. In the states of the American South, and in the southern reaches of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois north of the Ohio River, Germans and Scotch Irish groups settled in separated but contiguous communities and neighborhoods, retaining much of their traditional culture. The settlement of rural Missouri reflected a continuation of the phenomenon, although here it was made more complex by the presence of "Yankees" and creole French, as well as blacks and native Americans.

The perpetual tendency of popular American history and even of professional historians to ignore historical ethnicity in favor of the nationalistic melting pot ideal is "bunk," according to historians Grady McWhiney and Forrest McDonald ("The Celtic South," History Today, July, 1978).

Throughout the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century most Americans lived in clusters of people of similar mores and attitudes, each cluster separated from the others. The population was mobile to be sure, but most migrants moved in groups from one isolated place to another, and interaction between communities was superficial and rare. Now, people do not change in isolation, cultures do not change in isolation The anthropological principle involved here is that of cultural conservatism or cultural inertia: the tendency of a people to retain its traditional ways [unless modified by powerful forces of change from outside] .

McWhiney and McDonald theorize that the chief characteristics of "Southernness" developed from a predominance in the original immigrant populations of people of Celtic cultural descent who came from the west and north of England, from Scotland, and especially from Protestant Ulster--the Scotch Irish. All of these people they generalize as "Celtic."

Persistent southern cultural traits which they describe as Celtic include animal-raising rather than cropping as a livelihood; the extended family as the chief unit of society; the legacy of clan justice persisting so as to look to a protector--a sheriff or other authority figure--rather than to a system of laws and legal procedures for redress of grievance; and a leisure ethic rather than a work ethic. Celtic Southerners, they say, tended to have a culture of social controls governed by a "shame principle," rather than a "guilt principle" as the English did. "The Highlander or the Irishman . . . had little faith in the slender reed of inner discipline, relying instead on social disapproval, mainly in the form of ridicule; significantly, Gaelic is a hundredfold richer in its terms of derision than English." The British Celtic languages, they add, gained their greatest richness as speech, whereas English achieved its glory as literature. "So too with the people. Celts and Southerners, unlike Englishmen and Yankees, were oral and aural. They loved words and the soundsof words. They loved oratory, from politicians or the pulpit; they loved to tell stories, the more outlandish the better; they loved to talk, even when they had nothing to say." ¶ The most crucial characteristic of the Celtic-Southerners - culture for the American experience was their method of raising animals for a livelihood, and their associated disdain for the drudgery of tillage agriculture. Just as the chief product of Scotland until well into the eighteenth century was cattle, so was the value of livestock in the antebellum Southern states greater than that of all tillage crops, including tobacco and cotton, combined. Animals ranged freely in the traditional Celtic way and were clipped or branded rather than fenced or herded. Long-persisting southern land law abetted the practice. Pigs were preferred over cattle in the Southern uplands, and were so numerous as to provide "lavish self-sufficiency" as well as a marketable surplus

(Southerners invented the long stock drive). In Arkansas in 1860 there were per capita thirty-three times more hogs than in Massachusetts, fifty-two times more than in Maine.

McWhiney and McDonald are convinced that Celtic culture, to them a clearly identifiable set of traits with Old World roots, has persisted and flourished in the American South. Their conviction and their preliminary evidence are arresting. Although I stop short of accepting the term "Celtic" because of the enormous difficulty and complexity surrounding the study of these ancient, widespread, and elusive peoples, and the consequent seeming oversimplification of a history which could only have become more complex in its recent American setting, the hypothesis itself works, and addresses a long-standing need. I prefer at present to use "Scotch-Irish" as the name of a culture type which they term "Celtic." "Scotch-Irish" has some of the some problems as "Celtic" (as well as some difficulties of its own), but it posits a more limited and manageable category, in Ozarks studies at least. However, those native to or students of the Ozarks will quickly relate the Celtic thesis to their own experience and observation. Miller County is no exception.

Both German and Scotch Irish have profoundly influenced the cultural landscapes of Miller County, as they have of much of the Ozarks. Observati~~Observat~~ cultural landscapes--especially the folk-vernacul~~s~~ landscapes--of Miller County reveals remarkable differences that after a while begin to form recognizable patterns. The German landscapes of villages and towns such as St. Elizabeth, Taos, Wardsville, St. Thomas, Freeburg, Rich Fountain, Linn, Loose Creek, and especially Westphalia in Miller, Cole, and Osage Counties are among the most dramatically distinctive in all of rural Missouri. Equally distinctive if less apparent are such villages as St. Anthony and

Mary's Home in Miller County (with numerous counterparts among the villages of neighboring counties). Also distinctive are the nucleated farmsteads and individual structures that have German surnames on their mailboxes. They are in discernible ways similar to each other and different from those that are not so clearly German. Less obvious patterns observable around the county seem to relate to age, style, building materials, apparent expensiveness and sophistication of concept, and even locational factors such as topography, soil type, and subtle qualities of "neighborhood." There are patterns which in our time we generally associate with such objective measures as degrees of taste, cultivation and care. The builders and proprietors of some were apparently careful, while others seem by contrast to have been careless. Some places are neat; others in various degrees seem littered. "Neat" and "littered" are both adjectives with French and ultimately Latin roots which speak of order and disorder. Order as we usually perceive it is a cultural inheritance from Classical civilization, greatly expanded and empowered by the Renaissance. In observing folk-vernacular landscapes of Miller County, what place do notions of classical and Renaissance order have in the observation? Much influence on the cultivated observer, at least. The influence of such ideas on the creation and maintenance of the landscape being observed is another question, but one of great interest. Let us shift to descriptive adjectives that are native to the roots of the two most distinctly contrasting strands of folk culture evident in Miller County, namely German and Scotch Irish. (While less self-evident and somewhat more diffuse the Scotch-Irish influence is probably more widespread and more profound.) The German farms with their dwellings, barns, and appurtenances tend to be "snug." Those of Scotch-Irish descent tend to be "clarty." "Snug" barns and farmsteads (sometimes referred to in middle High German as "Behaglich," not brought into American

colloquial usage) simply ^{means} things "lying close, warm, and comfortable; neat, trim, and convenient." Behaglich is ultimately derived from Old Norse haga, an enclosure; and Icelandic hagi an enclosed field (source of hedge). Both are of ancient cultural roots and imply rural neatness and order. "Clart" on the other hand is a Gaelic word that is untranslatable (used in American speech occasionally, now rarely), but in general means fouled and dirty, clogged, unarranged, stuck with mud, manure, hair, or a mixture of the three. Curiously the implication of "clarty" was also of convenience, workability, warmth, and comfort. "The mare clartier the mare cozier." Cream, for example, was thought to churn more quickly and surely if dirty and containing hair. Snugness and clartiness are not mere manifestations of wealth vs. poverty, energy vs. sloth, sophistication vs. ignorance, good taste vs. no taste. They are, rather, manifestations of culture.

How do "snugness" and "clartiness" manifest themselves to the observer of such a survey as that occasioned by the present project (admittedly an extensive rather than intensive form of observation)? Solidity of structure vs. an apparent lack of solidity, is an important beginning point. German foundations are full and sturdy; Scotch-Irish foundations (more widely variant and less easy to generalize) tend to be light and "airy," not to say almost nonexistent. The same may be said for the whole structures. The quality of workmanship tends to show a similar contrast, although the fine quality of timber squaring and corner joinery in many Scotch-Irish log houses, of which there are a comparative abundance extant in Miller County, exhibit great skill and care and the use of axe and frow. The arrangement of the German farmstead landscapes are tidy (from tidelike, i.e. timely, seasonable, predictable, in the order of nature). Things are put up, put away. Scotch-Irish domestic landscapes tend toward a range of clarty opposites. In the complicated

matter of form and style of dwellings, treated elsewhere in this report, generalization is even more difficult and hazardous. However, certain tendencies are apparent. Each is profoundly conservative and prone to tradition rather than innovation. Certain modest and traditional German decorative forms are widespread, even to the hand working of door and window mouldings in otherwise plain log buildings. The Scotch-Irish sometimes adopted "town" forms of high style foreign to the folk tradition, especially vernacular expressions of the Palladian porch. Of particular interest however is the tendency of the Scotch-Irish over time to create symmetrical facades, even over asymmetrical interior planforms such as the hall and parlor. German dwellings on the other hand tend to maintain almost stubbornly a traditional asymmetry despite the fact that some buildings suggest that their designers had to be at some pains to make them so.

Acquaintance with persons and families in Glaize and Richwoods Townships of southern Miller County, including oral interviews, reveals something of traditional Scotch-Irish lifeways (in these cases, mostly low Scotch Irish), and even places them in extant traditional dwellings which they built. Lenner Morrow Handy, an octogenerian native, spoke of a father who was "traditional" in that he was not modern, not progressive, not capital-accumulating, and not interested in schooling for his children. His lifestyle and livelihood were based on a subsistence economy. His log house was a single pen with loft and boxed-in corner staircase, unmortared stone pier foundation (one of those unplumbed, "airy" foundations), no window in the facade, and square notching at the corners. It was the simplest of traditional dwellings. By contrast, it had had a sheet-metal rather than a shake roof, perhaps one idea taken from his German neighbors who always roofed their houses in metal. Lenner Handy recalls the building of the house about 1900:

"Yeh, yeh, I was 7 years old when we moved in there."

"Do you remember your father building that house?"

"Yeh, I can remember him going there, him and my brother take an ax and go but that's about all I can remember of him."

"You didn't actually watch them building then?"

"Oh, we went up there every day for it wasn't over a quarter of a mile I guess to the place and then when they got the logs all cut they had what they call a house-raising, all the neighbors come in and Mother fixed a big dinner and fed all of them and they put it up, the logs and all of them there, and they put it up and more than one man--one man can't build one by himself. Had all the neighbors, that's the way you'd have done it. Dad had a house to build they'd help him. One of the others why they'd help him."

"Had your father ever built a log house before?"

"I don't know, I guess he had. I seen them built. He may have helped them build. I don't know."

"How long did it take him to build that--to lay in those logs before they had the house-raising?"

"Oh, maybe a month or maybe a little better. We moved in before they got the cracks filled for they was wanting the house we lived in, and we moved up there before it wasn't [sic] finished."

"Did you have a stair or was it a ladder up to the second floor?"

"No, it was a stair."

"What kind of floor was in that house?"

"Oak."

"Was it sawed, a sawed floor?"

"Yeh, about a foot wide."

"Fireplace?"

"No."

"Just a stove?"

"Just a stove. A cook stove and a heater. I always wanted a fireplace, but I never had one."

"Were most of the new houses that were built then built out of logs, Lenner?"

"Yeh. There was a few built out of lumber, but not too many. Then afterwards why they built a log house after they got their money accumulated and got kinda settled then they'd build what they called--frame house."

"How was that roofed? Your house?"

"Galvanized. Still on it. Still there yet today. It was when we was over there. That's probably why that house is still standing up there, because it had a good roof on it."

"Did your dad clear out much ground there where you built the house?"

"He cleared all that, he cleared all of it, it was woods when he bought it and he cleared all of it and brought the field right down to the house, and we tended it."

The father, "Pussy Will" Morrow, brought into that house a woman whom her daughter Lenner recalled as having "gentle ways." The house interior was dark, so her mother whitewashed it--a whitewash still present after eighty years.

"What were some of the things that your mother taught you in terms of taking care of the house?"

"Well, good manners for one thing and not spin on the round oak table was another and to eat what was put on my plate, and I worked in the field from time the first warm day come until the frost and we had a tablecloth and a red and white striped and a blue and white striped and she never went to the table to eat without she having one of them on the table."

"What if she ate at a neighbor's house and the neighbor didn't have a tablecloth?"

"Well, she had a big man's white handkerchief in her pocket and she spread it on the table and set her plate on it."

"Was that unusual?"

"Well, sure it was unusual, she was the only one I ever seen do that. But they--her mother--never eat off oilcloth and she never had and I never had, my children was--well, I had to go to work to raise them. When I went home they'd have everything spilled on the tablecloth and I said to her, "Mother, I can't keep a tablecloth on here." So I took it off and had an oilcloth and I sat her down to eat; I put a big white tea-towel under her plate for her to eat off of and the children eat off of the oilcloth and me, but she wouldn't eat off of it."



HID #26. A daughter of the builder later "moved to town" and occupied another traditional house extant in Iberia--a frame hall and parlor. Pussy Will and family



"You mentioned your mother and the tablecloth. Did your mother have gentle ways?"

"Gentle ways, everything was gentle. Her, she'd make her bed up, you ever see a straw bed tick? Well, she'd make that up--a high footboard and real high headboard. Footboard came up to the foot of the bed with the feather bed and all. She never had a bedspread, she always made her a muslin. She put that on and we knowed not (she never whooped us but she made us all sunbonnets) we wouldn't dare to lay one of our sunbonnet on that bed. We'd go and hang them on a nail that she'd throw up, but she'd never whooped us. That's the way she taught us. Now you use that nail and that's what we done."

"What did you buy when you went to the store?"

"Coffee and we bought sugar and we bought like noodles and all the dry food like that."

"And canned things? Did you buy some canned things?"

"Oh, yeh, they had cans, all the time she ever bought any canned stuff she always wondered why that the canned stuff was always so slick on the peeling, you know. She'd like to know how they done that so she'd make her'n look thataway. Sometimes she'd go in town and buy a can of half peaches and bring them home because they was pretty in the can as she poured them out. We peeled ours and we didn't know. No, Mother was up-and-ago. She'd had somebody to help her, she could have gone a long ways. But you know one pulled one way and one another--you can't go very far."

Another octogenerarian of Scotch Irish descent is Voll Farmer, who lives in the family dwelling consisting of two separate houses joined in a "L" with the front verandas intersecting. One structure is an 1868 squared log single pen with loft; the other is a 1902 saw-mill house (HID #1). Farmer reminisced about life in the 1930s and beyond:

"We hunted with any kind of dog--treed anything. The dog would circle a mile and bring back ten to twelve squirrels. We fixed them in flour gravy, had rabbit and gravy, and possum and gravy. eight or ten squirrels with gravy was a common supper. Most everyone got ahold of coon too. We sold as many hides as we could. Raised hogs, but not beef. Dad sold a calf or a mule colt for taxes. Colts might bring \$100-\$150 a head. We farmed a little too. Dad only got wood one day at a time."

"Old man Adam raised tobacco for the neighbors--it sure smelled up the valley nice. Some dried fruit and garden truck would sell in town.



Voll Farmer HID #1. Enclosed well in lower foreground.





Voll Farmer house.
Interior of 1868 log
structure. Note ori-
ginal fireplace and
mantel behind heating
stove.

"nothing was ever said about closets. Mine was always right there on the wall. Grandpa and grandma sat on opposite sides of the fireplace. Each had a bottle of bitters above on the mantle, and each smoked a pipe. Neighbor women sometimes came over and quilted together.

"We slept up and downstairs--five or six in one bed. Had tunnel bed all over. Grandpa would take in tramps, feed 'em, and bed 'em upstairs."

Voll Farmer has no plans to move or to "sellout:"

"I was offered \$3,000 an acre for my ground across the road for some building sites. I don't want trailers across the road. I can't get out now, but someone looking at me--I don't like that."

Voll Farmer's house, which is two houses (somewhat) joined, has an ultimate "add on" look that is so characteristic of the Miller County Scotch-Irish vernacular. "Add on" building is virtually a type in its own right, as may be seen in the type analysis of this report. German houses by contrast are not so conceived nor so used, a characteristic that accounts in part for their appearance of timeless solidity. The casualness of the Scotch-Irish approach to housing is suggested by the following excerpt from an interview with Bob Robinette, scion of an old Glaize Township family:

"Well, your family would have had to just--when they left the Tuscumbia area--I guess they just come across land in a wagon or something then didn't they?"

"They walked. When they got to Brumley they was a crossroad there, cross trails, and they met a guy there and he told them there was a cabin--a trapper's cabin--down there by a spring where they could put their belongs."

The southwesternmost corner of the county, the area of the Robinette settlement, is a particular enclave of the low Scotch-Irish hillman. Now intruded upon by the Glaize Arm of Lake of the Ozarks and the many outside visitors to Lake of the Ozarks State Park (where a very fine traditional log house has been located by the state park system), this corner of old Glaize Township was long the nethermost hinterland of the county. Not

until after 1880 were most of the lands entered, with the peak of land patenting about 1900. So squatting had been the characteristic form of nineteenth century settlement. Most of those "claims" had single pen log cabins, many of which were documented by the Submarginal Land Program when the state park was under development (see "History and Pictures, Lake of the Ozarks State Park," in bibliography). The clarty look of this netherland was the result of not only economic poverty, but cultural tendency as well.

To the east, in Richwoods Township, the homeplaces of more substantial "high" Scotch-Irish are yet evident. The Irwin family, whose pioneer letter of 1859 is described above, continues on the ancestral lands to the present. The Irwins were northern and Presbyterian, but joined the Congregational Church, established in Iberia in 1871 (perhaps in part an association with others of New England origin). They were also Unionist and Republican. Present resident Dr. Ray Irwin married Edna Williams, descendant of another antebellum, self-consciously Scotch-Irish family of Miller County. The Williams family established a trust many years ago in which land parcels or shares of the family land could be traded. These are passed through family hands as a device for holding family members to ancestral land in Miller County. Since 1926 there has been a Williams family round robin letter with photographs circulating around the country. So do these Scotch-Irish Ozarks families perpetuate their attachment to home.

In the northeasternmost part of the county, the German township of Osage, are neighborhoods equally traditional in culture and lifestyle as in the forms of their landscapes. Miller County has remained into the late twentieth century one of the best locales in Missouri in which to observe and study the two great southern frontier cultures.

Method for Establishing Categories in the Miller County Survey:
Tradition and Innovation in the Built Environment

Most of the inventoried domestic dwellings appear from the evidence, mostly inferential, to have been built in the nineteenth century, and especially in the last 30 years of that century. Inasmuch as the period from 1870 to 1900 was the most dynamic in the entire history of the Ozarks, an effluorescence of building during the period is to be expected, as is the evidence of the diffusion of new building techniques and materials such as dimension lumber, wire nails, power-sawed and turned decorative wood ordered from catalogues and shipped from non-local mills on the rails, balloon framing, poured concrete and molded concrete block, etc. New stylistic influences and innovations were synonomous with the new techniques and materials; the two were often explicitly conjoined in catalogues and manuals used by builders and made available in lumberyards and supply stores, those emporia of the new building specialist.

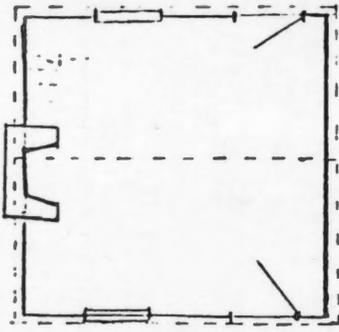
However, many inventoried buildings are of indeterminate age and date, an omission of less than ordinary significance because they tend to be traditional in their conception, execution, consequent appearance, and plan form. Many if not most traditional domestic dwellings exhibit striking similarities whether built in 1800 (or earlier) or 1900 (or later). The characterization of inventoried domestic dwellings in this report is in terms of building types rather than architectural styles, a distinction made so as to focus upon the contrast between tradition and innovation rather than upon artistic/stylistic order. Typological concepts elsewhere, usually termed "folk" or "vernacular," are here treated as primary referent points in typological determination. Typing

is sometimes tentative and to an extent hypothetical. However, general configurations of mass, character of roof, placement of chimneys, and especially wall piercings, are so characteristically repetitious in building, as to allow them to be fitted with some degree of certitude into the generality of types hypothesized for thousands of similar structures observed by the Center for Ozarks Studies for much of the Ozarks region.

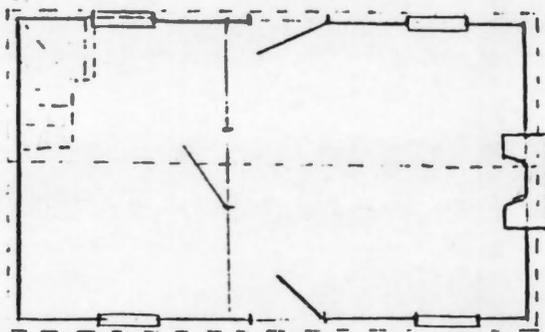
Divisions of the Inventory

The ten divisions of the inventory reflect traditional types (I-V), and a major transitional type (VI). In addition, other separable categories are posited in the survey, viz: "Late" Victorian, German-American vernacular, cemeteries, and twentieth century vernacular. (Cemeteries are included minimally in the survey despite the fact that they are normally excluded from the National Register consideration of potentially eligible properties. In the Ozarks, however, they tend to be an inseparable element in the essential cultural landscapes of the region. The ten divisions are:

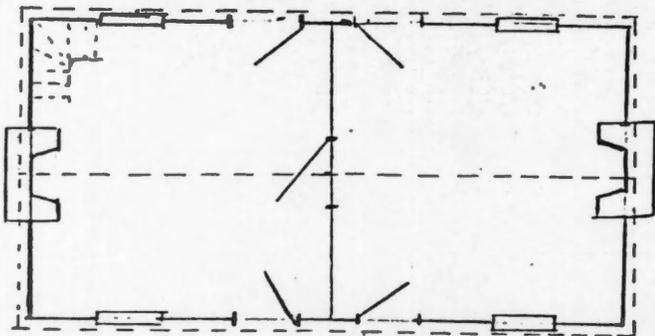
- I Single cell
- II Stack
- III Dog-Trot
- IV Double Pen/mirror-image
- V Hall and parlor
- VI Central passage
- VII Late Victorian, turn-of-the-century
- VIII German-American vernacular
- IX Cemeteries
- X Twentieth century vernacular



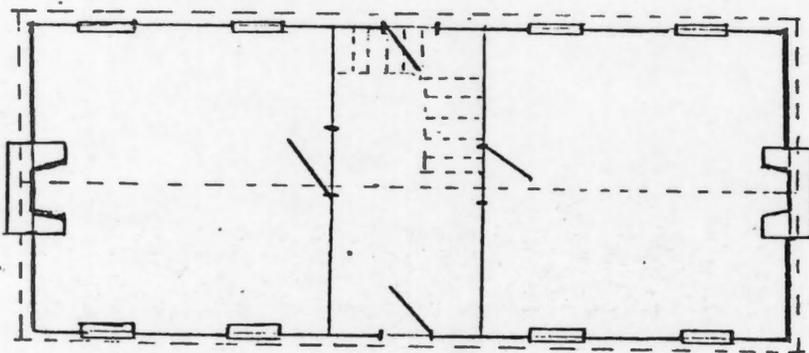
Type I



Type V



Type IV



Types VI, III

Types I-~~V~~ are traditional; Type ~~VI~~ is a transitional combination of traditional and innovative structures; and types ~~VII-VIII~~ are innovative and novel to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Another category, "undetermined," is for buildings for which insufficient information exists for even preliminary typing.

The traditional dwelling types are based in part on the ideas of deep structure in traditional American folk dwellings as explicated by Henry Glassie in his Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (cf.). The concepts of plan configuration in traditional buildings utilized in this report may be summarized as follows:

1. Buildings are composed of a unitary structural cell, square or slightly elongated into a rectangle. Typical sizes are c. 16' x 16' to 16' x 20'.
2. Single cells are open (one room), or divided unequally into two ("Hall and Chamber") by a partition always perpendicular to front and rear facades.
3. Roofs are gabled, run parallel to the facade.
4. Chimneys center one or both end walls.
5. Wall-piercing for doors and windows is on the front and rear walls, not the end walls; it evenly divides the wall space; and is the same on both front and rear walls (front door to back door and front window to back window, on straight axes).
6. Larger buildings are formed not by making larger cells, but rather by aggregating traditional-sized unit cells, side to side or front to back; and/or by stacking them into second stories. The characteristic aggregation is in pairs of unit cells. (cf. Dell Upton, "Toward a Vernacular Performance Theory of Vernacular Architecture: Early Tidewater Virginia as a Case Study," Folklore Forum; 12:181 ff., 1979.)

Types I and ~~IV~~, single cell one- and two-room configurations, exhibit the plan characteristics summarized above. Type II is a conjoining of two identical or similar Ia units side by side under a single-axis roof, typically with the plans in mirror-image. Type ~~IV~~ houses are probably the most typical and most numerous traditional one-story houses extant in the Missouri Ozarks. Types I-~~VI~~ dwellings are common in two-story as well as one-story representations. A variant of Type ~~IV~~ is the saddlebag house, where the two units are separated but conjoined by a common central chimney with double fireplaces.

Type ~~VI~~ houses represent an apparent eighteenth century innovation which exploded the Type ~~IV~~ building by the insertion of a central passage front-to-back. The innovation rather quickly dropped into the conventional idiom of house building and itself became "traditional" in the sense that it is ubiquitous in unselfconscious vernacular structures. In two-story configurations the Type ~~VI~~ house is Fred Kniffen's "I-House." Though a widely-used term, "I-House" (for its common incidence in Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa) is a loose and non-descriptive term, and isolates the form from the context in which it properly resides. Though longer and less "catchy," the term "Double Cell-Central Passage" is more precise and descriptive. A common variation (Type ~~III~~) is the Dog-Trot house, in which the central passage is left open under the common roof. These range from simple log or frame cabins to such a large and elaborate example as the Meyers house

near Iberia, in Richwoods Township of Miller County. It is a virtual mansion of hewed logs, two-story, sided, painted, elled, and elaborately porched--but nevertheless a full dog-trot (with stairway in the open passageway).

Type VII, the Free-Form Victorian, represents a giant leap in innovative plan configuration in that its multiple masses and their roofs are freely assembled in unconventional and usually assymetrical fashion. Persistences of traditional plan configurations may be observed in some of them, however, hiding beneath their exuberant exterior appearances.

Type VIII, Twentieth Century Forms, is in this report an undifferentiated group, inasmuch as few examples are included in the inventory. Each inventoried structure is described separately on the inventory forms. However, it may be noted that house types and styles common to small town, middle-class America are present, and indicate the incorporation of Tuscumbia into the web of national culture. At the same time, evidences of tradition and conservatism are present as well, e.g. the Clyde Lee Jenkins house, an apparent adaptation of a Type IV-V plan.

Historic Preservation Sites and Study Units in Miller County

Like many Ozarks counties, Miller County has experienced large increases in population during the present generation. Such growth always triggers large changes in the built environment. The 1980 census indicated a county population increase of over 20% while households grew over 33%. Some adaptive use of old buildings has occurred, but by and large traditional structures are especially endangered. Glaize and Franklin townships, both of which have numerous log and frame traditional dwellings, appear to be in the greatest danger. Glaize population grew almost 26%, but households increased 35%. Franklin population increased 63%, while households jumped a dramatic 88%. These figures may point to the most urgent areas in Miller County that should receive detailed survey and documentation of the historic landscape (see Ralf Trusty, "Census Records Growth," The New Iberian, June, 1980.

The following is a list of twenty-one culturally and historically sensitive areas in the county that should be addressed as priorities for further study in the interests of the overall preservation process:

1. Roads or corridors that have had long histories of regular travel and settlement include:

A. Tuscumbia-Little Piney Road (Highway 17). From Tuscumbia southeast, the Tuscumbia-Little Piney Road, named for the influence and development spearheaded by the Harrisons from the Little Piney area.

B. Tuscumbia-Boonville Road (Highway 52). Tuscumbia northward, the road connected the county seat with the land office town of Boonville.

C. The valley roads such as the Saline Creek area and its tributary network.

D. One particularly noteworthy ridge road is county road "C" from Brumley to the Ulman area. Several distinctive architectural expressions can be located along this corridor such as the Jackson house, c.1870, and the 1871 Nixdorf house-hotel in Ulman.

2. Probably no other Missouri county has as many single lane, suspension bridges still in use. All of these should be thoroughly documented, even though the Boeckman bridge is on the National Register of Historic Places. See also Robert Hayden, Historical Resources Mitigation, Volume II Bridges over the Osage, Garrison, North Dakota: Historical and Archaeological surveys, Inc.: 1980.

3. Tuscumbia, the county seat, has remained at small population due to its non-railroad historical circumstances. It retains its southern, nineteenth century appearance in general layout, setting for the government buildings, and some mid-late nineteenth century housing. Important are the Marshall-Keeth and Hauenstein houses, built by steamboat commerce; the nearby 1889 J. R. Wells houses, famous for his excursion steamboat the "J. R. Wells" built at Tuscumbia; the Anchor Milling industry; and the antebellum courthouse, which has had numerous additions. The recent founding of a local museum in the 1925 brick jail has contributed to the local preservation of that structure.

4. Olean's Main Street exhibits significant architectural integrity of a small town streetscape of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

5. Aurora Springs, representative of a town type that flourished in the late nineteenth century, should have an on-the-ground survey and assessment.

6. Due to Sanborn map documentation, Eldon could be studied in great detail c.1913-1931. For example some 41 structures are especially identified and named on the 1931 Sanborn map. The degree to which the Depression era town survives in appearance can be accomplished. The real birth of the town in the early twentieth century accounts for the virtual absence of Queen Anne and Victorian neighborhoods.

7. A few structures associated with the Miller family in northern Miller County remain. Especially significant locally is the Curtis Atkinson house northeast of Mt. Pleasant.
8. Apparently there is one structure at Rocky Mount which envelops the only surviving original house there. It is near the Baptist Church and should be investigated.
9. Destructive fires have occurred many places including Tuscumbia, 1870s; Bagnell, twice in the early 1930s; and Iberia, 1930s. Structures surviving these dates may have some local significance.
10. Miller County has gone from 82 school districts to five. Therefore the rural pre-consolidation schoolhouses that remain are all endangered. Documentation of those extant may produce one or more worthy of preservation.
11. The number of log buildings, relative to other Missouri Ozark counties, seems relatively high. Therefore the opportunity to study log construction over time c.1865-1935 appears good.
12. The two major prairie and flat-ridge pockets in the county--north near Eldon and south near Iberia and St. Elizabeth--should exhibit cultural landscapes of the more prosperous rural farmsteads c.1880-1940.
13. Southeast of Tuscumbia, the Charles Myers 1869 two-story, dog-trot house, detached kitchen, and associated landscape is a major cultural-historic property for the county and the state of Missouri. The H. V. Farmer, 1868 log and 1902 sawmill houses north of Mt. Pleasant are major cultural-historical settings of a small, rural farmstead in the county.
14. Lee Mace and his "Ozark Opry," established himself in the 1950s as the leading Missouri Ozarks entertainer near the lake areas' resort centers. His career established a model for others that followed, such as the Plummer Family from St. Francois County who became mainstays on the Highway 76 "strip" west of Branson. Mace's business and career is significant statewide. (See attached article.)

15. At least two general areas hold potential significance for historic archaeology:

A. Some specific references in the various literature to Osage Indians are in error. Indians in the area near statehood and beyond who were in contact with early local traders and settlers were primarily Eastern. In the county, Shawnee, probably a few Delaware and others were present.

-The "strange Indians seen and heard in the woods" by the Osage with Pike's expedition in 1806 along the Osage were probably a migrant Eastern band.

-The oft-quoted 1822 "Osage" village near the confluence of the Barren Fork and Tavern Creeks was probably Shawnee, apparently remnants of Roger's Band from Rogerstown on the Meramec. Some Eastern Indians stayed in the area such as Tall Bear near Iberia and Joe Munsey, a veteran of Jackson's attack on New Orleans in the War of 1812.

B. Civil War skirmishes abounded in the county. Several of these may be located. Surveys may or may not be desirable.

16. Southeast Miller County might be established as particularly deserving a survey due to its designation by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, South Grand-Osage River Basin Report, 1970, map 17, as a "potential" watershed project." The area proposed would impact all of Richwoods township and large portions of Glaize, Osage, and Jim Henry townships.

17. St. Elizabeth's town square, especially the west side, has considerable integrity as a streetscape. Individually the corner general store is most remarkable for "timeless" appearances on the interior and exterior. These buildings comprise a significant historic district for Miller County.

18. Bray's Mill is the only mill site left relatively intact in the county. Dating from 1854, the site has functioned as a water mill, steam mill, ice-house, generator of neighborhood electricity, picnic spot, swimming pool, baptistry, and was promoted in state tourist pamphlets of 1940s. It is a local and regionally significant site.

19. The superior quality of sandstone and limestone quarries in the county have produced locally distinct structures. The Iberia Academy and associated grounds, on the National Register; the Tuscumbia courthouse additions; and extant stone house in Iberia; and numerous rural properties with large stone chimneys such as the Irwin and J. D. Skaggs' houses, northeast of Iberia. Rural areas also exhibit a number of double veranda, two-story houses. The absence of a railroad in Iberia accounts for no brick commercial street and no Queen Anne-Victorian neighborhoods. Local folk and traditional building practices are dominant in the built environment.

20. Some "natural" sites have had historic associations over time, and appear to have strong local significance. Among these are:

A. John Wilson's cave and burial site which was a trader's post in the early nineteenth century.

B. Raven's Bluff, a favorite young peoples' recreation area, and apparently aboriginal burial site.

C. A Tavern Creek Case where late nineteenth century Germans located a brewery.

21. The several superior barns along the "old Dixon road" southeast of Iberia. These artifacts, mostly twentieth century, are evidence of the historically "wealthy district" in Richwoods which was built up along a corridor to the nearest railroad.

SUGGESTED READINGS

"Bicentennial Salute to Our County." Miller County Autogram-Sentinel. Three Sections, Eldon, 1976.

An excellent newsprint including historic pictures and writings concerning churches, schools, town, and landmarks.

Castrop, Captain Henry. Steamboat Days on the Osage River, E. B. Trail Collection #2071, Joint Manuscripts Collection, Ellis Library.

Davis, Joetta. "Ash Holler." A Study of a Folk "Holler" Culture in the Ozarks: with Emphasis on Folk Architecture. Center for Ozarks Studies ms.

History and Pictures of Lake of the Ozarks State Park, National Park Service and Civilian Conservation Corps c.1930-1935. Housed at the Lake of the Ozarks State Park office.

History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries, and Osage Counties, Missouri. Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1889.

Usual "Goodspeed report" concerning nineteenth century local history. Includes biographical summaries of economic or politically successful county residents.

Jenkins, Clyde Lee. History of Miller County. Volume 1 through the Civil War. Privately printed, 1971.

An extraordinary compilation of county data and information from county records and other local sources was printed. The book is heavily weighted toward the Civil War epoch in the county which was an especially treacherous time. This source is unequalled for its data concerning the first generation of Miller County.

Lewis, H. G. and F. V. Emerson. Soil Survey of Miller County, Missouri. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1914.

This is one of the excellent pre-1930 soil surveys which included a general summary of agriculture, economics, and important local phenomena. Accompanying the text is a 1912 soil map which indicated most occupied buildings in the county at publication date.

Rafferty, Milton D. and Erwin J. Mantei, The Ozarks: Land and Life A Brief Geography. Springfield: Department of Geology-Geography, 1976.

An excellent introductory primer to the Ozarks region from a cultural geographer's point of view.

Schultz, Gerard, History of Miller County. 1933.

A general background of the county is given including much compiled data of first settlers, county office-holders, and an annalistic chronicle of events.

Warman, Peggy Smith. "Ancestors," New Iberian. Contemporary newspaper column.

Addenda to Readings

Glassie, Henry, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia.

Swaim, Doug, editor. Carolina Dwelling. The Student Publication of
the North Caroline School of Design, Raleigh, 1978.

APPENDIX: Historic Maps

c. 1865 Geological map of Miller County

1894 Central Lead and Zinc District of Missouri

1903 Minerals Map

1904 Road Map

1912 Soils Map with Cultural Features

1941 Road Map

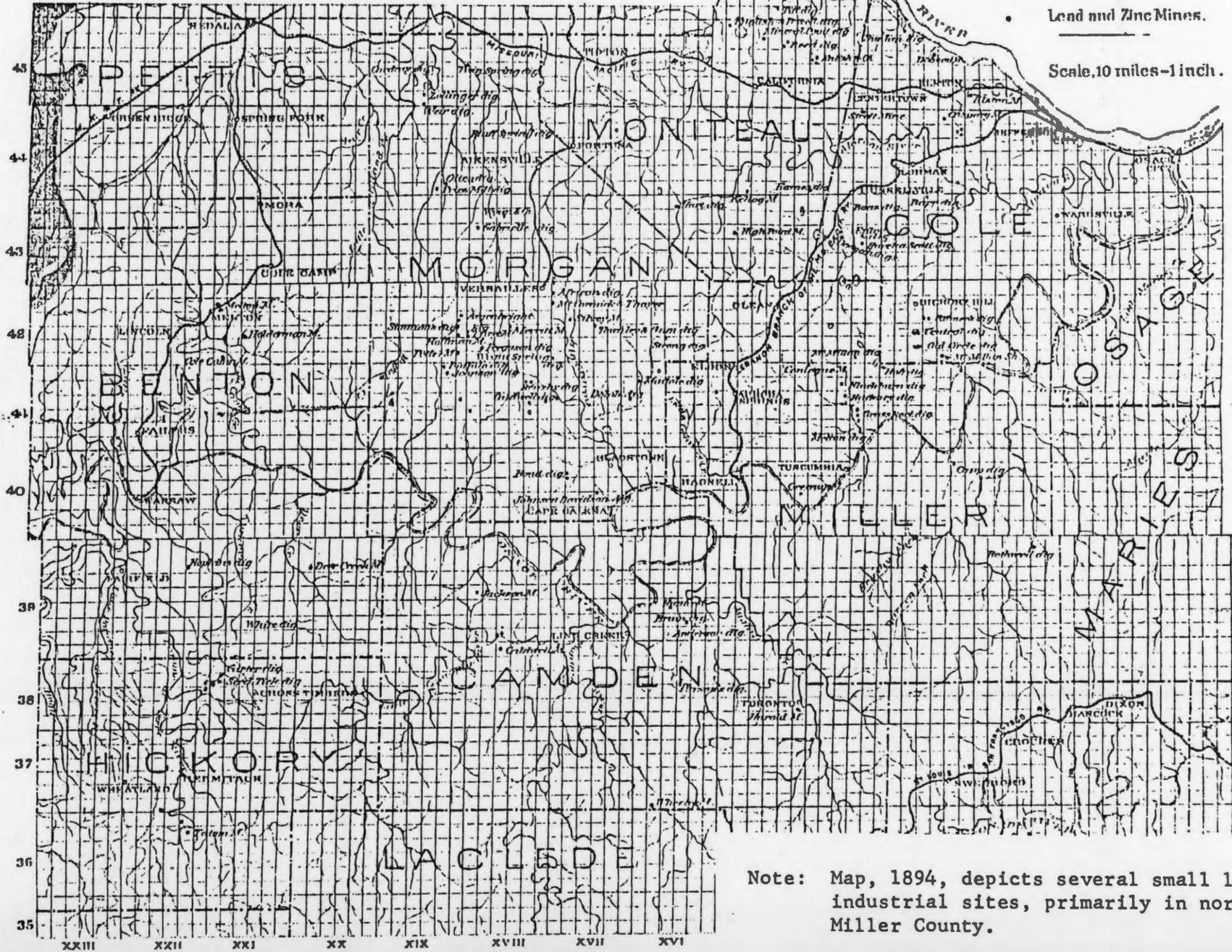
MAP OF THE CENTRAL LEAD AND ZINC DISTRICT OF MISSOURI.

To accompany the report of Arthur Winslow on the Lead and Zinc Deposits of Missouri.
Vols. VI and VII Reports Missouri Geological Survey 1894.

LEGEND

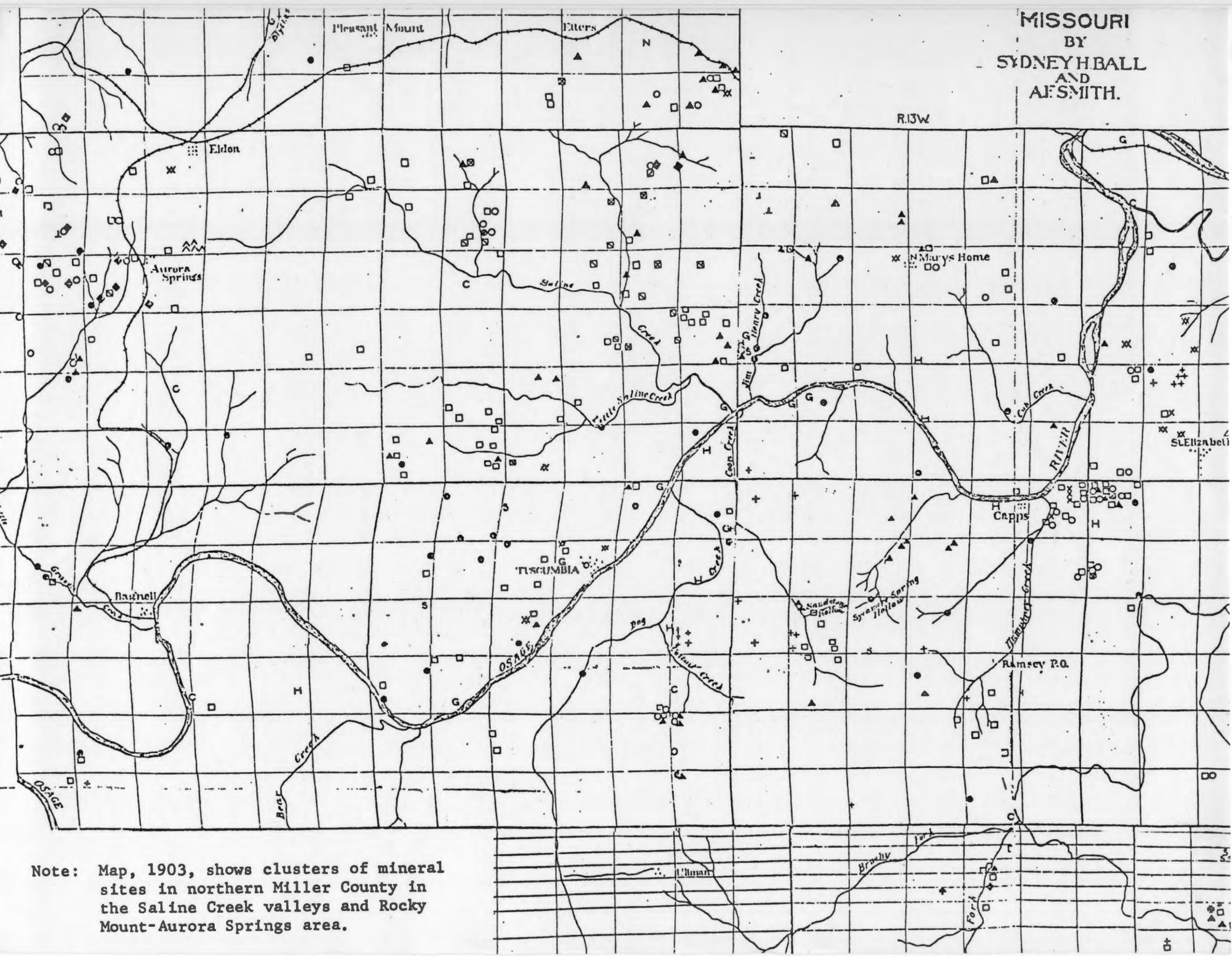
-  Coal Measures.
-  Lower Carboniferous.
-  Lower Silurian
-  Lead and Zinc Mines.

Scale, 10 miles - 1 inch.

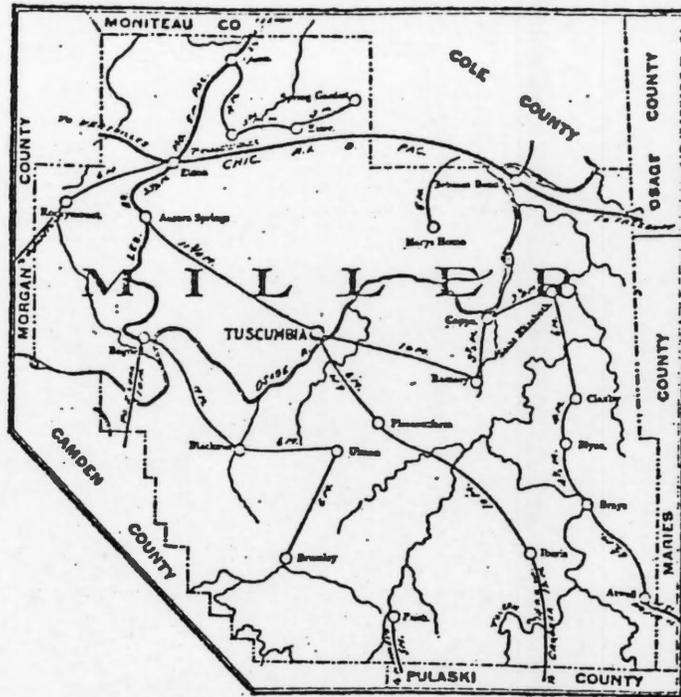


Note: Map, 1894, depicts several small local industrial sites, primarily in northern Miller County.

MISSOURI
BY
SYDNEY H. BALL
AND
A. F. SMITH.



Note: Map, 1903, shows clusters of mineral sites in northern Miller County in the Saline Creek valleys and Rocky Mount-Aurora Springs area.



Note: Map, 1904, shows frequently travelled roads.
 Notice the combination of valley and ridge
 roads.

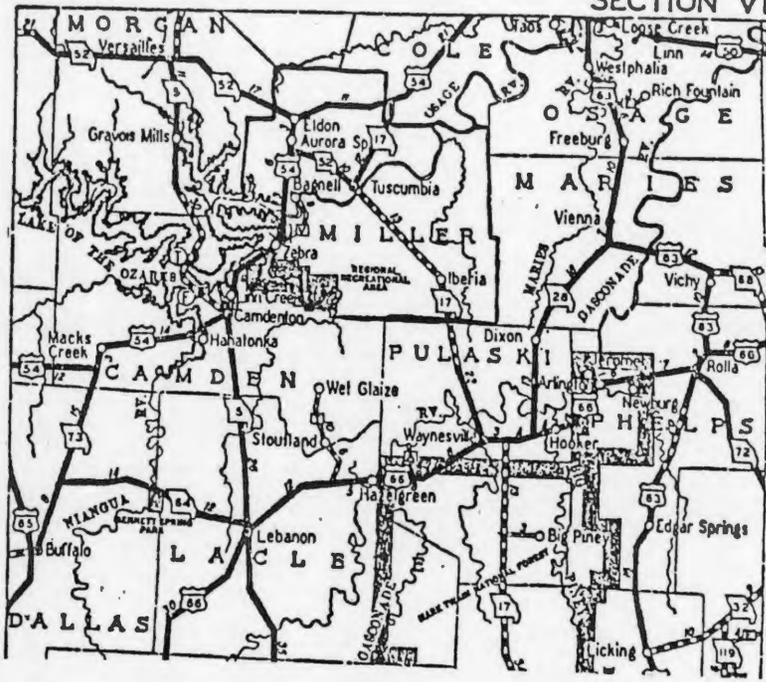
Note: Soils map, 1912, shows numerous rural schools, churches, roads, and buildings along the roads.



SECTION V



SECTION VI



Note: Map, 1941, shows northern Miller County had paved roads by World War II while the south still used gravel roads



APPENDIX B

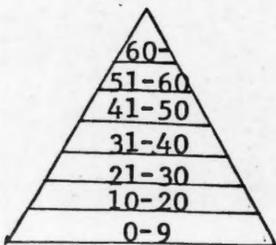
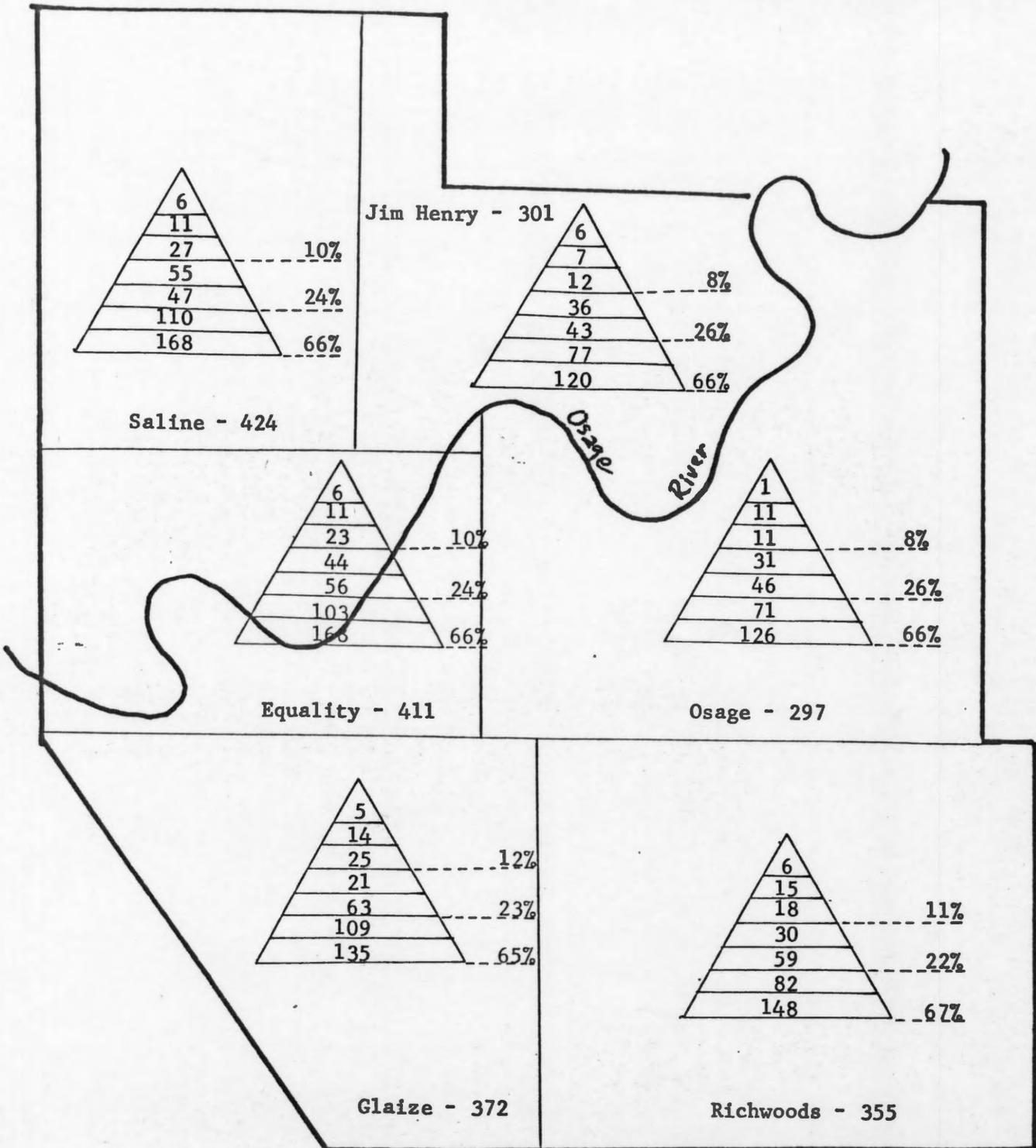
Historical Demography in Miller County as an Element in Built Environment Study

A mid nineteenth-century demographic profile of rural Ozarks counties reveals a very young population thinly but widely distributed over the region. The 1840 census polled what a cultural geographer might call the population of initial occupance in many counties, the first generation of established society upon which subsequent cultural foundations were laid. Miller County in 1840 was no exception. It included 2,282 white persons and 111 slaves. The median age was estimated to be 12 years. Population density was about one person for each 160 acres, or four per square mile.

Examination of the 1840 census surname list and a Tuscumbia storekeeper's ledger of November, 1853 (now at Lohman's Landing), reveals a population of British family names. When Oregon in the mid-1850s attracted some of the earliest arrivals, their Miller County farmsteads were taken over by Protestant German Pennsylvanians, or "Pennsylvania Dutch." Some were doubtless Mennonites. Their immigration into southeast Miller County, primarily confined to Richwoods township, was the beginning of a "Germanness" there that seems to have been absorbed into the prevailing southern upland cultural milieu, including intermarriage and acculturation with the Scotch-Irish, if not driven out in the Civil War (see below).

After the Civil War lower Osage River Catholic Germans from Osage County began moving upriver into Miller County. Their settlements over the period of a generation at Charlestown (later St. Elizabeth), Mary's Home, and St. Anthony brought a significant and clearly observable new element into the Miller County built environment. German entrepreneurs

MILLER COUNTY--1840
Ten Year Age Cohorts



Age Group Key

(There are 590 square miles in Miller County with 3.87 persons per one square mile. This averages one person per 160 acres.)

also established themselves at Tuscumbia and became town leaders. Germans developed a distinctive rural riverine settlement pattern, especially from Capps downriver along the Osage, that extended away from the river into the hinterland of Jim Henry and Osage townships (Corps of Engineers flood damage lists of 1937). These Catholic German immigrants of the nineteenth century, brought agricultural expertise and town culture that created landscapes distinctively different from those of the old Protestant German-Scotch Irish who preceded them.

acres	vs
less Eicks 165	
J. P. Hawkins 117	
Al June 55	
J. P. Richardson 330	
J. B. Harrison 224	
Mary Wells 737	
L. V. Wells 190	
J. B. Tellman Est. 205	
J. P. Tellman 415	
F. C. Johnson 196	

Farmers owning land in Total
 Osage township Miller
 Co. to Cole County line

F. I. Huhman 319
Wm. Luetkemeyer 270
John E. Heidman 420
Ben J. Luetkemeyer 393
John Edwards 238
Joe Edwards 154
Mrs. W. R. Abbott 240
Mrs. Belle Tanker 260
J. D. Barnhart 64
Walter Gray Jr. 604
M. F. Olegschleger 241
Theo. L. Lock 91
Fred Slangher 115
J. E. Lee 235
Otto Dusbart
Adda Wetlock
Coon Verhoff
Louis Olegschleger
Aloys Bax
Bill Kirkway
Frank Olegschleger
Frank B. Bax
Steve Bax
Christ Borgmeyer
Henry Fennwald
Martin Evers
August Shensmeyer

Farmers of St. Elizabeth and Hoecker Bottom Miller Co.

Henry Otto
Henry Kirkway
John L. Bax
Joe H. Bax
Herbert Hoecker

List of farmers North of Osage River from the Dam to Tuscumbia

E. L. Strange 163
W. W. Cenner 65
Eddie Rableins 132
R. R. Barrows 120
Clarence Dietrich 80
Melvin Payne 60
H. E. Houser 433
Meyers Estate 130
Wm. H. Howenstein 297

C. E. Adcock 1004
Geo. W. Helton 789
Elmer Slone 155
L. O. Warren 387
Lee Horton 165
S. F. Lawson Est. 268
H. L. Wright 720
Omhar Hickey 145

List of farmers South of Osage River from the Dam to Tuscumbia

W. H. Brown 320
Marglin Bros. 360
Murrel Robinett 250
Cleo Thompson 178
Myrtle Thompson 171
Joe Blankenship 308
R. W. Marshall 1699

Fitzgerald 131
W. Brockman 165
Robert Williams 120
Cliver McDowel 370
Crane & Erhart 200
Leander Crane 227
Horton Estate 255
J. D. Wyrick 195
C. O. Vanatter 76
Wesley Weitz 95
David Helton 440

Farmers listed from Tuscumbia to Capps

J. F. Kallenbach 270
C. E. Kallenbach 240
Henry Kallenbach 320
O. R. Kallenbach 200
P. F. Howenstein 313

Farmers of St. Elizabeth and Hoecker Bottom Miller Co.

Wm. Sappbern
George Kenna
August Bax
George Bax
Herbert Kilges

Mary's Home Bottom Farmers Miller Co.

F. H. Lepper
John Farnocker
Wm. Kempker
Gus Sanning
Clem Sanning
Joe Sanning
Jennie Schwaller
Ben Sanning
Tony Lepper
T. B. Schulte
R. J. Schulte
Annie Worman
C. C. Morman
Fy. Kempker
Lawrence Kempker
Ferman Leeper
Elizabeth Lueckenhoff
Fy. Eicholz
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Incidence of Osage River Bottom German Surnamed Farmers in Miller County, 1937 (from U.S. Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, Kansas City district: Flood Damage Survey on the Osage River, 1937)

Summaries of apparent German surnames, proceeding downstream from Bagnell Dam to Cole County Line:

Bagnell Dam-Tuscumbia:	15 of 37
Tuscumbia-Capps	5 of 15
Osage Township-Cole County Line:	19 of 27
St. Elizabeth and Hoecker Bottom:	15 of 15
Mary's Home Bottom:	20 of 20

Some Population Characteristics of
Richwoods Township of Miller County, 1870

The data represented in this appendix is based on the manuscript census of one township of the county. It was done at another time and for another purpose than the research of the survey which is the subject of this report. However it is included as reference material (manuscript census analyses being somewhat rare because of their difficulty) and because of its inferential significance to built environment studies. The tables below describe the population by age, number of persons per household, value of real and personal property per household, place of nativity of adults, and occupations of heads of households.

The township was named for the Richwoods, a place name accorded by pioneers which needs no explanation (other "Richwoods" place names occur across the Ozarks). It was a prized location for pioneering, although apparently less so than the northern prairies. Germans settled in and near the Richwoods before the Civil War. They were burned and driven out near the beginning of the conflict by state militia units because they had supported Lincoln in the 1860 election (probably the origin of the opprobrious term "Black Dutch," which Lenner Morrow Handy had heard often in her childhood without ever understanding its meaning). That the locale was quickly repopulated is indicated by the 1870 population of 1362. Unfortunately the census analysis did not include a study of surnames but subsequent history and the present situation suggest that the Germans did not return as a recognizable or critical mass cultural group. Richwoods became Scotch-Irish country. Bob Robinette, an elderly local informant, described the country from Iberia, in the center of Richwoods Township, to Brumley, ten miles west in Glaiize Township as "solidly

Scotch-Irish." The nativity of adult population tends to confirm his account. Only three were foreign born: England, Ireland, and Prussia (the important Ponder family). Of those born outside of Missouri, 63 percent were from Kentucky (120) and Tennessee (113). The next leading states were Pennsylvania (28) and Virginia and Illinois (19 each).

The population was very young, exhibited little in the way of division of labor, and for the most part possessed little of this world's assessable goods. In these characteristics they appear to have been similar to other rural Ozarks populations of the period. Sixty-three percent of the population was 20 years or younger. Eighty-seven percent of heads of households were farmers or farm laborers. Four percent were in craft-service occupations, and 6 percent were in professional services.

Density of population per square mile fluctuated dramatically during and after the Civil War. General estimates that perhaps one-third of Missouri's population may have left the state during those years is certainly borne out in Richwoods township.

<u>Year</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Density per sq. mile</u>
1860-----	1641-----	43-----	13.7
1870-----	1362-----	36-----	11.4
1880-----	2283-----	NA-----	19.0

Certainly the great decline of the war years is barely suggested, inasmuch as a great influx of immigrants in the late sixties are reflected in the numbers in 1870. The Civil War and the large immigration which followed had great effect upon the built environment. Many--perhaps most--ante-bellum structures were destroyed or left in ruins by the war. The 1870s was a decade which produced much of what survives at present as the "early" cultural landscape, despite the fact that the immigration of that period was at least a third generational wave of pioneers.

The average size of Richwoods households remained consistent from 1870 to 1900 at about five and one-half persons. In 1870, 259 households enumerated included 87 with very young children, and 57 who arrived in the township before they bore their children--an attestation to the youthfulness of many nuclear families. Many households contained two or three, and occasionally four, generations. Although the average number in a household was not great (the median was somewhat below four per household), many did contain significantly more. One hundred, or 39 percent, contained from six to 10 persons. Little evidence exists to suggest that these large families characteristically were housed in other than the small one-or two-cell, loft or second-storyed traditional house described in this report. (Voll Farmer's log single-cell-with-loft house was, c.1900, home for at least three generations, numbering up to eight persons.) The assessed real and personal property supports this general supposition. Land holdings were small (or people were squatters upon the public lands or lands of absentee, perhaps tax-delinquent, owners); herds were small; with few horses or mules, and few tools. Certainly the spare dwellings must have been sparsely furnished. Although Richwoods was a middling-to-prosperous part of Miller County in 1870, comparison with any prairie township of Greene County, for example, would suggest that it was quite poor. The wealthiest families in Richwoods were analagous to the least affluent of Wilson and Boone Townships, Greene County.

The relative absence of skilled craftsmen in the population is a further indication of a socio-economy in which people would "do for themselves" with little means, and with skills at materials at hand. Among 249 enumerated, only two carpenters and three blacksmiths appear. To have built a styled and planned house, like those beginning to appear in the chief towns, would have cost several hundred dollars at a minimum.

Obviously, few in Richwoods could emulate town styles. Later, a common modification was to add on, as a "T," a single or more often a double story frame addition to the unchimneyed end of a single-cell log house. The original house then became the rear el, or stem of the "T," usually as a porched kitchen. This house form, often not apparent upon casual observation, survives in many Miller County examples. It became a common form in its own right; the "T" house was a popular folk-Victorian plan. By contrast, such a splendid folk expression as the great Stout-Meyers house, a log, dog-trot mansion built in 1867, must have been most imposing and extraordinary as it remains today.

Richwoods was in the late nineteenth century a rural home for yeoman pioneer families of small means. Slavery, with its consequent large-scale production and commerce, had scarcely existed before the war. Nor was the land attractive in the nineteenth century to persons of sufficient capital, with or without slaves, to cause them to settle there when they could command better lands elsewhere (Germans were a partial exception in Richwoods as everywhere). It was, to use the term applied in Pennsylvania, a "best poor man's country."

<u>Households</u>	<u>\$</u>	<u>%</u>
85	Less than 100	36
39	100-500	16
52	600-850	22
24	1000	10
24	1100-2000	10
5	2500	2
1	2800	1
3	3000	1
2	4000	1
1	4500	1
<u>1</u>	5000	1
237		

Richwoods, 1870
Value of Real Estate per Ennumerated Households in Dollars

<u>Households</u>	<u>\$</u>	<u>%</u>
16	Less than 100	7
9	100-140	4
25	150	10
53	180-250	22
35	260-300	14
46	340-400	19
40	415-600	16
<u>16</u>	650-1000	7
246		

Richwoods, 1870
Value of Personal Property per Ennumerated Household in Dollars

(In Wilson and Boone Townships, Greene County, 1850 and 1860, \$800 was the lowest figure.)

Richwoods, 1870
Nativity of 509 Adults

<u>State or country</u>	<u>Number of people</u>
Missouri-----	137
Tennessee-----	120
Kentucky-----	113
Pennsylvania-----	28
Virginia-----	19
Illinois-----	19
Ohio-----	12
Indiana-----	9
North Carolina-----	7
South Carolina-----	7
New York-----	7
Arkansas-----	6
Alabama-----	5
Wisconsin-----	4
Georgia-----	3
Vermont-----	3
England-----	3
Texas-----	2
Ireland-----	1
*Prussia-----	1
Maine-----	1
Louisiana-----	1
Iowa-----	1

*The Ponder Family

Miller County
Richwoods Township
Manuscript Census of 1870

OCCUPATIONS

FARMER-----	199
FARM LABORER/HAND-----	17
DOMESTIC SERVANT-----	15
WIDOW LADY-----	12
KEEPS HOUSE-----	11
TEACHING-----	6
BLACKSMITH-----	3
PHYSICIAN-----	3
CARPENTER-----	2
DRY GOODS MERCHANT-----	2
WORKS IN DRY GOODS STORE-----	2
SAWYER AND FARMER-----	1
SAWYER-----	1
SHOEMAKER-----	1
HARNESS MAKER-----	1
RETIRED FARMER-----	1
MILLER-----	1
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL-----	<u>1</u>
	249

An Annotated Index to Structures

Single Cell or Single Pen-- #1 - #15

The first 15 sites provide a general overview of the single-cell dwelling. The single cell house or cabin is the most numerous and traditional of domestic dwellings on the historic cultural landscape. The dimensions are often 16' x 18' with the front door located on one of the 18' sides. Structures in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries are sometimes square (16' x 16'). This is probably a result of the popular frame, square-dimension-cell houses common c.1880-1930. These single cell houses often are the core of an original structure which has undergone an evolution through additions. The Spearman cabin in southern Miller County was a quintessential single pen example (page 11).

#1--The Voll Farmer house is a "new" Post-Civil War house constructed on the rolling inland prairie of northern Miller County. Its chimney has fallen over, the fireplace has been covered, and a twentieth-century stove now provides heat. The interior arrangements without closets and the traditional boxed-in stairway are typical of many nineteenth century interiors (pages 52, 53). A 1902, double-cell, sawmill house was added to the corner of the 1868 house, making a substantial addition. Lifestyles of the Farmer families have been those of traditional hillmen-agriculturalists as opposed to progressive, innovative capitalists. The structures therefore reflect the economics of such lifestyles.

#2--The Ray Jack Godfrey house is a single-cell, traditional, boxed-in stairway-to-a-loft structure built c.1900. As in the Farmer house and the majority of log single cells extant in the Ozarks, the lone front window of the Godfrey house is to the right of the front door as one faces

the facade. The fireplace was replaced with a stove which continues to use the original flue. An additional original frame, rear shed room and modest porch were added. The yard reflects the cultural landscape of "orderly clutter"--assembled material debris which is kept nearby for regular, irregular, or potential use. The same is true for #1 and #3.

#3--The Vaughn house is a single cell with shed room additions on two sides. The single lower window in the side opposite the chimney is in a traditional place often seen in the much larger two-story central-passage I-houses.

#4--The Wickham house is a "town house" with weatherboard covering the logs. Log houses were often sided in the towns but sided less often in the country. The fenestration is symmetrical.

#5--The Arendall house raised the roof, thus expanding the loft to a second floor, but not quite a full second story. Fenestration is very limited with no front window, often the case in single cells. The craftsmanship is unusually good at this hamlet site and may be a reflection of the German-American building background of the Arendalls.

#6--A log, single-pne house, but recently vacated.

#7--A rural single-cell with stone flue and original weatherboard siding.

#8, #9, #10--The fireplace stones have been pirated away from this #8 single-cell, and the structure is being used as an outbuilding. The same adaptive use (with a new metal roof) is seen in #9. Although the original structures have been greatly altered, #9 and #10 are both local landmarks with ascribed historical significance.

#11, 11a, 11b--This site represents a structurally uncommon extant complex--the house, smoke house, and barn are all of log but are in poor condition.

#12, 12a, 12b--The Crisman-Skaggs house is a complex of some distinction. The log single-cell is apparently post-Civil War, with a frame stack house added. Structurally the stack addition is in excellent condition; it may have been built by a local German-American builder. The hillside cellar-smokehouse is a substantial structure well adapted to its topographic setting. The log feed crib may once have been a dwelling.

#13--In the Irwin house, the log single cell ell (at left in photo) may be the oldest extant structure in Miller County, c.1855. Traditional fenestration and the porch, shed room, and late-Victorian fabric make of it an attractive ell for the turn-of-the-century, two-story addition.

#14--A single-cell of dimension lumber, following the traditional plan form. Placement of the flue, and the platform framing made it much easier to fenestrate the structure.

#15--A town house constructed of two single-cell houses. There is a one-story cell for the kitchen and a story-and-a-half cell for the parlor and bedroom. The lower fenestration creates the characteristic mirror-image facade.

Variants and combinations of the single cell type are surveyed in the following sites #16 - #58. These include single cell stack, dog trot, and double-pen, mirror-image.

Stack House--#16 - #22

Stack houses are common in Miller County; and in the Ozarks seem to be a phenomenon of the northern subregions. By contrast, they are seldom found in the upper White River counties.

#16--Lucille Hager's three-room log stack is a superbly constructed house on a stone wall cellar. It is the only extant log house inventoried in this survey which still retains its original log ell. Interior beams,

facia dentils, and joinery demonstrate exceptional craftsmanship, apparently reflecting a German heritage.

#17--A log stack joined by a frame, single-cell addition. This kind of dwelling enlargement was common.

#19--This log stack is without frame additions except for the stock shed.

#20--is not a full stack but is closer to a 1 2/3. However it is near other stack houses and is an important expression. The character of the German-kept yard, the non-traditional placement of the front door, and the late-Victorian front porch (trimmed and attached to the bottom of the loft window) illustrate the various proprietors' high level of involvement with this dwelling.

#21--An all-frame stack house resting on a full stone cellar with the low rear entry seeming to be an opening in the bank of the hill. Although eave lines are typically broken in the Ozarks, this roof profile is a full catslide.

#22--Apparently also a frame stack with several additional features.

Dog-trot--#23

The dog-trot was two traditional cells separated to allow for a central breezeway (the "trot"). In local tradition and perception, these were and are often referred to as "Southern country mansions." Built in 1869 #23 may well be the best surviving unaltered example of its type in Missouri. It is a folk house-vernacular expression in its entirety. The original color scheme, determined by its builder, Charles Myers, still persists. Meyers was the son of a German immigrant from Russia, a former Mississippi River steamboat pilot. Myers served in one of Governor McClurg's regiments and campaigned in a southern theater during the Civil War. The red, white, and blue porch no doubt symbolizes his support of the

Union. Homemade mantles adorn the great fireplaces, and the house and yard are enclosed by a massive stone fence-retaining wall. Some of the stone for the steps reputedly came from Camden County. The detached kitchen with its great fireplace remains in back of the house.

Double-pen/Mirror-image--#24 - #58

Single cell houses could be attached side by side or built as separate halves of the whole. Placed together their facades have commonly been pierced symmetrically, creating the "mirror-image." When the fenestration is asymmetrical they may be termed double-pen, parallel image.

#24--The Jackson house, of log construction, has the widest facade of any cell measured during the survey--23'. It has long been a local landmark, with the second cell a "grout" house (locally burnt lime instead of cement) added during the 1890s. The resulting mirror-image house is distinctive, with its bay window, fieldstone veneer, and "heart-shaped" porch entry.

#25 - #29--Another evolved double pen--a log cell to which a frame cell has been added. Both pens are 15' x 17'. This type of construction was followed in the John Platter house, #27, except that full traditional fenestration is employed, and the log cell is larger than the frame. It is still occupied. Log single-cell houses raised to two stories are frequently encountered on the rural landscape. #28, the Kempker mirror-image house, is an example. Another is the #29 Clate Condra place.

#30--A log double pen, cells of similar or identical dimension, apparently constructed as a unit.

#31--Paul McCray's log mirror-image with second floor half-story is the most fully restored house of its kind observed by this surveyor. Five years of restoration includes numerous space-saving devices to avoid closets, thereby retaining a similitude of the original space. McCray's hand-crafted

doors, windows, and boardwalk porch make this house important private restoration of a traditional house constructed in the last generation of its popularity among rural Missouri people.

The German-Americans of the St. Elizabeth vicinity built numerous traditional structures; but many of them had distinctive elements of plan, style, or craftsmanship worked by the Germans that did not appear on the landscapes of the older southern upland immigrant stock. Frequent to German towns are single story houses with a roof gabled at one end and hipped at the other. These roofs often turn a corner over an ell.

#32 - #35 One such is #32, a mirror-image house. #33 is one of the most important rural "transitional" houses. It is mirror-image, built under a front facing gable (a new gable orientation for rural houses in the early twentieth century, influenced by the bungalow), and bay window. The concrete foundation, c.1915, suggests a time when much "new building" was beginning to enter the rural Missouri landscape. #34 is a mirror-image, double pile house with a hip roof and a cupola with the flue through the center. Rural double pile houses are a much more common feature on the German landscape than the American, suggesting perhaps greater affluence and taste for a more commodious dwelling. #35 is mirror-image constructed from pre-cast block, which is also used as half of the battered porch pillars. The traditional mirror-image core is set beneath a short-hip, pyramidal roof, a Queen Anne influence which became ubiquitous on the rural Missouri landscape (and elsewhere) in the early twentieth century.

#36 - #42 are all on the south side of an historic primary road corridor from Eldon southeast into the Saline Creek valley. The Rock Island Railroad built through the area from 1903-05 prompted much new construction around Eldon, an old prairie-pocket hamlet. These seven

houses represent new town dwellings constructed in tract fashion along the old road. The three mirror-image with gable roof are fully traditional; but the four mirror-image with short-hip, pyramidal roofs, dormers, and gables represent styled roof profiles above a traditional facade fenestration.

#43 and #44 are two excellent type houses for the county. The full two-stories, mirror-image, large rooms, and pitch of the roof all exemplify numerous extant structures. #45 - #48 are additional representative types. #45 has the pre-cast metal siding and battered timber porch columns. #46 is all log instead of the more common frame. #47 added a modest factory-made porch. #48 added a porch with weatherboard pillars, which match the weatherboard house--a more common expression in the German than in the American Southern areas.

#49--a mirror-image facade with a taller than average second story. Occasionally, but with no apparent pattern, window and door placements are pushed to the extreme corners of the front facade as in #50.

#52 - #54--Grout houses were constructed in some locales with burnt lime, a predecessor of cement. They seem to cluster in Glaize township. #51, a full, two-story, symmetrical fenestration, mirror-image house, is the most monumental of these. The towns and rural areas have many houses using concrete. #52 has concrete nogging; #53 the same; and #54 is a concrete house with no veneer.

#55 - #58-- traditional plan form with wall dormers that pierce the eave line. The imposing Alexander house, #56, incorporated three Victorian verandas into a large, traditionally rural house. The stairway is at the juncture of the ell and main block. The interior is a "time capsule" whose decor dates back fifty or more years. #57 is another transitional house which has a traditional mirror-image lower story, but an innovative upper

story (a veranda which thrusts through the eave line, asymmetrical fenestration of the doors, and a modest side bay window). The last of the two-story, mirror-image facades is #58. It incorporates a hip roof, front gable, and a 1920s porch. However the strength of the tradition is suggested by Sears and Roebuck's using this form in its pre-cut catalog houses. A sample catalog page is provided with the HID sheet showing a "cube house" and a gambrel type barn which became common sights on the rural landscape.

Hall and parlor--#59 - #63

#59 - #60--Another common Ozarks house type is the traditional hall and parlor. These were, along with the double-cell mirror-image houses, the "two-room" mentioned so frequently in the literature and oral tradition of the Ozarks. #59 is, with its ell, a good type house. Prominent among the two-story versions of hall and parlor is #60. The illusion of a central passage house is given by the facade; but inside is to be found the traditional arrangement, with boxed-in corner stairway. The whole of the cultural landscape of this site is important for Miller County.

#61 - #62--Built as a unit, the Irwin house is another fine type house exemplifying the hall and parlor floor plan in the main block. The boxed-in stairway is to the right of the front door. #62 may be hall and parlor accompanied by its superior veranda but may also be a stack house version. If it is the latter, without the single-story, west addition, it is a very pretentious four room house.

#63--Probably a hall and parlor representing a distinctive rural house with its several fully pedimented, high, narrow wall dormers.

Central Passage--#64 - #76

Central passage houses are larger, have a wide range of staircase construction, and are more expensive. There is a popular perception of these types as "southern mansions." In some areas the original

structure was commonly a dog-trot; later the trot was enclosed, creating the hallway. Such houses are unusually long as a rule--a clue to their origins.

#64--is very rare on the Miller County landscape but traditional in its origins. A former detached kitchen comprises the rear ell while the original house was either a single cell or stack log house. The house was expanded by a frame addition to include a central passage with staircase.

#65 - #66--the Watkins house, is a local landmark. The chimney in the ell has a very large firebox. #66, the Harrison house, is a very important site for Miller County. The ell kitchen was formerly detached from the traditional central passage house. The original kitchen fabric is still intact.

#67 - #72 are apparently all later in time than #66. #67, the Etter house, is a landmark for the namesake of Etterville. Wes Harbison, current owner, is restoring some woodwork and employing good maintenance. In Olean #68, with its front gable, is a common type but more common in the northern Ozarks than the southern. #69 is a good type house, while #70 shows a very modest folk veranda built on a turn-of-the-century central passage house. #71, the Smith house, c.1895, is late in the tradition (with at least one remaining great chimney) and may be the finest extant house of its type in Miller County. The interior has undergone little change. #72, the Morrow house, is not a full two-story but represents numerous houses of such size built in the northern Ozarks.

#73--The Nixdorf house, 1871, is a rare cultural resource. The center bay is reminiscent of the open center bay with hearth that was common in medieval Europe, and is the main living space.

#74--The Fisher House, may be the same kind of house as #73.

#75--The Hager house is a rare revival or pattern book style located in an upper tributary hollow of Saline Creek. It is very well constructed, and it may have had German builders.

#76--is the more uncommon central passage with a hip roof. It was remodeled with stucco.

Late Victorian/Turn-of-the-century--#77 - #98

"Victorian" styles in building seem to be the first extensive consciousness of style in domestic building in Miller County. Often such style is to be observed mixed with traditional elements, whether as remodelings or as original conceptions.

#77 - #78--The Brockman house appears to be a combination of an older traditional house, at right, with the new "town" style gable-entry house at the left. In smaller scale #78, the Jenkins house, reflects gabled entry commercial style on the left, and much later additions.

#79--The J. R. Wells house was a traditional central passage I house from 1889 until a folk-Queen Anne remodeling in 1902.

#80 - #82--These three houses are associated with the prominent Hauenstein family of Tuscumbia. #82, apparently a c.1870 central passage house, received a later Victorian remodeling including its "steamboat" veranda installed by famous steamboat merchant, R. M. Marshall. William Hauenstein, steamboat builder and merchant, built the neighboring house as a unit. Years later Phil Hauenstein was contractor for the great stone enlargement of the county courthouse. #82 is associated with one of the Hauenstein women. It is a prominent 1920s brick house in Miller County. The Hauenstein houses are located in the large lots of the historic lower bottoms in Tuscumbia. They were known for their large lawns and gardens. Most, such as the McGee house, are now gone, but the Hauensteins are remembered by their buildings and Riverside Park, which they developed in this historic Tuscumbia district.

#83--Nineteenth-century brick houses are rare in Miller County. At Olean, this is an exception and could be a product of 1880s Missouri Pacific construction activity.

#84 - #86--is an uncommon, modest frame house little more than a mile from the Osage River on a roadway to Bagnell ferry. #85, southeast of Iberia on the old Dixon road, is a "town orientation house"--narrow, gable-entry, and as many Italianate houses have, a secondary front facing door on a side chamber. #86 in Iberia is the most stylish Victorian cottage extant in town.

#87 - #89--Between Brumley and Ulman on county road C, there are several important historic cultural resources for Miller County. #87, the Sullivan house, is an excellent example of folk-interpreted styled patterns. #88 surely is a local carpenter's craft-artist expression; and #89 is another uncommon rural Ozarks house with its mansard roof and dormers.

#90--Is the only stone house in Iberia; with its two facades and carefully crafted verandas and clipped gables it is a handsome and distinctive house.

#91 and #92--Although miles apart in Miller County, have similar Victorian plan.

#93 - # 96--Are all in a neighborhood of north Eldon. They exemplify an affluent streetscape of Eldon c.1910.

#97 - #98--Often in rural hamlets and small towns hotels or town houses, modified to accommodate boarders, were maintained and remained occupied becoming fine local landmarks. This is precisely the case with these two houses.

#99--Presumably a frame, double pile, stack house with a gable on a hip roof. The roof was not uncommon in the heavily German-settled, lower Missouri River valley.

#100--Presumably was a frame stack with a rear addition. As is

often found among the Germans, the door in the rear addition was kept facing the front. The "hooded roof" profile on late-Victorian porches is commonly favored by the Germans.

#101 - #102--Is a very tall, frame, double-pen house. The window placement between the front doors is not typical in southern upland houses. #102 has a similar fenestration except there are three front doors. Perhaps, as elsewhere in the county, the center door opens to a stairway. The depth of the building is also expected in the German landscape.

#103--This double-pen house is typical of many in the St. Elizabeth area where there is a prevalence of the unexpected, non-traditional, asymmetrical fenestration, especially noticeable in the upper story. Chambered corners pierced for doors and windows is also a repeated feature of the rural Germans.

Cemeteries--#104 - #106

A brief consideration of three burying grounds is included here. Each reflects a distinctive cultural phenomenon.

#104--The Joseph Morrow burial is symbolic of pre-cemetery burials which have long passed out of tradition. Early and mid-nineteenth-century landscapes were full of single to very small family plots on family owned ground. Though a few family plots remain, the tended, single grave is rare. Joseph Morrow, a South Carolinian, is ancestor to many Miller County people.

#105--The Mt. Pleasant cemetery reflects an old mortuary tradition--planting cedar trees in rows and among the vorial plots themselves. The evergreen, symbolic of the tree of life and eternity, was planted in thousands of cemeteries in the nineteenth century.

#106--The St. Elizabeth cemetery has a traditional Catholic shrine in the center, grave sites in neat rows, and evergreens planted outside the fence surrounding the cemetery. The planned order of the German cemeteries identifies them as unlike the Americans. (The German-Catholics have normally had "institutional" cemeteries and not family plots on the farm.)

Note: In southern Miller County a little known controversy existed regarding the development of "new" cemeteries where there were church buildings. Following the Civil War, with local institutional development at Iberia and Hickory Point, new cemeteries were platted. During the initial stages, many families moved the bodies of their kin to the new cemeteries. Apparently heated discussions arose over propriety.

Twentieth-century vernacular--#107 - #110

#107--The Humphrey house was built by a German carpenter-farmer. A small house, it has a central stairway that also functions as the center wall and is ascended immediately upon entering the front door.

#108--A rural, rusticated, rock-and-timber cottage full of windows. With its contemporary log and rock outbuilding it is a rare rustic Ozarks cottage built on an old farmstead in central Miller County.

#109--The Plemmons house in Brumley, is one of numerous post World War II bungalows constructed throughout the country. In the Ozarks, few approach the quality of construction of this one. Brick trim is included on the chimney, windows, corners, steps and porch.

#110--A dwelling built at the mouth of a cave in Glaize township. It was built to take advantage of all-season natural climate control. The house has been vacant for several years.