

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).

## 1. Name of Property

Historic name Smallin Cave Historic District

Other names/site number Smallin Civil War Cave, Civil War Cave, Fountain Cave, Winoca Cave, Rock House

Name of related Multiple Property Listing N/A

## 2. Location

Street & number 3575 N. Smallin Rd.

N/A	not for publication
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City or town Ozark

X	vicinity
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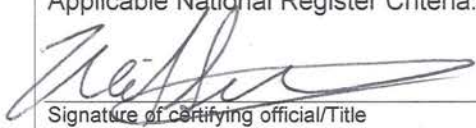
State Missouri Code MO County Christian Code 043 Zip code 65721

## 3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,  
I hereby certify that this x nomination      request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.  
In my opinion, the property x meets      does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

     national      statewide   x   local

Applicable National Register Criteria:   x   A      B      C      D



1/16/18  
Date

Missouri Department of Natural Resources  
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property      meets      does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Title \_\_\_\_\_ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government \_\_\_\_\_

## 4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:  
     entered in the National Register      determined eligible for the National Register  
     determined not eligible for the National Register      removed from the National Register  
     other (explain:) \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of the Keeper \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Action \_\_\_\_\_

Smallin Cave Historic District  
Name of Property

Christian County, Missouri  
County and State

**5. Classification**

**Ownership of Property**  
(Check as many boxes as apply.)

**Category of Property**  
(Check only **one** box.)

**Number of Resources within Property**  
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	private
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Local
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - State
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Federal

<input type="checkbox"/>	building(s)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	district
<input type="checkbox"/>	site
<input type="checkbox"/>	structure
<input type="checkbox"/>	object

Contributing	Noncontributing	
2	7	buildings
4	0	sites
2	7	structures
0	1	objects
8	15	<b>Total</b>

**Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register**

N/A

**6. Function or Use**

**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC: Camp

EXTRACTION: processing site

RECREATION AND CULTURE: outdoor recreation

LANDSCAPE: natural feature

**Current Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

RECREATION AND CULTURE: outdoor recreation

LANDSCAPE: natural feature

LANDSCAPE: conservation area

**7. Description**

**Architectural Classification**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

OTHER: Cave (primary resource)

**Materials**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

foundation: N/A

walls: N/A

roof: N/A

other: STONE

EARTH

**NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION ON CONTINUATION PAGES**

Smallin Cave Historic District  
Name of Property

Christian County, Missouri  
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**8. Statement of Significance**

**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

**Criteria Considerations**

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE ON CONTINUATION PAGES

**Areas of Significance**

EXPLORATION

RECREATION

**Period of Significance**

1819-1966

**Significant Dates**

1819

c 1830

c.1960

**Significant Person**

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

**Cultural Affiliation**

N/A

**Architect/Builder**

N/A

**9. Major Bibliographical References**

**Bibliography** (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

**Previous documentation on file (NPS):**

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary location of additional data:**

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: \_\_\_\_\_

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): \_\_\_\_\_

Smallin Cave Historic District  
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**10. Geographical Data**

**Acreeage of Property** 29.2

**Latitude/Longitude Coordinates** (See Continuation Page)

Datum if other than WGS84: \_\_\_\_\_

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1 37.052869 -93.189890      3 37.051015 -93.189089  
Latitude: Longitude:      Latitude: Longitude:

2 37.051015 -93.189890      4 37.049614 -93.189089  
Latitude: Longitude:      Latitude: Longitude:

**UTM References**

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

\_\_\_\_\_ NAD 1927    or    \_\_\_\_\_ NAD 1983

1 \_\_\_\_\_  
Zone    Easting    Northing

3 \_\_\_\_\_  
Zone    Easting    Northing

2 \_\_\_\_\_  
Zone    Easting    Northing

4 \_\_\_\_\_  
Zone    Easting    Northing

**Verbal Boundary Description** (On continuation sheet)

**Boundary Justification** (On continuation sheet)

**11. Form Prepared By**

name/title Eric Charles Fuller and Joseph Ransom (Smallin Civil War Cave) and Michelle Diedrich (MO SHPO)

organization Smallin Civil War Cave      date May 1, 2017

street & number 3575 N Smallin Road      telephone (417) 551-4545

city or town Ozark      state MO      zip code 65721

e-mail info@smallincave.com

**Additional Documentation**

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:**
  - A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
  - A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Photographs**
- **Owner Name and Contact Information**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Smallin Cave Historic District  
Name of Property

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## Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

## Photo Log:

Name of Property: Smallin Civil War Cave (Current Name)

City or Vicinity: Ozark

County: Christian State: MO

Photographer: Kevin Bright (Smallin Civil War Cave) and Michelle Diedriech (MO SHPO)

Date 10/24/2016, Spring 2017 (Kevin Bright) 5/30/17 (Michelle Diedriech) (photos by  
Photographed: Kevin Bright photos are noted with an asterisk ( \*) and a date, all other photos are by Michelle Diedriech)

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

*Photo Maps are at the very end of the nomination.*

- Photo 1: Restrooms, Visitor's Center, and Caretaker's Cabin, view west\* (Spring 2017)
- Photo 2: Entrance to Smallin Cave, view north
- Photo 3: View from inside of Smallin Cave, view south
- Photo 4: End of walkway in Smallin Cave, view north
- Photo 5: Streambed of Smallin Cave, view west
- Photo 6: Flowstone and rimstone pools in Smallin Cave, view northwest
- Photo 7: Walkway and wooden platform in Smallin Cave, view north
- Photo 8: Walkway into Fielden Cave, view northeast
- Photo 9: Inside of Fielden Cave, view northeast
- Photo 10: "Disappointment Cave", view east
- Photo 11: Gravel drive and flagpole, view northwest
- Photo 12: c1980s walkway leading to church cabins, view southwest
- Photo 13: Church Cabin, view southwest
- Photo 14: Picnic Pavillion gravel lot, view southwest
- Photo 15: Front of former caretaker's cabin, view southeast
- Photo 16: Gemstone Panning station, view south
- Photo 17: West side of caretaker's cabin and Visitor's Center, view east
- Photo 18: North side of Visitor's Center, view east
- Photo 19: South side of Visitor's Center, view west
- Photo 20: South side of stone landing and retaining wall, view northwest
- Photo 21: North side of restrooms, view south
- Photo 22: South and west side of restrooms, view northeast
- Photo 23: 1961-62 Walkway, view west

## Figure Log:

- Figure 1: Contextual Map, page 84.
- Figure 2: Boundary Map with Lat/Long Coordinates, page 85.
- Figure 3: Setting Map, page 86.
- Figure 4: Concentration of Resources Map, page 87.
- Figure 5: Smallin Cave Historic District Resources Map, page 88.
- Figure 6: Excerpt of Survey Map for Smallin Cave, page 5.
- Figure 7: Smallin Cave Entrance 2014, page 8.

Smallin Cave Historic District

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- Figure 8: Rimstone Dams and Pools before the 1961-1962 walkways, page 9.
- Figure 9: Rimstone Dams and Pools next to the Indian Ladder Flowstone, page 10.
- Figure 10: Wanetta Bright descending the Indian Ladder, page 11.
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- Figure 12: Cave Pearls beneath the Showerhead Formation, page 12.
- Figure 13: Weak Bedding Plane in the Western Wall of the Mouth of Smallin Cave, page 13.
- Figure 14: 1982 Map of Fielden Cave (aka Sunrise Cave), page 15.
- Figure 15: Fielden Cave, Contributing Site, page 16.
- Figure 16: Disappointment Cave, Contributing Site, page 17.
- Figure 17: 2010 Smallin Civil War Cave Sign, Non-Contributing Object, page 18.
- Figure 18: 1980s Era Shed, Non-Contributing Structure, page 19.
- Figure 19: c. 1980 Educational Center, Non-Contributing Building, page 20.
- Figure 20: Front and Side View of c. 1980 Church Cabin #2, Non-Contributing Building, page 21.
- Figure 21: c.1980 Pavilion, Non-Contributing Structure, page 22.
- Figure 22: c. 1960 Caretaker's Cabin with 2017 construction, Non-Contributing Building, page 23.
- Figure 23: The Visitor's Center Then and Now, North Elevation, page 25.
- Figure 24: The Visitor's Center Then and Now, South Elevation, page 25.
- Figure 25: Partial View of the Landing (c. 1960), Contributing Structure, page 26.
- Figure 26: Restrooms (c. 1960), Contributing Building, page 27.
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- Figure 41: Map of the Schoolcraft 1818-1819 Expedition, page 43.
- Figure 42: Inscription of Q A SMALLIN and CB STAPP, page 52.
- Figure 43: Undated image of Smallin Cave, page 53.
- Figure 44: Victorian Era photos of visitors in Smallin Cave, page 59.
- Figure 45: Visible piece of spring box in Fielden Cave, page 60.
- Figure 46: Page 448 of the Volume XLIII, Number 4, National Geographic, 1923, page 61.
- Figure 47: Undated photo "Smallin Cave Largest Entrance in the World", page 62.
- Figure 48: Excerpt from "Civil War Cave" brochure, page 67.
- Figure 49: Original Cover of J. Harlen Bretz Book, page 71.
- Figure 50: Location of named caves in Christian County identified in Bretz's *Caves of Missouri*, page 72.
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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property Christian County, Missouri
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Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

**Summary**

The Smallin Cave Historic District is located at 3575 North Smallin Road 2.5 miles north-northeast of the town square of Ozark, Christian County, Missouri. The boundary for the historic district follows the current legal parcel and includes three caves, buildings and structures from the historic and modern tourism business, buildings and structures from a non-historic church camp and acres of undeveloped forested land. In total the district consists of 4 contributing sites, 2 contributing buildings, 7 non-contributing buildings, 2 contributing structures, 7 non-contributing structures, and 1 non-contributing object (see resource count table below). The primary focus of this nomination is Smallin Cave. The mouth of this cave is at the head of a wooded valley on the north side of the Finley River. The cave entrance, 50 to 60 feet high by 100 feet wide, is likely one of the largest in the state and could be one of the longer caves as well.<sup>1</sup> Smallin Cave runs north-northwest for approximately 5600 feet in total length. The first 550 feet are included within the boundary as that is what was most accessible during the 1819-1966 period of significance. As a stream-determined cave, the system is shaped like a horizontal, tapering cone which is slightly flattened. The cave is characterized by several geological features, most notably rimstone dams and flowstones. For example, one of the most remarkable formations of the cave is a massive half dome flowstone known as Indian Ladder, which features handholds that date to early human occupation. Throughout the cave, there are several carvings and inscriptions which record both historic and prehistoric visits. Based on recent archaeological work, it has been a camping and picnicking ground for over 8500 years.<sup>2</sup>

Beginning in 1961<sup>3</sup>, an elevated concrete walkway was installed from the Visitor's Center to approximately 550 feet inside the cave. The walkway was designed to facilitate commercial tours under the name Civil War Cave. The railings on the walkway are modern but the walkways themselves fall within the 1819-1966 period of significance. In addition, a wooden platform was constructed into the pathway in front of Indian Ladder in the 1980s or 1990s, but the pathway as a whole retains integrity. Electricity was first strung through the cave in the early 1960s but the cave was completely rewired after 2009. Despite these architectural additions, the geologic characteristics described in 1819 by the explorer Henry Rowe Schoolcraft are still visible to modern guests. The only significant soil deposit since this time is on the western side of the cave mouth.

Also included within the nominated boundary are the nearby "Disappointment" Cave and Fielden Cave. These caves are much smaller in scale with Disappointment Cave being 15 feet deep and Fielden Cave approximately 180 feet deep, but both are considered contributing sites. Structures and buildings from a historic and current tourism business and from a 1980s church camp are scattered in the central and northern portions of the boundary (Figure 4) and are

<sup>1</sup> J. Harlen Bretz, *Caves of Missouri*, (1956. Reprint, Augusta: J. Missouri, 2012). 328

<sup>2</sup> Jack H. Ray, *Test Excavations at Smallin Cave (23CN6) in Christian County, Missouri*. Center for Archaeological Research, Research Report No. 1511. Missouri State University: Springfield, Missouri. 2014. While this district is being nominated under Criterion A, further analysis of archaeological findings may result in a determination of eligibility under Criterion D, in which case a future amendment is recommended.

<sup>3</sup> Construction dates and previous uses of extant buildings, structures, and objects were provided by the current owners, Keven and Wanetta Bright and Smallin Civil War Cave staff.

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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property
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described in the narrative below. The southern portion of the boundary includes unimproved wooded terrain which reflects the historic setting throughout the period of significance.

**Setting**

Located at 3575 North Smallin Road in Christian County, the nominated district is approximately 16 miles southwest from the City of Springfield. It is in the vicinity of the community of Ozark, which is 2.5 miles to the south-southwest (Figure 1). Specifically, the district is situated in a valley a half mile north of Finley Creek (Figure 3), which is a tributary of the James River, which, in turn, flows into the White River. The district is best reached by roads from the north traveling off of either State Highway 60 or 65.

The rural setting surrounding the district consists of wooded farmland with scattered residential properties dotting the immediate landscape (Figure 3). Only the north and east sides of the district boundary are visually delineated by manmade structures (Photo 1). The district is bounded to the east by North Smallin Road. A few homes, appearing to range between the 1960s and 1980s, hug the other side of this road as can be seen in the Figure 2 map. Behind them are a mixture of woods and farmland further to the east. The northern boundary is defined by the gravel driveway of the neighboring property. Further out, small patches of suburban development appear approximately a mile to the east and west of the nominated district but the setting still predominately reads as a rural area. Both the north and east sides of the boundary are protected by a chain link fence that is set several feet away from the road or drive. On the east side of the boundary the chain link fence is set into a rocky ridge at the top of a grassy ditch and features three openings. One is the primary visitor's entrance at the northeast portion of the boundary and a second serves as a private entrance directly in front of the visitor's center. The latter was likely the historic entrance to the 1960s tourism business. Both entrances are protected by chain link gates. Further down the chain link fence opens a third and final time to a 1990's era garage. Past the garage the landscape becomes heavily wooded and the chain link fence becomes older barbed wire. There was once old fencing that bounded the south and west parts of the district but it has largely been lost. Even so, heavy tree lines serve as a visual boundary for these sides of the nominated boundary.

**Resource Descriptions:**

These natural and constructed features, in relation to their setting, are described in more detail below. Aside from the contributing landscape, the descriptions include a reference letter that ties into the Figure 5 District Map. Due to the large setting only walkways over 100 feet in length are included in the resource count and individually described. Fencing, walkways, structures, and objects that are smaller in scale are not included in the resource count but are accounted for and briefly described within the individual descriptions of the primary resource it is closest to.



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<b>C Buildings:</b> <b>2</b>	<b>N/C Buildings:</b> <b>7</b>	<b>C Sites:</b> <b>4</b>	<b>C Structures:</b> <b>2</b>	<b>N/C Structures:</b> <b>7</b>	<b>N/C Object:</b> <b>1</b>
1961-62 Restrooms	c.1960 Caretaker's Cabin with extensive modern alterations	Landscape	1961-62 Walkway	1990s/2010s Drive and Parking	2010 Smallin Civil War Cave Entrance Sign
c. 1960 Visitor's Center	1980s Shed	Smallin Cave	1961-62 Stone Landing & Retaining Wall	1980s Walkway	
	1980s Educational Center	Fielden Cave		1980s Tennis Court	
	1980s Church Cabin #1	Disappointment Cave		1980s Picnic Pavilion	
	1980s Church Cabin #2			2015 Overlook Platform	
	1980s Church Cabin #3			2011 Fielden Cave Walkway	
	1990 Garage			2010 Educational Area	

**Table 1: Resource Counts**

Landscape (Contributing Site)

The current parcel serves as the nominated district boundary as it provides a representation of the historic setting that conveys the district's historic significance under Criterion A: Exploration and Recreation during the 1819-1966 period of significance. The boundary includes nearly 30 acres of land, most of which is forested with over 20 different species of trees with oaks, hickories, black walnut, and cedar being dominate. The land is hilly with steep drops in the terrain above the caves and the streambeds. Smallin Stream flows from the mouth of Smallin Cave south to Finely Creek (outside of the boundary). Flowing from Fielden Cave, Fielden Stream converges with Smallin Stream in the center of the district (Figure 3).

Because it is mostly undeveloped, the boundary encapsulates the type of landscape Henry Schoolcraft, Levi Pettibone, and their guides would have traveled through during their 1818-1819 expedition and reflects the setting throughout the period of significance. For this reason, it is considered a contributing site. Manmade structures include pathways, sheds, visitor buildings, pavilions and cabins, which are primarily clustered in the northeast portion of the district (Figure 4) and are described in more detail below. The lands around the public entry drive at the northeast corner of the district and the 1980s church camp resources to the west are mowed. The rest of the setting within the nominated boundary is wooded, although small strips around other built resources, including portions of the trails are also trimmed.

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Aside from the trail leading to the caves, forested areas are blocked from the public by chain link fences topped with barbed wire. Most built resources are associated with the current and historic tourism businesses focusing on Smallin Cave. A few of these resources were originally built by Sonrise Camp, a church camp that owned the property between 1979 and 2009.<sup>4</sup> The Visitor's Center, the pathway leading into Smallin Cave, the stone landing, and the bathrooms were built within the period of significance (early 1960s). Although they have been altered they still convey their historic significance and thus are considered contributing. A caretaker's cabin next to the Visitor's Center dates from the period of significance but has been so heavily modified with modern construction it no longer contributes. All other manmade structures were built after the period of significance and thus are considered non-contributing. Smallin Cave is located at the center of the boundary, next to Fielden and "Disappointment" caves, which are considered contributing sites.

Smallin Cave (Contributing Site, "A" on Figure 5 Map)

Smallin Cave formed as rainwater passed through the decaying organic material of the soil; it picked up carbon dioxide and converted it into carbonic acid (Photo 2). Traveling through vertical cracks in the Burlington-Keokuk limestone beds, the carbonic acid eventually reached a layer that was chemically weaker than the layers above it. Carbonic acid then chemically weathered this layer away, creating a pathway along which water could flow. The flowing water, bearing sands and gravels, created mechanical weathering which, aided by the force of gravity, cut down through the lower limestone layers. The missing layer, where the cave got started, extends approximately one-half mile to either side of the cave and continues to bring rainwater into the cave system (Figure 6).

<sup>4</sup> Wanetta L. Bright, *Smallin Civil War Cave: The Center of Ozarks Culture and History*, (Ozark, Kevin V. Bright and Wanetta L. Bright Ozark Caves & Caverns, LLC, 2013). 103

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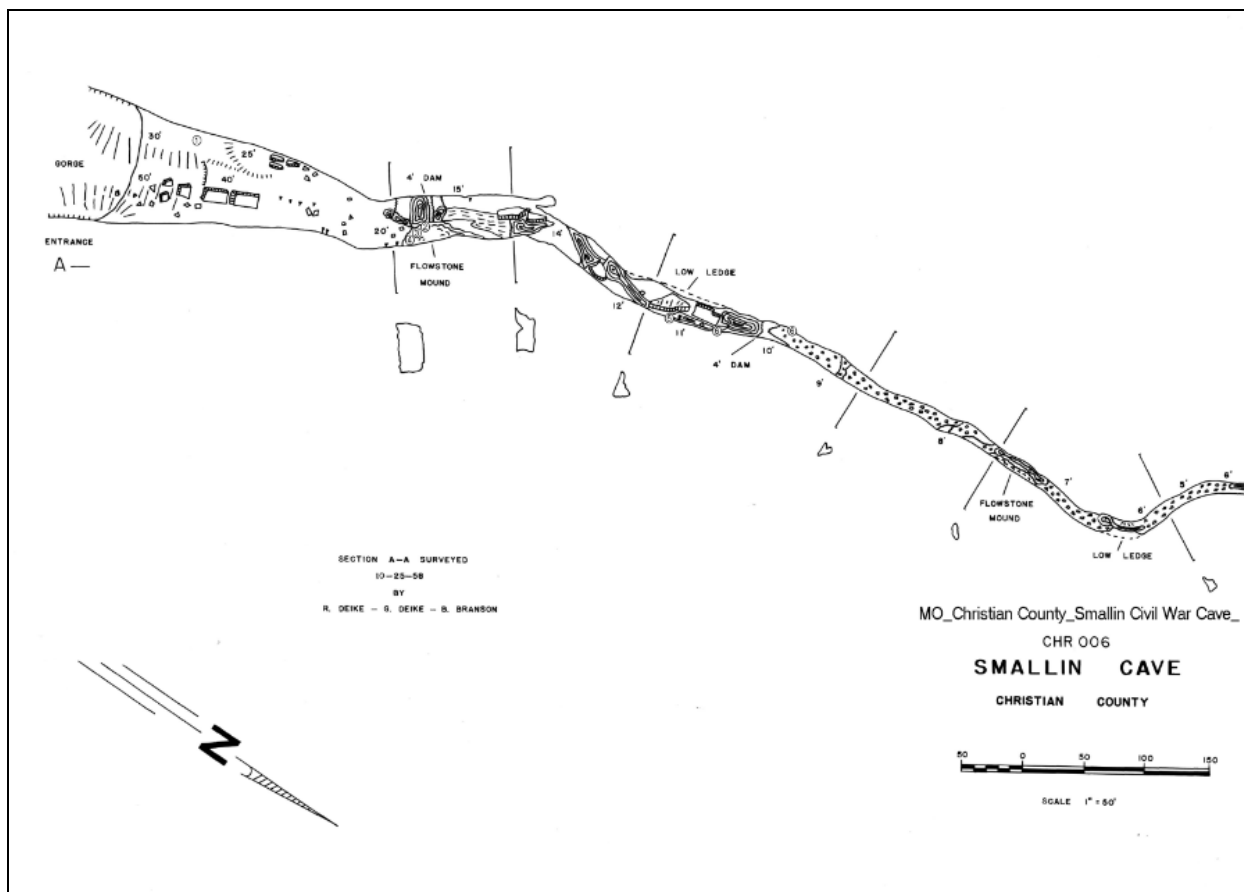


Figure 6: Excerpt of Survey Map for Smallin Cave. Image provided by Kevin Bright, 2017. This map shows the first 550-600 feet of the cave. Redactions made by Michelle Diedrich, 2017.

Smallin Cave runs north-northwest for approximately 5600 feet. The other major entrance is a sinkhole known as Smallin Sink or Jeff Cave which is 3200 feet away in a straight line and is outside of the nominated district boundary.<sup>5</sup> The starting elevation above sea level at Jeff Cave is approximately 1250 feet and the ending elevation at the mouth of Smallin Cave is approximately 1200 feet. Thus, the cave is very horizontal in nature. The first 550 feet or so are what, historically, has been readily accessible to humans. Beyond that the cave is difficult to navigate through. This was remarked upon by one of the current owners. In her 2013 book, *Smallin Civil War Cave: The Center for Ozarks Culture and History* Wanetta L. Bright noted "During most years, attempting to navigate the journey through the mile long underground channel is very difficult, if not impossible, due to the small size of the passageway and normal water levels."<sup>6</sup> In the early 1960s, Joseph Bulger built a raised walkway into the cave (Photo 3),

<sup>5</sup> Jonathan B. Beard, "Smallin Cave System." *Exploring Missouri Caves: A Guidebook for the 1997 NSS Convention*, Taylor, Robert L. (ed.). (National Speleological Society: Huntsville, Alabama. 2007.) 209-210

<sup>6</sup> Bright, 120

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which terminates roughly at this 550 feet mark. This platform is considered the termination point of the northern boundary of the historic district (Photo 4).

There have been numerous descriptions by geologists of Smallin Cave. The most detailed description of the front section of the cave was provided by J. Harlan Bretz in his 1956 book *Caves of Missouri*. Below are but a few excerpts:

The valley of Finley Creek in the region of Smallin Cave has a broad terrace which is 80 to 100 feet above the stream and a quarter to half a mile wide. The cave mouth is at the head of a steep-walled ravine cut in this terrace. It is perhaps the largest and most impressive arched cave entrance seen during this study; a magnificent symmetrical span 50 feet high and 100 feet wide. Beneath it emerges a perennial, gravel-carrying stream that obviously is occasionally subject to torrential floods. The roof of the arch is amazingly thin; there being scarcely 10 feet of rock and no soil above. The cave is spacious for at least 600 feet inside, but the entrance is traversable beyond that distance only by wading deep pools.<sup>7</sup>

Smallin Cave exhibits as good a development of ridged, wall flowstone as any cave in the State. These ridges are found only near entrances, nowhere farther back than 100 feet or so. The cause for their limited distribution is not understood. The drainage of Smallin Cave comes from remnants of the upland peneplain of the immediate region which here is on Mississippian rock. The terrace at the cave mouth seems to be part of an old valley bottom of a later and incomplete erosion cycle which was interrupted by the uplift which inaugurated the valley cutting of the present cycle. Smallin Cave was a product of deep, ground water flow before Finley Creek valley was cut to its present level.<sup>8</sup>

However, arguably the most famous descriptions come from the explorer who provided the first written account of the cave. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft came across the Smallin Cave during his 1818-1819 expedition of the Ozarks.

Historic Description and Modern Appearance:

Milton D. Rafferty, emeritis professor and former head of the Department of Geography, Geology, and Planning at Missouri State University in Springfield, spent over thirty years mapping the route that Schoolcraft followed. Rafferty's study culminated in *Rude Pursuits and Rugged Peaks: Schoolcraft's Ozark Journal 1818-1819* (1996). Schoolcraft described numerous locations in Missouri and Arkansas. Of the places described by Schoolcraft, only a few could be precisely identified by Rafferty as to location. Of those locations clearly identified, Smallin Cave is a place described in great detail.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft visited the cave, according to his journal, on January 1, 1819. He and Levi Pettibone were guided there by Holt and Fisher, who were the heads of the last hunter-

<sup>7</sup> Bretz, 298

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 300

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settlement cabins on the White River just south of modern Taneyville, Missouri.<sup>9</sup> Although Schoolcraft had visited other caves in Missouri, Smallin Cave was unique. "The first appearance of this stupendous cavern struck us with astonishment, succeeded by a curiosity to explore its hidden resources."<sup>10</sup> In a later work on his expedition, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas* (1853), Schoolcraft further commented on the cave's uniqueness. "We seemed suddenly to be beholding some secret of the great works of nature, which had been hidden from the foundation of the world. The impulse, on these occasions, is to shout."<sup>11</sup> It is clear that Smallin Cave was one of the more remarkable features encountered on the expedition. Several characteristics of Smallin Cave, which made such an impression on Schoolcraft, are still evident at the cave today.

Below are excerpts from Schoolcraft's account of the cave followed by contemporary images of features he specifically describes.

Cave Opening:

This is how Schoolcraft described the opening of Smallin Cave in his journal on January 1, 1819:

On leaving Findley's Fork (*sic*), we followed up a small deep valley, which in a short distance, and after a few windings, terminated suddenly in a cave opening on a hill-side the whole width of the valley, with a stream running from its mouth. ...Its width across, at the mouth, could not be estimated at less than 200 feet, with a height of about ninety or 100 at the highest point, descending each way, and forming, when viewed in front, a semi-circle, indented alternately, with projecting and retreating rocks.<sup>12</sup>

Schoolcraft revisited this scene in his 1853 book:

"The great width and height of this cave, and its precipitous face, gave it very much the appearance of some ruinous arch, out of proportion. It stretched from hill to hill. The limpid brook we had been following, ran from its mouth."<sup>13</sup> (Photo 5)

Although Schoolcraft's estimates for measurements were inflated, the description of the location and appearance of the cave clearly describe Smallin Cave. No other cave in the county could better fit his description (see Cave Comparisons subsection below).

The following photograph shows the "limpid brook" and the "ruinous arch" as seen during the 2014 MSU excavations (Figure 7).

<sup>9</sup> Milton D. Rafferty, *Rude Pursuits and Rugged Peaks: Schoolcraft's Ozark Journal 1818-1819, With an Introduction, Maps, and Appendix by Milton D. Rafferty*. (Fayetteville, The University of Arkansas Press, 1996.) 67

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 79-80

<sup>11</sup> Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas*. (Lippincott, Grambo, and Company: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 1853.) 107

<sup>12</sup> Rafferty, 79-80

<sup>13</sup> Schoolcraft, 107

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**Figure 7: Smallin Cave Entrance 2014**, Source: Ray, 2014, cover

Vases and Lakes:

Schoolcraft was especially taken by the various rimstone dams, which he referred to as vases. The pools of water in front of the dams are still deep and wide, easily conjuring up the image of a lake (Figures 8 and 9).

In his 1819 journal entry, Schoolcraft describes them, thus:

...a gradual diminution [in the width of the cave] takes place, which continues until it is not more than ten feet across, where our progress was stopped by the stream of water which occupies the whole width of the passage, and the water, being dammed up below by a stalactitic incrustation deposited from it, forms a small lake in the bottom of the cave. Its depth appears in some places ten or fifteen feet, and the singular calcareous formation by which it is encompassed, gives it the appearance of a stupendous vase, or bath. The outlet of this natural bath presents, at a depression of ten feet below, another, but smaller lake, encompassed by a similar deposition of calcareous matter, hardened by the absorption of carbonic acid gas from the atmosphere.<sup>14</sup>

In his 1853 book, Schoolcraft elaborated further on the rimstone dams:

On advancing, we beheld an immense natural vase, filled with pure water. This vase was formed from concretions of carbonate of lime, of the nature of stalagmite, or, rather, stalactite. It was greyish-white and translucent, filling the entire breadth of the cave. But, what was still more imposing, another vase, of similar construction, was

<sup>14</sup> Rafferty, 80

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formed on the next ascending plateau of the floor of the cave. The water flowed over the lips of this vase into the one below. The calcareous deposit seems to have commenced at the surface of the water, which, continually flowing over the rims of each vase, increases the deposit.

The height of the lower vase is about five feet, which is inferable by our standing by it, and looking over the rim into the limpid basin. The rim is about two and a half inches thick. Etruscan artists could not have formed a more singular set of capacious vases.

The stream of water that supplies these curious tanks, rushes with velocity from the upper part of the cavern.<sup>15</sup>

The very same rimstone dams and lakes that Schoolcraft saw and described in detail are still present in the Smallin Cave streambed (Photo 6). He mentions standing by the lower vase to peer into the water. Modern visitors can stand in the same location and see what Schoolcraft saw.



**Figure 8: Rimstone Dams and Pools before the 1961-1962 walkways.** Photographed September 4, 1950. Photo courtesy of the Christian County History Museum.

<sup>15</sup> Schoolcraft, 107

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**Figure 9: Rimstone Dams and Pools next to the Indian Ladder Flowstone.** Photo taken by Kevin Bright 2016.

Flowstone and Stalactite:

In his journal, Schoolcraft makes note of the other calcite formations in the cave: "Large masses of stalagmite, and several columns of stalactite, pendant from the roof, are also found..."<sup>16</sup>

The "large masses of stalagmite" is Schoolcraft's description of the beautiful wall flowstone found throughout Smallin Cave. The most massive piece, known as the Indian Ladder, has captivated humans long before and long after Schoolcraft's visit (Figure 10). The sun side of the formation became the favored spot for humans to leave their symbols, names, and dates. The top of the formation became an observation deck for some, a diving platform for others.

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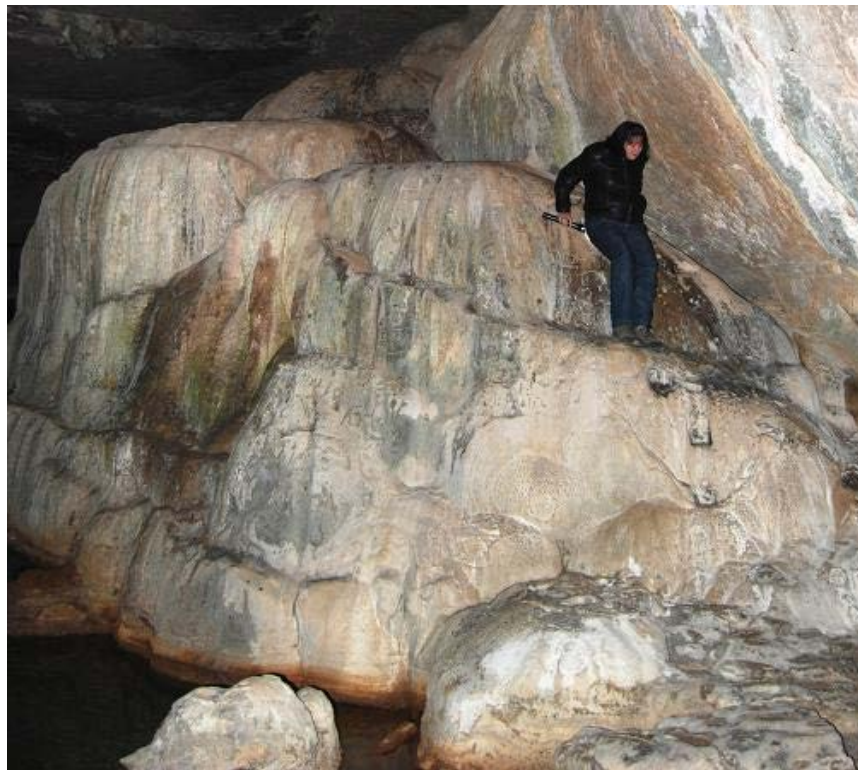
<sup>16</sup> Rafferty, 80



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**Figure 10: Wanetta Bright descending the Indian Ladder, Photo by Kevin Bright 2011**

The Smallin Cave stalactites are different than most other cave stalactites (Figure 11). Schoolcraft applied the term "pendant" to describe them and later writers use the term "beehive" or "mammary" formations.<sup>17</sup>



**Figure 11: Beehive or Mammary Stalactites, Photo by Kevin Bright 2017**

<sup>17</sup> Bright, 27

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Cave Pearls:

In his journal, Schoolcraft documents a type of cave formation that was unusual to him:

"In that part of the cave which is dry, and in the bottom of the brook which runs across it, is found a singular calcareous formation, in the shape of small globules from the size of a grain of sand to that of a musket-bullet, which covers the bottom of the cave to the depth of a foot or more, so that in walking upon it the foot sinks, as if on a bank of loose dry sand."<sup>18</sup>

In his 1853 book, Schoolcraft further describes these formations:

"The bottom of the cave is strewn with small and round calcareous concretions, about the size of ounce balls, of the same nature with the vases. They are in the condition of stalagmites. These concretions are opaque, and appear to have been formed from the impregnated waters percolating from the roof of the cavern."<sup>19</sup>

Schoolcraft's description of the "globules" or "concretions" clearly represents a formation type now called cave pearls. The best example of cave pearls can be found in the pool beneath the "Showerhead" wall flowstone formation (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Cave Pearls beneath the Showerhead Formation, Photo by Kevin Bright 2017

Stream Determined Cave:

Smallin Cave began geologically when a weak layer in the limestone beds was dissolved away through the chemical weathering caused by carbonic acid (Figure 13). This created a horizontal void in the limestone bluffs that flank the entrance of the cave. Subsequent mechanical weathering, caused as water swept sands and gravels along that voided layer, leads geologists

<sup>18</sup> Rafferty, 80

<sup>19</sup> Schoolcraft, 107-108

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to classify the cave as primarily stream determined.<sup>20</sup> Most of the caves in Missouri are primarily solution chamber caves, where a major crack or fissure gradually develops into a major cavity. Schoolcraft was the first person to make note of this special formation process, noting "Geologically, the cavern is in the horizontal limestone..."<sup>21</sup>

This horizontal nature is still evident both outside and inside the cave. Modern visitors can witness this distinctive characteristic just as Schoolcraft did.



**Figure 13: Weak Bedding Plane in the Western Wall of the Mouth of Smallin Cave, Image by Eric Fuller 2016**

In the early 1960s a walkway was added from when the cave was opened for commercial purposes. Electricity for lighting was also added at this time and rewired after 2009 and a wooden platform was added to the walkway in the 1980s or 1990s (Photo 7). However the 1960s walkway is significant in its own right and is discussed in more detail below.

<sup>20</sup> Bright, 23-25

<sup>21</sup> Schoolcraft, 108

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While nearly two centuries have passed since Henry Rowe Schoolcraft visited Smallin Cave, many of the outstanding features he observed are still extant today. Modern visitors to the cave can behold the same sights and experience the same emotions as Schoolcraft did during his exploration of the cave. Smallin Cave serves as the focus of this district and is considered a contributing site.

Fielden Cave (Contributing Site, "B" on Figure 5 map)

Approximately 300 feet southeast of the opening of Smallin Cave is Fielden Cave. Fielden Cave is accessed via a concrete walkway (see description below) that leads northwest from the primary walkway further south (Photo 8). The walkway extends into the cave for about 35 feet (Figures 14 and 15). Fielden Cave is approximately 185 feet deep and its mouth is 12 feet wide and 7 feet high. The entrance was excavated in 2012 and evidence clearly shows it was historically and prehistorically utilized by humans (Photo 9). In addition to artifacts, remnants of a spring box are still visible today (discussed further in Section 8). Fielden Cave is considered a contributing site.

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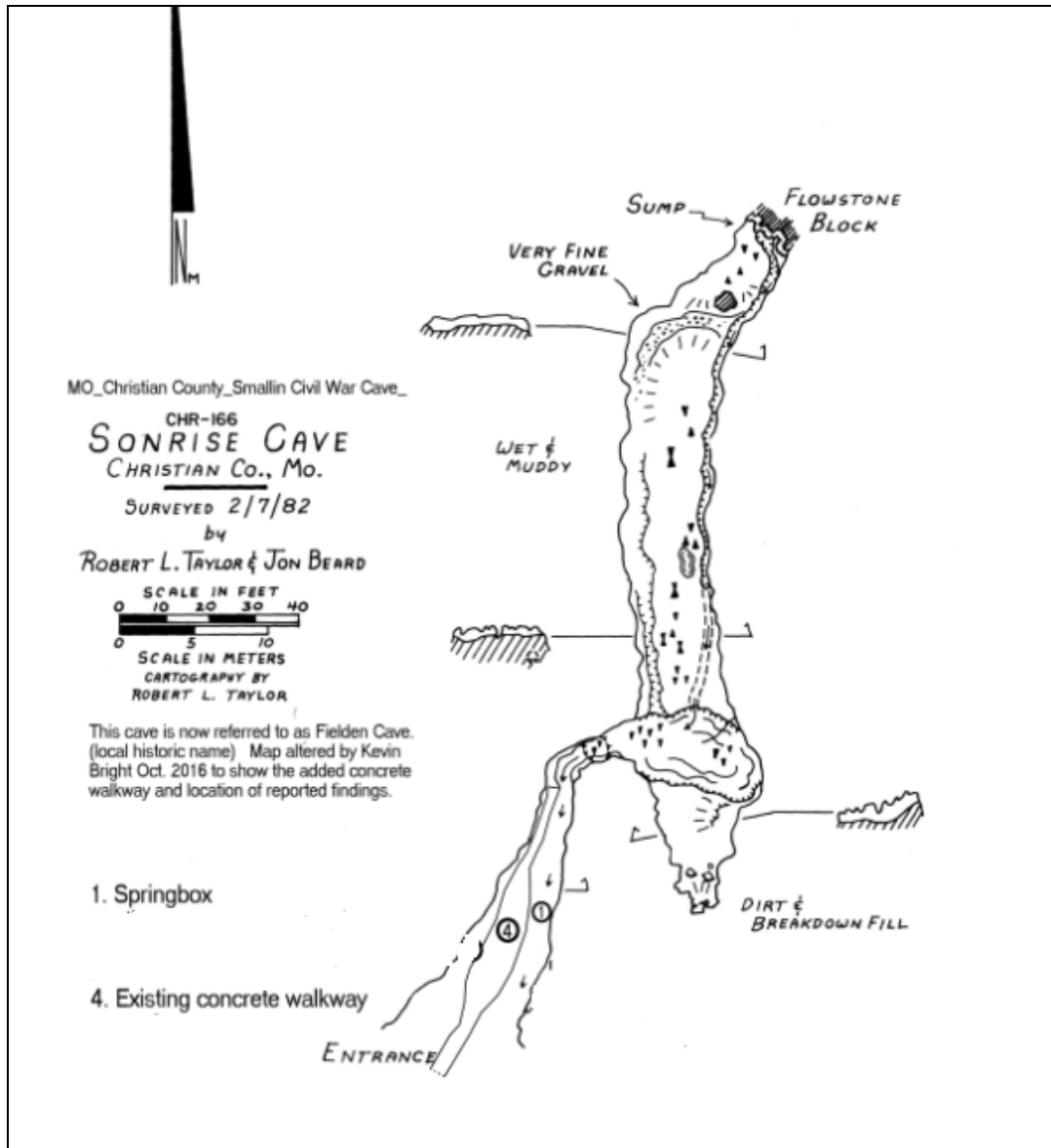


Figure 14: 1982 Map of Fielden Cave (aka Sunrise Cave), altered by Kevin Bright to show concrete walkway. Image provided by Kevin Bright, 2017. Redactions made by Michelle Diedrich, 2017.

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**Figure 15: Fielden Cave, Contributing Site.** Image taken by Kevin Bright, 2016.

Disappointment Cave (Contributing Site, “C” on Figure 5 map)

Just to the right (east) of the entrance of Smallin Cave is a small opening in the cliff side (Photo 10/Figure 16). Affectionately called “Disappointment Cave” by the current owners<sup>22</sup>, this opening is 15 feet deep with its mouth being 8 feet wide and 12 feet tall. Folklore notes this cave may have been used as a “lookout” during the Civil War when soldiers may have utilized Smallin Cave. Later the cave was used as a backdrop of some visitors for photos (discussed more in Section 8). It is considered a contributing site.

<sup>22</sup> There is no known historic name for this cave.

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**Figure 16: Disappointment Cave, Contributing Site.** Image taken by Michelle Diedriech, Spring 2017.

Parking Lot and Drive (c.1990, 2010: 1 N/C Structure, "D" on Figure 5 map)

The district is entered via a modern (2010) gravel drive at the northeast corner of the boundary off of North Smallin Road (Figure 5). The drive curves south and splits with one end meeting a 1990s era paved area that was likely built when the property was used a church camp between 1979 and 2009. A portion of this pavement is square in shape and once was used as a basketball court. It appears it was repaved and expanded to the south to serve as a parking lot and extended to the east to serve as part of a drive. The other part of the gravel drive expands into a narrow rectangular gravel lot that abuts the paved drive directly to the north. Between the two legs of the gravel drive is a small oval piece of mowed lawn that features a modest metal flagpole set into a small concrete square (Photo 11). The paved and gravel areas together form a loose "L" and serve as the parking lot for the current tourism business. Although they were constructed at different times they are considered a single non-contributing structure as they are connected and serve the same purpose. It is non-contributing as it was built after the period of significance. As previously noted, the land around the driveway and parking lot is mowed.

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Smallin Cave Entrance Sign (2010 N/C Object, "E" on Figure 5 map)

A large wooden sign 6x16 feet and supported and framed by logs at the northeast corner of the property greets the public (Figure 17). Facing North Smallin Road, the sign reads "SMALLIN CIVIL WAR CAVE", which was painted by current owner, Wanetta Bright. The sign is just south of the public drive and sits just inside the chain link fence. Due to its large size it is counted as an object in the resource count. It is considered non-contributing as it was built after the period of significance.



**Figure 17: 2010 Smallin Civil War Cave Sign, Non-Contributing Object.** Image from Google Earth, accessed 8/2/17

Tennis Court (c.1980, N/C Structure, "F" on Figure 5 map)

Surrounded by trees a disused paved tennis court sits directly east of the paved parking lot (Figure 5). It was likely constructed sometime in the 1980s when the property was used as a church camp. It is located in the middle of a series of 1980s walkways (described below) and is blocked from public access by a chain link fence and gate. It is considered a non-contributing structure as it was built after the period of significance.

1980s Era walkway (N/C structure, "G" on Figure 5 map)

The asphalt and gravel walkway, dating from the 1980s, branches from the northwest and southwest corners of the paved parking lot (Figure 5 and Photo 12). These paths originally served as walkways for the church camp but now are used for planned nature walks at the current tourism business. They are currently behind chain link fences and are only accessible via locked gates. The walkway is approximately six feet wide and begins from the northwest corner of the parking lot then curves and branches, with one leg leading north for approximately 300 feet to a modern shed (described below). The other leg of this path is gravel and moves south for about 260 feet to connect to the paved walkway that leads directly east to the southwest corner of the parking lot. This forms a triangle with the tennis court (described above) centered in the middle of it. The southern leg of this triangle curves south another 500 feet or so past the Education Center (west of the walkway, "I" on Figure 5 map) to terminate in a loop between three cabins that date from the church camp (J, K, L on Figure 5 map). This series of walkways is considered a single non-contributing structure and is non-contributing as the walkways were built outside of the period of significance. Setting-wise this portion of the



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district is the land above Smallin Cave. A steep drop off of approximately 70 feet to the bottom of the cave entrance is located just south of the southern portion of the walkway “triangle”.

Shed (c.1980, N/C Building, “H” on Figure 5 map)

Accessed via the 1980s era walkway described above, a large metal shed with a gable roof is centered at the northern edge of the district boundary. The shed was likely built in the 1980s to serve as storage for the church camp. The shed is clad in corrugated sheet metal and features two large sliding doors (Figure 18). Since it was built outside of the period of significance it is considered a non-contributing building.



**Figure 18: 1980s Era Shed, Non-Contributing Structure.** Image taken by Kevin Bright, August 2017.

Educational Center. (c.1980, N/C Building, “I” on Figure 5 map)

Constructed c. 1980 as the fellowship hall for the church camp<sup>23</sup>, this building is now used as an educational space for the current Smallin Civil War Cave tourism business. It is located to the west of the 1980 walkway leading south. The one-story building is four bays wide, clad in wood siding, and features a side gable roof. From left to right there are double solid wooden doors, a 1/1 vinyl window and two smaller 1/1 vinyl windows. The windows and doors are original (Figure 19). As it was constructed outside of the period of significance it is considered a non-contributing building.

<sup>23</sup> Bright, 103

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**Figure 19: c. 1980 Educational Center, Non-Contributing Building.** Image taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.

Church Cabins (c.1980, 3 N/C Buildings, "J," "K," "L" on Figure 5 map )

Three identical cabins were built in c.1980 to house children attending Sunrise Camp (Photo 13). The cabins are clustered around the terminating loop of the 1980s era walkway. Each one-story cabin has a gable roof, is clad in vertical wood siding, and features a single solid replacement door centered on the gable-end of the building. A small light fixture is above the entrance slightly off-centered. Each cabin is numbered (1-3) directly above the entryway. The side of the cabin is three bays wide and features two 1/1 vinyl windows and a modern replacement door (Figure 20). The cabins are currently vacant. Since they were built after the period of significance they are considered non-contributing buildings.

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Figure 20: Front and Side View of c. 1980 Church Cabin #2, Non-Contributing Building. Image taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring of 2017.

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Picnic Pavilion (c.1980, N/C Structure, "M" on Figure 5 map)

Directly south of the paved parking lot ("D" on Figure 5 map) is a break area that includes a 1980's pavilion, which shelters picnic tables and a vending machine. It originally served as picnic area and changing rooms for the swimming pool (now a gravel lot) when the site was used as a church camp. The gabled-roofed pavilion is constructed out of wood and is open on two sides. The side wall is solid and the back wall contains small rooms that were originally used as changing rooms. The pavilion sits on a concrete pad that connects to a short paved sidewalk (Figure 21). On this sidewalk is a small wooden storage shed with a shed roof. Since it appears to be movable it is not included in the resource count. To the east is a small gravel lot that was originally a swimming pool (Photo 14). As it is smaller in size, this gravel lot is not included in the resource count. This area is enclosed by a chain link fence and now serves as storage space for large movable exhibits. While the Pavilion area is open to visitors the area north of it (along the western edge of the parking lot) is blocked by a chain link fence. As the Picnic Pavilion was built after the period of significance it is considered a non-contributing structure.



**Figure 21: c.1980 Pavilion, Non-Contributing Structure.** Image taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.

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Caretaker's Cabin (c.1960, 2017, N/C Building, "N" on Figure 5 map)

At the east edge of the district a cluster of buildings were constructed in the early 1960s when Joseph Bulger purchased the property to run a tourism business.<sup>24</sup> This included a cabin, a visitor's center, and a building to house restrooms (Photo 15). The buildings are reached via a concrete walking path<sup>25</sup> that begins at the very southeast corner of the paved parking area and drive. The first building this path leads to is currently being converted into a two-story residence. According to the current owners, the building was likely the original caretaker's cabin. It was originally a one story property clad in wood siding with a side gable roof and fieldstone foundation. Although it had been re-clad in Western Cedar siding in 2009 (replaced in-kind to the original siding), half of the original building is still visible to the west of the new construction. It has a side gable roof with a single replacement 1/1 vinyl window. The word "Cave" with a hand pointing down the path was painted by the current owners on this portion of the building. The other half of the cabin has been absorbed by a two-story addition with a "boomtown" false front façade that faces north (Figure 22). Due to the current renovation into a two-story residence, the property lacks integrity and is considered to be a non-contributing building. Across the path from this building are temporary exhibits such as a model cannon and a covered "Gemstone Panning" station for visitors (Photo 16).<sup>26</sup>



**Figure 22: c.1960 Caretaker's Cabin with 2017 construction, Non-Contributing Building.** Image taken by Kevin Bright, Summer 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Bright, 96

<sup>25</sup> As explained above, due to the expansive nature of the district, walkways and paths less than 100 feet in length are noted but not included in the resource count or individually described.

<sup>26</sup> The model canon and Gemstone Panning station are temporary in nature they are not included in the resource count. The model canon, primarily a visual piece, is designed to shoot potatoes.

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Visitor's Center (c. 1960, Contributing Building, "O" on Figure 5 map)

Moving down the path from the caretaker's cabin is the original museum/gift shop built sometime between 1959 and 1961 by Joseph Bulger for his commercial tourism business. This one story building has a fieldstone foundation, side gable roof, and was originally clad in wood siding, featuring a flagstone chimney on the north side of the property (Figure 22). The main entrance was historically on the north side of the building. While this entrance is still intact, today the primary entrance was moved to the west gable end of the building and is sheltered by a metal awning and small deck area. In 2009 the building was re-clad in Western Cedar wood siding that appears to be the approximate width and similar material as the original siding. The north side of the property features a mural of an Osage warrior inspired by George Catlin's famous 1830s "Tal-lee, Warrior of Distinction" illustration with the words "Osage Trading Post" (Photo 17). Next to it is a neon "Open" sign. The building remains detached (Photo 18). Wood fencing has been added to enclose the space between the caretaker's cabin and Visitor's Center on this side of the property. Behind this fence the original entrance opening and shed awning is intact. The original doors have been replaced with aluminum glass double doors, just to the right of the extant flagstone chimney. While it has likely been repaved, two concrete sidewalks from the early 1960s sit parallel to one another in front of the historic entrance. The space between the sidewalks has been infilled with gravel to support a covered freestanding children's activity area.<sup>27</sup> A covered wooden deck was added to the west gable end of the property (Figure 24). A flagstone retaining wall/landing that once had concrete stairs is still intact southwest of the property and is described below. The south side of the property features two single pane replacement windows flanking a central entrance sheltered by a wooden portico. A wooden ramp with guardrails was constructed in 2009 and extends east from the building to connect to a path that leads to the restrooms (Photo 19). While there have been notable alterations to the property in terms of the additional decking on the gable ends and replacement windows, the siding has been replaced in kind and it still reads as the original museum, thus it is considered a contributing building. When the property was owned by the church camp this building was used as a cafeteria.<sup>28</sup> It currently serves as it did historically, as the primary visitor's center of the Smallin Civil War Cave commercial tourism business. Directly behind the visitor's center is a small modern wooden well house (Photo 19). Due to its small size, it is not included in the resource count.

<sup>27</sup> The activity area and covered walkway are considered temporary features of the site and thus are not included in the resource count. This includes a movable panning station and a wooden structure children can crawl through.

<sup>28</sup> Bright, 103

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**Figure 23: The Visitor's Center Then and Now, North Elevation.** The north elevation of the Visitor's Center is pictured in 1967 (left) and today (right). The activity center on the left side is freestanding structure. Image provided by Kevin Bright.



**Figure 24: The Visitor's Center Then and Now, South Elevation.** This figure shows the south and west elevation of the Visitor's Center and the retaining wall of the stone landing in 1967 (left) and 2017 (right). Image provided by Kevin Bright.

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Stone Landing and Retaining Wall (c. 1960, Contributing Structure, "P" on Figure 5 map)

Directly east of the Visitor's Center is a substantial concrete landing that is encased by a fieldstone retaining wall (Photo 20). This landing was built by Joseph Bulger sometime in the early 1960s. The landing is triangular in shape and is no longer accessible to the public. At one time a stair led down the hillside but has since been removed (see Figure 24 above). Metal guardrails sit atop the retaining wall and are original to the structure (Figure 25). The flagstone on the retaining wall matches the flagstone chimney of the visitor's center and the stone foundations of the caretaker's cabin, visitor's center and restrooms. It retains integrity from the period of significance and is thus considered a contributing structure.



**Figure 25: Partial View of the Landing (c. 1960), Contributing Structure.** Image taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.

Restrooms (c. 1960, Contributing Building, "Q" on Figure 5 map)

A wooden ramp with handrails extends from the back of the Visitor's Center ("O" on Figure 5 map) to a small concrete path that curves south to the restrooms that were built circa 1960 by Joseph Bulger. The small building has a stepped side gable roof and is clad on the façade and east elevation in Western Cedar siding (re-clad in 2009), which is similar to the original cladding (Photo 21). There are three replacement paneled doors for storage, men's, and women's restrooms respectively (Figure 26). The back of the building and west elevation has been clad in vinyl but from this vantage point the original field stone foundation is visible (Photo 22). Although the doors and siding have been replaced, the siding has been replaced in-kind on the front and west side of the building, and the form, foundation, and openings are largely unchanged, thus it is considered a contributing building.



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**Figure 26: Restrooms (c. 1960), Contributing Building.** Image taken by Michelle Diedriech, Spring 2017.

Garage (c. 1990, Non-Contributing Building, "R" on Figure 5 map)

Southeast of the restrooms is a two-car garage with a low hipped roof with vertical plywood siding (Figure 27). The garage can be accessed via the north elevation by a single door; automotive access is through a single overhead door in the east elevation, which faces Smallin Road. Aside from the automotive opening reached via a short asphalt drive, the garage is fenced off from the road by chain link fence. A small pathway, bisected by a short wood fence, curves south from the restrooms towards the garage then connects to the path moving west towards the caves (area described is between points "Q" and "R" on the Figure 5 map). Since it was built after the period of significance, the garage is considered a non-contributing building.



**Figure 27: Garage (c. 1990), Non-Contributing Building.** Image taken by Michelle Diedriech, Spring 2017.

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1961-62 Smallin Cave Walkway (Contributing Structure, "S" on Figure 5 map)

In 1961-62 this concrete walkway was constructed around the time Joseph Bulger purchased the property to open his tourism business (Photo 23). Figure 48 in Section 8 features an excerpt from a 1960s brochure from the tourism operation. The brochure shows the walkway under construction and boasts "wide concrete walkways from the parking lot to the end of the cave".<sup>29</sup> It's not entirely clear where the original parking lot was located. Today the walkway extends from behind the Visitor's Center (between points "O" and "R" on the Figure 5 map) and moves west past the 2010 Educational Area (point "T"). The walkway then extends north through the mouth of Smallin Cave (point "A") and into the cave for approximately 550 feet to terminate at a platform (Figure 28).

While Bulger's statement that the walkway extended to the "end of the cave" is inaccurate, it does extend to what was and is mostly easily accessible. Electricity was also added to the interior of the cave in the early 1960s (Figure 30).

In total the walkway is roughly 1,125 feet in length. Inside the cave the walkway is elevated and features railings. Railings are present on some portions of the walkway outside of the cave. Alterations to the walkway consist of replacement railings and, within the cave, a wooden platform was built off of the walkway while the site was utilized as a church camp (Figure 29). Small interpretive signs sit on various portions of the walkway. Despite these changes the walkway retains integrity and is considered a contributing structure.

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<sup>29</sup> Civil War Cave Brochure, undated. Smallin Civil War Cave Website,  
[http://www.smallincave.com/Old%20Photos%20&%20Brochures\\_smallincave.html](http://www.smallincave.com/Old%20Photos%20&%20Brochures_smallincave.html)  
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**Figure 28: Smallin Cave Walkway (1961-62), Contributing Structure.** Upper left: entrance of cave; upper right: ending concrete platform inside of cave, bottom left: walkway leading to cave, bottom right: walkway going into cave. Images taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.

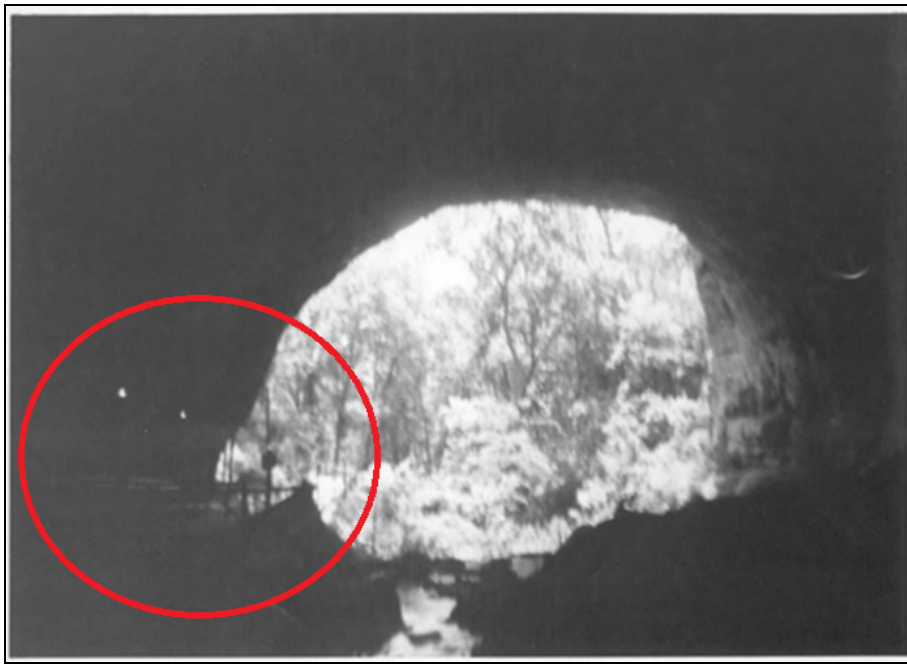
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**Figure 29: 1960-61 Walkway inside of the cave.** Notice the lighting originally added in 1960-61 (re-wired after 2009) at the back of the image. Also visible is the wooden deck added in the 1980s or 1990. Image by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.



**Figure 30: 1963 Photo of Smallin Cave.** While it's hard to see, notice the walkway and early lighting on the left side of the photo, circled in red. Source Smallin Civil War Cave Website, Accessed September 17, 2017

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Educational Area, (2010, Non-Contributing Structure, "T" on Figure 5 map)

Just southeast of the Fielden Cave walkway (point "U" on the Figure 5 map) is a small gravel area that features various props and tools for educational programming. Constructed in 2010, this area features a flat or shed pavilion, a fire pit with cooking apparatus, benches, and reenactment equipment (Figure 31). As it was built after the period of significance the pavilion (the permanent feature of this area) is considered a non-contributing structure.



**Figure 31: 2010 Educational Area, Non-Contributing Structure.** Eric Fuller is pictured in image. Image taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.

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Fielden Cave Walkway (c.2011, Non-Contributing Structure, "U" on Figure 5 map)

A concrete path was built in circa 2011 by the current owners to provide access to Fielden Cave. In total the walkway is approximately 128 feet in length, 93 feet of which is outside of the cave. The walkway branches north from the 1961-62 walkway ("S" on the Figure 5 map) just east of the Educational Area (described above; "T" on the Figure 5 map). The path offers a metal safety railing and terminates, somewhat abruptly, not far within Fielden Cave (Figure 32). The latter part of the path is chained off for safety. A small interpretive sign is perched on the railing of the walkway.



**Figure 32: c.2011 Walkway in Fielden Cave, Non-Contributing Structure.** Image taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.

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Overlook Platform (2015, Non-Contributing Structure, "V" on Figure 5 map)

The overlook platform was constructed in 2015 and is directly west of the Visitor's Center and stone landing. It overlooks Fielden Cave and Fielden Stream. It is accessed via a path that connects to the central walkway leading from the parking lot. The platform is raised and features a gabled roof supported by metal posts. It has a concrete floor and metal railings along the sides for safety (Figure 33). This area is utilized for company meetings and dinners. As it was recently constructed it is considered a non-contributing structure.



**Figure 33: Overlook Platform (2015) Non-Contributing Structure.** Image taken by Michelle Diedrich, Spring 2017.

**INTEGRITY**

The nearly 30 acre Smallin Cave Historic District retains the historic setting of when explorers Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and Levi Pettibone were led to this area by their guides Holt and Fisher on January 1, 1819. The area remains forested with the same species of trees, creeks, and rolling terrain that were present during this time period. Thus the landscape as a whole is considered a contributing site. In the early 1960s the first commercial tourism business was opened and a gift shop (today, the Visitor's Center), caretaker's cabin, and restrooms were constructed. A walkway was also built from the gift shop (or a non-extant parking lot) into approximately 550 feet into the cave. The walkway inside of the cave is elevated so as to disturb the cave floor as little as possible. The caretaker's cabin has been substantially altered by a large two story modern addition to the facade and no longer contributes to the district. The

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restrooms and gift shop were re-clad with Western Cedar siding in 2009, which is similar to the original wood cladding and thus is considered in-kind replacement. While there have been other alterations such as the replacement of windows, doors, and the addition of a ramp and decking on the gift shop, the restrooms and gift shop ultimately retain their overall historic appearance and are considered contributing buildings related to significant activities that occurred during the period of significance. There has been some alteration to the setting around them such as the addition of pathways and educational exhibits but the latter are considered temporary in nature. The 1960s walkway has had the railings replaced, and a deck area was built off a portion of the walkway within Smallin Cave, but otherwise this walkway appears much as it did during the period of significance and is considered a contributing structure. The stone landing pad and retaining wall has had the stair access removed but otherwise appears as it did historically and is also considered a contributing structure. There have been no known changes to Disappointment Cave and it is thus considered a contributing site. Fielden Cave now features a walkway, but the walkway only extends 35 feet into the cave. The cave appears to retain the same appearance as it would historically and includes features from the period of significance such as the cold storage box still visible in the cave floor. As discussed, Smallin Cave's most notable alteration is when electricity for lighting and walkway that were added in the 1960s, but these changes occurred within the period of significance and are important in their own right. Both Fielden and Smallin Cave are considered contributing sites. In the 1980 and 1990s the district was known as Sunrise Camp, a church camp. Parking, driveways, cabins, storage areas, an educational building, and recreation areas were added to the site. More recently in 2009-2010 the property was converted into a commercial tourism business, Smallin Civil War Cave, and a few more paths, pavilions, and a sign were added. As noted, the caretaker's cabin was significantly altered into a two-story residence. These alterations, structures, objects, and buildings constructed after the period of significance are considered non-contributing (as noted, the gift shop retains sufficient historic character to be considered contributing).

In total there are 15 non-contributing resources and 8 contributing. While the non-contributing resources admittedly outnumber the contributing, the modern construction is mostly localized and the construction is mostly confined to the northeast portion of the district (Figures 4). The nearly 30 acre boundary remains a largely wooded undeveloped landscape and the most significant feature, Smallin Cave, is largely sheltered from view of manmade structures (as are Fielden and Disappointment Cave) due to the dropping and curving nature of the terrain. In sum, the district retains integrity via the feeling and setting where a visitor can quite literally follow in Schoolcraft's footsteps and those that came before and after him in the district today.



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**Summary**

Smallin Cave Historic District, at 3575 North Smallin Road is in the vicinity of the community of Ozark in Christian County, Missouri. It is locally significant under Criterion A: Exploration and Recreation. The focus of the district is Smallin Cave which was first formally documented by explorer Henry Rowe Schoolcraft during his 1818-1819 expedition of the Ozarks via his published diary. Schoolcraft later became a well-known explorer, geologist, and was considered an expert on Native American lore and language. Seeking acknowledgement, and perhaps permanent employment, Schoolcraft sought to map possible mining opportunities in what is now known as the Ozarks region of Missouri and Arkansas. Schoolcraft's journal from this expedition was the first professional report of the Ozarks from the interior.<sup>30</sup> He set off from Potosi Missouri with his traveling companion, Levi Pettibone, on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1818 and reached Smallin Cave on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1819. Schoolcraft's journal provides a detailed account of Smallin Cave. Smallin Cave is significant for Exploration, as this is one of the few local places described in Schoolcraft's journal that visitors can trace his footsteps as described in his journal from this important expedition. The land included in the boundary surrounding Smallin Cave represents the type of setting Schoolcraft and Pettibone journeyed through during their travels. Although it's possible Schoolcraft and Pettibone were within the district the day before on December 31, 1818, the period of significance begins in 1819 when Schoolcraft recorded the cave in his January 1, 1819 entry. The cave has likely been a camp or shelter ever since there was human occupation in the area. Prehistoric and historic artifacts have been discovered. Most notably the cave features several petroglyphs and carvings. Further research may reveal there is a case under Criterion D: Archaeology. Schoolcraft notes various Native American tribes such as the Delaware and the Osage in the vicinity. Written documentation of the cave's use are scattered and are founded in primarily oral tradition. There are accounts of the cave being used as a temporary shelter by a Cherokee-Irish family in the 1830s. Some scholarship suggests that other tribal escapees from forced removal stayed with this family. Further accounts note how the cave may have been utilized during the Civil War, and during and after that period there are accounts and photographs of the cave being used as a picnicking area, place for women to do washing, and as a social gathering space. The property was purchased by Joseph Bulger to run a commercial tourism business in the early 1960s that operated until his death in 1966. The cave was branded as a "Civil War Cave and Memorial Park"<sup>31</sup>. Bulger's interpretation of how the cave was utilized during the Civil War ranged from liberal to outright fantasy. For example, he purchased an old train car, placed it on the property and claimed it was President Lincoln's funeral car. Lincoln's funeral car was destroyed by fire in 1911. Despite not being entirely accurate, this was the first time the cave was open for commercial tourism. Bulger built the walkway leading up to and into Smallin Cave as well as the restrooms, a museum/visitor's center, and a caretaker's cabin. The resources, although altered, are present on the site today. While it only operated for approximately five years it became a popular local tourism site. After Bulger's death, public access to the property was officially closed, until it was donated to the Central Assembly of God church. They operated a camp at this location between 1979-2009 constructing cabins and various other structures. It was then purchased by the current owners who have reopened the camp to the general public as a commercial tourism business, Smallin Civil War Cave. The period of significance begins with Schoolcraft's visit in

<sup>30</sup> Rafferty, Preface xi.

<sup>31</sup> Flier for Gala Opening Celebration c. 1961, on file at the Christian County Library.

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1819 and extends until the land was closed to public access when Bulger's commercial tourism business shut down in 1966 and would remain vacant for over a decade.

## Narrative

### Early Occupation

Although this nomination seeks listing under Criterion A: Exploration and Recreation, it is worth discussing the early history of the site as it has been utilized by humans for at least 8,500 years. Prehistoric artifacts discovered via the property owners and archaeological investigations date from the Late Paleoindian Period [10,500-900 BP; 8500-7500 BC] up through the Mississippian Period [1000-410 BP; AD 950-1540].<sup>32</sup> The summary provided by Jack H. Ray in his 2014 archaeological report perhaps best summarizes the prehistoric occupation:

The archaeological materials that were recovered by the 2014 MSU field school (as well as previous artifacts found at or near the cave) reveal that Smallin Cave has a long history of human occupation, extending back at least 8,500 years. The cave provided a large shelter and a reliable source of water. Although the opening of Smallin Cave is enormous, inhabitable level ground not covered by tufa deposits is confined to a relatively small area along the west wall. Accordingly, the majority of the prehistoric occupations were probably seasonal by small family groups and associated with intermittent hunting and gathering forays into the uplands north of the Finley River. The cave appears to have been inhabited most intensively during the Middle Woodland period approximately 2000 years ago. Occupations during the Late Archaic period (ca. 5000–3000 B.P. or 3000–1000 B.C.) may also have been relatively frequent.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to the prehistoric artifacts, there is additional evidence of early occupation in Smallin Cave. On a massive flowstone formation approximately 300 feet into the cave are three sets of stone carvings. The largest is a feature called the "Indian Ladder" (Figure 34). A series of handholds and footholds proceed up the flowstone near the eastern cave wall. The entire flowstone is typically referred to as the "Indian Ladder" because of this feature. This feature was attributed in 1956 to the Native Americans by J. Harlen Bretz in his "Caves of Missouri" book:

The outstanding scenic feature of Smallin Cave is its splendid flowstone half-dome and double rimstone dam near the entrance. The pool at the foot of the dam is kept flushed out by storm water torrents and is too deep for wading. The cave, therefore, is entered by climbing 20 feet or so up over the half-dome, using a series of finger holes and toe holds which have been chiseled in the cave onyx. The rock is as polished as in the three-by-five [foot] doorway of that remarkable Indian shelter, Miller Cave, in Pulaski County; and for the same reason.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Dates are associated with artifacts discovered in the nominated area that have been dated by Eric Fuller, Smallin Civil War Cave's archaeologist or via the 2014 MSU field school.

<sup>33</sup> Ray, 2014. 14

<sup>34</sup> Bretz, 329-330

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**Figure 34: The Indian Ladder**, Image taken by Eric Fuller, 2017

Beside the "Indian Ladder" are various carvings and signatures that date from the prehistoric to modern times. Of interest are two horseshoe-shaped petroglyphs that may or may not be "moon symbols" (Figure 35). Copies of these symbols were shown to Vann Bighorse, former director of the Wah-Zha-Zhe Culture Center for the Osage Nation.<sup>35</sup> His impression was they may be "moon symbols," similar in shape to the moon altars used in the Osage versions of the Native American Church.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Vann Bighorse. Personal communication with Eric Fuller. 2014

<sup>36</sup> Daniel Charles Swan. *West Moon-East Moon: An Ethnohistory of the Peyote Religion among the Osage Indians, 1898-1930*. (Dissertation submitted to The University of Oklahoma, Department of Anthropology. 1990) 352, 380. Earlier research among the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara during a Ghost (*Wanagi*) Sun Dance, revealed the use of "moon camps" or ritual areas, forbidden to men, which are set aside for menstruating women (Eric Fuller 1989; personal observation). While more research is needed, it is possible that Smallin Cave was a "moon camp" used by Native American women either prehistorically or historically. Similar symbols, referred to as Vulvar motifs, have been reported at Miller's Cave in Pulaski County, Missouri and other sites across the state (Carol Diaz-Granados and

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**Figure 35: Potential "Moon" symbols beside the Indian Ladder, Images taken by Kevin Bright, 2017.**

Another interesting petroglyph is located on the same "Indian Ladder" flowstone but above the massive rimstone dam and its pool. This carving is oval in shape, approximately 8 inches high, with a series of short diagonal lines radiating from it (Figure 36). The symbol may represent the Sun and tie into a natural event which impacts the cave and was important to most Native peoples. Winter solstice, around December 22 or 23, marks the shortest day of the year. For a week before and after the solstice, the Sun is so low in the sky it actually dips below the lip of the cave between 10:00 to 11:30am. The sunlight strikes the water in the streambed of the cave and casts a river of light on the ceiling over 200 feet long. This light on the wet ceiling is deflected back down and lights the "Sun symbol" with bright light.

The winter solstice was about the time in which the Osage, who used the Ozarks as a fall hunting ground, would return to their main villages. A letter written by George C. Sibley, Factor at Fort Osage, on October 1, 1820, confirms this fact: "...September, when what remains [of their corn, beans, and squash] is cached and they set out on the fall hunt, from which they return about Christmas."<sup>37</sup> It is interesting to speculate that the "Sun symbol" may have been a Winter Solstice marker indicating to the Osage it was time to break camp and leave the area. The Springfield [Missouri] News-Leader on December 22, 2015, carried the front page article, "Fossilized forecast: It's winter, says an ancient Osage sun calendar carved by Ozarks' native people." The report features a photograph of the Sun petroglyph and explains how the "during the winter solstice the low-lying sun illuminates the sun symbol inside the cave." It further mentions how Smallin Cave staff archaeologist, Eric Fuller has "spoken with Osage tribal leaders in Oklahoma to learn more about the mysterious petroglyph."<sup>38</sup> A recent newspaper article putting forth this interpretation was apparently quite popular among the modern Osage.<sup>39</sup>

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James Richard Duncan, *The Petroglyphs and Pictographs of Missouri*. (University of Alabama Press. 2000) 67, Plate 9; 166-167).

<sup>37</sup> David W. Eaton. "Indian Mode of Life in Missouri and Kansas." *Missouri Historical Review* 9, 1914. 46 (Quoting a letter by George C. Sibly, Factor at Fort Osage, October 1, 1820.)

<sup>38</sup> Wes Johnson. "Fossilized forecast: It's winter, says an ancient Osage sun calendar carved by Ozarks' native people." *Springfield News-Leader*, December 22, 2015. 1, 5

<sup>39</sup> Joe Hall, Osage Tribal Member, Personal communication with Eric Fuller. 2016.

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**Figure 36: Potential “Winter Solstice” Sun Petroglyph, Image taken by Eric Fuller, 2017**

On September 4, 2016, Jack H. Ray and Eric C. Fuller did a systematic survey of the chert nodules imbedded in the walls of Smallin Civil War Cave. Between 400 to 700 feet deep inside the cave, four nodules exhibited one to two negative bulbs of percussion (Figure 37). The deepest example showed signs of patination, suggesting the strike was quite old, possibly prehistoric. It was concluded that very limited and opportunistic chert mining had occurred in the cave.



**Figure 37: Possible Evidence of Chert Mining approximately 700 feet in from Smallin Cave Drip Line, September 4, 2016. Image taken by Eric Fuller, 2016.**

Finally, there is a Black Walnut (*Juglans nigra*) tree growing behind the gift shop that has a 90 degree bend in the trunk which points due east. A local woman, Harriet Wills, was photographed on it twice: 1941 and 2009 (Figure 38). In the sixty-eight years between, the tree

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shows little change. The circumference of the trunk below the bend is 10 feet 1 inch (307 cm). Due to the shallow soil in the area, Kevin Bright, the cave owner and an experienced logger and cabinet maker, has estimated the tree could be 230 years old, thus sprouting in the 1790s. It has further been suggested by numerous visitors that the tree was intentionally modified, while a sapling, to grow in this manner. The tree was described as "an Indian trail tree" in the book *Mystery of the Trees: Native American Markers of a Cultural Way of Life That Soon May Be Gone*.<sup>40</sup> If true, the modification was most likely, for that time period, done by the Osage.



**Figure 38: Harriet Wills seated on the Black Walnut Marker Tree in 1941 and in 2009.** Images courtesy of Wanetta and Kevin Bright.

The evidence of human occupation throughout the site's history is intriguing. Further research may reveal significance under Criterion D: Archaeology or other related areas of significance.

**Criterion A: Exploration: The Schoolcraft Expedition, 1818-19**

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was born near Albany, New York on March 28, 1793 (Figure 39). Originally a British soldier, Schoolcraft's grandfather settled in New York after meeting his wife in the early 1700. Henry's father fought in the American Revolution and afterwards worked in the glass manufacturing business.<sup>41</sup>

At the age of 13, Henry began working at the glass factory, where his father served as the superintendent. Up to this point Henry received a general education but apparently was quite studious. When he was older he continued to work at the glass factory. During this time he developed an interest in geology and chemistry. He did not formally attend college, assumingly

<sup>40</sup> Don and Diane Wells, *Mystery of the Trees: Native American Markers of a Cultural Way of Life That Soon May Be Gone*. (Mountain Stewards Publishing Co.: Jasper, Georgia, 2011). 30-31

<sup>41</sup> Linda Lovell, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture, <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2412>, last updated 2016. Accessed July 6, 2017.

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due to his work at the glass factory, but was able to privately study chemistry and geology with Professor Frederic Hall of Middlebury College.<sup>42</sup>

Schoolcraft attempted and failed to run a glassworks in New Hampshire, declaring bankruptcy in 1817.<sup>43</sup> "Schoolcraft's interest in writing, and his perception that money could be made by compiling accounts about the western frontier led him to explore the Ozark Region in 1818-1819 and the Upper Great Region in 1820-21."<sup>44</sup> Apparently he thought if he explored this area for potential mining prospects he would be appointed as a "federal superintendent of the area's mines."<sup>45</sup>

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's beginning, as both an explorer and ethnographer, was in 1818 and 1819, when he and Levi Pettibone did the first systematic geologic survey of the Missouri and Arkansas Ozarks.

Levi Pettibone was born in Connecticut on December 17, 1780 (Figure 40). He joined his brother, Rufus Pettibone, in Vernon, New York. Rufus urged his brother to "pull up stakes and go west."<sup>46</sup> Levi traveled to Missouri for prospecting sites. Upon Levi's return the brothers then made plans to travel to Missouri together. Rufus was friends with Henry Rowe Schoolcraft who also lived in Vernon during this time. Once he learned of the brothers' travel plans he was "determined to accompany the Pettibones and share in the exploration of the geography, geology, and minerology of the new west."<sup>47</sup> Eventually Levi and Henry<sup>48</sup> arrived in Mine a' Breton (current-day Potosi), Missouri where they briefly stayed with Moses Austin. Austin was a nationally-renowned miner, especially in lead mining. He was responsible for settlements in Missouri and Virginia and even laid plans for the yet un-colonized state of Texas.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The State Historical Society of Missouri/Historic Missourians/Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, <http://shsmo.org/historicmissourians/name/s/schoolcraft/>, Accessed July 7, 2017.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Rafferty, 8-9

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Joseph Eldridge, *History of Norfolk, Litchfield County, Connecticut*, 1900, 539-540.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> It's not clear where Rufus Pettibone was during this time, but he did not attend the expedition of the Ozarks.

<sup>49</sup> The State Historical Society of Missouri/Historic Missourians/Moses Austin <http://shsmo.org/historicmissourians/name/a/austin/>, accessed July 7, 2017.

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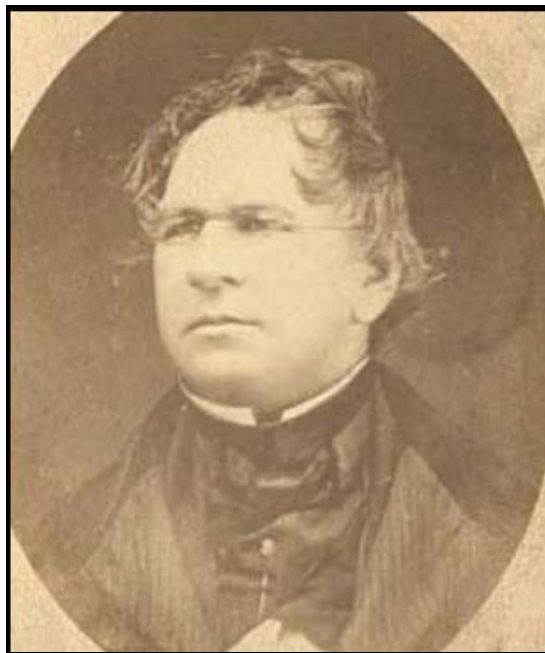


Figure 39: Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, 1855, Source: Henry Schoolcraft Wikipedia page, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry\\_Schoolcraft](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Schoolcraft), accessed September 17, 2017



MR. LEVI PETTIBONE.

Figure 40: Levi Pettibone, unknown date, Image from Joseph Eldridge's, *History of Norfolk, Litchfield County, Connecticut*, 1900. 539

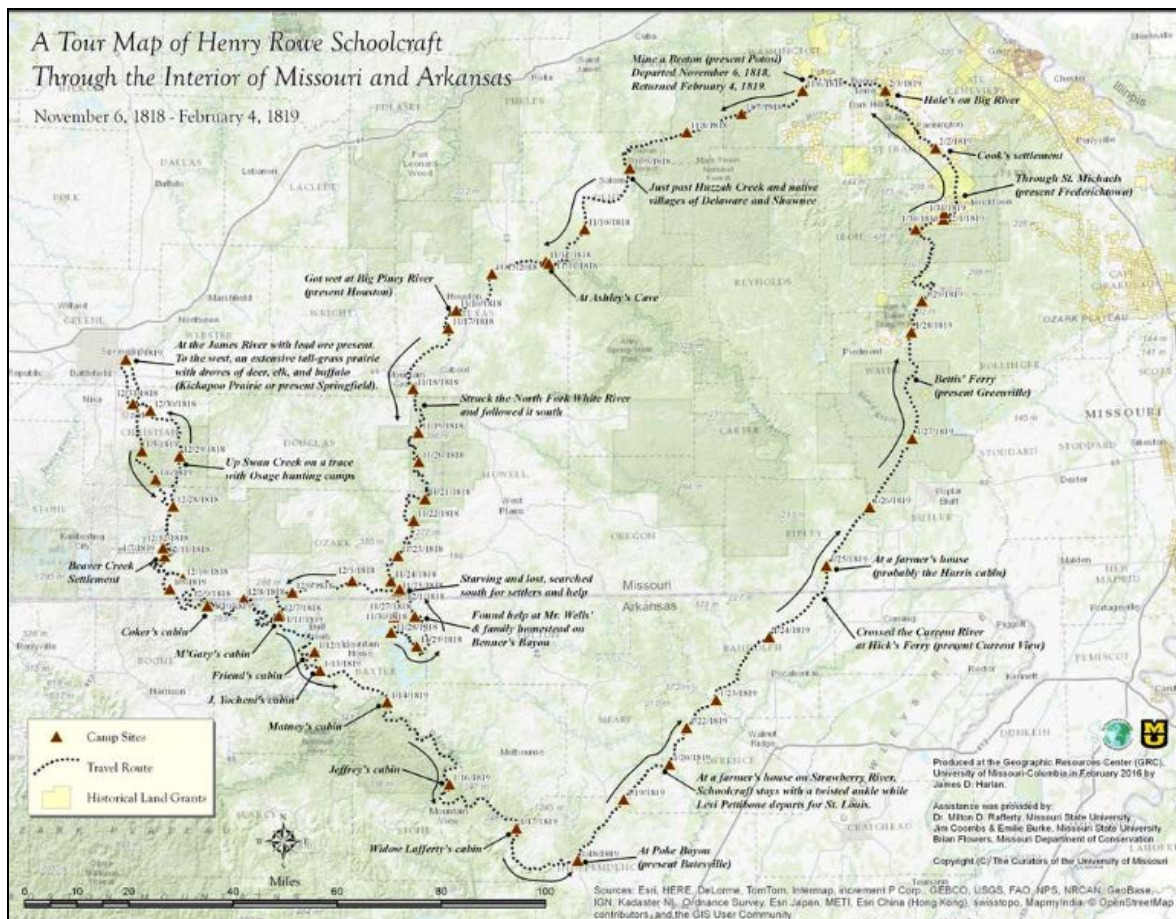


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Austin Moses lent Schoolcraft funding for his journey and on November 5, 1818 Schoolcraft and Pettibone set off on their 90-day excursion. Their travels would take them southwest to the White River then northeast to a lead mine on Pearson Creek near present-day Springfield. From Batesville, Arkansas they returned via the White River then northeast along the Ozark border<sup>50</sup> (Figure 41).



**Figure 41: Map of the Schoolcraft 1818-1819 Expedition**, Source, Missouri Life, *The Landscapes of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft* by Trevor Harris, May 11, 2016. <http://www.missourilife.com/life/the-landscapes-of-henry-rowe-schoolcraft/>, Accessed September 17, 2017.

The Schoolcraft expedition through the Ozarks gives the first detailed account of the region before extensive settlement. While the purpose of the survey was to ascertain the potential for lead mining in the region, his journal and later report contains useful information about the natural environment, Native Americans, and the earliest white settlers in this region. As an example, Pettibone and Schoolcraft, while full of ambition, were inexperienced explorers and did not adequately prepare for the journey. They often ran out of food and provisions and had to rely on the kindness of hunters or the homes of early settlers in the area.

<sup>50</sup> Rafferty, 1.

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Schoolcraft was grateful for the hospitality shown by lone hunters or by families (Wells, M'Gary, Coker, Holt, and Fisher are mentioned by name) who took him in and shared what they had. However, he was judgmental about their lack of education or religious training, what he called "witchcraft," the dirt-floored cabins, greasy clothing, unkempt appearance, and the "truly deplorable" state of the people.<sup>51</sup>

It was thanks to two of these early settlers, Holt and Fisher, that Schoolcraft was able to travel to Smallin Cave.

During this survey, Schoolcraft became the first person to describe in print a cave he called Winoca, now known as Smallin Cave.<sup>52</sup> This description is discussed in Section 7 of the nomination.

Schoolcraft, who would later be considered an expert on Native American languages, makes a simple, yet significant, statement about Smallin Cave:

"I called it Winoca (from the Osage word for an underground spirit)."<sup>53</sup>

Cameron Pratt, a trained linguist and Osage tribal member, believes<sup>54</sup> that the word Schoolcraft heard was most likely one found in the Francis La Flesche's Osage Dictionary:

"**wa-non'-xe**, the soul of man; the spirit (used in rituals); a ghost."<sup>55</sup>

This conclusion has since been independently reached by at least half a dozen Osage speakers.<sup>56</sup> The linguistic tie of a place to an Osage word is very rare in the Ozarks. Schoolcraft reveals how the cave might have been perceived by the Osage when they still hunted in this region.

The quality of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's fieldwork carried over into his book *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri*. The Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, was so impressed with the book that he offered Schoolcraft the position of geologist on a Great Lakes survey. Schoolcraft became the first person to document, in print, the headwaters of the Mississippi River, which he named Lake Itasca. While he was in the Great Lakes region, he fell in love and married Jane Johnston, granddaughter of Waboojeeg, who was a respected band chief of the Lake Superior Chippewas.<sup>57</sup> Schoolcraft was then appointed an Indian agent and worked closely with Native

<sup>51</sup> Lovell.

<sup>52</sup> Rafferty, 79-80.

<sup>53</sup> Schoolcraft, 107

<sup>54</sup> Cameron Pratt, Personal communication with Eric Fuller. 2013.

<sup>55</sup> Francis La Flesche, *A Dictionary of the Osage Language*. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 109. Smithsonian Institution: Washington, D.C., 1932) 197 (*See wa-thi-gthon*)

<sup>56</sup> Personal Communication from 2013 to 2017, Eric Fuller. Interviews with Vann Bighorse (2013), Pauline Allred (2013), Joe Don Brave (2013), Joe Hall (2013), Donna Barone (2015), Herman "Moog" Lookout (2016), Johnny Williams (2016), Ryan Redcorn (2017), Archie L. Mason (2013 and 2017), and Eddy Red Eagle (2017).

<sup>57</sup> Robert E. Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology*. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, Oklahoma, 1986) 148, 151

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Americans for over thirty years. His ethnographic research culminated in his two-volume *Algic Researches* and his six-volume *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*.

Although it is uncertain if his published accounts of Smallin Cave attracted visitors in the 19th century, modern visitors often state they want to tour the cave specifically because of his account. While it is possible to visit some of the other caves described by Schoolcraft, only Smallin Cave allows visitors to closely follow his footsteps and stand where he stood during his important expedition, thus why it has been nominated under Criterion A: Exploration.

**Criterion A: Recreation**

The following text provides the context and argument to support Smallin Cave's local significance under Criterion A: Recreation through the remainder of the 1819-1966 period of significance after Schoolcraft's visit. While there are numerous accounts of picnics and social gatherings at Smallin Cave, one would be hard-pressed to consider some activities "recreational" by definition. For example, there are stories of Smallin Cave serving as a possible sanctuary from those fleeing from persecution. Likewise it may have been a resting space for soldiers or storage space for equipment during the Civil War. There is further evidence Smallin and Fielden caves were used for more practical purposes such as a source for water, building materials, food storage, and a place for washing. These activities would likely not fall under the umbrella of leisure.

In truth, the summations of these events within the Smallin Cave Historic District do not neatly fit under any one area of significance as defined by National Park Service guidance.<sup>58</sup> However, all accounts support that case that Smallin Cave was frequently and consistently used by the local population. Given the many accounts of Smallin Cave being a destination for nearby visitors during the period of significance, "Recreation" was chosen as the best area of significance to encapsulate Smallin Cave's significance since Schoolcraft's expedition.

**Smallin Cave and Silas Scruggs Stacey<sup>59</sup>**

We know from Schoolcraft's journal that the area was utilized by Native American tribes before and likely after his visit. Further, early settlers to the area, such as Holt and Fisher, knew about Smallin Cave. Thus it stands to reason the cave continued to be utilized by the local populace, such as it was at the time, during the early 1800s. In the early 1830s Smallin Cave became the temporary home of William and Rebecca Stacey and their young son Silas. Their story provides insight on Smallin Cave during the 1830s and its relationship to the surrounding landscape. Most notably it suggests Smallin Cave may have been used as temporary refuge for Native Americans who were persecuted through forced removal.

<sup>58</sup> See National Park Service (NPS) Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Form and/or NPS Bulletin 15: How to Apply National Register Criteria, both revised in 1997.

<sup>59</sup> "Stacey" and "Stacy" were used interchangeably in historic accounts to refer to the same family. Silas' middle name is sometimes recorded as Shruggs, although most family now contend Scruggs is correct.

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In the late 1700s, the Cherokee people had numerous settlements in what is now North Carolina, South Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and northeastern Georgia.<sup>60</sup> However, as white settlement expanded into these regions, white farmers eyed the Cherokee lands. President Andrew Jackson, whose military career, successful presidential campaign, and even life was, in part, due to the Cherokees, betrayed them by advocating the removal of the Cherokee. Junaluska, a Cherokee Chief who had saved Jackson's life at the Battle of Horse Shoe Bend, pleaded with Jackson who refused to listen. Junaluska said: "If I had known he would break his oath, I would have killed him that day at the Horse Shoe."<sup>61</sup>

The beginning of the removal was in 1831 and culminated in the forced march of 1838. Early in this process, a Cherokee-Irish family began the westward movement. William (Bill) Stacy, an Irishman, was married to Rebecca, a Cherokee woman with some Welsh ancestry. Before the family reached Indian Territory (Oklahoma), the family turned off and made the Ozarks their new home. The family's arrival was briefly recounted in the late 19th century by Silas Claiborn (S.C.) Turnbo:

"[William] Stacy came from Jackson County, Tennessee in 1832 and settled on the north bank of the James River near where an old wooden bridge was built across the stream some seven miles from Springfield. ...The foregoing accounts was given me by Dr. Silas S. Stacy son of Bill Stacy while he lived at Isabella, Ozark Co., Mo. in 1869."<sup>62</sup>

Turnbo further comments on the Stacys while discussing Forsyth in 1837 and the early settlement of Swan Creek:<sup>63</sup>

"I am told that Bill Stacy camped a few days on Swan Creek just above its mouth in 1834 and he settled in the head of this stream in 1836."<sup>64</sup>

Turnbo interviewed John H. Shipman about the early settlers on Finley Creek, of which Smallin Stream is a tributary, on August 30, 1906:

There is a place on Finley Creek known to the early settlers as the rock house where John Young, and Bill Stacy, father of Doctor Silas S. Stacy, and others were the first settlers in that immediate vicinity. The Cherokee Indians while moving to the territory used to camp under this shelving rock and sing their weird songs which put a move on the bats and screech owls and stirred them from their places of abode. It is said that several wagons could take shelter under this projecting cliff.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Thomas E. Mails, *The Cherokee People: The Story of the Cherokees from Earliest Origins to Contemporary Times*. (Marlowe & Company: New York, New York, 1996). 20

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 215

<sup>62</sup> James F. Keefe and Lynn Morrow (Selected and Edited by), *The White River Chronicles of S.C. Turnbo: Man and Wildlife on the Ozarks Frontier*. (The University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, 1994). 12

<sup>63</sup> The head of Swan creek is approximately 10 miles to the southeast of Smallin Cave near the present town of Oldfield, Missouri. Swan Creek flows due south, past Garrison, then a little west of Taneyville, and empties into the dammed White River valley, now Lake Taneycomo, at Forsyth, Missouri.

<sup>64</sup> Keefe and Morrow, 62

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 69-70

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This passage confirms the Stacy family association with Smallin Cave. It also provides the settler name for the cave: Rock House. Finally, it testifies to the presence of other Cherokee visiting, and singing, in the cave.

This pre-1838 timeline for the Stacy's arrival was supported in Dr. Silas S. Stacey's own account "Old Times in Old Taney" published in the Taney County [Missouri] Republican on December 10, 1903. It contains wonderful details about his life near Smallin Cave:

My father, Bill Stacey, with a party of hunters, camped at the mouth of the Swan in 1834. I think it was on that exciting night that the stars fell. About 1836 my father settled on the head of Swan.  
...The country was full of game - bear, deer, turkey and bees - the creek alive with fish. A few struggling Indians roamed the country.  
We made our meal by pounding corn in a mortar. Later on hand mills [that] were constructed from native stone. Our moccasin leather was tanned in troughs. Sugar was made from sugar trees. What medicine we used was white walnut bark pills, boneset, and bail willow tea for the chills. We had no doctors whereby any of us could be killed.  
...There was nothing to mar the peace of the pioneer except panthers, wolves, snakes and ticks, all of which were readily met by Indian tactics.  
...I will here state that I was a federal soldier, and am now a pensioner.  
...I have never lived more than sixty miles from Forsyth, and spent my best days in Greene, Christian, Ozark, Taney and Douglas counties.  
...S. S. Stacey, M.D.  
Willcockson, Ark.<sup>66</sup>

Silas Stacey's "exciting night that the stars fell," which he remembered as 1834, may have been the "great meteoric display" on November 13, 1833.<sup>67</sup> Thus, between 1869 and 1903, Silas' recollection of his family's migration does not significantly change. Although later writers, including Walter Lackey<sup>68</sup>, Elmo Ingenthron<sup>69</sup>, and his own granddaughter Dorothy Stacey Cummings<sup>70</sup>, tried to date the migration of the Staceys to the forced march of 1838, contemporary sources, and Silas himself, date the migration to 1832. It is likely then that William and Rebecca Stacey camped in Smallin Civil War Cave in 1833, when Silas was five years old.

William Stacey's son, Dr. Silas S. Stacey, was profiled by his granddaughter, Dorothy Stacey Cummings, in her article "Silas Shruggs [sic] Stacey - Involuntary Pioneer" published in the

<sup>66</sup> "Old Times in Old Taney" published in the Taney County [Missouri] Republican on December 10, 1903.

<sup>67</sup> Keefe and Morrow. 49-51

<sup>68</sup> Lackey, Walter F. Lackey, *History of Newton County, Arkansas*. (The School of the Ozarks Press: Point Lookout, Missouri, 1950) 385

<sup>69</sup> Elmo Ingenthron, *Indians of the Ozark Plateau*. (The School of the Ozarks Press: Point Lookout, Missouri, 1970) 98

<sup>70</sup> Dorothy Cummings, "Silas Shruggs [sic] Stacey - Involuntary Pioneer." *White River Valley Historical Quarterly* (1) 3: 1962. 11 (Accessed July 8, 2015 from <http://thelibrary.org/lochist/periodicals/wrv/V1/N3/Sp62j.htm>)

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"White River Valley Historical Quarterly (1962)." Her account was used by Elmo Ingenthron in his book, "Indians of the Ozark Plateau (1970)." Since Ingenthron was president of the White River Historical Society and Cummings was the editor of its publication, it seems likely they collaborated on Ingenthron's biography of Silas. As Ingenthron relates:

Dr. Stacey, the son of William and Rebecca Stacey, was born in Jackson County, Tennessee, January 20, 1828. He was no more than ten years old when his father and Cherokee mother started their long trek westward to the Indian Territory. They joined a westbound caravan at Hopkinsville, Kentucky, traveling with it to Springfield, Missouri, where by accident or design they departed from the group. They lived for a time in Smallen [sic] Cave, a spacious cavern on Finley Creek, near Ozark."<sup>71</sup>

Cummings stated, "The Staceys stayed at the cavern a short time, then moved to the head of Swan Creek."<sup>72</sup> Yet she also includes a comment in her work that "Indians in their travels stopped and stayed with the Staceys in the cavern."<sup>73</sup> It is likely these were other escapees from the Trail of Tears that included not only the Cherokee, but the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Creek, as well. So the cave was a shelter for not just the Staceys during this period of mistreatment, but other Native Americans as well.

Silas Stacey would later live in other locations in the Ozarks and would join the Union Army during the Civil War. After the war, he began to practice medicine in Isabella, Missouri. Ingenthron speculated, thus:

Dr. Stacey looked the part of his Indian ancestry and was probably referred to as the Indian doctor. If so, it would have been an asset to him. For people at that time looked upon Indian remedies as possessing some magic power of healing and may have felt the same way about an Indian doctor. After enjoying a successful practice in Missouri, Dr. Stacey moved to Newton County, Arkansas, where he continued to practice his profession and engaged in a number of business enterprises."<sup>74</sup>

Cummings commented further on his medical training: "Either before or during this period of service [in the Union Army], he received some training as a surgeon. Later, using formulas for compounding herbs and roots given to him by his Cherokee mother, he began practicing medicine without benefit of a diploma."<sup>75</sup> Donald Harrington, in his book "Let Us Build a City: Eleven Lost Towns" elaborates on the source and scope of this knowledge. "[After the Civil War, Silas] began administering compounds of herbs and roots learned from his mother, who had learned them from a tribesman named Wofford."<sup>76</sup> In Newton County, Arkansas, Dr. Stacey began pursuing herbal medicine in earnest.

<sup>71</sup> Ingenthron, 98

<sup>72</sup> Cummings, 12

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ingenthron, 98

<sup>75</sup> Cummings, 12

<sup>76</sup> Donald Harrington, *Let us Build a City: Eleven Lost Towns*. (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, University of Virginia, VA. 1986.) 114

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[On his property near Marble City he grew] all of the two hundred known species indigenous to the Ozarks..., and he hired people to pick them: mandrake, bloodroot, goldenseal, black snakeroot, lobelia gentian, sarsaparilla, ephedra, ginseng, springnet, senega, stramonium, colocynth, wahoo, wakefield crud, wafer ash, pleurisy root, catnip, horehound, pennyroyal. From a select mixture of these, compounds and distillations, he not only treated and cured his own patients but secured a patent for 'Dr. S. S. Stacey's Sulphur Mountain Bitters' [and]...'Dr. S. S. Stacey's Perfection Universal Golden Elixir,' found in every home's medical supplies but never perfect according to him, for he kept doing the stuff one better by adding one more ingredient each year of his life. ...[He] concocted a 'Dr. S. S. Stacey's Black Nonesuch Draught,' which sold for years afterward as a death cure; it did not, however, cure Silas's ailment, and he was buried with sorrow [at age 87 in 1915].<sup>77</sup>

Thus, the long career of a Cherokee medicine man came to an end. Since Silas mentioned using plants near the cave in his 1903 article, and many of the medicinal plants he used in Arkansas grow near the cave, it is possible some of his training in traditional Cherokee medicine occurred in and around Smallin Cave. Although Silas has long since left the stage of Smallin Cave, his numerous descendants proudly revisit the site every year and leave their names in the Stacey family register they have established in the Visitor's Center.

### **Pioneers Come to Smallin Cave**

Christian County was created from portions of Webster, Greene, and Taney Counties in 1859. The town of Ozark, which appears to have already been established in the 1840s, would serve as the county seat.<sup>78</sup> Ozark is 2.5 miles south-southwest of Smallin Cave.

According to a 1870s history of the county, 1822 was roughly around the time of the first settlement.

Two years previous to that time, John and William Pettijohn, formerly of Gallia county, Ohio, came to this county on a trapping and hunting expedition....While prior to 1822 the Osages and other Indians, visited this country as a hunting ground it does not appear that it was held or occupied as the abode of any particular persons or people prior to 1822. In the early part of this year John Pettijohn, Jr, the father of our present county and circuit clerk, made a settlement on the James at what is now known as the Berry Gibson place.<sup>79</sup>

By 1840 settlers from southwest and east of the country began to make their homes in Christian County. By the 1850s Ozark had a population of 100, and supported a drug store, grist and sawmill, three dry good and general stores, a school, and two blacksmiths.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. 116-117.

<sup>78</sup> James R. Vaughan, J.J. Gideon, W.H. Pollard, A History of Christian County, Missouri prepared by James R. Vaughan, J.J. Gideon, W.H. Pollard and read by the former at a celebration at Ozark, MO, July 4th, 1876. (Ozark, E.E. Patterson, Christian County Library, 1893), 1, 4.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 5.

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By 1870 the population of Christian County was 6,707. Of this number 114 were African American.<sup>81</sup>

The same early history describes the county thusly:

Christian County contains within her limits 561 square miles... The surface of the county is undulating and in many places hilly. The chief occupation of the inhabitants is and always has been agriculture... Wheat, corn, oats, tobacco, livestock, fruits, and lead ore are the principal products of the county. Considerable numbers of neat cattle, horses, mules, hogs and sheep are raised and are, with the exception of mules, generally disposed of at St. Louis or Springfield.<sup>82</sup>

Since Christian County was primarily agricultural in nature, it is no surprise that the first recorded owners of the Smallin Cave property were farmers. As mentioned, Schoolcraft and Pettibone were guided to Smallin Cave by Holt and Fisher, who lived near modern Taneyville, Missouri.<sup>83</sup> While Holt and Fisher may have been the earliest known pioneers to visit the cave, they would certainly not be the last. The ownership of that precise land at the time is difficult to ascertain. Certainly many families, whose names are associated with the cave, have owned adjoining properties.

Local historian Wayne Glenn, in "Christian County History A to Z," states that "In this pioneer era the ownership of such a large cave meant little to farmers trying to make a living 'off' the soil. Yes, there was a nice spring running out of the cave and it was a great place to refrigerate food and a great place to dwell in times of storm-beyond that the cave was a nuisance!"<sup>84</sup> While Glenn makes note of some of the useful features, it is unclear why he thinks the farmers considered it a "nuisance." Other features associated with the cave clearly made it an asset.

For instance, ownership carried an important feature: naming rights. Eldridge Gerry "E. G." Smallin and his wife Jane Stapp Smallin settled in the area in 1853. (There is an inscription in the cave of "CB Stapp" that could feasibly be a relation of Jane Stapp that is highlighted in Figure 42 below.) The Smallins bought the cave from John McHaffie in 1867 "as an addition to land they already owned."<sup>85</sup> "It was then, and is now, a typical Ozarks tradition, that family names were often bestowed on natural landmarks, hollers, roads, springs, etc. This old practice both sets those features apart for identification, and just as importantly, honors and commemorates the presence of those families who dwelled in the immediate vicinity. The presence of the Smallin family was indeed a long lasting one in the area."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.,14.

<sup>83</sup> Rafferty, 67, 76-81

<sup>84</sup> Wayne Glenn, *Christian County History A to Z: From One End to the Other*. (Litho Printers: Cassville, Missouri, 2011.) 350

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Bright, 40



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The Smallin family was apparently well-liked by members of the community.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps their legacy had something to do with this status and why the cave retains their name to this day. Elbridge Gerry and Elizabeth Smallin helped provide funding for the first school in their township on August 8, 1867. One son, Quincy Smallin, was a favorite music teacher and composer.<sup>88</sup> Just recently, staff at the cave discovered the name "Q A SMALLIN" (Figure 42) inscribed on "The Throne," a depression in the flowstone just to the left of the Indian Ladder.<sup>89</sup> Near the name is an inscription of "66". Given this information, the inscription is believed to be attributed to Quincy Smallin in 1866.

Another son, Jonathan Tipton "Tip" Smallin served during the Civil War in Company M of the 16th Missouri Calvary for the Union under Captain George W. Taylor. He was reportedly captured and tortured for information by Quantrell's bushwhackers, but he refused to speak. At the last minute, Tip Smallin was spared by the infamous Union Spy "Wild Bill" Hickock who convinced them Tip was a Confederate.<sup>90</sup>

Although the Smallin holdings began to decline in the 1880s, their name would henceforward be connected to Smallin Cave.

<sup>87</sup> Personal Interview with Kathryn Parson by Eric Fuller, 2016.

<sup>88</sup> Bright, 40-41

<sup>89</sup> To see the area known as "The Throne" see Figure 10 in Section 7. The Throne is a small depression that appears in Figure 10 as a dark discoloration or "brown smudge" three or so feet above the pool and to the left of Wanetta Bright.

<sup>90</sup> Shields Valley Record, June 29, 1923

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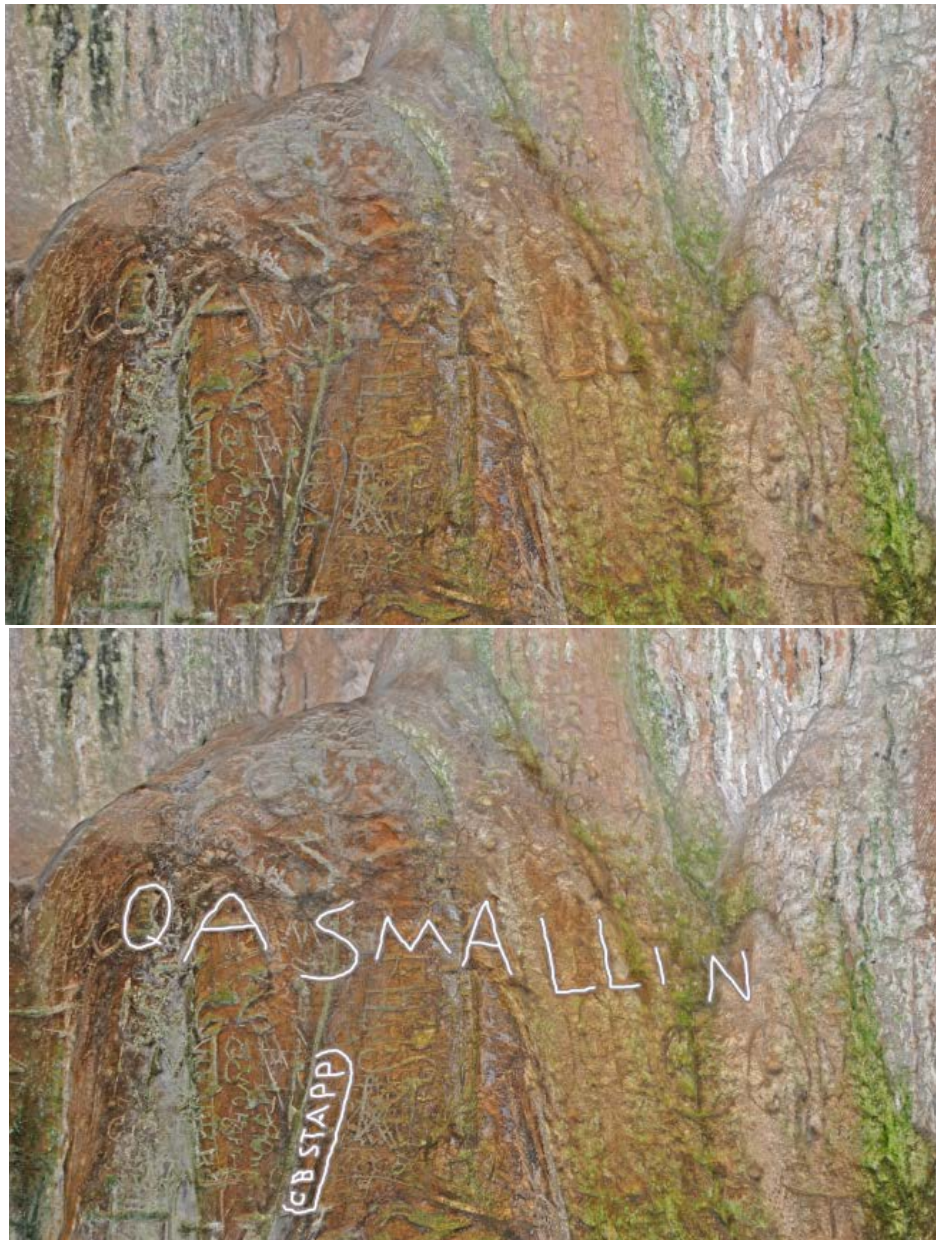


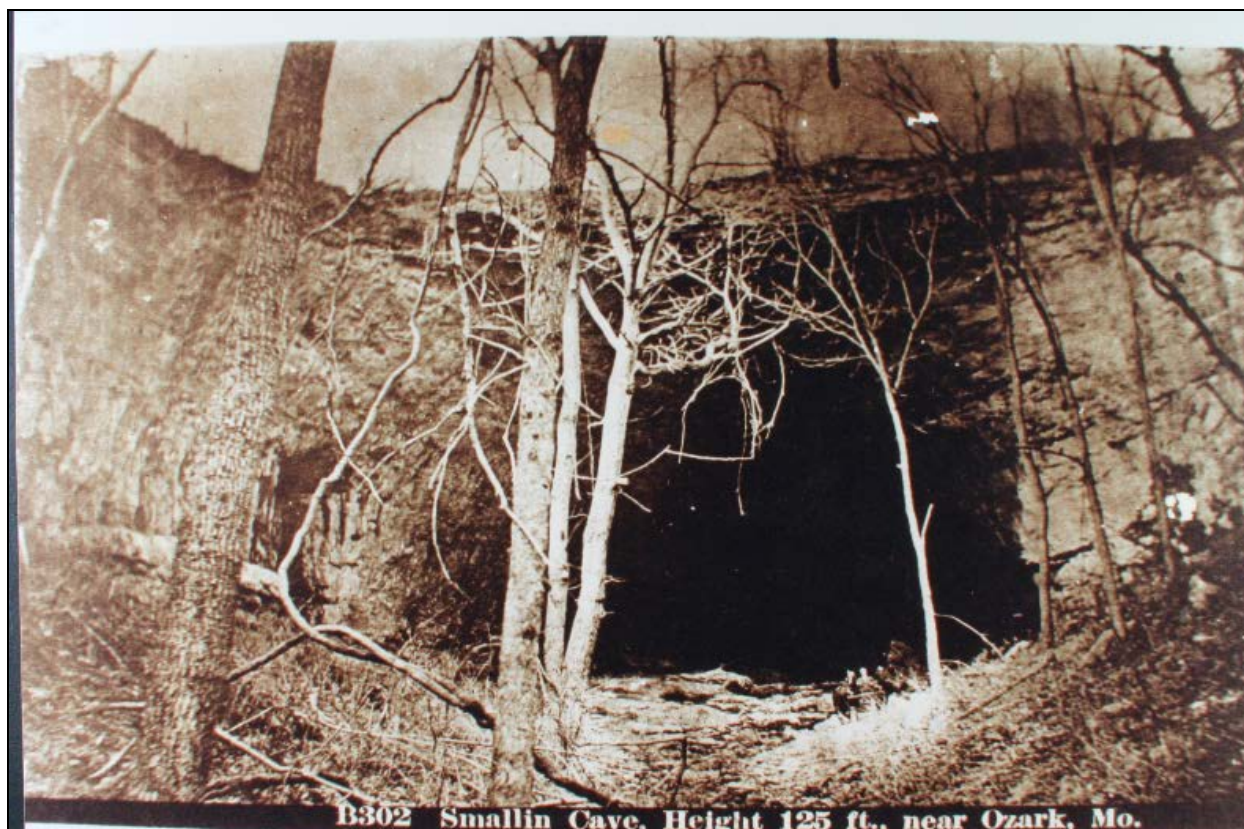
Figure 42: Inscription of Q A SMALLIN and CB STAPP. Bottom image has been edited to outline inscriptions. Images by Eric Fuller, 2017.

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While Wayne Glenn seems to begrudgingly acknowledge the presence of the "nice spring running out of the cave," this feature should not be underestimated. In her book, current owner Wanneta Bright comments, "One old faded photograph shows a wagon coming right up the creek bed to the cave; the barrels in the back give good indication that the driver was tapping into that clean, sparkling 'fountain' to take some home to drink. Perhaps the use by the pioneers as a source of drinking water is the reason that some called the cave 'Fountain Cave,' as referenced in an old 1874 document."<sup>91</sup> (Figure 43).



**Figure 43: Undated image of Smallin Cave.** In the bottom right corner a horse and wagon can just be made out, Image courtesy of Kevin and Wanetta Bright, 2017.

A Civil War era map, attributed to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, also identifies the cave as Fountain Cave.<sup>92</sup> Even during times of extended drought, when all the local creeks are bone dry, the current owners have noticed that the pool of water from 500 to 600 feet inside the cave

<sup>91</sup> Bright, 41-42

<sup>92</sup> Springfield-Greene County Library District, 2009. Christian County map courtesy of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield., from the "Community & Conflict: The Impact of the Civil War in the Ozarks" website. <http://www.ozarkscivilwar.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/christian.jpg>. Accessed March 13, 2017.

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never dries up. After purchasing the cave, they found a pipe<sup>93</sup> leading from this pool towards the mouth, possibly used to siphon water during drought. During periods of drought, the Finley River becomes stagnant and murky. Smallin Cave may have been one of the best sources for clear drinking water.

Smallin Civil War Cave was more than just a shelter during times of storm. Bright comments that "...during the earliest arrivals of the settlers, the cave was used as a temporary camp while log cabins were being built. ...The fine, naturally dense clay found in certain areas of the cave would have been valuable... to the pioneers for chinking their log cabins."<sup>94</sup>

### **Smallin Cave and the Civil War**

Both the Stacey and the Smallin families were caught up in the great drama that soon rocked the entire nation, the conflict between the states, the Civil War. The state of Missouri was to see its share of fighting and bloodshed. And while the winds of war blew all around, Smallin Cave served as a shelter during those turbulent times for the actors who were soldiers, civilians, and even spies.

In February of 1862, six months after the Battle of Wilson's Creek, Confederate forces were driven out of Springfield, Missouri and into northern Arkansas. General Egbert Benson Brown became the commander of the Union operations in Springfield, overseeing four forts used to hold the city and house supplies and soldiers. General Brown wanted a southern perimeter guard watching the road that came out of northern Arkansas. In the village of Ozark, he established a Union camp that was his namesake: Camp Brown. Stationed at Camp Brown was the 14th Regiment of the Missouri Cavalry Militia, Company H, under the command of Captain Milton Burch.

In the fall of 2011, a local resident, Eugene "Gene" Scott, now deceased, told current owners, Kevin and Wanetta Bright, that when he was a little boy his grandfather told him that when he was a child, he sat on the ledge above Smallin Cave and watched as a troop of Union soldiers rode up the valley to visit the cave.<sup>95</sup> This same grandfather was also present at the hanging of the Bald Knobbers (discussed below) in Ozark. Another elderly gentleman told the Brights that when he was a young child playing in the cave he found Confederate money in the cave.<sup>96</sup> These tidbits of oral history give tantalizing glimpses into local Civil War social history.

More tangible evidence of the Civil War is present in the historic carvings inside the cave. Listed on the roster of the Camp Brown in Ozark, Missouri is the name Sergeant William McCoy. This may be the same William McCoy recorded on the wall of Smallin Civil War Cave as "Wm. McCoy." William's brother, Benjamin, has descendants that have sent a letter to the current owners of Smallin Cave verifying the reliability of his being in Smallin Cave during the Civil War.

<sup>93</sup> The date of the pipe is unknown but current owner Kevin Bright estimates it to be from the 1950s.

<sup>94</sup> Bright, 41. According to the current owners, several visitors to the cave claim a 1880s-1890s cabin nearby was chinked with clay from Smallin Cave. Unfortunately, the cabin was lost to arson in 2013.

<sup>95</sup> Bright, 93

<sup>96</sup> Kevn Bright, personal communication. March 18, 2017.

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Yet, the idea that the cave was used by Civil War soldiers has been contradicted by some local residents:

Ninety-five year-old Parch Corn Holler resident, Miss Kathryn (Wills) Parsons remembers her grandmother scoffing at the notion of Union troops hiding at Smallin. 'Funny how all those soldiers managed to stay secret with us washing our clothes there every Monday,' her grandmother had said.<sup>97</sup>

There are a few reasons why her grandmother, Lula Finkbiner, might have made this statement. First, the men of Camp Brown would have been issued the usual wool pants, wool jacket, and wool hats that comprised a Union soldiers uniform. Such clothing is fine during colder weather, but during the summer months it can be unbearable. It is likely the men sought ways to cool off and Smallin Cave would have provided a wonderful opportunity. A contemporary map, held by Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, shows the cave listed as "Fountain Cave."

It is unlikely they would have picked the day of the week when married women were known to do their wash. It is not out of the question they chose a different day.

Second, the showmanship of an Illinois lawyer named Joseph I. Bulger undermined the true history of the cave, when he purchased the property in the early 1960s to operate a tourism site. (Further details about this tourism venture are discussed below.) Joseph Bulger had made unsupportable statements about the cave being used to store munitions which were used during the Battle of Wilson's Creek of 1861.

Perhaps the best evidence for Civil War carvings that pre-date Bulgar's activities comes from a 1929 newspaper article. Drury College (now University) used to conduct field trips to the cave. Historic photographs, and even a "DRURY" inscription, serve as evidence for the presence of Drury students. One particular trip proved to be particularly important. As reported in the Sedalia Democrat on May 22, 1929 in an article titled "Kenneth Decker in Cave Exploration":

...By crawling their way through the small tunnels of the long and historic Smallin's cave yesterday afternoon, two miles northeast of Ozark, Kenneth Decker and James Grigg, Drury biology students... found several bits of writing on the walls. The date "1862," followed by "the 24<sup>th</sup> regiment." It is believed Civil war troops used the cave for storage of ammunition and supplies...One of the large rooms possessed a stone stairway leading from the floor to a high ledge, presumably cut out by early Indians.<sup>98</sup>

The account demonstrates that Civil War inscriptions were present in Smallin Cave before Joseph Bulgar's commercial tourism business. The inscription "24<sup>th</sup> regiment" was most likely a misread of "14<sup>th</sup> regiment" considering the top and bottom extensions given to 19<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>97</sup> Joshua Heston, "Smallin Cave" *State of the Ozarks Journal*, October 29, 2010 and September 14, 2011. Hollister, Missouri. Website: [stateoftheozarks.net/natural/caves/smallin\\_cave.php](http://stateoftheozarks.net/natural/caves/smallin_cave.php) (accessed April 26, 2017)

<sup>98</sup> Sedalia Democrat, May 22, 1929. In the summer of 2017, Eric Fuller, staff archaeologist at Smallin Cave, recently tried to find this inscription. While there are several candidates in the numerous carvings in Smallin Cave, there have been so many inscriptions and wear over the years that he cannot verify these inscriptions for certain.

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versions of the numeral one. Since 1862 was the exact year that the 14<sup>th</sup> regiment was located at Camp Brown in Ozark, this report appears to confirm that members of that unit visited Smallin Cave. It is also interesting to note the presence of the feature known as the "Indian Ladder" which was attributed then, as now, to Native Americans.

Just recently on September 1, 2017, a visitor to Smallin Cave spotted what appears to be a Civil War-era bullet, an unfired .69 caliber mine ball, along the western wall of the cave. Further analysis is needed but this piece of evidence could further support the notion the cave was used for military purposes during the Civil War.

Finally, there is a story about the cave serving as a hang-out of a Union Spy. John Jefferson Clark Breazeale was one of the most important community leaders in 19th century Christian County, Missouri. He served two terms as sheriff, one term in the Missouri State Legislature, and formed the Bank of Ozark. During the Civil War, Breazeale enlisted in Company C of the 72nd Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia and likely fought in the Battle of Springfield on January 8, 1863.<sup>99</sup> One family descendant, Amma Alveeta Cave Treon (nee Tyler), wrote one interesting note about Breazeale: "John J. Brazeale fought in [the] Civil War for the North, mainly as a spy. He spent a lot of that time during the Civil War hiding out in Smallin Cave near Ozark, MO and in a hole in his back yard."<sup>100</sup>

Sharon Cave Rogers, a Breazeale family historian, claims her mother Alveeta hand wrote this note probably while she was in communication with Lois Davis Plotts, another family historian, sometime in the 1960s. Sharon Cave Rogers later crossed out the story her mother recorded because she could not find documentation to prove the spy account. However, an inability to find documents to support the spy account does not mean the story is untrue. If such documentation exists, it is likely in the National Archives and would require an extensive search.

While the site of Smallin Cave was not a battlefield, it has ties, both direct and indirect, to that period of conflict. Whether it was the rest and relaxation sought by the troops of Camp Brown and the hero Tip Smallin, or the possible espionage carried about by John Breazeale, the cave saw its share of actors and action during that great drama of our nation.

### **Smallin Cave after the Civil War**

In the years following the Civil War, Christian County was sometimes peaceful, sometimes violent. Local folklore includes accounts that indicate Smallin Cave was used as a meeting place by the Bald Knobbers. The Bald Knobbers were a group of vigilantes that first started to

<sup>99</sup> Sharon Cave Rogers. "John Jefferson Clark Breazeale." *Union True: Stories and Photos of the Ancestors of Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War 1861-1865*, Mary Whitney Phelps Tent No. 22. Edited by Frances Carver Black. Litho Printers & Bindery: Cassville, Missouri. 2015. 56-60

<sup>100</sup> Courtesy of Sharon Cave Rogers. 2017. Unpublished manuscript on the Breazeale Kin. Contributions by Elizabeth Breazeale, Lois Davis Plotts, Sharon Cave Rogers, and Amma Alveeta Cave Treon. Personal Communication with Eric C. Fuller, January 24 and 27, 2017.

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the south in Taney County, Missouri in January, 1885.<sup>101</sup> The group was largely, although not entirely, composed of former Union sympathizers or soldiers who often meted out justice on former Confederates. During the summer of 1885, a Bald Knobber chapter was started in Christian County under the leadership of "Bull Creek Dave Walker."<sup>102</sup> Smallin Cave is the one of the few caves in the area big enough to have been used by a large group of men that numbered more than 600 members.<sup>103</sup> On March 20, 2017, Lee Walker of Chadwick, Missouri, a direct descendant of Gat Walker, David Walker's brother, stated he had heard stories of Smallin Cave being used by the Bald Knobbers.<sup>104</sup> While the cave primarily associated with the Bald Knobbers is located near to Sparta, Smallin Cave may have been a secondary site. However, there is no direct evidence of these activities. An inscription of "D R WALKER" has been located in the cave but given the middle initial this is not likely not David Columbus Walker, the Bald Knobber leader.

While the Bald Knobbers were engaged in conflict around and possibly in Smallin Cave, it was also the site of more peaceful gatherings. Two sisters, Kathryn Wills Parson and Harriet Wills have shared numerous stories about the cave from their childhood memories. In September 2016, the owners and staff of Smallin Civil War Cave celebrated Kathryn's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday at the cave. Kathryn's earliest memory is as a four- year old when her father would load up the family in the back of their buckboard and come to the cave on Sundays for a picnic, with everyone else in the area. After all, it was the only air conditioning anyone had a hundred years ago.

Kathryn remembers Quincy ("Uncle Quince") Smallin, son of E.G. Smallin and his wife Jane Stapp who was born in 1852, the year the Smallins arrived by wagon train. Quincy wrote a song in 1931 called "Down on the Beautiful Finley".<sup>105</sup>

Kathryn Parson's sister, Harriet Wills also remembers the picnics at the cave but unlike her sister she was afraid to enter the cave because of a story she had heard about a local lady who was nearly crushed at the entrance to the cave many years earlier when her washtub was crushed by a falling boulder at the entrance. Both sisters remember their grandmother Lula Finkbiner doing her laundry on Monday mornings at the cave entrance.<sup>106</sup>

Picnics and parties at Smallin Cave were surely enjoyed by more than just this one family. One indication is the amount of broken bottles found at the mouth of the cave. The Brights removed several five gallon buckets of bottle glass before reopening. Even to this day, fragments of old

<sup>101</sup> Lucille Morris Upton. *Bald Knobbers*. (The Caxton Printers, Ltd: Caldwell, Idaho. 1939). 48

<sup>102</sup> F. McConkey. *The Bald Knobbers or Citizen's Committee of Taney and Christian Counties, Missouri*. (Groom & McConkey: Forsyth, Missouri. 1887) 44.; Upton 1939, 71

<sup>103</sup> Upton 1939, 110.

<sup>104</sup> Personal communication with Lee Walker by Eric Fuller, March 20, 2017.

<sup>105</sup> Christian County Library Archives, 2017.

<sup>106</sup> Personal communication between Harriet Wills and Eric Fuller in 2016 and on March 29, 2017.

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glass and occasionally china are exposed through erosion. The glass seems to primarily date from the middle to late 20<sup>th</sup> century, however fragments of crockery and ironstone ware from the middle to late 19<sup>th</sup> century are also present. While some of the material may have been washed in via sinkholes, many of these artifacts were found well above flood levels. Yet written records of these gatherings are extremely rare.

One such account was recorded by Lucile Morris Upton. For decades, Upton wrote a column in the News & Leader newspaper in Springfield, Missouri called "The Good Old Days." Upton would scour fifty year old copies of Springfield newspapers to create a fictionalized letter between a character named "Celia" and her aunt. The column was a form of historical fiction based on Upton's research.

On April 20, 1947, Upton began her fictional letter, thus:

Springfield, Mo. April 20, 1897.

Dearest Auntie: We appreciated the pleasant weather for Easter Sunday, April 18, and all our churches had good attendance. The usual new Easter bonnets, lovely floral decorations, and beautiful music made the day outstanding.

Smallin cave on Finley creek, three miles above Ozark, was the scene of Easter picnics attended by many people from Rogersville and other nearby neighborhoods. The affair had been planned since last year. Now it is agreed that the cave, one of the largest in the Ozarks, will be the scene of an annual egg roast. Bushels of eggs were cooked at the mouth of the cavern this year.

Smallin cave has a wonderful entrance. It was visited by the explorer Schoolcraft in the winter of 1819 when only one adventurous white trapper by the name of Finley had made his home so far northward from the White River.<sup>107</sup>

It would be ideal to locate the original account that Upton used to create her letter. However, the April through June 1897 issues of the Springfield (Missouri) Leader - Democrat went missing before the series was microfilmed. The contemporary Springfield Republican and Springfield Weekly Republican newspapers did not cover the event. Upton's 1947 retelling of the 1897 Easter picnic is the only surviving account. However, there is pictorial evidence of the cave being a recreational spot for locals. Below are two images of visitors from the Victorian Era visiting the cave (Figure 44).

<sup>107</sup> Lucille Morris Upton. "The Good Old Days: April 20, 1897." *News & Leader [Springfield, Missouri]*, April 20, 1947, page 4B.



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**Figure 44: Victorian Era photos of visitors in Smallin Cave.** On the left is a man in stovetop hat and on the right the people are dressed in Victorian garb. Images from Smallin Cave Civil War Website, Accessed September 17, 2017.

In the 1912 “Plat Book of Christian County, Missouri,” the Smallin Civil War Cave property is listed as the Fielden Cave Farm consisting of 120 acres.<sup>108</sup> As was indicated in the Springfield Missouri Republican article of May 21, 1921, Smallin Cave was sometimes called Fielden Cave. Currently, the name “Fielden Cave” is bestowed to a smaller cave about 100 yards to the east of Smallin Cave (within the nominated district). It is named after the Fielden family who once owned the property and used the smaller cave for storage.

One of the unusual and distinctive features of the current Fielden Cave is the ‘refrigerator’ or spring box in the stream bed. Descendants of the Fielden family who homesteaded here in the 1890s have explained to the cave staff that the Fieldens used a pick axe to dig a hole in the stream bed. They then built a wooden box with a wooden lid and placed it in the hole. Inside the wooden box they placed crockery for their eggs, butter and milk. Because the stream inside the cave contains water all year, even during a drought, they always had a useable ‘refrigerator’. Descendants of the Fielden family among other local residents have shared stories of other spring boxes still in use in the area. When the entrance to Fielden Cave was excavated in 2012 the top layers of mud contained old broken glass and pottery, indicating the use of the cave’s spring-box (Figure 45).

<sup>108</sup> “Plat Book of Christian County Missouri, 1912” (Western Publishing Co., Chicago. 1912). 9

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Figure 45: Visible piece of spring box in Fielden Cave, Image taken by Kevin Bright, 2016.

### Smallin Cave in the Twentieth Century

Locals often visited the site to better appreciate its significance (Figure 47). One of the earliest reports is from the Springfield Missouri Republican of May 21, 1921 where the Springfield Missouri University Club visited on an excursion to many historic sites. It was reported:

Winoka cave, called, also Fountain, Fielden's, and Smallen's cave is situated near the center of the southwest quarter of section 12, township 27, range 21, on a small branch of the Finley river.<sup>109</sup> It has two openings nearly a mile apart. Through the lower orifice a small stream flows to form a little creek. The mouth of this cave is about 90 feet high and over 100 feet broad, rapidly narrowing a few hundred feet within. ...Formerly the county road passed over the top of this cave. Beautiful views may be seen by following the trail on the west side of the gorge down the branch two or three hundred feet, from which point a gradual ascent leads to a trail along the edge of the gorge back to the top

<sup>109</sup> As previously noted, there is also another cave currently bearing the "Fielden" name in the nominated district.

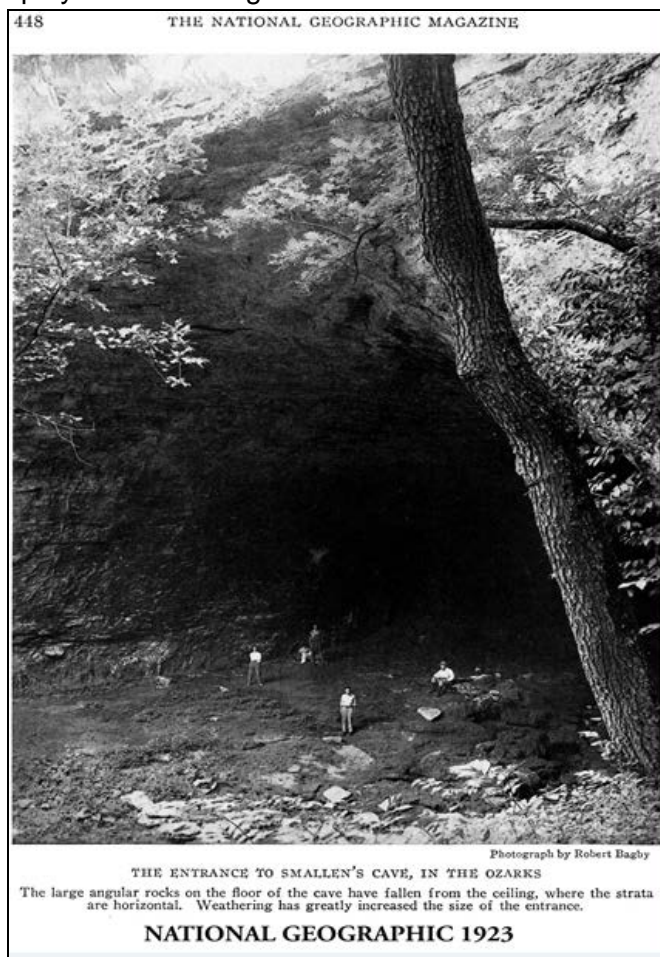
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of the cave. It is dangerous to walk too near the edge of the roof of the cave.<sup>110</sup>

Smallin Cave gained national attention in April of 1923. National Geographic magazine featured an article entitled "Missouri, Mother of the West".<sup>111</sup> On page 448 was a full page photograph of Smallin Cave (Figure 46). The accompanying text read: "THE ENTRANCE TO SMALLEN'S CAVE, IN THE OZARKS. The large angular rocks on the floor of the cave have fallen from the ceiling, where the strata are horizontal. Weathering has greatly increased the size of the entrance." This article was undoubtedly a source of native Missourian pride and the photograph surely drew even more players to the stage of Smallin Cave.



**Figure 46: Page 448 of the Volume XLIII, Number 4, National Geographic, 1923.** Image From Smallin Civil War Cave website, accessed September 19, 2017.

The Macon [Missouri] Republican on Friday, October 17, 1924 reviewed the historical and

<sup>110</sup> Springfield Missouri Republican of May 21, 1921

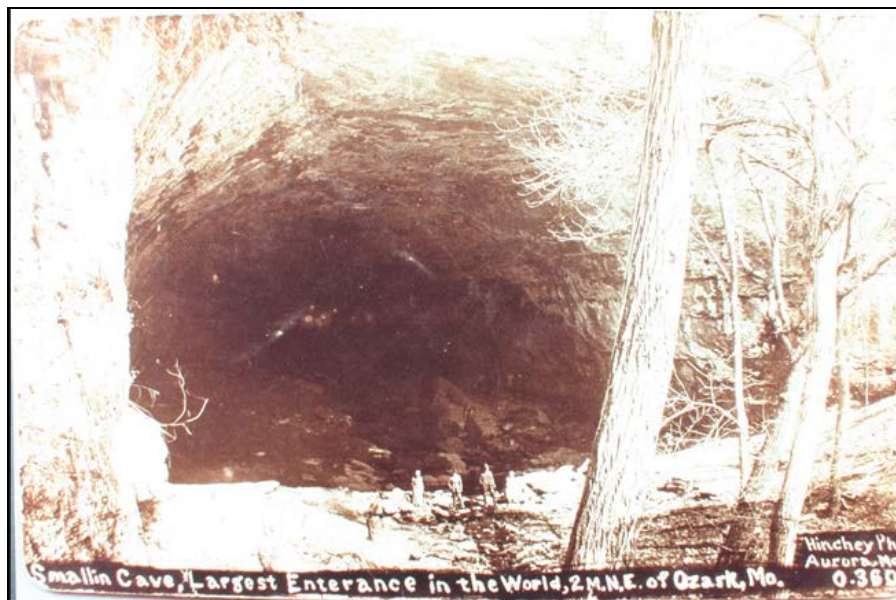
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geological merits of Smallin Cave. It made special note of the recent National Geographic photograph. However, social use is revealed in one short sentence: "The stream trickling from the mouth is fine for drinking purposes and the location is one of the favorites for picnic parties."<sup>112</sup>

On February 23, 1927, the Springfield Daily News of Springfield, Missouri carried a lengthy, and somewhat colorful, description of a tour made by local reporter Edward Eddy and his guide Oscar. Vivid descriptions of the "finest and largest entrance," "two miniature waterfalls" and then one that sounded like "Niagara's father," and "an incomplete stalactite but what looked for all the world like a monstrous, ferocious tooth" filled his account.<sup>113</sup> This report was one of several over the years that would encourage local visitors to the cave. On September 11, 1938, "Smallin cave, 16 miles south on highway 65," was one of six large caves within a 50-mile radius of Springfield recommended to readers of the *News & Leader* (See Cave Comparison subsection below for more information on nearby caves).<sup>114</sup>



**Figure 47: Undated photo "Smallin Cave Largest Entrance in the World".** According to the online description there are lanterns and candles at the back of the cave for illumination. Source: Smallin Civil War Cave Website, Accessed September 17, 2017

<sup>111</sup> Frederick Simpich. *Missouri, Mother of the West*. (National Geographic. Volume XLIII, Number 4, April 1923). 421-460

<sup>112</sup> The Macon [Missouri] Republican, "Smallin Cave". October 17, 1924. pg. 9. *Newspapers.com*, Accessed March 2, 2017.

<sup>113</sup> Edward Eddy. "The Watchtower" Springfield Daily News, Springfield, Missouri, February 23, 1927, page 4. Accessed from *Newspapers.com* on March 2, 2017.

<sup>114</sup> News & Leader. "Six Large Caves Lie in Springfield Area." *News & Leader*, Springfield, Missouri, Sunday, September 11, 1938, section B, page 8.

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As mentioned above local resident Harriet Willis recalls visiting Smallin Cave as evidenced by her photo in the Black Walnut "Marker Tree" in 1941 (Figure 38). There are also images of visitors posing in front of Disappointment Cave just east of Smallin Cave's entrance (within the district). One such photo, likely from the 1930s, is currently on display in the Visitor's Center.

Perhaps one of the oddest recommendations regarding Smallin Cave came on the eve of the United States joining World War II. In a Springfield Daily News article entitled "Hide in Ozarks Caves If Air Raiders Come?" dated June 12, 1940, the following question was posed:

What would you do if you heard the scream of a siren, warning Springfield and the Ozarks that enemy bombers were dropping death-dealing missiles over this area? Military experts probably would agree under present conditions that the safest place would be in open fields. However, State Representative Don C. Grafton, democrat from Joplin, would have people rush for Ozarks caves and mines. Yesterday Grafton asked Governor Lloyd C. Stark to recommend that the legislature investigate the possibility of using the caves and mines in the Ozarks for air raid shelters and safety zones.<sup>115</sup>

The author of the article was Vance Criss, former newspaper man and freelance writer whose hobby was caves, discussed several potential cave sites, including Smallin Cave: "Another cave is Smallin's, 15 miles southeast of Springfield. The entrance there is 100 feet wide, Criss said, but the passage gets smaller as it goes back."<sup>116</sup> Despite this speculation, there is no record of Smallin Cave being used as an air raid shelter.

A decade after the Second World War ended, Smallin Cave gained broad recognition once again. After three seasons of field investigation, occurring between 1947 and 1951, J. Harlan Bretz wrote the monumental "Caves of Missouri," first published in 1956 by the Missouri Division of Geological Survey and Water Sources. Smallin Cave served as the cover of this book and is discussed in more detail further below.

In "Unto These Hills" by Paul Johns, a photograph is reproduced from the collection of the Christian County Museum. It shows the 1926 senior class of Ozark High School standing at the front of Smallin Cave.<sup>117</sup> On May 13, 1948, the Emporia Weekly Gazette of Emporia, Kansas reported that Smallin Cave was one of several sites scheduled during a tour made by ten

<sup>115</sup> Springfield Daily News. "Hide in Ozarks Caves If Air Raiders Come?" Springfield [Missouri] Daily News, June 12, 1940, page 14.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Paul W. Johns. *Unto the Hills: True Tales from the Ozarks Center In and Around Christian County, Missouri*. (Bilyeu-Johns Enterprises: Ozark, Missouri. 1980) 4

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geology students from the College of Emporia.<sup>118</sup> Numerous guests have mentioned various other schools that visited the cave to learn of its geological or biological characteristics that are still being studied to this day.

### **Joseph Bulger's Civil War Cave**

Perhaps the most notorious player associated with the cave was Joseph Imburgia Bulger, who operated the first commercial tourism business in the cave in the early 1960s. While many facts surrounding Bulger remain a mystery, what is known about the man is nothing short of sensational. When he died, this is how the Associated Press described the events as published in the Sunday, December 4, 1966 issue of the *The Pantagraph* of Bloomington, Illinois:

#### Crime Lawyer Dies in Crash

Spring City, Tenn. (AP) – The body of an Illinois lawyer whose clients included several reputed crime syndicate leaders was pulled from the wreckage of his private plane near Spring City Saturday afternoon.

Joseph I. Bulger, a former mayor of the Chicago suburb of Melrose Park, died Friday night when the two-engine craft plunged into a farmland mountain top near this eastern Tennessee city. He apparently was on his way to Miami, Fla., to join his wife and son. Bulger's clients included Anthony (Big Tuna) Accardo and Paul (The Waiter) Ricca, who allegedly are top figures in the Chicago underworld.<sup>119</sup>

While it is certain his family in Florida were shocked, no less were his wife and family in Chicago shocked by his death and bigamy. Now that his exit has been briefly discussed, it is necessary to determine how his entrance was made.

According to a September 14, 2011 article by Paul Johns in the Christian County Headliner, an article in the Joplin News Herald on January 12, 1962 held an important clue.

...Thomas Young, an oil speculator from Wichita, Kansas, had purchased Smallin Cave from the Judge Martha Crain estate for \$150,000 and was planning to develop it as a tourist attraction. However, the article includes a reference to the fact that Young had recently been sentenced to five years in prison for fraud pertaining to the selling of investments in an oil well that he apparently misrepresented as a producer.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Emporia Weekly Gazette. "To Study in Ozarks." Emporia Weekly Gazette, Emporia, Kansas, Thursday, May 13, 1948, page 4. Accessed from Newspapers.com on March 2, 2017.

<sup>119</sup> The Pantagraph. *Crime Lawyer Dies in Crash*. December 4, 1966.

<sup>120</sup> Christian County Headliner. September 14, 2011.

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On March 15, 2017, Larry Nowack of Ozark, Missouri, the last surviving member of the Bulger work crew was interviewed.<sup>121</sup> According to Nowack, he was there when Bulger began construction in May 1961. He said that one day, Bulger came out of the cave carrying one or two old rusty cap-and-ball pistols and exclaiming he had just found them. Nowack believes Bulger had “planted” the pistols because he had been working in the same area the day before and saw no pistols. With Joseph Bulger saying so many false statements about the cave during the Civil War and fabricating physical evidence, it has been easy for many of the local residents to believe there are no Civil War connections.

However, it should be remembered that Nowack was a young man, fresh out of high school and put to hard work pouring concrete in the cave, blasting holes for posts, and gathering the flagstones above the cave to form the building foundations. It is understandable why Nowack may have overlooked details such as the dates of carvings and potential artifacts. He admitted it was a possibility there are Civil War era carvings in the cave, but he did not hear anything about it back then.

While Nowack claims construction began in 1961, a study of the Christian County Deeds provides contemporary facts about the purchase and development of the business. On February 8, 1962, a general warranty deed was filed transferring the cave property from Robert and Carleen Crain of Ava and Martha S. Greene of Ozark to Joseph I. Bulger of Cook County, Illinois for the sum of \$15,000.<sup>122</sup> One month later, on March 12, 1962, Joseph I. Bulger of Chicago, Illinois made a lease agreement with Y & B Caves, Inc., a Missouri corporation of Ozark, Missouri.<sup>123</sup> It is possible that Y & B stood for Young and Bulger, and that Thomas Young, although not the owner, was a partner in the leasing corporation. It is also possible that construction work did begin, with the consent of the Crain family, before the actual sale went through.

Bulger’s Civil War Cave project built the sidewalks and the original gift shop still in use today. Although many of his stories lacked credibility, he can be credited with making the cave more well-known beyond the Ozarks through his advertising. Unfortunately, Bulger’s “Civil War Cave” brochure perpetuated a corrupted version of events as follows:

This cave was discovered in 1818 by an English geologist, Henry R. Schoolcraft, who published a description of the cave in London and later became recognized as a famous world traveler. On discovering the cave, he called it Winoca, which is an Osage Indian word meaning Underground Spirit. The Osage had long used the cave for shelter.

During the Civil War, this cave was used as a munitions warehouse by the Union Forces. Their powder kegs and cannonballs were placed far back into the cave safely

<sup>121</sup> Larry Nowak, personal communication. March 15, 2017.

<sup>122</sup> Christian County Deeds Book 136. 1962. 143

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. 622

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hidden from marauding Confederate raiders. The ammunition was used by General Lyons Union Forces at the bloody battle of Wilson's Creek on August 9, 1861. This battle was fought only ten miles to the west of this cave and was one of the most bitterly fought engagements of the war, no other conflict resulted in a higher percentage of casualties. However, this battle delayed the Rebel Forces and Missouri was saved for the Union.<sup>124</sup>

This cave's location is too far away from Wilson's Creek, the Union camp in Ozark was not established until the following year 1862, and gunpowder must be kept dry and oftentimes the cave is damp or wet. It would have been possible to dry-store gunpowder at the mouth of the cave along the western wall. Since gunpowder explosions can be devastating, perhaps the natural cave did provide a safe place for such stores. Bulger may have also heard some oral history connected to Union supplies being hidden in the cave to keep them out of the hands of the Confederates marching north in January of 1863. He then merely assumed the actions related to the earlier Wilson's Creek battle.

The brochure also showed a photograph of stalactites from nearby Fielden Cave labeled "Room of the Lost Battalion." That would indicate at least 400 men had been lost in a cave that could barely fit 100.

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<sup>124</sup> "Civil War Cave" brochure, undated. See Figure 48.



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Figure 48: Excerpt from “Civil War Cave” brochure, undated, but likely from the early 1960s. Source: Smallin Civil War Cave Website, [http://www.smallincave.com/Old%20Photos%20%20Brochures\\_smallincave.html](http://www.smallincave.com/Old%20Photos%20%20Brochures_smallincave.html) Accessed September 17, 2017

Bulger added a 1860s train car to the property and suggested that it was Abraham Lincoln’s funeral car. A photograph owned by Bill Carter of Bell Plaine, Kansas and taken in June 1967 shows the Lincoln Car sign with the accompanying text:

Abraham Lincoln’s Funeral Car was purchased and restored by [the] administrator of the Cival (*sic*) War Cave from William Hall of the famous Hall Bros. Circus. The car was built by the Military Car Corp. and given to President Lincoln while he was in office. Upon his death it was used to transport his body from Washington to Springfield, Ill. traveling at only 3 miles an hour stopping at various cities & towns along the way. At this

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period over 6,000,000 people went through the car.<sup>125</sup>

While this is an interesting story, the Lincoln Funeral Car was destroyed in a prairie fire on March 18, 1911 in Columbia Heights, Minnesota.<sup>126</sup> While it is possible the car was part of the funeral train, it was not the car that transported Lincoln's body.

In Dorothy Cummings' article on her grandfather, Silas Scruggs Stacey, a comment is made about Smallin Cave just prior to 1962. It reveals how one person viewed the transformation of the cave into a tourist spot.

Mr. Walter F. Lackey, Editor of the publication for the Newton County (Arkansas) Historical Society in a letter to Mr. Elmo Ingenthron, says '...I visited the Smallen [*sic*] Cavern and it is a wonder to see. The cavern front is about 60 feet wide and about 40 feet high and the ceiling rock tapers several hundred feet back. The floor is solid rock and nearly level with a nice stream running down the center. An ideal place for a home. From the little ravine that runs down to a branch of Finley Creek, sign of early wagon travel in the rock is still visible. The article (in the Springfield Art Museum Collection) said that Indians in their travels stopped and stayed with the Staceys in the cavern. Several wagons could be parked under the cavern at one time.' This summer [of 1962], the wagons are more apt to be station wagons. The cavern is being developed as a 'tourist attraction' with the top of the hill leveled off for a parking lot, and the string of lights stretching back into the cavern gives it the appearance of a Holland Tunnel of the Ozarks.<sup>127</sup>

The grand opening was undoubtedly a grand affair. Bulger distributed fliers, one of which is still retained by the Christian County Library, and has an added handwritten date of 1961. Since the dates June 8 and 9 are identified as a Saturday and Sunday, it could be assumed the year is 1963. Yet the flier mentions "the dedication of the Wilson Creek National Park last year," and since that occurred August 11, 1961, the grand opening most likely occurred in 1962. The flier contains the following details:

Gala Opening Celebration  
Cave Under New Management  
Sat. & Sun. – June 8-9  
8:00 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily

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FREE PONY RIDES FOR ALL CHILDREN

<sup>125</sup> Text from 1967 photo, owned by Bill Carter.

<sup>126</sup> Tom Weber and Emily Kaiser. "How Lincoln's funeral car perished in Minnesota". [www.mprnews.org/story/2015/07/06/bcst-lincoln-funeral-car](http://www.mprnews.org/story/2015/07/06/bcst-lincoln-funeral-car). Accessed March 2017.

<sup>127</sup> Cummings. 11-12

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9 a.m. to 6 p.m. – Saturday and Sunday

To advertise that we will have Pony Rides every Saturday and Sunday . . . we are offering FREE RIDES for all children this week end.

---

FREE ENTERTAINMENT

See the Civil War Skirmish re-inacted (*sic*) by  
"THE WILSON CREEK REBELS"

This group preformed (*sic*) at the dedication of the Wilson Creek National Park last year. Don't miss seeing a REAL BATTLE performed, complete with Flags, Guns, and Cannons.

Saturday, 3:00 p.m. – Sunday, 2:00 p.m.

---

Old Fiddlers Contest – 1 to 3 p.m. Saturday 8<sup>th</sup>

All Fiddlers Welcome

to enter contest

- NO ENTRY FEE-

1<sup>st</sup> Prize.....\$30.00

2<sup>nd</sup> Prize....\$20.00

3<sup>rd</sup> Prize.....\$10.00

Hear the Winner play

Sunday Afternoon

June 9<sup>th</sup>

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FREE GIFTS EACH DAY

- Free Marbles for First 300 Children going through Cave
- Free Bobo [Bolo?] Tie for first 50 Fathers going through Cave
- Free Candy Dish for first 25 Mothers going through Cave

2 BIG DAYS FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY

AT THE

CIVIL WAR CAVE

AND MEMORIAL PARK

14 MILES SOUTH OF SPRINGFIELD, MO. NEAR OZARK – JUST OFF HIWAY 65

FREE PICNIC GROUNDS – PAVED ROAD TO CAVE

The era of the "Civil War Cave" came to an abrupt end with Joseph Bulger's death on December 2, 1966. It is interesting to note that during the final year of his life, Joseph Bulger's phone calls were being tracked by the FBI under the JFK Assassination investigation.<sup>128</sup> While

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<sup>128</sup> Mary Ferrell Foundation: [https://www.maryferrell.org/archive/docs/070/70874/images/img\\_70874\\_1\\_300.png](https://www.maryferrell.org/archive/docs/070/70874/images/img_70874_1_300.png) through /img\_70874\_5\_300.png. Accessed March 2017.

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Joseph Bulger laid the foundation, figuratively and literally, for the current tourist operations, his legacy of fabricating history to sell a ticket has made current efforts to tell a true history more difficult. In this instance, it would have been better if this flamboyant actor upon the stage of Smallin Cave had stuck to his lines, rather than use improvisation.

### **Smallin Cave after 1966**

After Joseph Bulger was killed in the plane crash, the property sat vacant for several months. It was then purchased by the Harrell and Bradley families but it remained closed to the public, thus why 1966 serves as the end of the period of significance. In 1979 the cave was donated to a local church in Springfield, Central Assembly of God. In the 1980 book, *Missouri the Cave State*, Weaver commented "At the time of this writing Civil War Cave was closed and has been so for more than a decade."<sup>129</sup>

The deed which marks the transfer of the property from Springfield Building Maintenance, Inc. to the Central Assembly of God, Inc. is dated December 4, 1978.<sup>130</sup> A plaque near the entrance to Smallin Cave commemorates the time when this was a church camp. The plaque reads: "SONRISE May 28, 1979. This property dedicated to the glory of God for the use of those who love His handiwork. In loving appreciation of our Christian parents J. Otis & Louise Harrell, Ben H. & Bertha Bradley. All things are by Him created...Gen. 1." In his 1997 guidebook on Missouri Caves, Beard commented "Currently the caves [Smallin and Fielden] are owned by a church and used as part of a day camp known as Sunrise."<sup>131</sup> Several visitors have commented they attended church camp at the cave. The current gift shop was the dining hall. To the west of the mouth of the cave sits a building that was once the worship hall but now serves as a classroom. On the land above the western side of the cave valley sits three small buildings that were the bunk houses for the boys, girls, and camp counselors. Some of the visitors have commented they became Christians inside the cave, praying the Sinner's prayer on the western wall deposits. However, none ever witnessed baptism in the waters of the cave. With the cave water typically at 54 degrees Fahrenheit, it is little wonder that rite was held elsewhere.

Kevin and Wanetta Bright purchased the cave from the Central Assembly of God church in August of 2009. Their first tour was on April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2010 and continues to today.

<sup>129</sup> Dwight H. Weaver and Paul A. Johnson. *Missouri the Cave State*. (Discovery Publications: Jefferson City, Missouri.1980). 193

<sup>130</sup> Christian County Deeds. Book 179. Transfer of property from Springfield Building Maintenance, Inc. to the Central Assembly of God, Inc., December 4, 1978. 39

<sup>131</sup> Beard, 209

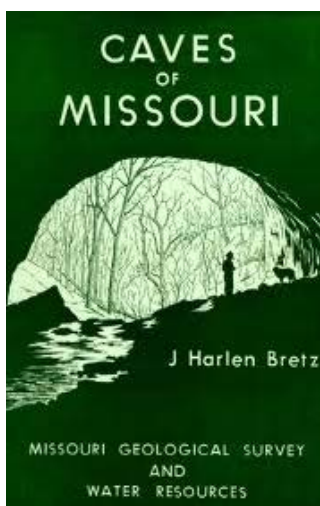
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Cave Comparisons

Known as the “Cave State”, Missouri boasts more than 6,300 recorded caves.<sup>132</sup> The exact number is unknown but in the mid-1950s a thorough study was conducted of Missouri caves by J. Harlen Bretz and published in his book *Caves of Missouri*. Bretz described 250 caves. The selection appears to be based upon accessibility. “It has not been feasible for the Survey to collect information on all the small, distant, or difficult caves. The guiding principle of this study has been to examine those [caves] that promised good returns without undue expenditure of time.”<sup>133</sup> Bretz recorded seven “named” caves<sup>134</sup> in Christian County: Baldknobbers’ Cave; Fitzpatrick Cave; Garrison Cave; Johnson Cave; Shelf Cave; Woody Cave; and Smallin Cave.<sup>135</sup> An image of the latter cave would serve as the original cover of his book (Figure 49).



**Figure 49: Original Cover of J. Harlen Bretz Book**, Image from Goodreads.com, [https://i.gr-assets.com/images/S/compressed.photo.goodreads.com/books/1310928736i/12056083\\_UY630\\_SR120\\_630\\_.jpg](https://i.gr-assets.com/images/S/compressed.photo.goodreads.com/books/1310928736i/12056083_UY630_SR120_630_.jpg), Accessed September 17, 2017

As can be seen in Figure 50, Garrison and Woody caves are also close to the community of Ozark. As the Smallin Cave Historic District is being nominated at the local level, Garrison and Wood Caves were chosen as comparable sites.

<sup>132</sup> Missouri Department of Natural Resources, *The Geologic Column of Missouri*, Volume 2, Issue 2, Winter 2008, title page, <https://dnr.mo.gov/geology/docs/gcwinter8.pdf>, accessed July 22, 2017.

<sup>133</sup> Bretz, 5-6.

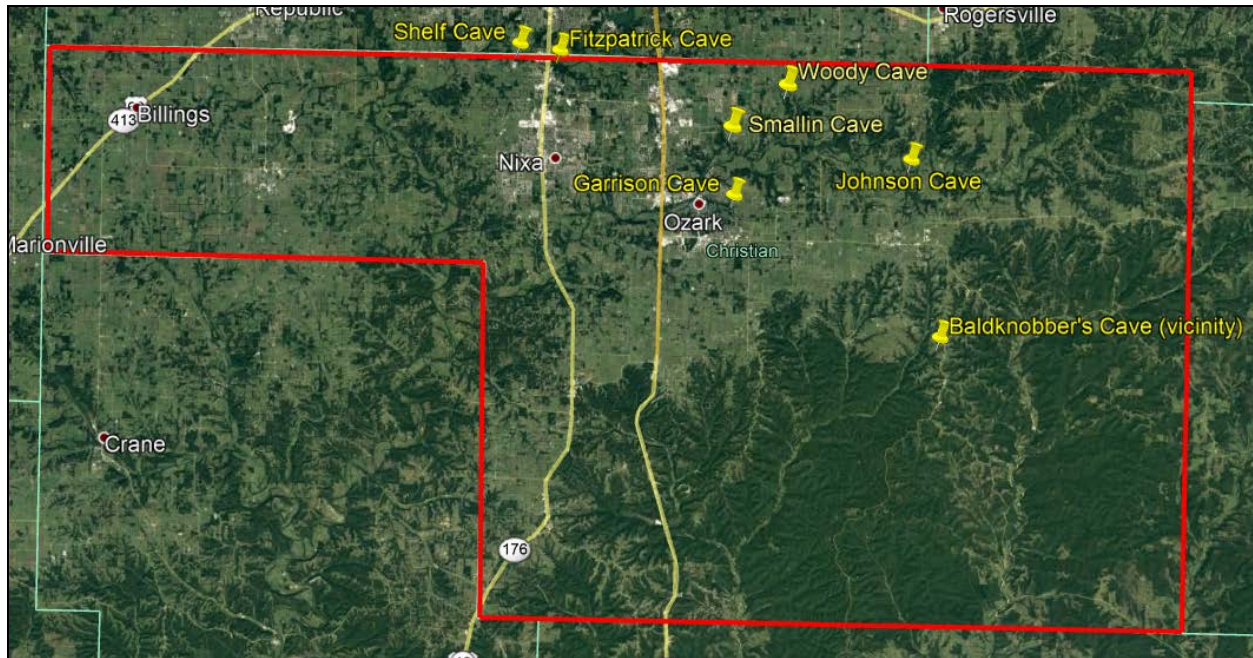
<sup>134</sup> Finley Cave was a “reported” cave but only partial coordinates were provided. The authors of this nomination have not been able to determine the location or accountability of this cave.

<sup>135</sup> Bretz, 327-331

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**Figure 50:** Location of named caves in Christian County identified in Bretz's *Caves of Missouri*. Map created via Google Earth.

Garrison Cave:

Garrison Cave is less than a mile east of Ozark. Bretz describes Garrison cave via the following two sentences: "This cave is at the head of a narrow, steep-walled ravine which has an abrupt amphitheater-like head. Our inference is that the ravine is the result of collapse of the downstream portion of the original cave."<sup>136</sup>

Garrison Cave boasts 4.6 miles of passages making it one of the longest caves in the region but its opening is not as high as Smallin Cave. It is closed to the public and has been looted by pothunters,<sup>137</sup> suggesting there were or are possible archaeological resources. While not as well documented as Smallin Cave, Garrison Cave, or Garrison Springs, appears to have also been a recreational spot for the people of the area (Figure 51). Tales of buried treasure<sup>138</sup> to gold mines are associated with the site but apparently any treasure hunters were disappointed to only find bones.<sup>139</sup> Other accounts note that cave may have been used by bootleggers but

<sup>136</sup> Bretz, 328

<sup>137</sup> *Garrison Cave Map to be Presented Sept 7*, Christian County Headliner News and the Nixa Enterprise: CCHeadliner.Com, August 21, 2008, [http://ccheadliner.com/nixa/news/garrison-cave-map-to-be-presented-sept/article\\_4d7ec9ad-f217-5c3e-9f89-3b805271b214.html](http://ccheadliner.com/nixa/news/garrison-cave-map-to-be-presented-sept/article_4d7ec9ad-f217-5c3e-9f89-3b805271b214.html), accessed August 12, 2017

<sup>138</sup> Mr. Garrison/Hidden Treasure article (1892), <https://www.ancestry.com/boards/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=1590&p=localities.northam.usa.states.missouri.counties.christian>, accessed August 12, 2017. Note the author attempted to look up the source of this article but was unable to find it thus this account is treated as hearsay.

<sup>139</sup> Gold in Ozark Hills, Ozarks History, History of Northern Arkansas & Southern Missouri in the Ozark Plateau, <http://ozarkshistory.blogspot.com/2011/04/gold-in-ozark-hills.html>, accessed August 12, 2017.

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was then destroyed by federal revenue officers.<sup>140</sup> Historic photographs like the one below show individuals posing in front of the spring. Further study of this cave is recommended as it appears this is comparable to Smallin Cave as both a potential place for social gatherings and was likely used by local tribes historically and/or prehistorically. Today the land around the cave has been turned into a park but the cave is no longer accessible.



**Figure 51: Garrison Springs**, unknown date, Source: History of Ozark Missouri, <http://cclilbirdy.wix.com/ozark-mo#!photo-album>  
Accessed August 12, 2017

Woody Cave:

Woody Cave is approximately 2.4 miles northeast of Smallin Cave and five miles northeast of Ozark. Bretz' description is longer for Woody Cave than Garrison. He notes the cave is walkable up to 100 feet and the entrance is 30 feet high that decreases to 15 feet and is approximately 55 feet wide. The entrance is located "at the head of a vertically cliffed ravine".<sup>141</sup> Not much is known about how Woody Cave was used historically, although one historic source mentions it. A history of Christian County was read aloud during a Fourth of July celebration in Ozark in 1876. When describing some of the natural features of the area, the history noted the following: "There is another cave at the place of Abraham Woody, an old

<sup>140</sup> Renaissance in Ozark, MO: Garrison Spring & Garden, Friends of the Garden, <https://friendsofthegarden.org/fog-blog/2015/08/16/renaissance-in-ozark-mo-garrison-spring-garden/>, accessed August 12, 2017,

<sup>141</sup> Bretz, 330-331

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citizen who died about the year 1865, lived, but not so magnificent in its proportions as the first described."<sup>142</sup> The "first described" was none other than Smallin Cave.

Smallins (sic) cave, about two miles northeast of Ozark, is a great natural curiosity. It forms the head of a small hollow which empties into the Finley, and has a large opening arched overhead of a height in the center of about sixty feet and a width in the floor or bottom of about 100 feet. Bluffs line the approach to the entrance, and a pool of sparkling water flows out of the cave down the Finley. For a distance of about sixty yards the opening is large though gradually getting smaller, and in entering it for that distance, no artificial light is needed as light from the sun without is sufficient. From that point the cave is small, but the opening can be followed on by means of lights for the distance of about a mile.<sup>143</sup>

In an email interview by Joseph Ransom with local historian Wayne Glenn, dated January 5, 2017, Mr. Glenn made the following comparison of Smallin Cave to other well-known caves in the Ozark area (some of which may not have been mentioned by Bretz):

Numerous caves have been the center of some picnics and reunions thru the years. That is just the way it was in the old days before WW II. The Garrison Cave, just north of Ozark was such a gathering place. The Woody Cave to the east of you may have served that purpose. The Baldknobber Cave on the East Fork of Bull Creek, just south of Sparta was used as a Baldknobber meeting place in the 1880s. But the Smallin Cave is by and far and away the Number one historic cave of Christian County and even before the county was formed in 1859.<sup>144</sup>

## Conclusion

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft got his start in the Ozarks and became one of the greatest explorers and ethnographers of the 19th century. Smallin Cave was impressive to Schoolcraft and he wrote a detailed account in his 1818-1819 journal while exploring the Ozarks. It must have left a lasting impression because he wrote about the cave again over 30 years later in *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas* (1853). Presently, the cave retains the same awe-inspiring characteristics that he recorded two centuries ago. As a permanent part of the exploration of the United States, Schoolcraft and Smallin Cave stand as two lasting monuments. The nominated district is significant under Criterion A: Exploration because this is one of the few places that visitors can trace his steps that retains integrity from this important expedition; the first of its kind that took place within the Ozarks.

<sup>142</sup> James R. Vaughan, J.J. Gideon, W.H. Pollard, *A History of Christian County, Missouri prepared by James R. Vaughan, J.J. Gideon, W.H. Pollard and read by the former at a celebration at Ozark, MO, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1876*. (Ozark, E.E. Patterson, Christian County Library, 1893), 15.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Email interview by Joseph Ransom with local historian Wayne Glenn, January 5, 2017.



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Since Schoolcraft's visit there have been numerous accounts and records of the cave serving as a frequent picnicking area, place to wash clothes, and a source of water and building materials. There is evidence of occupation and use of nearby Fielden Cave, specifically as a place to store goods via a cold storage spring box. In the 1830s it served as a temporary shelter to Silas S. Stacy's family and as a possible sanctuary to Native Americans feeling persecution during their forced removal. While always a known place to the local population, the cave and surrounding area opened officially for commercial tourism in the early 1960s when Joseph Bulger operated his short lived but significant business. The Smallin Cave Historic District retains its historic character to relay its eligibility under Criterion A: Exploration with an 1819 period of significance and Recreation with an 1819-1966 period of significance.

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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property Christian County, Missouri
County and State N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property
Christian County, Missouri
County and State
N/A
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Lat/Long continued:

**5:** 37.049614 -93.187852    **6:** 37.047359 -93.187852

**7:** 37.047359 -93.186716    **8:** 37.048136 -93.186413

**9:** 37.051015 -93.186589    **10:** 37.052420 -93.187550

**11:** 37.052869 -93.187653

**VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION**

See Figure 2 for boundary map.

**Boundary Justification:**

The boundary is the same as the current legal parcel. This parcel was considered an appropriate National Register district boundary because it encapsulates the 550 feet of Smallin Cave that was readily accessible to humans through the period of significance. The boundary also includes resources associated with the 1960s commercial tourism business. Finally, the majority of the boundary consists of unimproved forested land. This is the same landscape Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and his traveling companions would have encountered during their 1819 expedition and to the countless visitors who frequented the cave since that time.

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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property Christian County, Missouri
County and State N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

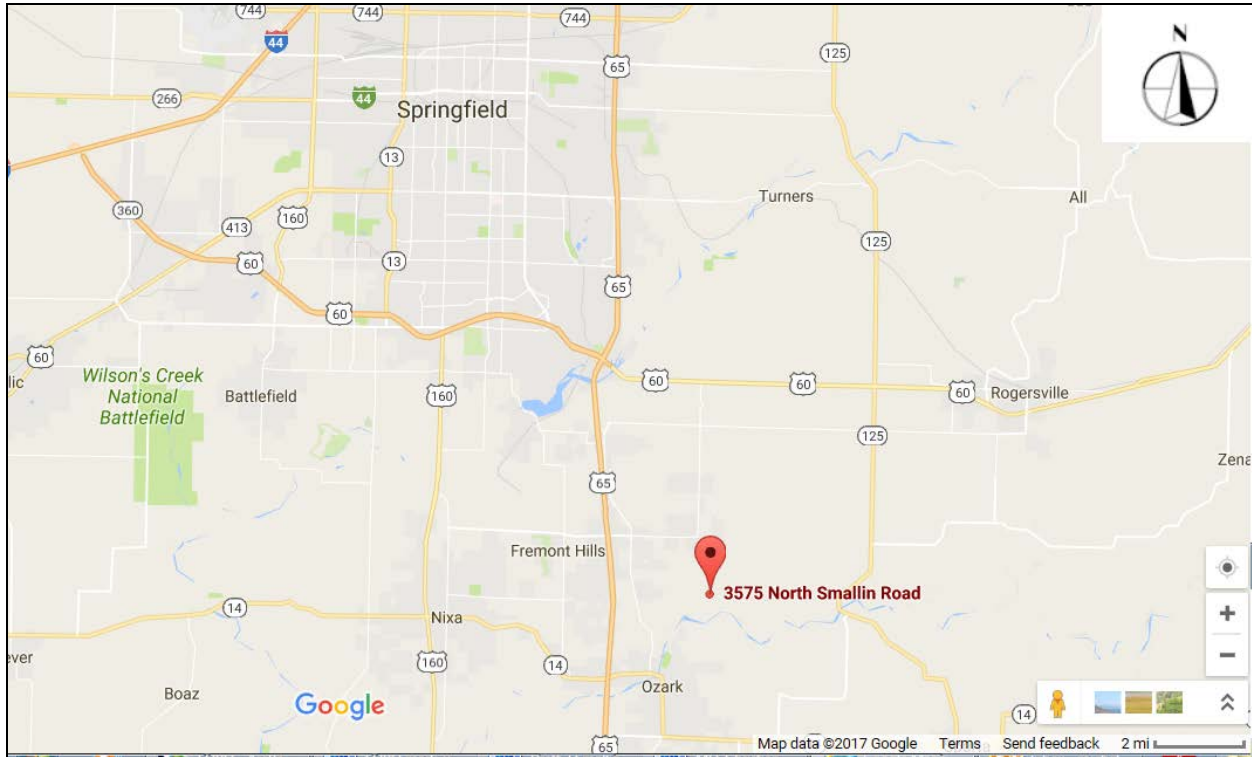
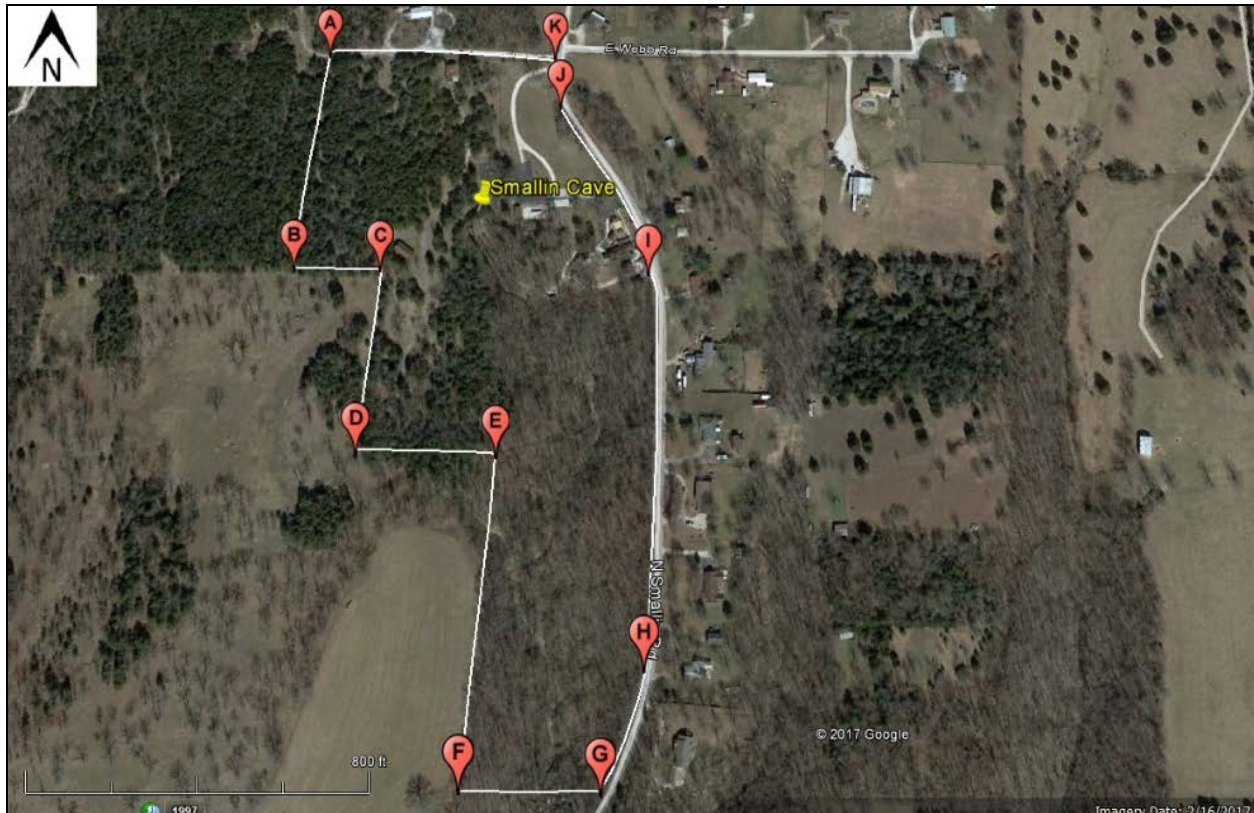


Figure 1: Contextual Map noting the location of Smallin Cave.  
Source: Google Maps. <https://www.google.com/maps> Accessed: May 25, 2017.

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Smallin Cave Historic District
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Christian County, Missouri
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N/A
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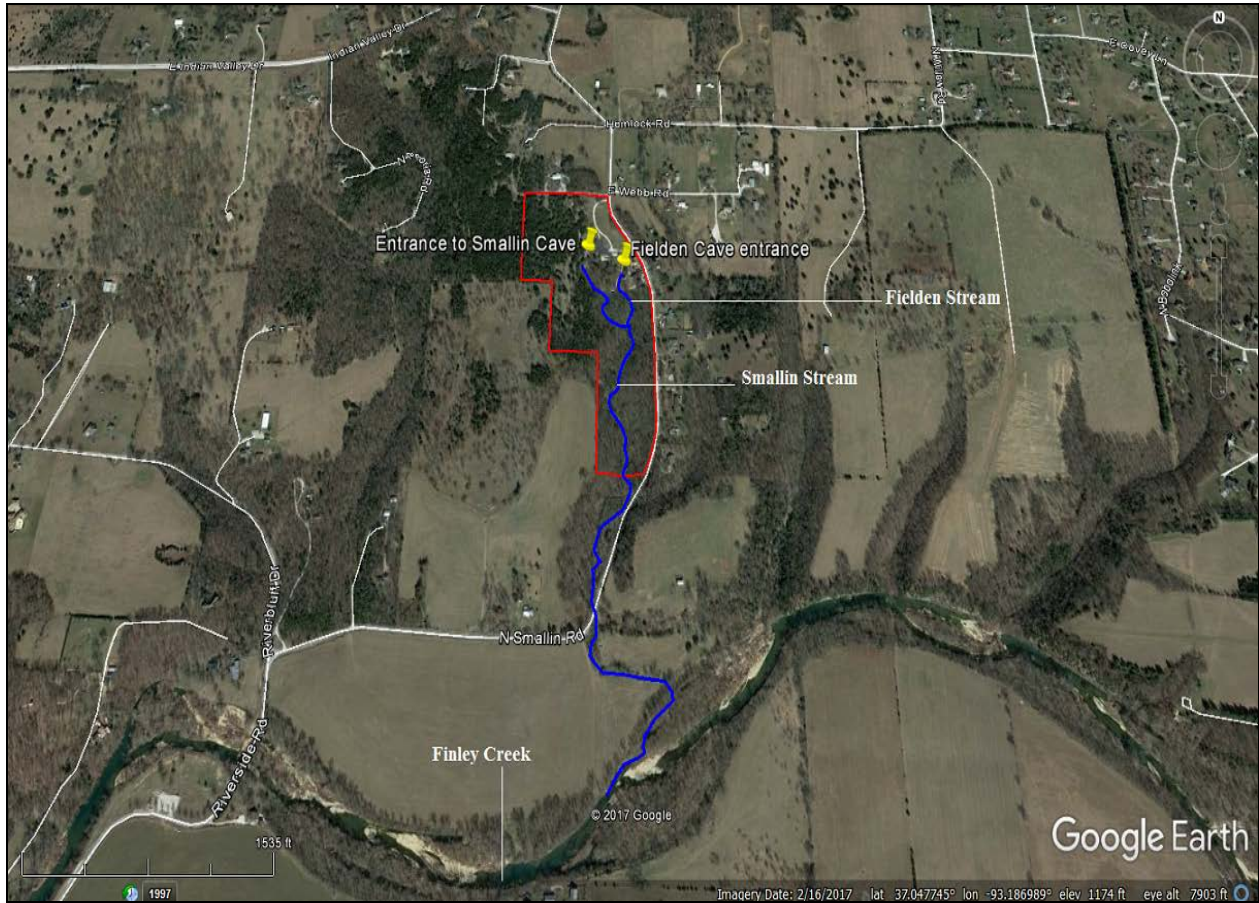
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D: 37.049614 -93.189089	E: 37.049614 -93.187852	F: 37.047359 -93.187852
G: 37.047359 -93.186716	H: 37.048136 -93.186413	I: 37.051015 -93.186589
J: 37.052420 -93.187550	K: 37.052869 -93.187653	

**Figure 2:** Boundary Map with Lat/Long Coordinates. *Map created via Google Earth.*

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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property
Christian County, Missouri
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

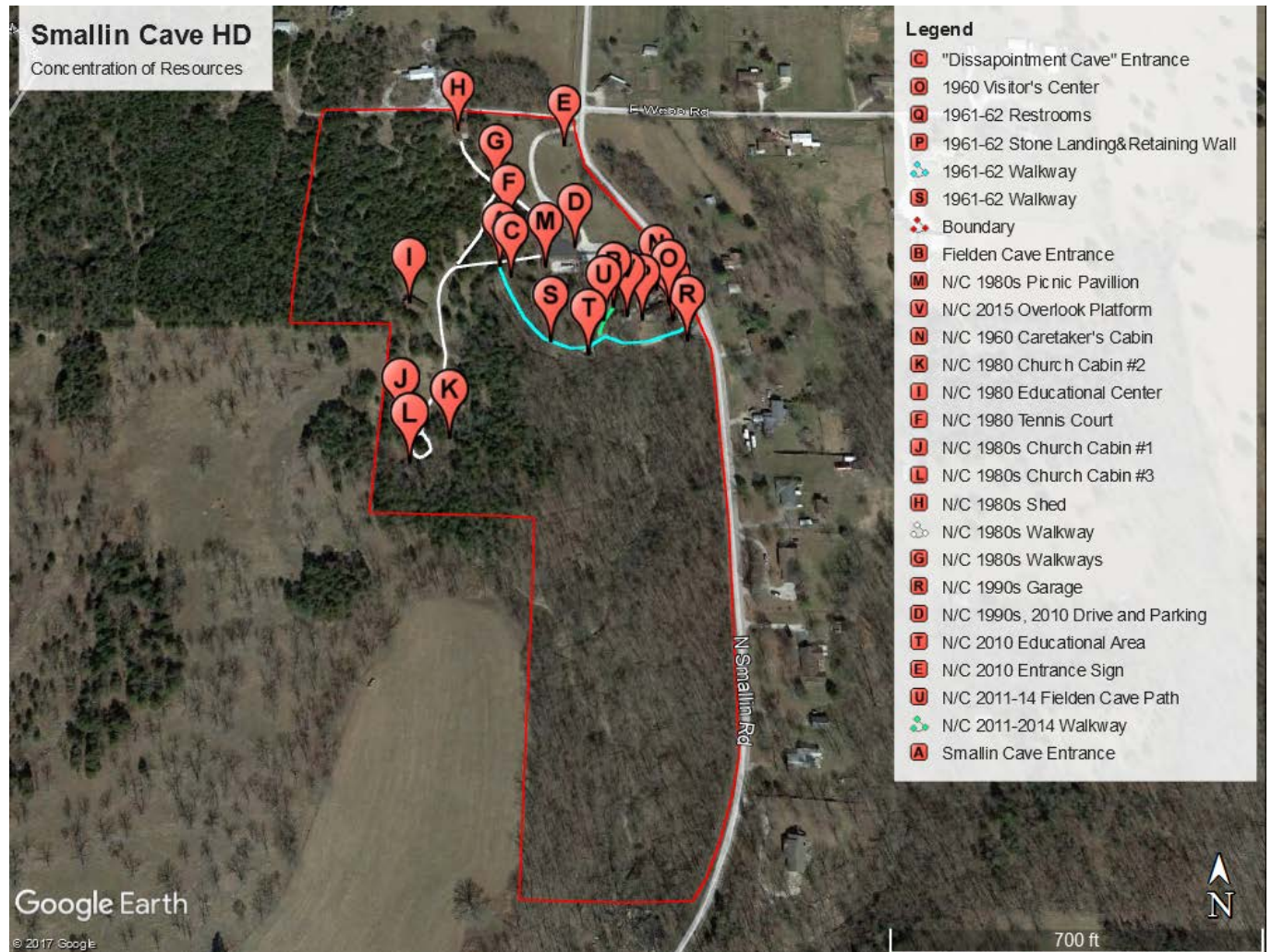


**Figure 3:** Setting Map. The nominated boundary is outlined in red. *Map created via Google Earth.*

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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property Christian County, Missouri
County and State N/A
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**Figure 4:** Concentration of Resources in Smallin Cave Historic District. The intention of this map is to illustrate the concentration of historic resources in the district. Another map is provided below zoomed-in so specific resources are more visible. *Map Created via Google Earth*<sup>145</sup>

<sup>145</sup> While Google Earth has the capability of providing a map legend, it doesn't necessarily put the symbols in the order the author may want. This is why the symbols are out of alphabetical order in the legend.

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Smallin Cave Historic District
Name of Property Christian County, Missouri
County and State N/A
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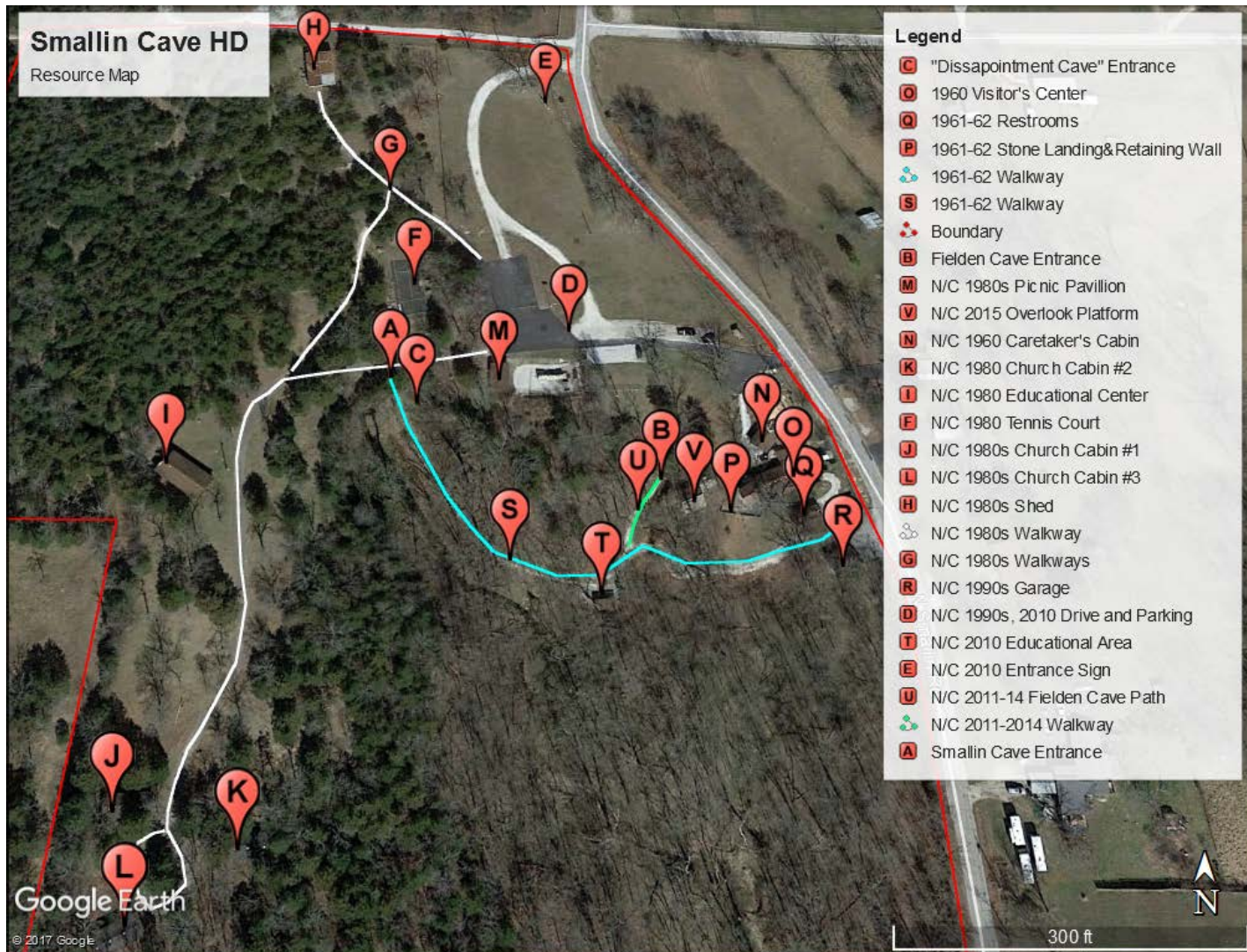


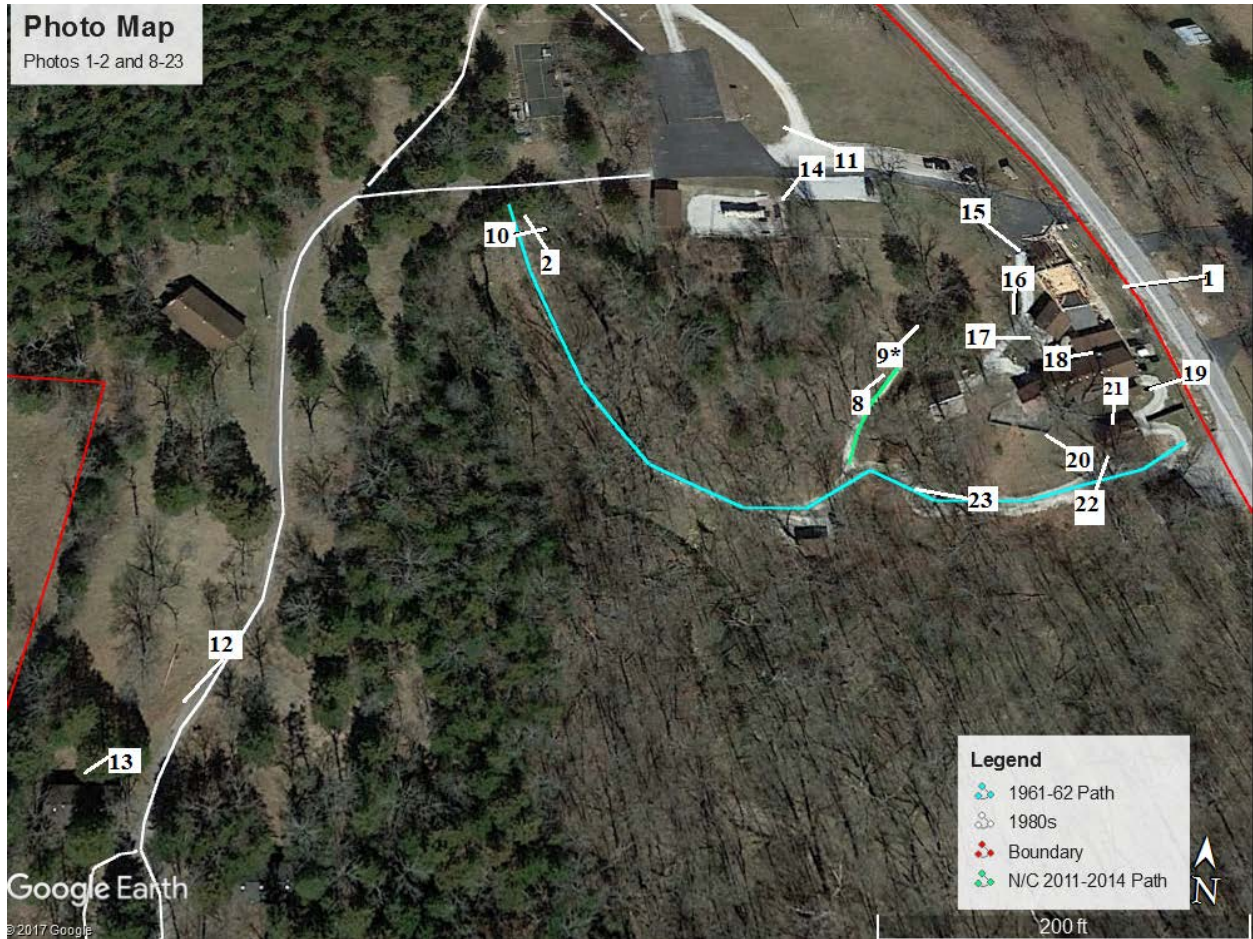
Figure 5: Smallin Cave Historic District Resource Map. Map Created via Google Earth<sup>146</sup>

<sup>146</sup> See footnote on previous page for note about Legend being out of alphabetical order.

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Smallin Cave Historic District
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Christian County, Missouri
County and State
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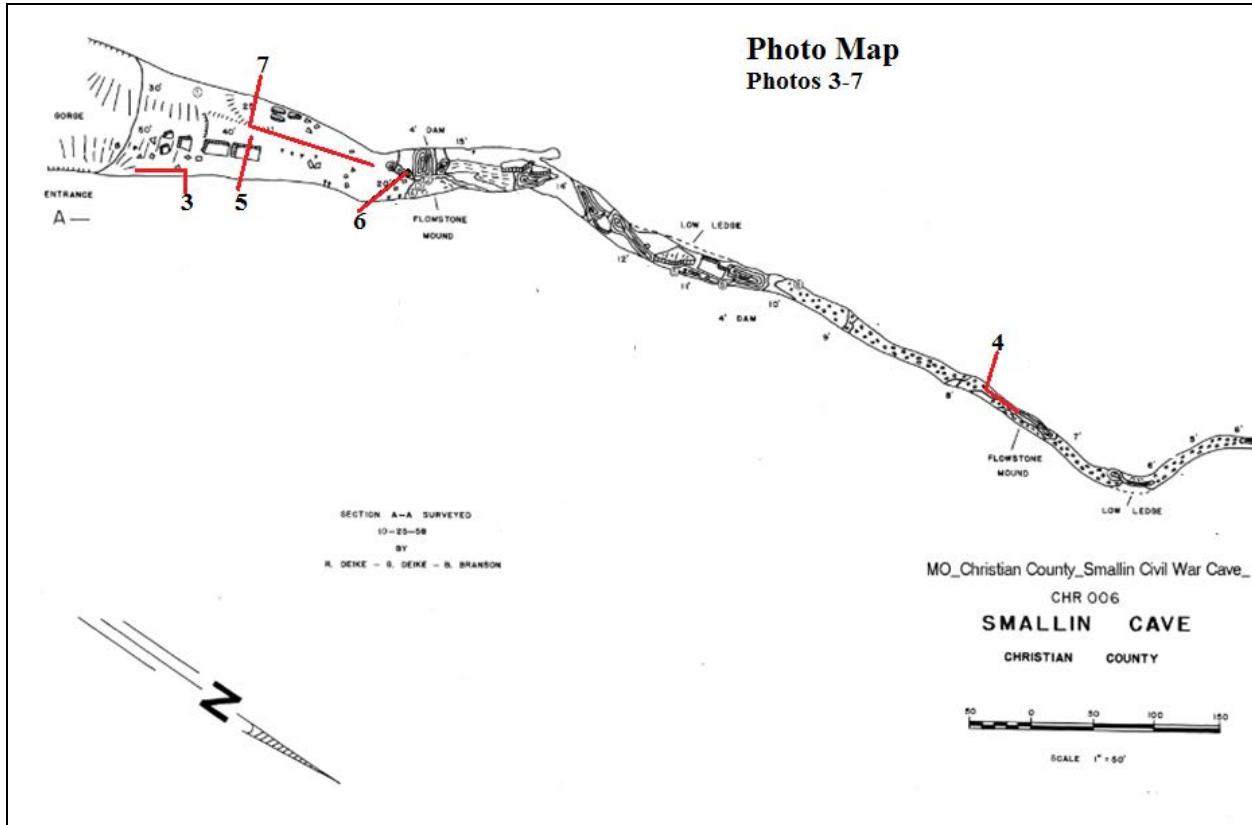


**Photo Map of photos 1-2 and 8-23 of Smallin Cave Historic District.** (\*Photo 9 was taken inside of Fielden Cave). *Map Created in part on Google Earth.*

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Smallin Cave Historic District
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County and State
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Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



**Photo Map of photos 3-7 inside of Smallin Cave.** Excerpt of Survey Map utilized, courtesy of Kevin Bright. Annotations and redactions made by Michelle Diedrich.











De Cava Cavern  
The  
Cave is a natural  
formation of  
limestone  
rock. It is  
a very  
interesting  
place to  
visit.













**Abba Lou**  
A small sign with a photograph of a person and some text, likely providing information about the cave or the person depicted.















AVE

OPEN

GEMSTONE PANNING

THIS WAY  
FOR FUN!







OPEN

OSAGE  
TRADING  
POST

Smallin  
Civil War Cave  
VISITOR CENTER









MEN

WOMEN

NO SMOKING  
NO ALCOHOL  
NO DRUGS  
NO WEAPONS  
NO FIREARMS  
NO GUNS  
NO KNIVES  
NO STUN GUNS  
NO TASERS  
NO LASERS  
NO RIFLES  
NO SHOTGUNS  
NO BOWS  
NO ARCS  
NO CROSSBOWS  
NO SLINGS  
NO SWORDS  
NO DAGGERS  
NO STAFFS  
NO MACE  
NO WARHAMMERS  
NO MORTARS  
NO CANNONS  
NO GRENADES  
NO BOMBS  
NO MINES  
NO TRIPMINES  
NO IEDS  
NO CARBIDE LIGHTS  
NO FLARE GUNS  
NO SIGNAL FLARES  
NO SEARCHLIGHTS  
NO SPOTLIGHTS  
NO PROJECTORS  
NO MEGAPHONES  
NO LOUDSPEAKERS  
NO AMPLIFIERS  
NO RECORDERS  
NO CAMERAS  
NO VIDEO EQUIPMENT  
NO PHOTOGRAPHY  
NO TELEVISION  
NO RADIO  
NO CELL PHONES  
NO WALKIE TALKIES  
NO REMOTE CONTROLS  
NO REMOTE DEVICES  
NO REMOTE SENSORS  
NO REMOTE MONITORS  
NO REMOTE RECORDERS  
NO REMOTE TRANSMITTERS  
NO REMOTE RECEIVERS  
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NO REMOTE DETECTORS  
NO REMOTE ALARMS  
NO REMOTE SIGNALS  
NO REMOTE BEACONS  
NO REMOTE LIGHTS  
NO REMOTE SOUNDS  
NO REMOTE VIBRATIONS  
NO REMOTE TOUCHES  
NO REMOTE TASTES  
NO REMOTE SMELLS  
NO REMOTE FEELS  
NO REMOTE THERMALS  
NO REMOTE PRESSURES  
NO REMOTE HUMIDITIES  
NO REMOTE WINDS  
NO REMOTE TEMPERATURES  
NO REMOTE HUMIDITIES  
NO REMOTE WINDS  
NO REMOTE TEMPERATURES

NO SMOKING  
NO ALCOHOL  
NO DRUGS  
NO WEAPONS  
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NO GUNS  
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NO REMOTE TEMPERATURES



