

THE HEARTS OF THE HOME:
VOLUNTEER EDUCATORS AND THE CREATION OF PLACE-NARRATIVE IN A CIVIL
WAR HOUSEHOLD

A Thesis
presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
EMMA JAY WALCOTT-WILSON
Dr. Matthew Foulkes, Thesis Supervisor

MAY 2015

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the graduate school, have examined the thesis entitled

THE HEARTS OF THE HOME: VOLUNTEER EDUCATORS AND THE CREATION OF
PLACE-NARRATIVE IN A CIVIL WAR HOUSEHOLD

Presented by Emma J Walcott-Wilson,
a candidate for the degree of master of arts,
and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Matthew Foulkes

Professor Larry Brown

Professor Mark Morgan

Dedicated to the volunteers of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project could not have been completed without the extraordinary support in all my personal and professional relationships. Thanks to the Geography Department of the University of Missouri for the space and tools to grow as a scholar, teacher, and researcher. I am grateful for the many generative conversations I have had with the faculty in that department and in the broader academic community. Special thanks to my committee members, Dr. Larry Brown and Dr. Mark Morgan, and to Dr. LeeAnn Whites, who has taught me so much about learning, teaching, and questioning my assumptions.

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Matthew Foulkes, for being an exceptional listener, teacher, and mentor. I left our weekly meetings bursting with ideas and he helped me arrange them into something useful.

I do not think I could have done any of this without my friends and colleagues in the geography department. They listened to countless iterations of the concepts developed in this thesis and created a caring, supportive space in which to do so. The greatest thing about our department is the atmosphere of friendship and cooperation as we explore vastly different elements of the world around us. Thanks to my collaborators on this project—Austin Flamm, Paige Haring, and Stan Maxson—who helped collect and transcribe a huge amount of data.

Thank you, mom, for sending revisions and listening to my presentation practice. Thank you, dad, for sending supportive text messages and good vibes.

Finally, the participants in this study to whom this work is dedicated have made so many things possible. Thank you for your commitment to interpretation and teaching. Thank you for your friendship and mentorship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
List of figures	v
List of tables	vi
Abstract	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Review of the literature.....	5
<i>The geography of memory: commemoration, heritage, and sacredness</i>	5
<i>Historic place creation</i>	6
<i>Place Attachment</i>	7
Chapter 2: Approach and Methods	12
Positionality	12
<i>My Self in Place</i>	13
<i>In the Research Process</i>	16
Triangulation, Data Collection, and Analysis.....	19
<i>Participants and Sampling</i>	21
<i>Quantitative Measures of Place Attachment</i>	22
<i>Interviews</i>	23
<i>Observation</i>	25
Chapter 3: Results and Discussion.....	27
Place Attachment in two acts	29

<i>Identity, Dependence, and Social Bonding as Attachment metric</i>	30
<i>Identity in Place</i>	36
Chapter 4: Conclusion.....	78
Changing Narratives In and Out of the NPS.....	80
The Stories We Tell	82
Guiding toward the future.....	84
Appendix 1: Recruiting and Informed Consent	87
Appendix 2: Place Attachment Survey	90
Appendix 3: Interview Protocol.....	91
Appendix 4: Correlation Matrix of Place attachment	92
Works Cited	94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Ray House	2
Figure 2: A volunteer leads an elementary school class into the Ray House.....	4
Figure 3: "Miss Cool" in downtown Springfield, MO.....	14
Figure 4: The Moonlight Tour	16
Figure 5: Positionality visualized.....	18
Figure 6: The "Lyon Bed".....	45
Figure 7: The second room on the Ray House Tour	46
Figure 8: The rock pile that memorialized Nathaniel Lyon.....	47
Figure 9: Cannon demonstrations	48
Figure 10: An orchard in front of the Ray House	51
Figure 11: Approaching the Ray House from the southeast	53
Figure 12: Looking northwest from the Ray House porch during a summer downpour	54
Figure 13: Union General Nathaniel Lyon	57
Figure 14: Anna Elizabeth Steele	58
Figure 15: Rhoda Jones, freed woman. Former slave of the Rays.....	60
Figure 16: The guys that fire the cannons.....	72
Figure 17: In my "Union Blues" during artillery training	73

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Volunteer demographics	31
Table 2: Items used to measure place attachment	32
Table 3: Metrics by gender	32
Table 4: Relationship between place attachment and time	33

THE HEARTS OF THE HOME:
VOLUNTEER EDUCATORS AND THE CREATION OF PLACE-NARRATIVE IN A CIVIL
WAR HOUSEHOLD

Emma Jay Walcott-Wilson

Dr. Matthew Foulkes, Thesis Supervisor

ABSTRACT

Tour guides at historic sites are increasingly recognized by heritage and place studies as important agents of place creation and re-creation. Guides at Civil War sites repeatedly perform official and vernacular historical narratives for school groups, military staff-rides, and general visitors. The interpretive division at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield in Southwest Missouri relies on a reciprocal relationship with dozens of volunteer educators who make it possible to keep the Ray House, a homestead site used as a field hospital during the Battle of Wilson's Creek, open for visitor tours. Using the analysis of surveys, in-depth interviews, and tour observations, this study was designed to show that volunteers act as important conduits for reinforcing certain cultural heritage identities and promulgating certain national values and popular myths. As the only National Battlefield in a state wrought with violence during the mid-19th century, Wilson's Creek represents history far beyond the events that took place on the 2000 acres of soil within its bounds. These volunteer guides are active in the formation and reimagining of a narrative economy of the Civil War in Southwest Missouri through their personal research and experience by leading tours at the Ray House.

Chapter 1: Introduction

On the morning of August 10th, 1861, John Ray was sitting out on this porch, supervising his family and slaves as they went about the early morning chores...with a rifle in his lap, according to legend. Little Olivia—she was five—and her older brother, John, were down at the creek, watering their horses when a confederate soldier rode up to them on horseback. [STOMP] “You kids better get outta here, there’s gonna be fightin’ like hell in less than ten minutes!” So, what do you think they do? Run up the hill to tell their father, about the saucy language, yes, but mostly about the impending battle. But at first, he doesn’t believe them! “Naw, the battle isn’t going to happen here it’s supposed to be in Springfield.” And he was right, it wasn’t supposed to happen here, although they had been well aware of the confederate troops camping in their very fields.

More than 100,000 locals, tourists, and schoolchildren visit Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield every year. The site is a nexus of Civil War history for visitors to Southwest Missouri. At the center of historical interpretation at Wilson’s Creek is a Civil War-era household that is used as a conduit for a wide range of shared histories at the Battlefield. The Ray House sits on a hill astride the Wire Road, an important transportation and communication channel through southern Missouri and northern Arkansas. When fighting broke out early in the morning of August 10th, 1861, the Ray family home was almost immediately converted into the Confederate field hospital. That battle that would later be known as the Battle of Wilson’s Creek and the Battle of Oak Hill for the Union

and the Confederacy, respectively. The story of the battle, passed down the generations as local tales and national legends is now told at the Ray House by park rangers and



Figure 1: The Ray House

volunteers as one of the 407 sites in the United States National Park System.

The Rays were commercial farmers who owned about 400 acres in the valley. They raised corn, barley, wheat, and fruit as well as cows, hogs, sheep, and

chickens. The family was well positioned in the small community since John Ray was the Postmaster for the township. Roxanna and John Ray had 11 children who would have gone to school nearby. There were also five people who lived enslaved by the family at the time of the battle, Rhoda and her four young daughters. It is believed they lived behind the house in a small cabin. The house is one of two remaining structures from the time of the battle to have survived both the violence and the passage of time; the other is a small stone spring-house, north of the Ray residence. A NPS employee or volunteer is stationed there to stand sentry and guide visitors through the house. Many dimensions of place are explored at the Ray House and the Battlefield since the interpretive resources are available, and the histories are innumerable. It could have accurately been named, “Wilson’s Creek National Former Osage Territory,” or “Wilson’s Creek National Trail of Tears Memorial” or “Wilson’s Creek National Monument to the Drudgery and Pain of Farm Life in Rural Missouri,” but the intersection of local memory and national fervor to

preserve battlefields at the time of the Civil War centennial, created conditions to enshrine this location as a physical manifestation of those memories.

The Ray House serves as an important representational space for the public memory of the Civil War in the Missouri Ozarks as the place-narratives are performed. The spatiality, or the socially produced space, of the Ray House has an amplified power to reify cultural values and mores and act as a legitimizing agent for dominant hegemonic discourses or to subvert the dominant readings of Civil War memorial sites (Lefebvre 1991). While historical interpretation of memorial sites is hotly debated among interpretive specialists in the NPS and academics, the role of volunteer interpreters as active participants in the evolution of local historical discourse is seldom studied.

I aim to expand understandings of volunteer experience of affective history and the process by which narratives about public spaces are shaped and re-shaped by individual perspective and interpretation. Though this inquiry is too limited to develop a framework for analyzing the role of volunteer's place attachment in historical place creation more generally, I begin to explore several aspects of volunteer self-perception of work in public history by using semi-structured interviews and observation. General aspects of this experience include: (a) place attachment and meaning in a preserved historic place, (b) teaching and learning in a Civil War battlefield, and (c) formation of personal and public narratives of conflict, place, and memory.

I am familiar with this process and generally understand politics of place and affect through my own experiences at Wilson's Creek as a NPS ranger. This will be my fifth summer interpreting history at the battlefield and I have worked with, trained, and been trained by the volunteers who are subjects in this project. To my participants I am both an

insider and an
outsider. My
standpoint is
informed by my role
as an employee,
student, and



Figure 2: A volunteer leads an elementary school class into the Ray House

researcher but also as an interpreter of the park histories and an enthusiast for local stories. This positions me firmly inside my own research and I explore my positionality at length in the next chapter as I work through my own notions of identity, place, and memory. This highly reflexive approach is central to both purpose and outcome.

A volunteer I worked with for this project tells me that the park is a place that cannot be learned out of a book; it grabs you and it is an ongoing process, that one never stops learning or growing. Last year Jim celebrated his 20th year as a volunteer at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield and says he endeavors to learn something every day, because what would be the use, otherwise? The experience of ongoing learning for Jim resembles a phenomenological understanding of the process of place. In *Place as a Historically Contingent Process*, Allan Pred argues for a more flexible matrix of time and place, of action and space (1984, Cresswell 2004). Like Jim's education at Wilson's Creek, a place is never 'finished' but always 'becoming.' In the last 20 years, Jim has told the stories of the battle, the families that lived in the area, and the Old Wire Road to countless visitors, other volunteers, and park staff. He has shaped the narrative landscape of the park consciously and subconsciously as human activity and natural physical processes have changed the place around him. His performance has changed over the years, even just

since I started at the battlefield. That is the effect of embodying history in this space. The influence of other volunteers, new materials, travel to other historic sites, and the exploration of the physical landscape churn the personal and professional stories of place like a pile of compost. It becomes the same dirt; fertilizes the narrative garden of Wilson's Creek, cross-pollinates with the greater story of the Civil War of Missouri, and becomes part of the landscape of Civil War memory.

Review of the literature

The geography of memory: commemoration, heritage, and sacredness

In the last 20 years, a large volume of work has been conducted in the area of public memory, particularly in the field of geography. As many geographers are interested in place-based experience and understanding, the way memory shapes those places is intrinsically interesting. This grew from earlier examinations of landscape symbolism (Cosgrove 1984; Harvey 1979; Lowenthal 1975, 1985; Tuan 1974, 1979) and has grown to include a large number of study areas (politics of commemoration, national identity and patriotism, heritage tourism, etc.) including the re-evaluation of battlefield interpretation and commemoration (Foote 2007). Much of this work is predicated on the notion that all history is socially constructed and that the materiality of the landscape reflects that active construction of place (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004).

The study of memory, once only the focus of psychology, has expanded in definition and scope as other disciplines have sought to understand their own evolving identities and the construction of knowledge in their fields (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). It is increasingly seen as a social activity that is a creative and binding force of group identity (Crang and Travlou 2001; Endensor 1997; Till 2001). Places such as Wilson's Creek Battlefield are designated to have such national significance that they are to be preserved

“in perpetuity” (NPS) for generations to enjoy. Not only are they extensions of a local effort to preserve important sites that espouse the bond of a community, they are defined by their contribution to a “national narrative” (Roundometof 2002).

Historic place creation

What separates geographical analyses of memory from other social sciences is the emphasis on the special and material dimensions of memory. Kenneth Foote and Moaz Azayahu (2007:127) describe public memory as a matrix in which “time and space are used separately and in combination to embed shared historical experiences and a sense of a shared past in the public life of a community.” Significant places such as battlefields allow memory to be rendered material and visual (Foote, 2007). A large amount of data can be gathered about memory from landscapes created to preserve that memory. The work of selecting what will be represented is always also the selection of things which are not represented. Memory selectivity in a historical and representational context must take into account the agency of individuals on a societal scale.

Don Mitchell (2000) and other structuralist geographers have focused on the power structures central to creating “historic” landscapes. In his assessment of the Johnstown, Pennsylvania proposals for Heritage and Cultural Parks, he criticizes the “sanitized” nature of the presented image of a united community as being racist and classist by omission (Mitchell 2000). While Mitchell’s criticisms may be accurate, I believe they fail to take into account the multitude of individuals that contribute to the gradual shaping of a community’s histories. Those who are well positioned and affluent traditionally have a greater hand in creating meta-narratives for a community, but individual actions and interpretations play a vital role in the creation of a broader public memory.

While the social-construction of place is vital to understanding how historic places are created—every National Park is approved and funded through the U.S. Congress, for example—many geographers understand the process to be somewhat more dynamic. Phenomenology has been important to understanding place as a process, rather than fixed and measurable, that places are never ‘finished’ but always ‘becoming’ (Cresswell, T., 2004; Pred, 1984; Tuan, 1974). This perspective is also informed by structuration theory, primarily associated with sociologist Anthony Giddens, which attempts to explain the interaction between structure and agency (Cresswell, T., 2004; Stones, 2005). Social structures typically have individuals within them or are the products of ‘past practices’ of agents; the agents themselves have social structures within them, their hermeneutic and phenomenological inheritance (Stones, 2005).

Thinking of this in terms of place, these structures can be understood as the physical environment (walls, doors, and dark alleyways) or as the establishment of social norms and laws (Cresswell, T., 2004). The structures may be geographically specific, but the behaviors of humans are decidedly less so. There is a sidewalk leading from one point to the next, to the next forming a right angle, but a muddy footpath forms on the diagonal resulting from the human desire to take shortcuts. Those muddy footpaths develop and the university, city, or business may build sidewalks where they know they’ll be used; this how agency and structure work together to create place.

Place Attachment

To step into an inquiry of ‘place’ or ‘place attachment’ is to at once explore something wrapped in common sense and deeply layered in meaning and intimacy. The field of place attachment is, by nature, interdisciplinary. David Hummon (1992) posits that this theoretical complexity is inevitable; the emotional ties of people and places arise from

intricately woven landscapes that are at the same time ecological, built, social, and symbolic. Bonds can be formed with places imagined, that someone has never set foot in, or places that have literal bonds, land ownership or occupation that symbolically encode social and experiential meaning.

Both qualitative and quantitative measures of place attachment have been critical to building the volume of literature and application of results in the field. In this study I use ethnographic and empirical to construct a better understanding of volunteer experiences at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. The field of outdoor recreation has produced a multitude of studies about *visitor* perception of place and place attachment in the last couple of decades as tourism has become ever-more important at the local, state, and national level (See Morgan, 2011; Smaldone et al., 2005; Suckall et al. 2009; Walker and Chapman, 2003; Kil et al., 2010; Davenport et al., 2010; Jorgenson and Stedman et al., 2001; Kaltenborn, 1997). Many of these analyses use a methodology of descriptive statistics or scales designed to conceptualize place attachment, developed initially by William and Roggenbuck (1989) and Williams et al. (1992) (Kil et al., 2010). These place attachment scales enable researchers to collect a vast amount of data about use patterns and sites of significance. In a small-scale study such as this one, place attachment is simply analyzed in tandem with qualitative data to develop possible linkages between place attachment, learning, and teaching.

While there are numerous attempts to understand place creation from its inception, parks are formally manufactured by governmental agencies (Dinnie et al., 2012; Mitchell, 2000; Dreijja, 2012) hence a great number of studies on visitor perception. Fewer studies have been conducted on active development of historical narratives through interpretation

in public spaces. Not much literature exists about the role of volunteers in shaping place narratives. With this study, I build on that existing literature by examining volunteer's perception of place and how that understanding informs their interpretation of that place in interactions with the general public.

Here I interpret agency in place creation through the lens of performance as a social and active process of identity creation, one that can be used to articulate the development of social space. Judith Butler and other queer theorists have used the language of performativity to theorize how subjects perform, do, or "act out" as saturated in power and certain subject positions and specifically the ways in which performative acts disrupt heteronormative alignment of dominant social thought (1990). Performativity theory seeks to explain how the disruption of power emerges in linguistic and dialectical terms between the constraining forces of social structure and the agency of individuals. Geographers have increasingly used performativity and performance as a way to think about power relations, agency, and social constructedness, as critical human geographers are more concerned with denaturalizing taken-for-granted social practices (Gregson and Rose, 2000). Performativity can be used to understand how identity forms in and with place and how performance creates place itself and both reinforces and subverts discourses of power. Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose argue that the performers cannot be removed entirely from "power's social script," meaning that while performative agency and instability undermine power systems, the performers and places produced around them are still products of power.

Performances do not take place in already existing locations: the City, the bank, the franchise restaurant, the straight street. These 'stages' do not preexist their performances, waiting to be in some sense mapped out by performances; rather, specific performances bring these spaces into being. And, since these

performances are themselves articulations of power, or particular subject positions, then we maintain that we need to think of spaces too as performative of power relations.

The active redefinition of identity in subject and space can be understood as performativity and performance. The performative qualities of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield are defined by and define the performances of subjects in that space. Interrelationality between performances of place and self can define the processes that brought it into being.

As a researcher, I am interested in the dynamic relationship of 'place attachment' and 'place creation' and the problems and possibilities it presents for public history in places such as Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, or WICR, as the National Park Service abbreviates it. That said, the purpose of this investigation is to explore the relationship between a volunteer educator's place attachment and their influence on the narrative economy of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. I focus specifically on nine volunteers and their interpretations of history at the Ray House since it is the primary point of interpretive contact between educator and visitor at the Battlefield as the only remaining structure from the period and nearly every volunteer is taught to tell 'its story.'

In my observations, interviews, memos, and self-reflection, I've found that the heteronormative and white-washed histories are not merely the product of standing, institutionalized histories determined by the park historians or administrators, but a much more imbedded element of guides' understanding of place, race, and gender. Volunteers influence the narratives that develop and are told at the Ray House. Institutional narratives we use today are vernacular ones that have become codified as physical manifestation of the state. This is not a static process. The elasticity and humanity of that

process is my concern here. In the following pages I describe a cross section of a process that is constant.

As a place attached person, I first develop my standpoint as central to the methodological approach. This is a mixed-methods study in many respects, and I will walk through procedures and my efforts to conduct a highly reflexive study in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, my results are divided into two primary nodes. The first of these outlines quantitative measures of place attachment I applied by using a survey. In the second section I present and discuss the results of analyzed semi-structured interview data. Chapter 4, the conclusion, incorporates elements of results and discussion as I weave a picture of larger implications for the development of narrative, continuity of historical thought, and the effects of institutionalized story.

Chapter 2: Approach and Methods

For four days, twelve thousand men—and a couple of women in disguise, no doubt—camped in the valley before you, in preparation for a march on Springfield. That’s where Union General Lyon and his seven thousand soldiers were stationed, protecting the garrisoned Springfield. The coalition Southern force (the Missouri State Guard, Arkansas State Militia, and a burgeoning general Confederate army) had planned to march the night of August 9th, but was sabotaged, as we often are in Missouri, by the weather. This was a rather rag-tag bunch. Some of the soldiers didn’t even have guns! Many of them were not equipped with proper accouterments, and had their cartridges just stuffed in their pockets. A short burst of rain caused their gunpowder to get wet, and they decided to wait until the next morning when they could march with full force on Springfield. But this meant General Lyon had time to make a pre-emptive strike. He marched 5,000 of his troops through the night to establish their position there, that slope to the northwest. They descended on the confederate troops around six in the morning, as they were fixing their breakfasts.

Positionality

Before I can discuss methodological conventions put into practice for this study, I need to address my position in it since it is central to the way I approach my subjects, the relevant literature, and how I collected and processed data. My methods follow from a highly reflexive framework as informed by feminist and queer theory and my personality as a reflective individual who has worked in the place of inquiry for nearly four years. As

a feminist geographer I am interested in scrutinizing every stage of the research process as well as using my perspective as counter to masculinist and heteronormative historical and contemporary place narratives. The influence of queer theory is evidenced by my focus on the performance of place and self as continually being in the act of becoming.

The results are not only a product of the methods employed, but of years of participation, love, and curiosity. My role as a researcher, interpreter, and place-attached person, and the integration of elements of autoethnography in my results, necessitates an expanded investigation into my own role and the influence it has. Addressing my role in terms of positionality, I establish a relational context for my identity and perspective to foster a more complete view of my interactions with participants and visitors to the park. I came to this topic as a place-attached person first, with implications for the processes of data collection and analysis. I will first examine my own experience and motivation then explain why my place attached identity is relevant in this work.

My Self in Place

I did not start my work at WICR with the intention of writing about it for a master's thesis; I did not even know I would be going to graduate school. This is not a well-planned, long-term, participant-observation driven project; it is the result of ruminating in my own frustrations about writing and teaching history and my conversations with fellow students, mentors, and employers. Unlike many of the participants in this study, I began my life at WICR as an outsider to the world of "Civil War buffery" but was interested in new ways to teach local history to different audiences. At the time I was working for a local NPR member station on a series about local history. I was 20, and I felt very sure of my perspective but very unsure about my knowledge. I read a few books and watched several tours before I found myself interpreting the history of the Ray House for visitors.

My stories changed dramatically in that first summer as I would work with different rangers and volunteers, each of whom had their own take on meanings of war, loss, and duty. This rapid evolution of narrative from my own mouth was shocking. To me, histories at national parks seemed unshakable. As a visitor, these stories seemed *true*.

Interpreters have great deal of influence on what becomes truth at a place like the Ray House. Not only are we the standing history (as in, we are standing in front of you telling you what the history is), but also we have direct influence on the development of more official narratives of history told by WICR and the NPS at large¹. The role comes with the ability to influence the way visitors



Figure 3: "Miss Cool" in downtown Springfield, MO

understand what history is and how it may have a bearing on their life. In my “Smokey the Bear” hat (or flat cap), forest-green pants, and grey shirt adorned with a shiny gold badge, I am the authority. I wrote sardonically about my feelings of power in a reflection after my third summer:

I am the Tour Guide. The gatekeeper to Knowledge. My ability to pontificate is my weapon. I stand on the porch like a khaki goddess, hands in pockets. Miss Cool.

The use of particular dress and performance style are another dimension of the storytelling that convey certain values and priorities to visitors. A perception of expertise is nearly as effective as actual expertise.

I extract myself from the covers every morning and begin a remarkable transformation. Brown shoes, green trousers, grey buttons down a grey

¹ When I refer to *us*, or *we*, in this context, I mean specifically interpreters at Wilson’s Creek

shirt, perfect pockets and a shining buffalo badge, all wrapped up with a green clip-on tie, the highest quality Mexican sweatshop fake half-Windsor. A felt brim pulled down to my ears, its four puckered dents above a “USNPS” emblazoned hatband. I magically become a figure of authority.

The evaporation of my expertise when I was wearing civilian clothes resulted in an acute awareness of this transition. The uniform imbued me with power to be taken seriously, a novelty for young women in male-dominated fields. It vaulted me to a position where my expertise was challenged, not assumed to be nonexistent. I reveled in the awareness of my role in knowledge creation at the battlefield but it also terrified me. I was not always happy with the stories that were being told, and I ran into the conflict of loving and respecting my colleagues, but being staunchly opposed to many of the histories they presented. However, my own stories fell apart and took shape at a rolling boil. What role could I have in criticizing problematic narratives when my own were so nebulous?

What I learned over the course of these years is the life of the place is a more complex reality than the mere interpretation of the past. The participation of people in the culture of a place created for future remembering of past events is a lot like a chunky stew. There are a lot of ingredients, some have more flavor, some take up more space, they're united by a common broth, and it all has to be served to an audience of some kind or another. There will be ways to change how these stories are told but the central element of this place is the people that create it and are created by it. To understand how those individuals evolve in place is to learn why Wilson's Creek National Battlefield continues to have a weighty presence in public memory and the local history landscape.

In the Research Process

By now it is clear that in this paper there can be no attempt at replicating a vision of objective or positivist science. I have known all of my participants for at least two years and our interactions are shaped by familiarity and affection for one another. To say that the degree to which I know my subjects will grant me a necessarily superior type of knowledge would too-closely replicate those same claims of positivism. However, my position encourages an ease of participant reflexivity in which the dialogue between myself and a volunteer tends to be more conversational, and I am actively reflecting back to them about my understanding of their thoughts (Al-Hindi, Kawabata 2001). In some



Figure 4: A wide range of garb on display before a large interpretive event, *The Moonlight Tour*

ways my approach mirrors those methods borne of feminist epistemologies used by researchers such as Oberhauser (1997) or Gibson-Graham (1994) that seek to “level the field”

between researcher and

researched to disrupt the traditional hierarchy of social science that places the “scientist” above her “subject.” But in this case we are already playing on the same field, albeit in different positions. And like a goalie and an offensive player, we are delineated by the way we dress. While I wear the Park Service “grey and greens” with an official-looking flat cap, volunteers wear an official-looking Kelly-green shirt with an NPS emblem. Our different positions on the field do have a bearing on the ways in which I apply participatory action research (PAR) (Gibson-Graham, 2006). In *A Post Capitalist Politics*

(2006), Gibson-Graham employ poststructuralist PAR that recognizes that power cannot be banished from any social process for “power circulates in many different and incommensurate ways and there are multiple power differentials at play.” My intimacy with the subject matter and other volunteers at the park gives me a unique insight into the process I am attempting to bring to light, but the dynamics of power cannot be ignored in this or any case. The awareness of my role as a NPS employee, a researcher, and a friend with specific points of view impacts the willingness of participants to share certain experiences or viewpoints. Conversely, my knowledge of the lives of participants influences the ways in which I respond to them. I may have the tendency to pursue certain answers or draw conclusions based not only on their responses but our shared history as interpreters and the numerous times I have observed their interpretive styles. Considering this relational matrix necessitates this highly reflexive approach that will aid in the evaluation of this study by others and allow me to turn an ethnographic lens on my own experiences. I embrace the opportunity to contribute to the understanding of something so “near and dear.”

My status as an “insider” gives me access to different participants and knowledges that I would not otherwise have, but it also poses opposite challenges. Objectivity is an unachievable goal in any research, but my closeness to this research may prevent my exploration of certain connections visible from the outside or the ability to jettison results or sections that may not contribute to a more cohesive picture of the studied group. Mine is also a privileged perspective on volunteer and visitor experience that is very much a part of a state-run organization that promotes particular nationalistic narratives of Missouri and the Civil War in general. Echoing the conclusions of Dydia DeLyser about

Bodie, an “authentic” California ghost town and tourist destination, WICR is not an ideal site for a geographer interested in difference (1999). Everyone who works at the park—volunteer and staff—is white, including myself. Though visitors come from all over the world, typically as part of a trip down Route 66, that population is also remarkably homogeneous. In a typical busy summer week at the Ray House there 300 to 600 visitors that stop by and maybe five to ten of those individuals are black or Hispanic. While this is not a study of contingency of whiteness itself, it is the invisible phenomenon at the foundation of performance and interpretation of the histories in question. As George

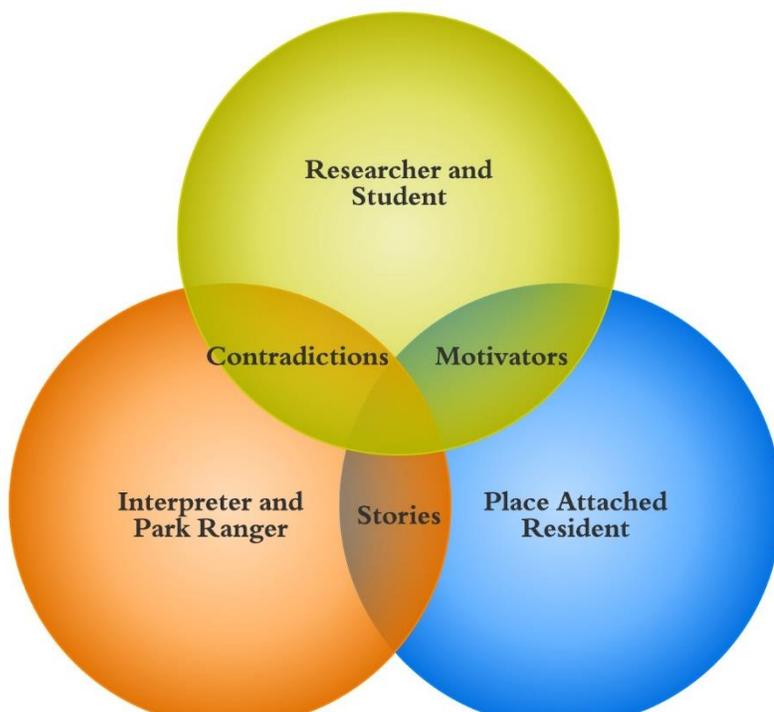


Figure 5: Positionality visualized

its role as an organizing principle in social and cultural relations.” The lack of non-white voices or regular criticisms of whiteness as the special context for our stories is important for recognizing WICR as potentially reinforcing hegemonic whiteness, and this

investigation studying its interpretation.

Whiteness is a standpoint missing from fig. 5. This venn diagram is designed to triangulate my positionality as an investigator in this particular project. Three primary

nodes emerged as particularly relevant: Researcher and Student, Place Attached Resident, and Interpreter and Park Ranger. Contradictions at the intersection of researcher and student propel me to learn more about place, management, and history. Storytelling is borne from my identity with, dependence on, and social life in my home place and guiding tours at the Ray House is a place I can practice it. I am interested in place-based education and community participation; also guided by my place attachment. My point of view and its consequences are the intersection of these three nodes.

It is important to note that there are many other identities that have intersected to create the nodes in this diagram. I am a young, queer, white, feminist, “trekkie,” dog and cat loving, home-owning, book-loving sister, friend, and so forth. Just like my participants, I bring my identities with me to WICR as well as the table where we sat during their interview. In contrast, most of the participants in this study are older than 60, married or formerly married to someone of the opposite sex, and retired. Many of them are veterans or from military families, all but one of the women in the study are current or former professional educators. What unites us is our love of Wilson’s Creek, the Ray House, and the gratification we receive from teaching about this site. All of us are white, “middle class,” residents of the Missouri Ozarks with an interest in local histories. We have grown into active participants in this place over the past several years. The place has grown into me and I have had a role in the evolution of its place-narrative. I cannot separate myself from this research and to do so would be tantamount to lying. Including autoethnographical elements integrates mine and participants’ experiences.

Triangulation, Data Collection, and Analysis

Since the purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which place attachment of tour guides interacts with the narrative economy of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield,

a relationship that has many aspects and intersections of experience, I aim to achieve a high level of data saturation. I approach my question(s) from as many angles as permitted by the scope and timeline of this project. In this section I will describe each of these phases (a few of which were concurrent), the processes involved in collecting and analyzing the resultant data, and how they fit together into a larger schema of knowledge creation. There were three primary points of contact with volunteer educators during this process, (1) a Likert scale survey to measure place attachment, (2) in-depth interviews, and (3) observation of tours at the Ray House, with a lesser focus. Less formal methods of collection and analysis involved participant-observation over the course of the summer of 2014 and textual analysis of materials related to the house tours.

At the start, my intention was to conduct a study using grounded theory principles and practices to generate a theory of volunteer experience. The aim of grounded theory is to draw upon the data to construct a theory that could apply to other similar situations with a set of mutually exclusive themes (Glaser and Strauss 1967). What appeals to me about a grounded theory method of qualitative data analysis is its nonlinearity and inclusivity (Charmaz 2006). Applying grounded theory requires continual analysis and writing down ideas as they occur. A researcher lets those ideas guide her next steps in all stages of inquiry. Charmaz (2006) writes that this often results in a researcher pursuing more than one analytic direction. A central element of grounded theory is “rich data,” this involves collection that is intensive and multilayered, this informed sampling and data collection procedures. Reflexivity as an “insider” is an important element of my data and is the primary reason I am attracted to this methodology. However, grounded theory is the guiding principle for data collection and initial coding (labeling data with what they

indicate symbolically) but I adapted it to better reflect my own conceptualizations of the emergent themes, influencing literature, and the evolving relational matrix.

Participants and Sampling

I decided to employ grounded theory techniques for sampling because of the emphasis on the inductive process. Additionally, Charmaz (2006) and Clarke (2005) used grounded theory as a way to explore the role of the researcher and aimed to deconstruct the “positivist underpinnings” of Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) systematic grounded theory framework. Both of these grounded theory approaches influenced how I collected and processed my data. In accordance with most grounded theory sampling techniques, I chose participants who expressed a strong connection to place and have put in hours of research outside their volunteer time, to develop an understanding of their contributions to the place narrative.

Since I was working with adult park volunteers and participation was voluntary, I sought approval through the chief of interpretation, the superintendent, and the regional volunteer coordinator and was able to proceed at the start of summer, 2014. A couple of participants had volunteered preemptively and were as ready to get started as I was. The primary recruitment material (Appendix 1) was an email distributed through the WICR volunteer list-serve. I also spoke personally with many of the volunteers I was working with. I met my desired sample size of ten, which is roughly a tenth of park volunteers overall, but included volunteers with extensive experience interpreting at the Ray House, which is not true of all volunteers. One respondent was unable to complete the entire arc of the project because they moved halfway through, so I ended up with a sample size of nine. My only strict criteria for sampling were that each respondent had been working at WICR for at least two years and was primarily interpreting the Ray House. There were a

couple individuals I refused for this study because they would interpret the house occasionally, but spent the majority of their time doing other tasks, such as trail patrol or working at the front desk in the visitor center.

I recruited participants who had been in their roles as tour guides for at least two years. It was likely that these informants would be deeply rooted in place to a greater degree than volunteers recently on the job. This was also a judgment grounded in my own experiences, as I have witnessed two years to be sufficient time to foster a greater connection with the place itself. I also wanted a wide range of experience so I could determine if there were any differences between volunteers that had worked for many years, versus those who had worked for few years.

Quantitative Measures of Place Attachment

The first point of contact with the subjects explicitly involved with the research project was a survey (see Appendix 2) that measured their sense of place attachment as per Williams & Roggenbuck (1989). That method defines place attachment with a series of 12 survey items that measure place identity and place dependence on a standard, five-point Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). Place identity questions are designed to correspond with emotional-symbolic meanings; for example:

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield means a lot to me 1 2 3 4 5

Place dependence questions are designed similarly and measure how respondents rely on unique elements of the place and its functional utility. These typically revolve around use rather than feeling; volunteers rated this statement, "I would not substitute any other place for the type of activities I do at Wilson's Creek."

An important element of this study is to examine those variations between and among the three categories of place attachment as outlined in Gerald Kyle's tests of the

dimensionality of place attachment (2005). Kyle's work expands upon William and Roggenbuck's by adding a third category of measurement called "social bonding." Social bonding questions measure social attachments and engagement with the park and include:

I tell many people about Wilson's Creek National Battlefield 1 2 3 4 5

I included three items of identity, four in dependence, and five in social bonding.

These sub-groups were not labeled on the survey, but were divided into clusters. I used a survey to collect demographic data and included questions about experience and learning that are wrapped into the qualitative analysis. The analysis of the resultant data was conducted using SPSS software and resulted in a table of descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations). I also ran other analyses that were outside the scope of this study but that may be used in the future.

Interviews

At the heart of this project were the semi-structured, in-depth interviews about each volunteer's experiences of learning and teaching at Wilson's Creek, which were conducted after the administering the survey. Each participant talked with me for a 35 minutes to an hour and a half long interview. The questions are few, short, open-ended, and range from broad to specific (see Appendix 3). In each interview I engaged with the respondent as both a researcher and a colleague, reflecting back to them their own expressions and my interpretations of them. On most occasions this simply resembled conversation between familiar people. My experiences and stories about interpreting at the Ray House helped to draw out their own. Six of the interviews took place at the WICR Visitor Center, two took place at their respective residences, and one was at a local coffee shop. I audio-recorded each interview and along with two assistants transcribed each of them and ended up with 144 pages of text.

I used a several-stage coding process to arrive at a series of categories. The first pass was transcription, during which I developed preliminary codes. Following transcription I engaged in open coding. Open coding involves sifting through the transcripts line by line and selecting recurring words and phrases or items that stick out or may conform to an idea. The categories coalesce around key elements. Each category has a collection of properties that developed into subcategories in each. I adapted the grounded theory approach to be a more natural extension of the methodological conditions listed above, including my positionality and the categories of place attachment explored in the survey. I corralled my themes into four primary groups: place identity, place dependence, social bonding, and narrative creation. I explain each of these in turn in my results, but it is important to mention here that I chose these preexisting themes because of my experience and use of place attachment literature.

Through the entire data collection and analysis process, I used memoing, in which I reflected on developing themes through writing and drawing diagrams. I make no claims my themes to being testable for empirical verification or that the categories are mutually exclusive. This style of analysis is consistent with a narrative-discursive approach used by many social science researchers interested in identity and place. In her assessment of methods for interpreting identity and place, Stephanie Taylor says a narrative approach specifically avoids too-selective coding to retain the voice and integrity of the original speaker (2010). The blending of qualitative methodologies was a result of the analysis process as certain themes and patterns emerged from the data.

Over the last four years I have written obsessively about my experiences at Wilson's Creek. All those materials became data in this thesis as part of an autoethnographic

approach. I collected my notes, blog posts, journal entries, and audio-recorded reflections to triangulate my position in the research and focus my research objectives. Most reflective material in the next chapter was recorded after the analysis of volunteer interview data. Stan Maxson, a graduate student of History and a fellow interpreter, interviewed me with the same interview protocol I used. We are friends, both from Springfield, and he also studies the Civil War in Missouri so the interview was casual and conversational, much like those with the volunteers. This challenged me to answer my own questions and granted me a better understanding of participant experience. It was more difficult than I expected and the entire interview lasted about three hours, resulting in more than 30 transcribed pages. Stan and I developed a more reflexive process as we shared our interpretive experiences and discussed the results.

Observation

In the months following the survey and interview, I observed each of the study participants conduct tours at the Ray House. These were audio-recorded and I took detailed field notes during each. The purpose of these observations as part of a visitor audience was to see how each volunteer educator performed stories at the Ray House. I had seen many of their tours before this point, but it was often standing alongside them as a co-interpreter.

This was the most difficult part of data collection for me because it was hard to stand silent as incorrect information or opinions I disagreed with were shared as fact. I also stood in some middle-point between being a participant in the tour and a colleague. We chatted about their interpretation and interests, children and grandchildren, work issues, and love interests between tours. I told each of them before starting that I would be present as an audience member, just to observe without input or more active

participation, and to treat me as a visitor. But my presence was still exceptionally evident as I clipped lapel mics to their period clothing and frantically took notes. Many of them introduced me to the tour groups before starting or looked at me if they wanted confirmation of some detail, like the number of hogs owned by John Ray. My role was both “participant as observer” and “observer as participant” in that I was participating in the audience experience but merely observing the performative experience of the tour guides. I also drew from my identity as a complete participant since I know first-hand the challenges and rewards of interpreting to tour groups at the Ray House. After my observations I would, on occasion, end up leading a tour if they needed a hand.

This resulted in a vast amount of data, more than 20 hours of audio-recordings and 15 pages of notes. I used themes and sub-themes that emerged from interview analysis to inform my selection of certain elements for closer study. I chose the discussion of enslavement at the Ray House to analyze in greater depth because slavery was regularly mentioned in the interviews as a topic that makes volunteer interpreters uncomfortable. Addressing the issue of slavery during Ray House tours was the most variable story element among my participants, so I selected it because its uniqueness and difference from other stories that are more consistently told. I selectively transcribed the sections of tours that involved stories of slavery and about those tours that did not, in context of the rest of the tour. When volunteers discussed slavery or enslaved persons, I created memos to develop narrative themes used to teach about enslavement at the Ray House. Analyzing discomfort and its effect on the place-narrative allowed me to draw a clearer link between elements of place attachment and the generation of institutionalized histories.

Chapter 3: Results and Discussion

Almost as soon as the fighting began, this house became a field hospital. The confederate troops hung a big white flag up on the roof to indicate it was neutral territory. And after that it drew no fire. No small arms or artillery fire hit this house, despite its proximity to the fighting. The only thing that was damaged was the chicken coop, a piece of exploding case shot hit the edge and exploded in the garden, those poor chickens... feathers everywhere. Anyhow, the battle raged on until around noon. The most intense fighting happened on Bloody Hill, that top-most ridgeline to your left, it may seem far away, but it's only about a mile as the crow flies. And that's about how far a cannon ball can fly accurately.

At about 10:30 in the morning General Lyon was killed. He was leading his men into battle, holding his hat aloft, he cried "Come on, my brave boys, I will lead you!" He had already been shot twice, once in the ankle and another bullet had grazed his head, but as he raised his hat he was shot a third time, the bullet flew through both lungs and his heart. So, that's the one what done it. By that time, this house was filled and surrounded by the dead and wounded. His body was found on Bloody Hill by some confederate cavalrymen after the battle, and they brought it here, to the Confederate field hospital. They placed him in the bed in the front room. With that, let's step inside.

One objective of this study is to examine ways in which volunteer educators participate in place at Wilson's Creek and how they influence the creation of that place through their role as place-based educators. I explore the first of these by trying to understand the development of place attachment among the volunteers. I used the three dimensions of place attachment as described by Gerald Kyle to consolidate the emergent themes into spheres of experience that shape each volunteer's interaction with and

attachment to WICR, in particular the Ray House. My own experience as an interpreter at the Ray House also influenced some of the themes central to the development of place attachment. I use the term “themes” as opposed to codes to indicate that they are in no way mutually exclusive. The amorphous subject of emotional, place-based connection is a matrix of knowledge rather than a series of discrete categories. However, these divisions allow me to parse out ways volunteer educators learn about themselves and place through their varied experiences. It also extends the reach of place attachment studies that use these measures of place attachment and contributes to the body of literature in outdoor recreation as well as tourism geography.

The place attachment of visitors is important for widespread economic and social support of managed areas. The place attachment of employees enhances their working life and their contributions to the organization. The place attachment of volunteers is foundational to their relationship with the park. The National Park Service often calculates volunteer participation in transactional terms for example, “hours donated,” and however much currency would be traded for those hours had they not been donated. It is clear the volunteers in this study were not tabulating those same figures as they laced up their brogans² or tucked their hair in a snood³. Their involvement in the life of the park is an extension of themselves, just like other hobbies or relationships. They volunteer because they connect to it emotionally and intellectually, can pursue their interests, and be social with others. Place identity, place dependence, and social bonding are the cosmic classes in which many of my own experiences and that of the volunteers can be nested.

² Most period shoes worn by male volunteers are reproductions of Jefferson 1851 Union Army-issued brogans

³ A reenactor term for a decorative hairnet covering commonly used instead of a bonnet at WICR

Beyond that, they are where this project started, and the questions that followed the survey are influenced on my framework for understanding place attachment.

Place Attachment in two acts

Place attachment serves a number of functions for groups and individuals. It works to define one's own relationship with space. It is an essential part of how individuals interact with their environs and each other. Humans move through a series of significant places in the everyday and in the time imaginary. The relationship is reciprocal. To manage a space that is considered significant by a broad array of people and organizations, such a religious site, memorial, or battlefield, an organization like the National Park Service relies on place-attached individuals to achieve its mission, and some research has shown place attachment to be correlated to stewardship activities and environmental responsibility (Mitchell, Force, Carroll, & McLaughlin, 1993). Instead of developing axial codes that would establish a new typology of place attachment, I used dimensions defined in quantitative studies, like G. Kyle's. To the categories place identity, place dependence, and social bonding, I added "narrative creation." The final category centers on how volunteers view their involvement in the proliferation of certain truths or stories at the Ray House. One reason I used these categories is volunteers saw the questions of the survey first and it introduced concepts centered on those themes. It also influenced my questions in the interviews and how I responded to participants. I will present and explain the results of the questionnaire followed by a brief discussion of place attachment themes from the interviews that illustrate the importance of each survey section. In the second, and longest, portion of this chapter I will explore the concept of identity as integral to the narrative process in more depth.

Identity, Dependence, and Social Bonding as Attachment metric

The purpose of survey data in this study is to reinforce connections made in the qualitative analysis. There was no control group and my survey deviated slightly from those used by Morgan (2009) or Kyle (2005) that aim to draw comparisons between place attachment and other interactions with a place. I am more interested in the relationships between items and with the interview data. To find the correlation between items I used Spearman's rho⁴ because it is nonparametric and, therefore, makes no assumptions about normal distribution and is good for a small sample size. As I expected, there were few significant correlations between items, but there were a couple connections that propelled me into further exploration of qualitative data in the next section.

There is a strong positive correlation between the answers to "I am very attached to WICR" and "I have lots of fond memories at WICR," with a correlation of 1, meaning everyone answered the same for both questions. For questions "WICR means a lot to me" and "I tell many people about WICR," the average score was five, which was the maximum. Together, these indicate a strong connection between social bonding and identity. This was hardly surprising, as volunteering at Wilson's Creek is an inherently social activity, and I will expand further on this point in the next section.

⁴ See Appendix 4 for results in a table

Table 1: Volunteer demographics

Average age	62 years old
Average years volunteered	6.7
Level of education:	Number of participants in each category
Some high school	1
High school diploma	1
Associate's degree	1
Bachelor's degree	1
Master's or professional degree	4
Doctoral degree	1
<i>Have volunteered at other NPS sites</i>	<i>1</i>
Women	5
Men	4

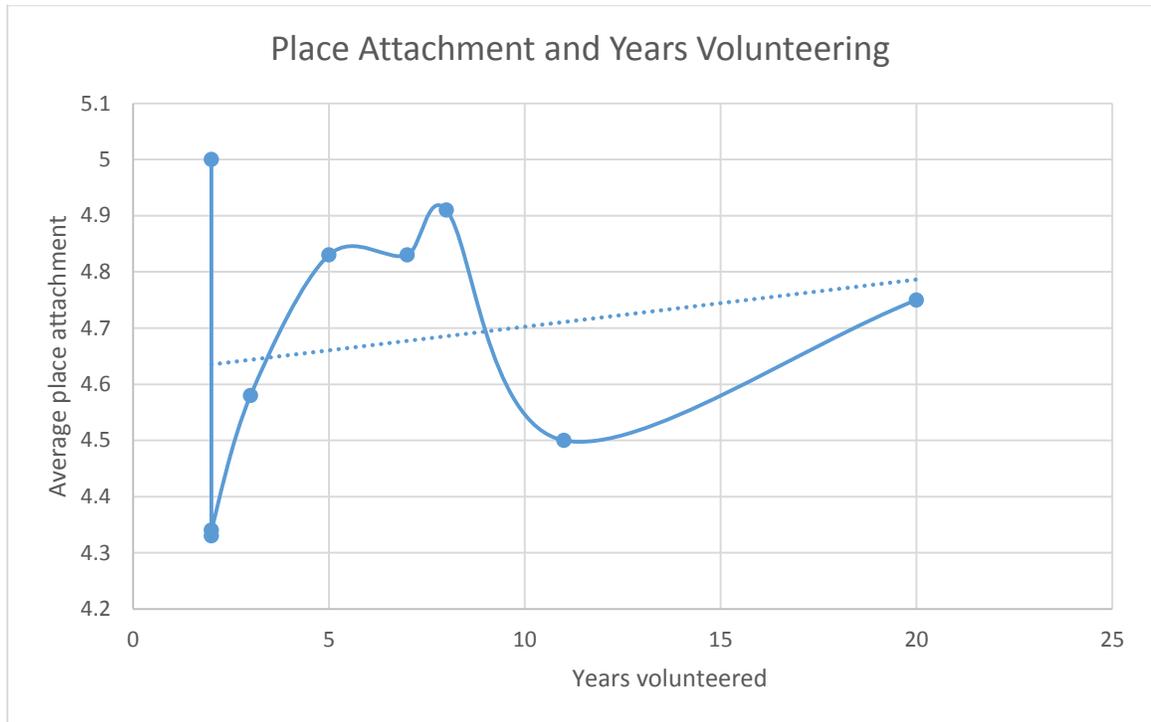
Table 2: Items used to measure place attachment

Dimensions and individual items	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Place Identity			
Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield means a lot to me	5.00	.00	9
I am very attached to Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield	4.78	.44	9
I identify strongly with Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield	4.89	.33	9
Average place identity	4.89		
Place Dependence			
Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield is the best place to do the things I enjoy doing	4.56	.73	9
I get more satisfaction out of volunteering at Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield than at other places	4.67	.50	9
I would not substitute any other place for the type of activities I do at Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield	4.33	.71	9
Volunteering here is more important than volunteering any other place	4.11	.78	9
Average place dependence	4.42		
Social Bonding			
I have a lot of fond memories of Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield	4.78	.44	9
I tell many people about Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield	5.00	.00	9
I will (do) bring my children to this place	4.67	.71	9
I have a special connection to the Battlefield and the people who visit it	4.67	.50	9
I have a special connection to the Battlefield and the people who have used the space over the years	4.67	.50	9
Average social bonding	4.76		
Average overall place attachment	4.68		

Table 3: metrics by gender

Men		Women
4.59	Place attachment avg.	4.73
6.5	Years worked avg.	6.8
2	Years worked median	7

Table 4: Relationship between place attachment and time



As you can see from table 2, the dimension of place identity yielded the highest average score. The strength of this finding was corroborated by the qualitative data. In fact, it was such an important theme, I decided to dedicate the rest of my results chapter to investigation of that theme. The category of identity certainly contains elements of social bonding and place dependence, but here I would like to briefly demonstrate my use of these dimensions to parse out thematic categories using examples from the interviews.

Identity, in the context of place attachment literature, can be understood as a direct and self-identified emotional-symbolic tie to a place. For instance, this volunteer describes her emotional attachment to the Ray House,

I love that we have that resource and I love being in places that have THE place where THE thing happened and then being able to tell the stories that are connected with it.

Identity is what defines the “heart of the matter.” How do volunteers *feel* when they are at the park? How is it significant in their *sense of self*? What does this relationship *mean* to them?

Themes of place dependence coalesce around a central notion of functionality. The place—WICR or the Ray House—serve a specific role in the lives of volunteers. For the questionnaire section on place dependence, the highest average represents the satisfaction of volunteering at WICR over other places. This theme also cropped up through the interviews. At least three of the participants stated that they would (or have) volunteered at a hospital, but it does not fulfill their love of telling stories and teaching.

Because I don't find any other place, you know, I could work at one of the hospitals as one of the, as the person at the desk, but I find that boring. My interest is history, my interest is people, and psychological and sociology and how these things work through the generations and I just dig doing that kind of thing. I don't think I'd like it to be in a place where I was in an office shuffling papers for somebody else, or something of that nature, and Wilson's Creek is about the best thing we've got around here.

Both of these quotes integrate storytelling as an element of identity, a concept I will explore in the next piece. They also hinge on an essential element, social bonding.

Memory and experiences with family played a key role in the formation of place attachment for the participants.

When they opened in August of 1961, they had a huge ceremony with the Blue Angels flying over and I brought my brother and my husband and our four-month-old daughter.

It is one of the few places in the area you can get outside of Springfield. And before he died my dad and I used to like to come out here and drive around just to look at turkeys and deer and the scenery the cornfields because it's not looking at concrete. We're looking at – I grew up on a farm he grew up on a farm, we're used to rural areas so we like to come out we like to come out here and look at the rural areas.

Bringing family and sharing about WICR with others was also reflected in the interview data.

I talk it up; I say "Come on out!" you know, I've opened this place up on Sunday morning for my daughter-in-law and grand-kids.

Each of these themes interact with each other and the active creation of narrative at the battlefield, as people share, identify with, and rely on the Battlefield as a place to do what they like to do, learn and teach.

I think it fulfills kind of a need to promote history. I have a real fear that people don't care enough about their history. As a teacher, I really, really tried to make sure my kids knew how important their history was to them. To be able to really promote how important our history is. I look at what's going on today. We've got a lot of people who would like to start a civil war. And I'm thinking 'You guys don't have a clue what you're asking for. You're asking to get rid of a government that- good, bad or ugly- has kept a large number of people pretty free for a long time.' When you start trying to push another rebellion, you're getting ready to give up a lot of things. If you do give them up, nobody will ever have them again.

Volunteers aim to have a direct impact on how visitors understand history and each of the measurements of place attachment contribute to the idea of a "whole self" in place.

Identity in Place

There are three items remaining in the house that once belonged to the Ray family, the rest of the furniture is either from the period or a reproduction. All three are in this room. The spinning wheel belonged to Roxana, but it post-dates the battle. She made wool yarn to sell in Springfield. This funny-looking wheel in front of it also belonged to the family. Any guesses at its purpose? It's called a Weasel; it's used to measure yarn into skeins. It has a little mechanism inside that winds up as you turn it, and when you've reached the right number of turns, it pops. Usually one of the smaller children would have this task and a song always makes drudgery easier. Round and round the mulberry bush, the monkey chased the weasel...pop goes the weasel! And you have a skein of yarn, ready for sale.

Identity may be the most studied dimension of place attachment, largely because it is difficult to separate dimensions of attachment from identity itself. It has been interpreted as rootedness or insideness, a symbolic and emotional linkage to place. I see it as the way a person's sense of self is formed through the place. Working at the Battlefield plays an important role in the lives of my participants. It is tied into the imagination of their own family histories. Working at the park is an interaction with their own memories and the memory the Battlefield aims to preserve. Memorial sites galvanize an intangible past into pathways and roads and way-side markers. The explicit intention is to transmit memory and history to visitors; to preserve a specific story to be told through the generations. As interpreters tell the tales of the Ray House and steep in the place, it becomes a landscape

of memory for each person. They are part of the story. They produce and consume the story.

Setha Low (1992) described a genealogical linkage as a starting point from which other attachment follows. In her work on plazas in Costa Rica, she uses this element of her typology to describe literal and traceable family connections to place. While many of the participants do have ancestors connected with the Battle of Wilson's Creek or the land itself, much of the historical identification with place is a manifestation of their own interests and motivations. I will begin by exploring those more concrete linkages to place, both genealogical and based in personal remembrances before moving into more cosmological linkages with conceptualizations of lived experiences in the mid-19th century. In this portion I will also establish the identities of the volunteers to give personality and weight to their relationships with place and myself.

Memory's Routes

The last of the items is the bed. This was the same bed General Lyon's body was placed in after he was found on Bloody Hill after the battle. One of the confederate soldiers remarked of Mrs. Ray "She weeps, for the roaring Lion is dead!" He had been forgotten on the battlefield in the chaos of retreat. Initially he'd been placed on a hospital wagon, but removed to make room for a wounded, but living, soldier. He was a rather well-travelled corpse. The body was taken in by a woman named Mary Whitney Phelps, one of my favorite local Civil War heroines, and hidden in her cellar in Springfield. There were Confederate soldiers (out of the purview of their commanding officers) and other folks looking to take advantage of the chaos. They said they'd drag his body through the streets of Springfield as a sign of disrespect! It was buried by Phelps' slaves and, eventually, Lyon's body was taken back to Connecticut on a train, and at every stop

on the way the platforms were full of people wearing funeral blacks, there just to see the train that was carrying the body of the first Union General to die in combat. News of his death was splashed across the headlines of every newspaper. He became a martyr, and much more popular in death than in life (as he has once infamously stated that he would rather “see every man, woman, and child in Missouri dead and buried than see it go to the Confederacy”). It was a sign to the United States Government that this was not to be just the suppression of a rebellion but all-out war. On that pleasant note, let’s step into the next room.

Many people begin exploring histories through interest in their own families or family stories. This is a large part of how the participants in this study saw themselves in place or why history interested them from the start. I interviewed Viki, 64, in her home not far from the battlefield. It was filled with small antiques and photographs, things that conjured up her past as treasured possessions tend to do. We spent the first part of my visit discussing family histories and discovered that her husband and I share a common ancestor; he is also a volunteer at the park and they both have been working there for 11 years. Her average place attachment was high at 4.5, but in the bottom third of the participants. Viki’s family history is something that comes up first and frequently when she talks about herself. It is something we have talked about before and, for her, it was the logical way to introduce herself and how she ended up volunteering at Wilson’s Creek.

[My family is] second generation on my mother's side, uh, to this country. Been able to go through with ancestry back at least eight generations on my father's side, and you know, I was interested in the immigration process and everything. And how people ended up in the places they ended up, you know? That's part of

it. And then I got really hooked on the Civil War, War Between the States, and I said Hmm... and knowing that different civil wars have turned out completely different in other countries and everything, I just wanted to know something more about what is surprisingly very well-documented. Very well-documented.

Viki's enthusiasm for telling that "well-documented" story is known far and wide. By school groups she is known as "The Sarge" because of her direct and sometimes aggressive style. She is great at keeping school kids in order at the Ray House and making sure no one is touching something they shouldn't be. She says many of those items in the house were donated by her and another volunteer who felt that it was too sparsely furnished, that people may not be able to get a sense of peoples' lives "back then." Multiple participants said they like interpreting at the house because it is a way to connect to those stories of the past through those physical objects or abstract concepts of time. Viki says she connects to the experiences of her ancestors by imagining their lives during periods of conflict such as the Civil War. For those with genealogical linkage, these associations were an impetus for volunteering at the battlefield. Carolyn, 73, is a retired elementary school teacher who volunteers giving tours at the Ray House and the Civil War Medicine interpretive talk. We started around the same time, she has been volunteering four or five years and has a high level of place attachment at 4.83. She told me that she keeps volunteering because she has "left a part of [her] out there and it means a lot more" as time goes on, but that she has heard about it all her life as part of her family's story.

Two of my great grandmothers were born the day of the battle in Dallas County which is just north of here down by Buffalo. And I've known that all my life, and so it's just always been a part of me.

As volunteers explore histories of the battle and the families in the area, they sometimes discover hidden or possible connections. Betsy has the same place attachment

score as Carolyn and is a middle-school counselor. At 44 years old, she is the youngest volunteer who participated in this study and one of the youngest of all WICR volunteers. She also volunteers for “trail patrol” and spends her summers interpreting the Battlefield from the Ray House and the interpretive routes off the beaten path. After Betsy started her work at WICR, she discovered that two of her ancestors had been physicians in the area and may have provided aid in the aftermath of the battle. For volunteers, these discoveries bolster the sense of Wilson’s Creek Battlefield being “their place” and provides a stronger sense of belonging. Even volunteers from faraway lands like the upper Midwest have familial connections that change the way they participate in the story. Ted had never even heard of Wilson’s Creek before moving to the Ozarks to live with his fiancé and is literally marrying into genealogical place linkage.

I uh was completely unaware of any, or [many] ...Civil War battles west of the Mississippi, so, it was a...I'm used to talking to people, and in front of people, and so it was sort of a natural thing... I went through the training and uh, and settled on the Ray House...I don't know for any particular reason, but, I will tell you that the lady that I've been engaged to, her mother was born in that house in 1919.

Ted is a retired professor and the most recent to join the volunteer corps of the people in my study; he started two years before the interview for this project and his answers resulted in one of the lowest scores of the participants on the place attachment survey, at 4.33. He is 66 and had a longstanding interest in the Civil War, albeit east of the Mississippi, before moving to the area from Michigan. Viki, Carolyn, and Ted have an initial experience of attachment to the time imaginary and to people from their own stories. In starting a volunteer position at Wilson’s Creek they find a socio-spatial context in which to participate in those stories.

Other volunteers draw their identity as learners and teachers from their own memories and experiences at Wilson's Creek. Those volunteers who visited the park before it had become a national park—or at least before the NPS had developed the property—expressed the bond as a symbol of their childhood as well as a push toward their eventual interests, careers, and their work at the Battlefield today.

I was 13 years old when the Civil War Centennial began and growing up in this area, my dad was a Civil War buff and we had driven to Wilson's Creek a number of times over my childhood and we would drive down to Wire road in front of the Ray house, which was still the regular road at that time. We would go up on Bloody Hill and wander around and see the monument and look at the sink hole and anything else that might happen to be up there.

Mary Beth is one of the first volunteers I met when I began working at the park. Like a lot of former educators (particularly middle-school teachers) I know, she is extremely direct and extremely kind. She is the only one of the volunteers I interviewed who has been a park employee—as an emergency hire on a couple of occasions when there was a surprise shortage of interpretive rangers—and has volunteered at the park for eight years. As a social studies educator, she has worked on developing programs such as the Junior Ranger activity books and the medical talk. She says that at age 67 she's not looking to start a new career, but that it has, "always been my goal to be a history teacher, always been my goal in life to be a National Park Ranger," in part because of childhood memories at Wilson's Creek Battlefield. This enthusiasm was also reflected in her survey answers, her average place attachment was 4.91.

Inspiration as a "young'un" also led Jim to become a volunteer 20 years ago at the age of 43. He is the longest-serving volunteer at the park and was honored for that commitment at a volunteer banquet in 2014. Jim is the kind of guy who appears to remember every single thing he reads and can conjure up a story about most anything,

replete with citations and book recommendations; once you get him started, he keeps producing one anecdote after the next. If you know any self-proclaimed Civil War buffs—or me—you know this wont is not uncommon. His relationship, emotional and economic, began as an elementary school student.

In the late 50s they had a program in the schools called the “penny brigade,” where students gave spare change to help purchase the original 37 acres of Bloody Hill—I was a member of the penny brigade. I was here the centennial of the battle of Wilson's Creek, the centennial celebrations in 1961, so I've always felt a connection around here. I'm a local boy... I started studying seriously in 1963 when I was 12 years old after seeing the centennial celebrations at Gettysburg.

Jim says the longer he volunteers at the park, the more connected he becomes, and the more connected he becomes, the more he seeks learning opportunities. He views this as is his greatest strength as a volunteer and believes that others are on the same path.

Our volunteer corps here is really good, everybody has a good attachment to the park. Some of the newer ones have not quite—like the people that are just starting out, two or three years—some of them have gotten really attached, some of them are still growing. It's taken my almost 20 years to get to where I am. It's not just something that you can just come in and...it grabs you, you have to grow, and it's an ongoing process. I'm still learning from volunteers.

Despite his longstanding attachment, he represented the median place attachment average was the median point at 4.75. The landscape and history of the place is tied into Jim's identity, it weaves through his life as a root through soil. As his memories are filled with Wilson's Creek so are the memories of employees, volunteers, and visitors filled with Jim. His presence is part of the story of the place. This intertwining of place and self is a way volunteers exercise their mastery and influence and therefore increase their “fit” in the park. In the same way someone might become part of an office culture or participate more fully in school, attaining an increasing level of emotional-symbolic involvement

through performance of the place contributes to formation of social identity. Besides that, getting involved with the story of Wilson's Creek is just fun. For Betsy, working as an interpreter is her outlet for telling stories and relaxing out of her high-stress job, but the primary reason she keeps coming out is her sense of insideness, "I kind of feel like I'm part of the story because I get to tell it all the time. And yeah, yeah, that's it, I feel like I'm part of the story of [Wilson's Creek]."

Mary Beth expresses a similar sense of "fit" into the story of the park as part of its importance to her.

I actually feel that I'm part of the park...I feel like I really am part of the people out there. I know everyone out there and have a good relationship with everyone out there. I feel very close the park. It really is close to my heart to be out there doing things and working.

Territoriality

Now, it's important to note that the previous room likely would have been the children's bedroom, and I do mean all the children.

How many kids sleep in your bed?

Blinking, thinking, don't be a hero, "Um, one? Just me!" I reach out to shake the little girl's hand.

Well, allow me to congratulate you on your extreme wealth, health, and privilege! Because these kids did not live in such luxury.

There were nine Ray kids that were here at the time of the war and they all would have slept in there, in just a couple of beds. Except in the summer, when the boys likely would have slept on the porch. This is the kind of bed they'd be sleeping in. [there are rough ropes woven under the ticking] It's an old rope bed, and you can imagine, with three or four children to a bed, if the ropes became slack they'd all roll in a pile in the center and that's when the fights begin. So they'd have to tighten the ropes with a big wooden key here at the top. They would also be responsible for stuffing their own mattresses. And what do you think they stuffed them with? Hay, grass, leaves, maybe some bits of feathers if they were lucky, but also all the critters that come with that hay or grass or feathers. So this is where we get the phrase, "Sleep tight, don't let the bedbugs bite!"

Territoriality and protectiveness are hypothesized to be a key dimension of spatial control, or what I interpret as “mastery and influence” of a place as part of a volunteers psychological identification (Pellow 1992, Low 1992).



Figure 6: The "Lyon Bed" in the first room on the Ray House tour. The body of General Lyon was placed in this bed after the battle.

Every volunteer talked about

“ownership” or “protectiveness.” There were three types of protectiveness that emerged from the transcriptions; the desire to protect the physical objects in the Ray house and the park at large, the stories that are told there, and the entire Battlefield as a special place as part of the National Park Service. Viki has a close connection to those physical objects in the house; on what makes a “good visitor” or a “slightly worse visitor” she says there is a certain type of person that annoys her because they cannot keep their hands to themselves.

You have the people that want to pick up everything. “Uh, please, we're saving that for everybody that comes in.” Or “we prefer you don't pick that up,” or “please do not handle the merchandise...” You get that... because it's not behind a screen or it's not behind a roped off area, or it's not under plexiglass, they feel perfectly fine in doing that.

How interpreters react to visitors that violate the rules of the park or their own sphere of protection reinforces that territoriality and their spatial control. Volunteer educators at Wilson’s Creek have a great deal of autonomy at the Ray House and the protectiveness



Figure 7: The second room on the Ray House Tour, this is where the lives of the Ray children are interpreted.

they display
increases their
authority as
perceived by
visitors and also
their own
identification with
the spaces around
them. Stubby, 64,
has been a
volunteer at the

park for two years but works at the Battlefield more than 30 hours a week; he was the only person to answer 5 to each of the survey items consequently, he had the highest place attachment average. He is typically stationed either at the Ray House or the visitor center and likes to be on the front line, greeting visitors. A performer at heart, he had a career showing cattle and riding bulls before retiring and taking on as many volunteer jobs as he could. He also volunteers at a Christian community theater and says that is his other favorite place; that these are his two favorite places to work. What is most upsetting to Stubby, and many people at the park, is visitors not treating the Battlefield with respect. This is tied to the idea of the commons; this place is here for everyone and that, as such, everyone ought to protect it (Hardin 1968). Stubby says that visitors may disrespect the park because they feel entitled to it as taxpayers. He describes the disappearing memorial to the Union Commander that was once on bloody hill.

Even though your tax money is paying everybody's salary here, why are you coming in here and tearing it up? I would like to talk to some of the people that [took from] General Lyon's rock pile. I remember that rock pile when I was 9 years old. Where is it? It's in everybody's pocket that's went through this gate out here. They come in here and they picked up them rocks until all the sudden it's gone. So, what gives them the right to do that? They wouldn't like it for me to go down their county road tearing it up. Yep, I'm paying the taxes on it, but I don't, it's not my responsibility and I don't own it.

Stubby frames his protectiveness as an expectation of

common decency. Attachment to material

surroundings often includes attachment to the laws

and rules that regulate those surroundings; especially

volunteers that are attached to the ideology of the

NPS, in this case. I have interacted with visitors that

object to the ways the NPS manages the grounds of

the park. Dissatisfied with the restrictions to

recreation, such as horse riding, they often argue that

it should be more available to the public that cares

for it and spends time there. Many, *many*, visitors

complain about having to pay an entrance fee. Gerard

Kyle, et al. (2003), found that greater place

attachment corresponds to greater satisfaction with management practices and fees in

preservation areas. This holds true with the volunteers, who universally expressed

support for the fee system⁵.

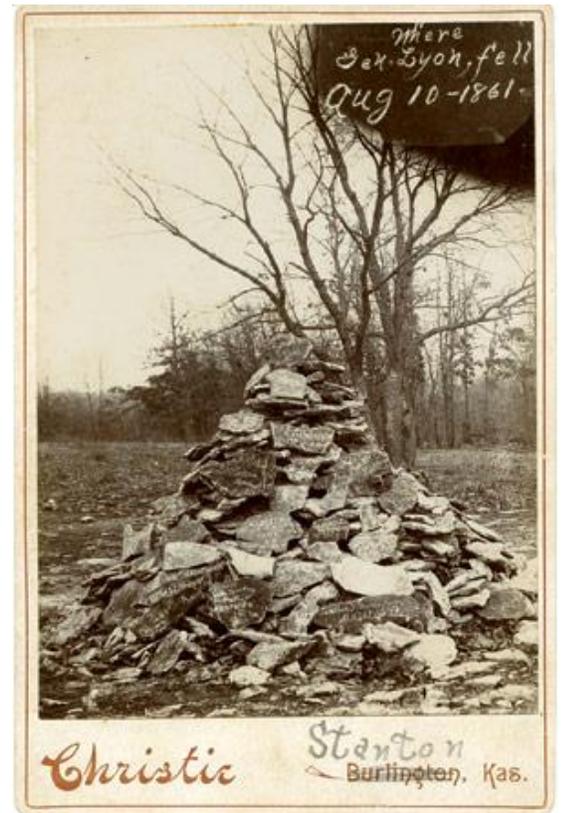


Figure 8: The rock pile that once memorialized Nathaniel Lyon, there is now a memorial stone where it once was on Bloody Hill.

⁵ There has been a 50% fee increase since interviewing participants during the summer of 2014



Figure 9: Cannon demonstrations happen regularly through the summer months

The relationship between place attachment and participation in preservation efforts has also been an area of interest for researchers of tourist behavior. Few of these quantitative studies, however, examine the

enthusiasm with which participants take on the task of preserving a place. Even fewer researchers study interpreters and tour guides themselves. Stubby and I share a similar experience of a visitor gathering a four-leaf clover. There was a teenage girl who was attending my “cannon talk” who found four four-leaf clovers in the span of thirty minutes. An astonishing feat that nonetheless violated my interpretation of rules preventing removal of resources from the park and I used it as an opportunity to teach her about those rules. I let her keep the clover. In Stubby’s case, there was a tour being led around the perimeter of the Ray House, talking about strategy.

I got onto a guy the other day in a staff ride⁶ for picking a four-leaf clover. It's just a four-leaf clover. But what if that would have been a big rock that he wanted to pick up? I ate him. I got onto him up there. Told his C.O., I said, "Hey watch it, hey man what are you doing?" "Uh, coming to the Ray House." "What else you doing? Did you know you could go to federal penitentiary for picking that four-leaf clover what you just did?" "Uh... you want a four-leaf clover?" No, I said I'm not going to do nothing about it, I just want you to know that's against federal law what you just did. You can get in big time trouble for that. You are not supposed to pick anything up, pick it, take it with you or nothing. I remember that. If I

⁶ Staff rides are military educational excursions designed to explore past strategies and tactics on fields of battle

hadn't said anything to him - three months down the line; Oh I got away with picking that four-leaf clover, this time I'll pick five four-leaf clovers. Then the five all the sudden turns into some wood, a marker, or something, that he's getting away with. But yeah, I just want people to be able to enjoy it down the road. That's what I like.

The white clover that grows at WICR is not even native to North America and most of it regularly gets stepped on or mowed over. It may seem that by-the-book protection of things like four leaf clovers, wildflowers, and buckeyes comes with the job description, but all but one of the participating volunteers have found their protectiveness of the resource to increase dramatically as they spend more time at the park. The motivation for defending it so staunchly is commonly justified by the “slippery slope” fallacy. It may be a logical misstep, but many of us tour guides have witnessed more serious violations of the resource, such as touching historical objects, attempted removal of materials from the Ray House, and harvesting threatened species of flora. Most visitors are simply unaware of these policies. Volunteers Jim and Gigi both said their protectiveness of resources at Wilson’s Creek extended to other places they visited, especially national parks. I have found this to be true for myself. In a journal entry from May, 2012, I wrote about a camping trip to the Buffalo National River in northwest Arkansas.

There was a good, deep-ish swimming spot right near our campsite. Chris found an arrowhead and was really excited about it. I told him to throw it back. I might have been a bit aggressive. He resisted and so I pulled the, “well I’m a park ranger and you can do whatever you want but that arrowhead belongs to everyone who travels down this river in the past and the future (and if you take it you are violating federal law)” card. He was really pissed but he did it. He put it under a big rock. Then we saw a water moccasin and ran away.

This demonstrates a major shift in my own ideas of preservation and permanence. I have always been an obnoxiously ardent rule follower, but just two years prior had collected several rocks from that same site. My territoriality over public space is a fear of loss built

on state-defined concepts of conservation. I found my “fit” in the assertion of my own power as an agent of socio-spatial control in the context of the National Park Service, in particular. We have bought-in to the NPS ideology which prohibits visitors from manipulating the landscape outside controlled settings, but makes allowances for park employees, volunteers, and sanctioned, extra-NPS groups. During the interview process I made assumptions about the validity of this ideology and did not challenge volunteers who described it as key to their attachment to Wilson’s Creek.

While I have scholastic interest in the power dynamics of public land management and it is something that led me to this project, when I had an opportunity to question fellow interpreters about their perspective, I let it slip. Resistance to answering this question for myself limited the depth of the questions I put to volunteers. Stan questioned me about my subscription to ideologies of the “unique grandeur” of National Parks and the stories they keep. I floundered. It took me three minutes to get to what I actually wanted to say about why preservation is important. I would include it here but most of those minutes are taken up by, “uh”s, “um”s, and “I dunnos.” When I eventually arrived with my answer, It centered around historic sites as general places of learning and my ideology that learning is generally a good thing.

What I think is important about that educational experience is that it leads you to a whole series of questions about the way society has been built, about the way certain communities have developed, um, about the economy. You know, like, that...the experience of learning that creates more questions about the life that you’re living, I think, and about other histories.

It is those questions that lead to the emergence of new stories as the histories of the Ray House and the Battlefield are performed again and again. The preservation of a National Park site is far from a static process. Wilson’s Creek is in a constant state of becoming

and “setting it aside” creates a path to more thoughtful development. No major decision happens on a whim and therefore is held in a type of slow motion. Limiting creative agency to NPS officials magnifies the privilege of certain desires over others and makes national parks a perfect system in which to study the intersections of narrative, landscape, place, and power. But the embeddedness in power ideologies appears to increase dramatically over time for place-attached people. Not just for “their” park but for the system at large. Mary Beth is a self-described “National Park junkie.”

I think they’re special because each one of them is unique. All of them showcase something that is so unique to America. I have never been in one yet, that is not different in some way. I’ve been to many that are similar, but all of them are different. They are special to that particular area where they are located. They’re just very special. I don’t know what other word to use for it...I would volunteer at any national park that I could ever volunteer at. To be a little cliché, they are America’s best idea. I have been to countless national parks, and every one of them is so unique. I would volunteer at any one of them I was close enough to volunteer at. The National Parks, to me, are the best thing that ever happened. When Mary Beth visited the battle site as a child, she saw people hunting for artifacts and now that is a serious offense. The interaction of the NPS and her denizen spaces crystalized local memory as definable and “sacred.” There is an impression of permanence and magnitude that secures the National Park Service a place in American public consciousness. That makes a difference in the way my participants viewed WICR

and other parks. The status of WICR as one of the “best preserved” battlefields in the NPS was a point of pride. That status bolsters the NPS ideology because it makes it a “better example” or exemplifies the aims of preservation in some way. Gigi, 56, has volunteered



Figure 10: An orchard was planted in front of the Ray House to mimic crops the Rays would have grown

at the Battlefield for three years and is a retired elementary school teacher. She has a very sure but soft voice and seems to choose her words with great care. Her place attachment average was 4.58. She spoke frequently of her experiences visiting elsewhere and how they were just not the same.

When my husband and I have traveled and gone to other battlefields, I always compare Wilson's Creek and the other battlefields, and I always feel a closeness because of my experiences here. This battlefield just has...I don't know, it's hard to explain, but it has a personal feel about it and I think it's because we don't have all of those monuments. Gettysburg is a beautiful area, but it's a commercialized area. Vicksburg, Chickamauga, you know, there are all these monuments. I understand the need for the monuments, but we don't have that here and it just makes it more believable as if it really is a battlefield. When the corn is planted, when it's growing and it's harvested and all those stubbles are left on the fields...that's believable. It's real. The other Battlefields I've visited don't have that. They're parks. This is a living battlefield and I just feel drawn to it.

Other participants described it as "pristine" or "authentic" and this contributed to their connection and how successful they understood the NPS to be in its preservation and restoration⁷ efforts. As the sense of territoriality extends to other national parks, it is reinforced at Wilson's Creek.

Just the idea of volunteering in national parks is such a cool idea.... You get to have...it's just experiences like nobody else gets to have. It's like, I can go open the Ray House and, like, hang out, and it's like hanging out in this awesome museum all by myself and I'm the one that's kind of in charge of it at the moment. And who else gets to do that kind of stuff.

Being "in charge," as Betsy describes it, does not just make Wilson's Creek a place she loves but a place that is hers. Interpreters' active creation of and control over the objects, ideas, and interactions leads to a greater personal "fit." As Jim says, "it grabs you, you have to grow, and it's an ongoing process."

⁷ Restoration to the way it may have looked in the 1860s

There is an element of this ownership grounded in seemingly pure fondness and fostered by a common experience. Of the element of territoriality, this is the most spatially specific. In a reflection on my own time spent at the Ray House I describe the view from a place mentioned over and over again in the interviews, the porch.

I've spent a thousand hours on this porch. The hills flow out in front of me like massive earthen waves, concealing the gnarled darkness of their gullies and holes. The sky's enormous. The porch faces north-northwest, so the floorboards are hardly touched by the sun under its broad roof. I sit in the rocking chair with the Cracker Barrel emblem on the back and stare at the scuffs on my shoes, shoe polish soon. Both front doors are open to the unseasonably cool summer day. The aluminum-framed paper tags on the period furniture make flapping sounds in the breeze. A tiny creek works its way through the tangles before me, down in the holler by the spring.



Figure 11: Approaching the Ray House from the southeast to assume my daily post

The Ray house is my haven. The house is white and full of air. There are three rooms and five exterior doors so the breezes dive through the house so the inside always smells mostly like the outside.

These descriptions, in all their superfluous embellishment, still leave me daydreaming of the breeze under the eaves, the smell of grass and

decaying leaves and petrichor after a summer rain. Every volunteer mentioned their time spent on the porch. Some of them even get there early in the day so as to spend time alone before visitors come for tours. Stubby says that if he is having a bad day he just has to go up to the house, he sees it as a place to engage with sacredness and faith, despite its violent past.

There was a lot of bad things happening at the Ray House, but there was a lot of peace in the Ray House too. I know a lot of guys died... I know things were bad,

you know the Ray family had a lot of bad things happen to them during the war, but uh, there's a sweet spirit there. And you can set on the front porch, and a breeze comes flowing through the house, and you just get lost in that. Sometimes when I'm really in to listening to God and everything, I can hear the Ray's talking. I know this is spooky but it's not. It's God relaying what I'm supposed to be feeling there. Just this sweet spirit there... yeah it'll still be there when bad things happen in this house but you know what, that's all done, now, this is what's happening in this house. This is the sweet, sweet spirit.

The porch is where interpreters sit and wait for tour groups to come up the walk. Carolyn and I agreed that sometimes we dread seeing people walking toward the house as we cling to those quiet moments.

At the Ray House sitting on the front porch and sometimes I get to read a book while I'm waiting for groups to come. And it's a serene type of thing, it's a quiet moment in my hectic life and I really appreciate it... I feel really privileged to have that opportunity.

Many of us see this pace as being full of ideas. Tom says it serves the function of moderating and inspiring new ways to look at things.

It's a beautiful place to sit on the front porch early in the morning and you can watch the deer run, and the turkeys, and you feel closer to a lot of different things and it's an opportunity to think. And probably solves some of the problems you have, you know. "Oh I can do this now," "yeah that's how I'll do it." Because that gives you the opportunity to be by yourself to do that.



Figure 12: Looking northwest from the Ray House porch during a summer downpour

Often the interpreter sits there alone but in the summer or during school group visits it is common for multiple volunteers or rangers to be working there. It is a nexus of learning and teaching at the park as volunteers learn from one another and themselves. It is a storied, public, private, singular, universal, empty and full place; somehow it is all these things. Jim proposes a reason for this “sweet spirit.”

It’s the fact it’s preserved. We don’t have houses built out here next to the Ray House, we don’t have a four-lane highway and a Wal-Mart sitting out on Bloody Hill. We got the Battlefield. My classroom, I tell people this is my classroom. I have a degree to teach secondary history, I’ve never taught in a classroom, this is my classroom. 2000 acres, and it’s an important classroom.

He says, as a classroom, the Ray House can play all those roles.

The Peopled House

We have this desk set up to represent what John Ray would have used as the Postmaster. He was a federal employee just like I am, and never lost his job through the course of the war, so we assume he never showed any confederate sympathies. He did own slaves, which may seem like a contradiction if you're not from Missouri. Of course, this was at a point before the emancipation proclamation, but even if Ray felt that the abolition of slavery was imminent, the U.S. government had made having a prosperous life in southern Missouri possible for white male landowners like himself. The township and range system made services like public schools and post to this area possible, the military road made moving his goods easy and profitable. It was clear he certainly wasn't opposed to slavery. Just a few years before this battle he sold a young man named Wiley (both Wiley and Rhoda were part of the Steele Estate) for 800 dollars to the Fulbright family in Springfield because he thought he was a flight risk. We don't know if Wiley was the father to Rhoda's children, but they certainly had been together since they were kids. Dragged across the country from Georgia to work for the Steeles. Anyhow, let's move into the kitchen.

Several participants described themselves as conduits to the past. That through their interpretation, a visitor could form those same emotional bonds that interpreters have formed. Those threads could be drawn through like emotional time travel from the experiences of individuals experiencing the battle and life at the Ray House. Jim echoed the position of every one of the participants when he said “my connection is with the people.” Being able to imagine oneself in the shoes of someone in the past is the most valued skills by the volunteers and being able to get a visitor to make those same connections is everyone's goal. Simply put, it is about the people.



Figure 13: Union General Nathaniel Lyon, killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek

You really have to know your people. And, like I say, the more you know these people, the more you realize they're not heroes in the sense we think of soldiers, you see, they're just common, ordinary people, like we [are]. They were scared, they laughed, they loved, they had a great family life and it's really nice to be able to relate that to people.

People teaching people about people could describe about anything, to persuade or foster empathy is the aim of many stories. For interpreters at Wilson's Creek, the creation of a human past and future is not just an interpretive objective. Just as volunteers find enhanced attachment to the park through the stories of their own families or childhood, they identify with the people who lived and died in the area. This interaction with past voices makes it easier to throw themselves into the story and improve their tours.

This puts them in a position of performing these far away lives and forming a relationship through affective history. The foundation for those performances and for the growth of these relationships is independent discovery. All of my participants reported seeking resources in the library when they were trying to build their knowledge of historic players. Gigi started coming to the park to do genealogical research in the library and not long after she was giving tours of the Ray House and guiding school groups.

I just thoroughly enjoy the researching part of it. It's just very interesting and it puts flesh on names when you can see that a young man was wounded so many times or he was left for dead and I think about: Whoa. What was he thinking?

What was he feeling? Did he make it home? Did his family ever know what happened to him? And just things like that. If I hadn't had the opportunity to look at those roles through my Volunteering, I would never have thought about those people, so it... it makes them human. I like that.

Identifying with the historical characters in the story was cited by every participant as a primary source of inspiration for their talks. Tom is “63 years young” and a retired police officer who started volunteering two years ago and has a place attachment average of 4.33, the same as



Figure 14: Anna Elizabeth Steele, eldest daughter of Roxanna Ray who died a year after the battle from typhoid—likely a result of improper burial of bodies, post-battle, that affected the water supply

Ted. He initially started because he was interested in portraying soldiers as part of the “common soldier” talk, during which a volunteer talks about the life of a typical infantryman during the Civil War and demonstrates firing a musket. He says this performance as a soldier bolsters his understanding of their experiences and encourages him to learn more about their lives.

The more you learned about the everyday regular soldier that fought out here, you find out that those guys are just like we are today - they loved, they hated, they laughed, they cried, they did a lot of different things, and you start feeling more of a relationship with them. And then you can understand the courage that it took to do what these men did here, on both sides. So it has greatly increased my appreciation for what this has done here.

Others connect more to the lives of the Ray family members as their home was taken over to be used as a field hospital. Ted uses the imagined pain of the past to “paint a picture” of the horror of war for civilians as well as the economic losses they suffered.

And the agony, and the suffering, and you know just to use this one guy John Ray, I mean he went... from being a really prosperous farmer to having nothing in four-five hours. It's not like he got, you know it's not like he got reimbursed for anything, [of] course, nobody else did either, so they weren't picking on John... as I tell folks that this is really a theater of the mind, um, and so I try, what I try to do is create the picture for them so they can see what John Ray saw that day.

Similar to Tom, Jim has found that forming a connection with the soldiers and families has enhanced his learning and teaching of history. It changes the way he learns, internalizes place, and tells the stories of the people he has been fascinated by for a long time.

So I'm getting more of a connection to the people and that's what I really enjoy because all of a sudden all of the stuff I've been reading for years in books is becoming real it's—these are real people, these people were scared... The men that fought here were no braver on either side, than the guys hiding in the cellar at the Ray House. They just ran the wrong way. And that's what I'm learning about the civilians, the ones that ran weren't any braver than the ones that stayed, or weren't any more scared than the ones that stayed. The ones that stayed just couldn't run, or felt an obligation to stay, especially when wounded started coming into their homes. They felt that moral obligation to stay. It makes it so much more interesting to read history now.

Telling the stories reinforces the sense of people's personalities, true or not. To attach modern moralities to past personalities is inherently anachronistic and can become very tenuous when it comes to imagining a person's rationale in its historical context. The Ray family owned another family, an enslaved woman, Rhoda, and her four daughters. At the time, slavery was central to the economic system of Missouri. The ownership of enslaved persons contributed to John Ray's clout in the community and was a position many yeoman farmers in the region aspired to.



*Figure 15: Rhoda Jones, freed woman.
Former slave of the Rays*

Identifying with the players and drawing on your own experiences to inspire an impassioned interpretation gets sticky when it comes to the tough stuff of public memory, especially legacies of racism in the Ozarks. Not all interpretations include moral ascriptions and many interpreters successfully draw emotional connections with the past without obscuring or skating over practices that are now considered morally reprehensible, but seven of the nine volunteers interviewed spoke explicitly of their discomfort interpreting slavery. Some because they

found it difficult to connect to African American visitors or the experiences of black people in mid-19th century Missouri; others because they believed the Park Service focused too much on slavery as a cause of the American Civil war; everyone agreed it was a tricky story to tell, especially in Missouri.

I am very familiar with this discomfort and it is something I have talked about with many volunteers over the last few years. It is also something of particular interest for me and I specifically avoided writing a question that addressed this discomfort specifically to mitigate my enthusiasm to “find what I was looking for” and lead the responses more than I had for the other questions. Instead, I left the topic of discomfort open-ended and respondents opened up about this topic. I asked Jim if there was anything—after twenty years—that made him uncomfortable to interpret.

There are things come up, slavery [is] one thing that bothers me, especially if there's African Americans in the group. I use the term 'woman of color' for

Rhoda, which is a proper term for the time but I always ask them after I'm done, 'I hope you didn't find that offensive, if so I won't use it again.' I had a gentleman last year up at the Ray House, used the N word about Rhoda. I was dressed in period clothing and I drew myself up and said 'Roxana and the children are not here today but I do not allow that word to be spoken in my house. If you cannot speak in a civil manner, I'm going to have to ask you to leave my home.' I pulled a John Ray on him, I went 1860s ballistic. I don't—there are certain things though, slavery bothers me. Because I know it's a sensitive issue, I know we have to interpret it, but I sometimes worry I'm going to say the wrong thing, that I'm going to offend someone and I don't intend to.

Jim often works at the Ray House while portraying John Ray as a “first person interpreter.” He is the only volunteer in the group that does first-person storytelling at the Ray house, but many of the issues are the same with other volunteers that use emotional or moral anachronisms to cultivate emotional connections with historical subjects.

Racism and sexism are a challenge for many that portray historical figures in an educational setting (Horton and Horton, 2006). This type of interpretation obscures the realities of slaveholding for the very real historical figure, John Ray. We do not have records that reflect his personal thought about slavery in general, or terms used to refer to enslaved people. How far you can take this type of personification and maintain both historical context and contemporary civil discourse? Such concerns are beyond the scope of this investigation, but these interviews suggest the interpretation of individuals to be grounded in empathy. Volunteers appear confident in their ability to relate to people in the past and present, they are people persons, after all. They draw on their own experiences as mothers, soldiers, medics, and teachers to create a human past for the visitors to the park. But it is evident that the most comfortable stories are also white stories.

I'm still dealing with the slavery. I was not raised with African Americans. The little county where I was raised, had no African Americans at that time. We do

now and I think that's fine, I think that's wonderful. Then, I didn't know when I had African American students in the Ray house, how to approach slavery without offending. I did not in any way want to offend any of those children. I'm becoming more comfortable as I read and learn more about Rhoda and the role of slavery in this part of the state, I feel more informed and more comfortable. I had some of the African American students ask me questions about slavery: "Well, why was John Ray a Unionist but he had slaves?" which is an excellent question. One young man wanted to know how many children did she have, was she married? It is an opportunity to teach about injustices as well as...the mindset was so different, the point of view was so different in the 1800s than what it is today and how we have evolved. So, teaching about slavery, talking about it has been difficult, but as I learn more, I become more comfortable with it.

Ted echoed that position.

The only thing that gets, that is I think a little, not confusing, but you have to be sensitive, is when you have African Americans, and God knows there's not very many, I mean there's not very many in this part of Missouri, and there's sure not very many come out to this park. And I think that's true, that's true of National Park Services, I mean there's not very many African Americans who go to Gettysburg, or any of the parks, not in relation to their percentage of the U.S. Population.

Gigi and Ted share a lack of familiarity with African American people in their lives or interactions at the Battlefield, respectively, which makes it difficult to account for perceived nuances having to do with race. It is important to take account of the "identifying gap" that appears to be a result of less confidence with the materials, but volunteers become more at ease with the subject as they learn more about histories of enslavement. This is true for me. Public school and survey-level history courses gave me a firm grounding in white American history. I had a milieu of knowledge to draw from that could easily take shape into these new stories; this new family that I was in the position to interpret. From a baseline of unspoken whiteness, the stories of this other family became the Other by virtue of their non-whiteness. It was *another* piece of the story rather than central to it. Whiteness and white history can be taught without

reference to the histories of the *other*, in this case enslaved blacks; whereas the histories of the *other* cannot be taught outside of the framework of white American history.

Practicing hegemonic white identity is performative and reinforces itself, this is evinced by the difficulty of incorporating non-dominant narratives as central to “the big picture.”

It is difficult to talk about the violence that was perpetuated by the family as an interpreter is creating connections to their experiences. There is no simple way to hypothesize about victimization, resistance, and agency of the enslaved women and girls who lived there; we have very few records of the lives of those women during their enslavement, and the same could be said about the personal life of John and Roxanna Ray and their daughters and sons. What we do have is a great deal of recent work that challenges the commonly held myth of benign slavery in Missouri, which holds that because slaveholders in Missouri owned few slaves, they were emotionally closer with and therefore kinder to the people they held enslaved. There were several examples of this narrative during the observations and a couple volunteers mentioned it explicitly in their interviews.

But I do try to explain there is a difference between slaves in Alabama, Mississippi; basically the field hands, and Aunt Rhoda. I mean Aunt Rhoda was, she worked alongside Roxanna, I say hey it wasn't like she could go out on Saturday night, I mean she didn't have her freedom, but it seemed to be... slaves in this part of southwest Missouri were more like, were more like helping hands than chow. I'm not trying to soften, I'm just trying to say there are different kinds of situations in slavery. So when you have, particularly when you have African American students, you might get one or two out of a class of 20 or 25, and I wanna be sensitive to them, but I want to make sure that I don't want to gloss over the year. I don't want to pretend that Aunt Rhoda wasn't, you know, wasn't property - she was property. But, for everything I've read, she and Roxanna had a pretty special bond, and she actually came back when Roxanna was ailing and helped take care of her in her final days, which I thought was, that's special, for anybody.

Glymph, in *Out of a House of Bondage*, posits that household slaves, particularly enslaved women, faced more intense physical and emotional violence than their male counterparts in the field (2008). In *On Slavery's Border*, Diane Mutti-Burke builds on this argument in the state of Missouri, where many households only owned a few slaves and that intimacy cultivated a culture of violence different from that at a large plantation, but no less violent (2010). This scholarship, however, has had a treacherous journey into the public imagination and popular interpretations of slavery in Missouri. The myth of benign slavery creates a condition that allows us as interpreters to continue identifying with the characters we love with less guilt. This was not the case with all interpreters.

It depends on the group that I've got, is that, you know, "Missouri kind of thought slavery was a different thing because they didn't own big plantations and I may have one slave and I work with him, you know, so what's the big deal?" Well the fact is that, let's put it this way, he can't go anywhere. And if you were the slave, you were owned, you're a piece of property.

While Tom teaches about the violence of slavery in the house, he also relies on a vector of white experience as a point of comparison.

And then what I also do, is when we talk about Aunt Rhoda, the race slave, I also point out that you have to take a look at uh... Roxanna. Her first husband dies. She didn't inherit anything because she couldn't. So what kind of slave was she? Her husband worked, he owned the farm, he dies, she can't inherit anything, she can't get anything. So there's different forms of slavery back then and you can actually say Roxanna was a slave, to the times and to the meaning of the women stuff such as that there, and I guess that's just a modern-day guy talking now... But there are some controversial things that you can talk about up there, but if you do you better know what you're talking about. Because again, strong opinions. But as far as not wanting to talk about them, I do, I talk about them all day long.

This is a creative way to draw a thread of context through the lives of residents at the house, but also reinforces the idea that Black experience can only be understood through the lens of White experience, or that the audience will be able to identify more with those

characters because of their own embeddedness in white-dominated historical narrative. As many volunteers describe it, “it is a two-way street.” If the visiting population is largely white and has a similar inclination to identify with white historical characters, it further fortifies entrenched narratives of white hegemony. That is why interpreters see these narratives of the *other* as controversial, because there is a general local understanding that we do not discuss issues of racial violence in polite company, and interpreting a house where enslaved people lived and worked forces interpreters to ride that line. Many interpreters reflected on the problem of drawing these types of comparisons, both between modern experience and past experience and enslaved experience and free experience. As Tom says, this is “a modern-day guy talking now,” and that creates problems of performative history for volunteer interpreters. It puts volunteers in a position to “work in the gray areas” in the moment. I reflected about this quandary during Stan’s interview.

This is some of the problem that I see in some of the Volunteer experience, is that since a lot of them aren’t there on a daily basis, they don’t always get to research the things that they didn’t exactly know. So, these subjects that make them uncomfortable, and we don’t exactly know that those things make them uncomfortable, and they’re not required to read anything about those things. So, I think that I have done a lot of reading in particular about enslavement at the house and this is something that particularly interests me. That’s how that interest got started. It was because I was uncomfortable interpreting slavery for African American visitors. Hardly any black people ever visit the park. During all of my observations last summer, I saw no black people. It was just all white people visiting, and that was standard. Lots of white people visiting from other countries, people from all over, but that is a classic problem at National Parks, especially Cannonball Parks, often times because of the way that history has been interpreted in the past. Especially, if you have an experience going to a house when you’re a kid, and that interpreter’s only talking about white people, and that’s not the history you learned about it, you’re going to have a negative opinion about that, possibly. I mean, I imagine. I’ve read a little bit about that. See I’m unsure about this right now, because it’s not my experience that I’ve had and I don’t want to claim to know anybody else’s experience.

My own difficulty relating to those experiences or refusing to is a reflection of the same type of problem that volunteers have. The “insidious white guilt” seeps into my ability to tell those stories. For me, this prompted a feverish consumption of literature about slavery in Missouri, but many volunteers do not have the same opportunity, resources, or education necessary to parse out Glymph’s or Mutti-Bourke’s opaque arguments of household violence and small-scale resistance. Most interpreters only give tours of the house a few times a month and if they avoid interpreting slavery because it may offend someone or cause a visitor discomfort, as I once did, it is perpetuating the invisible forces of whiteness rather than the visible forces of blatant racism. Discomfort is part of our role as storytellers and (mostly) amateur historians and it compels many educators to pursue knowledge more vigorously. Volunteers who have been at the park longer, with the exception of Jim, expressed a greater deal of comfort with issues that are considered by others to be troublesome. That being said, this comfort did not correspond with a greater likelihood of addressing these issues at the Ray House. Those who expressed discomfort with teaching about slavery actually mentioned it more frequently during their tours.

Lifelong Learning and Narrative Evolutions

Behind you is the entrance to the cellar, where the family stayed during the duration of the battle; Roxana, her nine children, Rhoda and her four daughters, and Julius Short, the mail carrier. Roxana had grabbed a pan of biscuits from the stove as they ran downstairs and they stayed there as the battle raged outside. Imagine how it would have sounded! Seventeen thousand soldiers shooting each other in your front yard. Twenty-three cannons firing into the screams. And on top of that, your house is being converted into a hospital. Hard-soled brogan boots making the loudest footfalls above your heads. It would have been cacophonous! One little girl hiding in the basement of another house remembered that the battle lasted three days, and it would have seemed like an eternity sitting in a cellar for those six hours. They emerged to a house full of dying and wounded men. Surgeries happening on the kitchen table, one legend says there was a pile of limbs six feet tall outside this window.

Volunteers who identify with the lives of historical figures draw on those connections to enhance their interpretation and to form a more intimate relationship with the place, but that is not the primary reason they chose interpretation. Each of the participant volunteers at WICR because they are learners and teachers and want to express, hone, and explore those skills. The “ongoing process” is closely tied to the identity of self and place.

I’ve had people say ‘well you know an awful lot about the Civil War.’ I know about two percent about the Civil War. I’ve been studying it seriously for 51 years, and I know two percent of what there is to know. I’m always willing to

learn. My granddad—who had an eighth grade education—said that if a man stops learning, he’s dead. He told me to learn something new every day, and I try.

This is the way we identify ourselves and is the lens through which we view the world.

At Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield the participants occupy a unique position; as volunteers they are both consumers of place and producers of place. Lifelong learning is an important function of the park for volunteers. Many of them are retired, and working at the Battlefield is an opportunity to explore new information and teach it (largely) on their own terms. Stubby is a skillful oral storyteller, but since he started at the park two years ago he has been diving into different storytelling forms.

I found out all the history I've been missing all my life. Don't like to read, and the last month and a half I've read... three books? Four books? From cover to cover, about Lincoln, about Wilson's Creek, and about the Civil War battles in Missouri and all that. And [my wife] thinks it's really great that I'm sitting down and reading. I don't like to read. That's, I mean, that's just the problem why. I don't like to read.... I'm finding out I missed a lot about the Civil War. I'm finding out I like to read true stories - maybe I do know how they end, maybe I don't but I want to see what the circumstances; why did John Booth kill president Lincoln? Why did he do that? And I've read some books to learn how to do that. That's, you know, I'm getting there, you know. I'm not going to try to go to college here at 64 years old but there's a lot there that I missed by not reading.

This is a big deal. Involvement in the park is changing the way Stubby approaches historical and contemporary ways of learning. As he rapidly consumes information about the Civil War, he is changing along with the stories he tells. As his story changes the park stories change, slowly but surely, as he performs those new narratives. Stubby has also recently learned to use a computer. He knew how to “push the ‘on’ button before,” but now he is tracking volunteer hours and guestbook numbers in excel spreadsheets.

Volunteers talk about how their tours change over time as new information is introduced

or they became more confident giving tours. Gigi describes how she adjusts her tour to fit her personality and incorporate emotional connections with the Ray family.

When I first started, I was all gung ho. I was going to follow everything exactly the way the park interpreters had written it, and “this is what we’re going to do,” and it just didn’t feel right for me. As I have aged and I’ve brought my teaching experience into it, I’ve used that more and I’ve settled down more. I’m not as intense! [Gigi laughs]... Rather than giving them the “This is the Lyon bed...” and going through the whole explanation of that, I’ll explain that “This is the Lyon bed, It belonged to the Ray family...” whatever. But I try to get it more around the family itself and the people. Not, “step one: this is what belonged to them; step two: this is John’s mailbox; step three: this is the rope beds,” you know. I do less of a furniture tour than I used to do and do more of a personal tour.

Jim and Carolyn had extremely similar experiences.

When I start first started volunteering I was just presenting information and I enjoyed shooting the guns. As it's going on I've learned how to--the importance of the resource, how to relate it to the visitors, and more importantly I've learned that the families here in 1861 are not that different than we are today.

As did Carolyn.

I think I've embellished it with more personal experiences than I did in the beginning, because I started pretty much out with facts as they were set up, and uh... I'm freer with that because I feel more personally acquainted with the Rays at this point than I did when I began my tours.

I found this interesting because Gigi, Jim, and Carolyn started volunteering 2, 20, and 5 years ago, respectively. I experienced the same quick adaptation by telling these stories at Wilson’s Creek. This rapid learning process via the act of performing history is key to the way interpreters become “part of the story.” These participants’ answers to place identity questions on the questionnaire were identical. The consistency of place-performance, meaning that these are nearly the same stories deliberately told again and again, may accelerate the speed of or intensify the process of becoming attached to a place.

Several participants mentioned that the autonomy they have at the Battlefield makes it possible to explore and perform histories more freely and fosters a higher-level

relationship. They are trusted, essential members of the staff and have the freedom to explore their own stories as part of the park. Viki echoes what was said above, but focuses on how the importance of personalized stories.

What we got for training at the very beginning when I started there, two and a half hours, “here read all this,” and turn you loose. If someone really wants to get into it, there are plenty of resources available. And not every person is going to do the same thing, and that helps too, because it keeps it from being a “nahnahnah nah this happened at this time and dadadadada...” you want everybody to develop their own style.

Those different performative stylings among volunteers influence the others significantly. As volunteers learn independently and together, new information or new storytelling strategies are folded into the narrative matrix at the house.

Every volunteer interpreter has a different interpretation of things and then I just kind of put everything that they said together and come up with my own, and then you're utilizing the books and everything else the park has.

At each of the tours I observed, I picked up snippets of cross-pollination among the stories. Stubby and Carolyn tell the same story about the candle maker, Ted and Gigi have a similar way of talking about the rope bed and ticking mattress, everyone uses elements of Mary Beth's tour, particularly about medicine in the field hospital, I noticed some of Tom's tour had a distinctively “Emma” flavor when he spoke about the march to Springfield. My tour is similarly comprised of several others and I find the autonomy suits me as well.

There's sort of a script. There's guidelines, but most of it's just sort of whatever you want to do. Most people learn their tours from other people giving tours. My tour is based on like, four different tours of people. So, I do this thing that Larry does, where I talk about Olivia going down to water the horses at the creek, and then a confederate soldier riding up to them and being like, “you kids better get up to the house right now, there's gonna be fightin' like hell in less than ten minutes!” That's exactly how I say it every time, except with more enthusiasm. And I stomp my foot and I always ask, like if there's a little girl, especially, but if

there's a very young person. I'm like, "how old are you? Olivia was 5 at the time of this battle. This was the experience that she had."

The ability to identify with people from the past becomes an important part of the interpretive process. Connecting intangible histories to tangible spaces is an aim of interpretation, and drawing a connection Olivia creates a human past for visitors.

Everyone has different strategies, and they depend largely on their own experiences and the make-up of the audience. Jim says that emotional appeal is how he gets the audience interested right off the bat.

One of my first questions after I talk on the porch, I ask the gentleman, "You've been forced to escort prisoners to Springfield, your house is full of wounded, you have a wife and nine or ten children, depending on the sources you read there, you have a slave you're responsible for, what do you think you're worrying about besides your own safety when you're walking those men to Springfield?" "w-my family." And then I ask the wives the same question from Roxana's perspective. I'm now, instead of just giving them facts, I'm actually introducing them to living people, who were scared, who were upset, who were worried, but they're living people, they're not just a name on a page.

The types of emotional appeals depend on the place in the house. The narrative is typically and formally conceptualized in characters as someone moves through the house. These are the stories usually told spatially: John Ray and the Confederate camp on the porch, General Lyon in the first room, the Ray children in the second room (both of these rooms have beds in them), and Rhoda and Roxanna in the kitchen. Viki says emotional interpretation is largely about audience analysis.

Of course you gear it to their particular age. And when we reach the kitchen area, which would have been where Rhoda was very prominent and everything, and I'd say "How would you feel?" Getting their emotions into it... "How would you feel if you had no say whatsoever that you could be sold or anyone or all four of your daughters could be sold and gone tomorrow and you would never see them again?" And their eyes would widen and their jaws would drop and it's like...well no one ever told us that before. Again, that's dealing with slavery on a very, very limited, but emotional, plane, you know; how is it that, you know, think about,

especially with the older ones, because you know freedom is big to them, you know I want to get out, I want to be independent and all this stuff; how would you like it if you couldn't even leave the property without permission of your owner?

Viki and Betsy make a point to tell stories they feel are not told in schools or by other interpreters. Betsy initially started volunteering because she wanted to “hang out with the guys that fired the cannons” and fire cannons herself, she is interested in the lives of women that disguised themselves to fight in the field of war. She hasn't yet been invited to join the cannon crew⁸. The fight from the home front and the pain of being caught in the crossfire is a theme she and others explore as the important “take-away” for visitors.



Figure 16: The guys that fire the cannons

[I] just want to leave them with the fact that the Civil War wasn't just about the soldiers and it wasn't about the battles. It's the families that lived through this and had these experiences and those stories don't really get told often. And I want to help people realize there are those stories out there. And it was much bigger than just the soldiers.

⁸ Betsy will likely not be invited to join the cannon firing volunteers until there is a change of leadership. I was the first woman to be on the cannon crew, albeit in a training session, and that was a result of firm insistence.



Figure 17: In my "Union Blues" during artillery training

Mary Beth reiterates that "the family" is the important unit at the center of the story. For most volunteers this refers only to the white Ray Family but a couple conflate the slavers and the enslaved into one family unit rather than into stratified system of labor.

I just like having people realize that, again, this was a real family that lived in this house, just like you and me. One hundred years ago, 150 years ago, but they're still really just like you and me and I like being able to present that. Hopefully people understand that when they come out of that house, that this was a house that a family lived in.

These comparisons and empathetic networks serve a very real purpose for volunteers and the Park Service. For interpreters that are attached to a place, sharing a passion yields the reward of response and for the NPS it helps grow the future generation of park-goers.

Several volunteers describe the "charge" they get from seeing someone form a connection to the Ray House.

I just love to watch them kids light up. You know, they've got their junior ranger book and boy. I mean they're looking for everything and you tell them about a chamber pot, "Oh, that's what they did with a chamber pot? Ooooh" Or if, if it's a family and they got two or three kids and you got the oldest daughter—"you know cleaning that chamber pot out would probably be the oldest daughter's job"—just watching the reactions of the face you know, or, the, the kids. The adults, they know the story, most of them do, but the kids, they're just learning it, getting into it, I love watching them light up. You're lighting a fuse in them, that who knows, some day they may work for the National Park Service and it could all come back to that tour they had at the Ray House, whether it's a ranger or a volunteer that gives them that tour, it lit that fuse, and they... "Yeah when I grow up I want to be a park ranger." You know? I just, I love the kids, I just love watching the kids. They're so funny... So I guess try to put a smile on somebody's face, even if I'm having the worst day of my life, whenever I go to my volunteer

jobs, I try to go in there and take a big deep breath, and say okay somebody's had a worse day than you have, you have GOT to make that person smile or laugh a little bit. That's what I try to do, I don't care how old you are or how young you are, I try to put a smile on somebody's face, that's what I do.

The cultivation of emotional connections between visitors and the Ray House satisfies a storyteller's urge to share what they know. And therefore reinforces the role of place-performance as integral to their social identities. Stories of place are intimately tied to a volunteer's identity and experience; therefore storytelling is an extension of themselves. Marideth Sisco, a locally famous storyteller says that she "can't help it, it's in my blood." Betsy says that storytelling itself is a value important to transmit to young people through interpretation.

We, as educators, need to bring storytelling back into, uh, our experiences when we relate to parents and I think people react to stories so positively but I think we, as a culture, have kind of stepped away from being a storytelling culture. I come from a family who are storytellers and, like, my grandma would tell the same stories again and again and again, I mean, I could repeat them word for word. And that culture and that connection to who you are as a people, and now, and your past, and how that links together is so important to just interacting with people on a day to day basis. Because I think...I see kids and adults also almost losing the ability to interact with each other on that kind of a level because of technology.

Sparking interest in history and passing along cultural values of preservation was the most cited reason for why volunteers continue to do interpretive work at the park and tell the "same stories again and again and again." Viki says that driving desire is essential to "good interpretation."

You have to like interpreting for people, giving them that bit of history, spreading the seed around and letting them go "Ohhh." Because you throw the proverbial rock in the pond, the stone, and the ripples go out from there, and so you just don't know who's going to say something to somebody else, or a child is going to drag his parents up there even though they could care less about history, but the kid is into it, you know?...you want to keep cultivating that interest. Because like I said, you never know when a child is going to drag his parents or his grandparents out there and say this is what I wanted you to see. Good. Because then that

generation, the next generation, will all continue, and you can relate it to all the different things that have happened in the past; how does history affect this person or how does history affect that generation? They who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it. And historians tell it like it was [laughter]. Even if it can be, for some people, uncomfortable.

Getting someone—and a child in particular—excited about history is a reward in itself.

Carolyn says she started volunteering she wants to pursue that reciprocity after her retirement from teaching.

I missed the kids...Just being around them. Talking with them, listening to their responses, sharing information with them...this more or less makes [the curriculum] come alive for them. Because hands-on is always better than lecture, in my book. So that's the reason I think it's an ideal place. And they can actually see and, you know, feel the atmosphere.

Each participant expressed hope that children would be inspired by that atmosphere to become historians and story-interested people. In the interview with Stan, I expressed this wish, as well. I was relaying a story about two children in a tour with their family as an example of forming an emotional connection and how that connection translates to interest in historical sites, more generally. When I was interpreting the kitchen during a tour, I let myself get carried into the story of John Ray being forced to escort prisoners to Springfield and about how the families must have felt, thinking about the danger he was in.

But these two kids were sitting on the floor, and they looked up and there were tears in their eyes, and it was just like, it was the best thing that ever happened to me. Like, it's so stupid. I was so excited that they were so sad, but it's just that I could see them making that connection with those people in the past, and just knowing that human experience hasn't changed all that much and that they would be able to connect with something that existed so long ago. A lot of kids have a hard time perceiving time in that kind of way. So, trying to find a way to get, especially children to have an understanding of human experience that transcends time. We are talking about this time that's long ago that they can't actually imagine how long ago it was, that might seem forever ago or it might seem recent, but knowing the experiences they had does, like Viki says, it plants that seed, that

they want to go out into the world and find out more about these people, and maybe study them forever, like, I wanted to do when I was a kid in museums, and getting excited about everything.

For the National Park Service, the growth of visitor place attachment serves a very practical purpose. Maintenance of that system relies on the interest in these sites. This has been a problem for the National Parks, overall, and there have been a multitude of initiatives launched to bring in a younger and more diverse generation of visitors—the recent report outlining goals for the NPS is called *Keeping Parks Relevant in the 21st Century*. As mentioned previously, it takes a long time for stories told by volunteers to get integrated into the larger narrative of the Battle or the Civil War at large. Similarly, the integration of new narratives by the NPS may not be incorporated easily into the tours of volunteers at the Ray House. An initiative, for instance, to change the way interpreters talk about slavery or the causes of the Civil War does not always make it into the narrative of volunteer interpreters. Viki says she is sticking to the story she researched herself rather than change it just because the NPS said to.

I think when, uh, Dave started saying that the main reason for the Civil War was slavery... uh, no, not by my research. Slavery had a big part of it, but it could be based on economic and other things, and I've found that other things, just interpreting slavery as the one and only reason for the Civil War is incorrect. And you cannot pigeon hole something like that, because then it just leaves all these other factors out of it. And if you do that with history, you're not doing anybody a service, you know, you're saying this is the only reason.... I'm sorry, [it] wasn't, you know. Because even England, British, were backing the Confederates, because the Confederates had the cotton that the Brits wanted in their mills, and so far, before the war started, there was basically a monopoly of the mills up to the North getting as much cotton as they wanted, and you know you start looking at some of these other things, and you know, um, actually people that were immigrants and everything, did not want the free blacks in New York and everything, there were even riots in all to get rid [of black people], and these people you know earned their way out of slavery or they were free blacks that had entered the country from other places and you start looking at all these different other things, and it's just like, wait a minute, you're not doing anyone a favor by

pigeonholing something and using just that. So that I think made me the most uncomfortable, not because I couldn't talk about slavery, but to have them try to steer you in only one direction, that that was the only reason. And I know that, from my studies, I know that.

The problem Viki has with the change in interpretation is not just her belief in the importance of other causes, but that the NPS frames slavery as a “Southern problem.” The debate over the causes of the Civil War have been largely settled by historians, but those conversations are still happening in the realm of public history. The resistance to adapting to current scholarship is a complicated issue and many have called to “bridge the gap” between public and academic history.

What leads to greater place attachment among volunteers is an important question for the administrators and managers of National Park sites that rely on them. My own attachment to WICR compels me to drag my friends out for long, narrated hikes and to bring my family to the special programs. I have encouraged every kid I know to become a “Junior Ranger” and posted about events on social media. The more I love the place, the more I participate in it. Place identity and narrative evolution are in a positively reinforcing cycle. As the place may be a medium which both embeds and is a repository for one’s lived experiences, it is inseparable from those experiences. A parade of visitors, young and old, are led through a landscape designed to impress cultural values as part of the history imaginary while stories and lessons are amplified by the perceptions of grandeur and permanence that surround the NPS. Place attachment interacts with place creation and has implications for the message visitors are hearing at a park.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

And they went right to work. The younger kids fetched water for the soldiers in their fields and propped up their heads with blankets and coats. Rhoda, Roxana and the older girls became nurses, and John Ray was forced to escort prisoners to Springfield on foot (all his horses were stolen) along the wire road. Imagine how the children would have felt. Before this they'd scarcely seen more than 50 people in a room before and they look out their door one day and there's thousands of soldiers loading their muskets. They would have walked outside the next day to see that all they knew was gone. All their livestock was eaten or stolen, their large garden was stripped clean, their corn fields (which would have been ready for harvest in just a few weeks' time!) were trampled and filled with the fallen. Five hundred and thirty-five people died in this battle, another 2000 were wounded or maimed. But they had their house, which was more than most who lived in the area. One Union soldier wrote as he marched south to Pea Ridge nine months later that every other house along the Wire Road had been burned to the ground. But the Rays had the small stipend from the government and the small amount of food they had already stored in their cellar. And they survived...for the most part.

There were four more casualties of this battle about a year later; one was the eldest daughter of Roxana, Anna Elizabeth Steele. She died of typhoid fever along with three other teenage girls from this valley. After the battle, it was said that the river flowed red with the blood of soldiers. Whoever wins the field is responsible for taking care of the wounded and burying the dead. Many of those dead lay out on the battlefield for several days after their death. When they were interred, the confederate dead were buried along

the banks of the creek. And the Union dead were buried in several mass-graves. One of those was a sinkhole on Bloody Hill. The decaying remains of 35 Union soldiers in the sinkhole contaminated the groundwater supply, resulting in at least year of sickness for the surrounding community.

Place attachment serves a number of practical and tangible purposes for groups and individuals. In this case, the National Park Service and Wilson's Creek National Battlefield rely on place-attached individuals to achieve their mission, from the abstract to the concrete. Volunteers make up roughly five times WICR's full time staff and some work nearly as many hours as employees. Having a large volunteer corps means the doors of the Ray House can stay open to visitors and serve as the primary point of interpretive contact. While the quantitative results did not reveal a significant positive correlation between years worked and overall place attachment, the interviews reflect an increasing linkage of place identity and dependence as volunteers spend more time at the park. Those volunteers were also more conscious of their contribution to the narrative and their "fit" in as participants in that narrative.

Betsy described her experience as "being part of the story," which reflects Pred's conception of place as a historically contingent process (1984). Wilson's Creek National Battlefield did not form in a vacuum or spring into existence as a stage to be populated by actors without anterior identities; it is the formulation of individual and situational *practices*. It is the actors and the institution reinforcing and reconstituting preexisting and dominant narratives. Gregson and Rose build on Butler's notion of performativity by arguing that not place, space, nor person can exist outside the matrices of power and

discursive relations that define them and that those power structures are reproduced by performances of the everyday (2000, 1990). But those dominant structures are clearly not static or immovable, this is demonstrated by the “folding-in” and “acting-out” of different narratives over time. Butler (1990) proposes understanding the performative acts that disrupt hegemonic heteronormativity as a result of complexity of the self as a contested site of meaning. This can be applied to Wilson’s Creek as the multiplicity of meaning in a contested place, like a Civil War battlefield, results in the subversion of contemporarily accepted narratives.

As I mentioned at the start of this thesis, Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield is a nexus for Civil War histories in southwest Missouri that has an effect on a broader public memory of the American Civil War as part of the National Park System. It has a measurable effect on the local economy and political action, as administration gets involved in efforts to limit commercial expansion practices or cooperates with other local initiatives. The memorialization of the Battle of Wilson’s Creek has a large physical and theoretical footprint in the Missouri Ozarks and beyond. Sites of memory, like Wilson’s Creek, become spaces of narrative conflict because of the diversity of those narratives and their political power.

Changing Narratives In and Out of the NPS

Many “Cannonball Parks” were founded in the 1950s and 60s during the proliferation of the “Lost Cause” interpretation of the Civil War, which held that slavery was essentially a benign institution and secession was a last-result response to radical abolitionists infringing on southern constitutional rights (Pitcaithley in Oliver and Horton, 2006). That acceptance of that interpretation by lawmakers, planners, and superintendents have been reflected on the physical memorial landscape and the

demarcation of racialized spaces (Dwyer and Alderman, 2008; Hoelscher 2003, Whites 2005). Park superintendents came together in the 1990s to reformulate interpretive strategies to reflect current white historical scholarship that had largely rebuffed those narratives (Pitcaithley 2006). The re-centering of slavery in the telling of Civil War history was aggressively resisted by organizations such as the Sons and Daughters of Confederate Veterans, and there was a massive letter writing campaign to restrict interpretation at NPS sites to exclusively military history and troop movements. Despite this resistance, the National Park Service and other interpretive organizations successfully integrated “social history” and narratives of slavery into the conversation about preservation and interpretation of Civil War sites.

The push to challenge the “Lost Cause” interpretations of the Civil War at battlefields coincided with the removal of Confederate flags from statehouses and squares in many southern cities. The protest of displaying confederate flags in public spaces, especially government-funded spaces, preceded phasing out white-washed lost cause ideologies from official narratives by decades. When there was a swell of black students enrolling at the University of Missouri in the late 1960s, they found themselves at a school still entrenched in white Southern and Confederate culture; they still played “Dixie” at football games and the confederate flag was flown at games and fraternity houses (Whites, 2005). Protest of these activities by black students was met with slurs and violence by students and armed campus security, but eventually grew into a wider movement to remove confederate flags and “the Confederate Rock”—a memorial to confederate soldiers—from the Mizzou campus. Gloria Steinem and, later, Angela Davis both called for the removal of the Rock during their talks on campus and the protests of

students eventually led to its removal, albeit to a city park, in 1974 (Whites, 2005). Narratives that had been reinforced and recreated on the Columbia, Missouri campus through the performance of loyalties to those narratives was disrupted by direct action that changed the way faculty and students participated in the culture of their university. This illustrates the great deal of time it takes to incorporate new ways of viewing the past into official histories but that those histories are continually shifting as agents participate in their definition and redefinition.

In the space between academic history, grassroots movements, and federally sanctioned messages are the individuals that engage in storytelling and place creation as part of their daily lives. Landscapes of memory have political power and exist as sites of conflict over “right” histories. Volunteers reinforce, recreate, and subvert the dominant power at Wilson’s Creek and the Ray House through their performance of the place itself. As social identity is constituted through performance of place, those social identities are transcribed on the landscape. I seek to understand the formulation of those identities in order to draw insight into the creation of place and place-performativity in this space because it has weight in the public consciousness and exists for the express purpose of transmitting cultural values and dominant histories to visitors—particularly children. Not only to explore the way dominant narratives are reinforced, but disseminated to create broader notions of American identity that may erase certain histories because they have yet to become integrated elements of place-performance.

The Stories We Tell

What emerged from the interview and observation data is a clear gulf between public and academic history at Wilson’s Creek when it comes to narratives of slavery and racial politics in the region. The nickname “the Lily White Ozarks,” was earned by a violent

past in southern Missouri and northern Arkansas. The subjugation, murder, torture, enslavement, and exclusion of Black Americans and original inhabitants are inseparable from the landscapes of my home county, but their stories remain under the surface of more palatable histories. As volunteer educators use empathy and interest in historical figures to draw connections to people in the past, many experience an “empathy gap,” meaning they have a harder time relating to non-white people in the past and present. This manifests in a couple of ways in the narrative itself. Three volunteers *did not mention slavery at all* in the tours I observed. This means that the institutional narratives as well as those agreed upon by historians are being left out entirely. Two volunteers mentioned it as part of the story but did not attempt to draw the emotional links that are commonly used to humanize the members of the white family at the house. The remaining four volunteers talked about the life of Rhoda, the woman enslaved by the Rays, and her daughters but promulgated problematic narratives to various degrees of inaccuracy.

These fall into three categories; two of them are stories that I have told, myself, in the last four years at the Battlefield. The first is more of a tendency than a myth, which is to refer to black experiences though a vector of white experiences. For instance, an interpreter may describe the horrors of slavery, but attempt a comparison to another type of experience, like coverture (wherein a wife is not granted rights as a separate person from her husband and therefore has very little “freedom”). These are false parallels for many reasons, chief among them that no one could sell the husband or children of Roxanna Ray and this was not the case for Rhoda⁹. The second of these false narratives is

⁹ Rhoda and Wiley were children when they were given to Roxanne as a human dowry to take from Georgia to Missouri. It is unknown if he fathered any of her four daughters, but they would have been

the use of the “myth of benign slavery,” which holds that slavery was somehow kinder in Missouri because of its small scale. This is often accompanied by the story of Rhoda returning to visit her former mistress on her deathbed. This is used as evidence that Rhoda was not treated unkindly but rather as a friend or companion. This is something we simply do not know and it is typically used to prop up the “benign” myth. There was one volunteer during my observations that described the relationships of slaves and their owners in terms of “loyalty.” They used the example of Rhoda’s return to define her as being a “loyal slave” and compared that to Wiley (see footnote 8), who was a “disloyal slave” because he repeatedly attempted to escape his enslavers. The last of these was the most shocking of my observation results because it entirely strips the central tenets of that peculiar institution out of the story. It is tenuous, at best, to apply contemporary morality to an 1860s economic system, but teaching visitors that slaves were “loyal” or “disloyal” removes the reality of ownership, in itself the most violent act of that system.

Guiding toward the future

The histories promulgated at the Ray House often contradict or ignore the institutionalized narratives as outlined in interpretive objectives and plans, but have the appearance of being equally official. Because of the autonomy and informality of volunteer work, the tours of a Civil War household are more difficult to control and curate than they would be at a private tourist site. So how can the National Park Service help volunteers embrace their role in narrative creation and encourage them to address neglected discourse? My recommendation is for a more reflexive form of interpretation. Revealing bias and positionality in a project like this one involves continual reference to

living in the same space for more than 20 years. He was sold two years before the Battle of Wilson’s Creek for \$827 dollars.

experiential knowledges that have a major influence on my creation of a narrative. My closeness to this place changed the way I interact with the subjects and the institution. My recognition of that identity lends transparency to the process of research. My argument is that a self-reflective approach to interpretation could open the process to more critical questions. I believe the way we interpret slavery in “borderland” states like Missouri is problematic when held alongside academic elucidation, but I didn’t always feel that way. I told stories I know longer believe in and my beliefs and knowledge will change as the world and WICR does. A sense of one’s own learning can be used as another tool in an interpreter’s toolbox.

The degree to which I am reflexive in this project would obviously be prohibitively cumbersome for interpreters, but I would like to propose a deliberate application of a method I call “breaking the fourth wall of interpretation.” That means that reflection on the creation and subjectivity of history itself would be a normalized part of tours at the Ray House. In theater and film, the fourth wall is the invisible barrier between the audience and the performer. If the actor addresses the audience, she breaks down the lines between fiction and reality. In historical interpretation, the audience is already a part of the performance, but it is not assumed to be a performance. The proscenium arch we step through is one that obscures the complexities and power dynamics behind the story. Breaking the fourth wall would encourage volunteers to think critically of this process more frequently and improve their interpretive skills. It would also give visitors the chance for a better understanding of the dynamism of history. We want to inspire visitors to seek more, to plant the seed, to drop that pebble in the pond and watch the ripples go out from there and challenging someone’s conceptions of reality is compelling. Many of

us are doing this because we see history as ever-shifting, ever-evolving, or, at least, infinite and undiscoverable.

Place attachment forms from our continued engagement with the stories, our part in the “living and breathing” story of the house. Visitors may be fascinated by the stories and engaged with the enthusiasm of the interpreter, but they often hear someone telling history and rarely hear people *doing* history. It is important for the institution to view these contemporary stories as essential elements in the development of “history” itself. If both the park and the volunteers make a point of telling their own stories as part of the “big stories,” students, teachers, and general visitors will think more critically about narrative, its consequences, and their role in its creation.

But, this house remains. We preserve it to tell the story of regular people, good, bad, and otherwise, who were caught up in the midst of horror at the start of a gruesome war. A war that determined if this country would stay together or be torn asunder, a war that determined the fate of the millions of individuals held enslaved. Well, that brings me to the close, please let me know if you have any questions, thank you for visiting, come on back sometime!

Appendix 1: Recruiting and Informed Consent

Recruiting Script, E-Mail

To whom it may concern,

I am a graduate student in the Department of Geography at the University of Missouri-Columbia, USA. I am very interested in deepening my understanding of the volunteer experience at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. I am interested in how an individual's attachment to a place like Wilson's Creek impacts how they interpret history and learn as volunteer educators at the park. The specific goal of this research is to gain an understanding of how volunteers learn and teach about the Ray House at WICR.

I am hoping to recruit 8 to 15 volunteers to participate. They may be any age, nationality, etc. Participants in this study will be asked to meet with me on three occasions, to fill out a paper survey and be interviewed about their experiences, to allow me to follow a tour that they conduct at the Ray House, and give a brief follow-up interview. In total, participants may be asked to spend 2-4 hours participating in the research.

All possible measures will be taken to ensure confidentiality during and after the study. The research can be conducted in public places or private homes, based on the preferences of the participants. Volunteers in the study will be contributing to an understanding of volunteer experiences and how to best prepare volunteers for service in National Parks.

Would you like to participate in this study? Also, please tell other volunteers you know about this study if you feel they may be interested in participating.

Thank you for your time,

Emma Walcott-Wilson

University of Missouri-Columbia

ejwv2c@mail.missouri.edu

Consent with Waiver of Documentation:

Emma J Walcott-Wilson

1009 Southpark Dr. #3

Columbia, MO 65201

USA

May 14, 2014

Dear Madam/Sir,

I am a graduate student in the Department of Geography at the University of Missouri-Columbia, USA. I am interested in how an individual's attachment to a place like Wilson's Creek impacts how they interpret history and learn as volunteer educators at the park. This June and July I hope to research how stories are told at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (WICR) and how volunteers experiences shape those narratives. I am requesting your cooperation as a voluntary participant in this study.

Reason for the study: Volunteer educators play a vital role in interpreting the history of the Ray House for visitors. Volunteers are important to WICR's ability to provide interpretive services and play a unique role in the community at Wilson's Creek. There

are many studies that try to understand place-attachment among visitors to National Parks. Similarly, there is a great deal of attention paid to the establishment of interpretive guidelines and official histories of parks themselves. Volunteer educators are somewhere in between and many elements shape the stories they tell and how they tell them. They bring their passion and interests with them and are a dynamic and important part of interpretive services at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. Volunteer voices are vital to understanding this experience and process.

This study will take place in three phases. First, I will conduct exploratory informal interviews that will last 30 minutes to an hour and a half and ask you to fill out a brief survey. Next, I will observe one of your Ray House tours and record it for my own records. And finally, we will sit down for a shorter interview about one or two specific things that I found interesting about our previous interactions.

Interviews: *Your responses are confidential. Your participation is voluntary:* All information that I gather is confidential. Your name will not be used in the published study. Only you and I will have access to our interviews. The sound recording of the interview (if you agree to this) will be saved on my flash drive. The interview will then be locked in a file cabinet in my home office. You can ask questions or raise concerns with me during and after the study. You may tell me not to use the interview at any time during the study. This is your information. I can't use it unless you want me to. If you decide you don't want me to use the information, I will immediately delete it.

I will share my research with my department at the University of Missouri-Columbia (dates and time to be determined and announced).

As I mentioned above, your name, age, and any other identifying information will be omitted from any quotes or observations that appear in print.

What will the interview be like? The interview will take approximately 30 minutes to 1.5 hours to complete. I will ask you questions about your role as a volunteer, why you chose to become a volunteer, and how your feeling about the park have developed during your time there. Prior to the interview I'll ask you to complete a brief paper survey which will also be held confidential and in a locked drawer in my home office. I would also like to hear about anything you feel is important to the study. If it is acceptable, I will record the interview. You may listen to the recording at any time during the study. You also have the right not to answer any of my questions. You should not feel like you have to answer all of my questions.

What are the interview benefits? You will be helping to produce new and necessary knowledge about volunteer experience. This could lead to better training and resources for volunteers and a dialogue between volunteers and park personnel about their role in creating a narrative about Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. You will receive a copy of what I have written about your interview. Once the study is complete, you can read the final copy.

What are the risks? There is always a small amount of risk involved in social research. One risk is a breach of confidentiality. However, I will do everything in my power to make sure that your interview responses will remain confidential. All information that I gather through observations **will not** include any identifying information.

Important: You can stop your participation in the research at any time. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits if you no longer want to participate.

You may contact the Campus Institutional Review Board if you have questions about your rights, concerns, complaints or comments as a research participant. You can contact the Campus Institutional Review Board directly by telephone or email to voice any concerns, questions, input or complaints about the research study.

483 McReynolds Hall

E-Mail: umcresearchcirb@missouri.edu

Columbia, MO 65211

Website: <http://www.research.missouri.edu/cirb/index.htm>

573-882-9585

You may also contact my advisor at any time:

Dr. Matthew Foulkes

8 Stewart Hall

University of Missouri-Columbia

foulkesm@missouri.edu

573-882-3542

If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me. My email address is: ejwv2c@mail.missouri.edu Thank you very much for your time!

Best wishes,

Emma J Walcott-Wilson

Appendix 2: Place Attachment Survey

Place-attachment and the Volunteer Experience

I would like to gain an understanding of your feelings about Wilson's Creek National Battlefield and the Ray House. Please indicate the extent to which each statement describes your feelings about this area.

(1-Strongly disagree; 5-Strongly

Agree)

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield means a lot to me	1	2	3	4	5
I am very attached to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield	1	2	3	4	5
I identify strongly with Wilson's Creek National Battlefield	1	2	3	4	5
Wilson's Creek National Battlefield is the best place to do the things I enjoy doing	1	2	3	4	5
I get more satisfaction out of volunteering at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield than at other places.	1	2	3	4	5
I would not substitute any other place for the type of activities I do at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield	1	2	3	4	5
Volunteering here is more important than volunteering in any other place	1	2	3	4	5
I have a lot of fond memories of Wilson's Creek Battlefield	1	2	3	4	5
I tell many people about Wilson's Creek National Battlefield	1	2	3	4	5
I will (do) bring my children to this place	1	2	3	4	5
I have a special connection to the Battlefield and the people who visit it	1	2	3	4	5
I have a special connection to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield and the people who have used the space over the years	1	2	3	4	5

I am... Male / Female

I have earned a(an)... High School Diploma or equivalency / Associate's Degree / Bachelor's Degree / Master's or professional degree / Doctoral Degree

I have worked as a volunteer at Wilson's Creek for _____ years

I have Volunteered at other National Park Sites Yes / No

Other questions:

What materials did you use to learn about the battlefield and the Ray House when you started as a volunteer? (other people, books, movies, etc.)

What materials have you accessed in the time since your start as a volunteer?

Appendix 3: Interview Protocol

Place Attachment of Volunteer Educators and the Creation of Place-Narrative at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

Date:

Place:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Position of Interviewee:
(Briefly describe project)

Questions:

Why did you choose to start volunteering at Wilson's Creek?

What was your relationship with this place before you started volunteering?

...How has it changed?

Do you have a favorite position in which to volunteer at the park? Why?

What materials did you draw from to learn about the Ray House when preparing your tour?

How has your tour changed over time?

What do you enjoy most about giving tours at the house? Enjoy least?

Appendix 4: Correlation Matrix of Place attachment

		Correlation		I identify strongly with WICR	WICR is the best place to do the things I enjoy doing	I get more satisfaction out of volunteering at WICR than at other places	I would not substitute any other place for the type of activities I do at WICR
		WICR means a lot to me	I am very attached to WICR				
WICR means a lot to me	Correlation Coefficient	.					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.					
	N	9					
I am very attached to WICR	Correlation Coefficient	.	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.				
	N	9	9				
I identify strongly with WICR	Correlation Coefficient	.	-0.189	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.626	.			
	N	9	9	9			
WICR is the best place to do the things I enjoy doing	Correlation Coefficient	.	0.124	0.655	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.751	0.056	.		
	N	9	9	9	9		
I get more satisfaction out of volunteering at WICR than at other places	Correlation Coefficient	.	0.189	-0.25	-0.491	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.626	0.516	0.18	.	
	N	9	9	9	9	9	
I would not substitute any other place for the type of activities I do at WICR	Correlation Coefficient	.	0.624	0.225	0.66	0.05	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.073	0.561	0.056	0.898	.
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
Volunteering here is more important than volunteering any other place	Correlation Coefficient	.	0.055	0.512	0.512	0.439	0.244
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.888	0.158	0.158	0.237	0.527
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
I have a lot of fond memories of WICR	Correlation Coefficient	.	1.000**	-0.189	-0.189	0.189	0.624
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	0.626	0.626	0.626	0.073
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
I tell many people about Wilson's Creek National Battlefield	Correlation Coefficient	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.	.	.	.	.
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
I will (do) bring my children to this place	Correlation Coefficient	.	0.283	-0.188	0.068	-0.375	0.088
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.46	0.629	0.862	0.32	0.823
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
I have a special connection to the Battlefield and the people who visit it	Correlation Coefficient	.	0.189	0.5	0.546	0	0.45
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.626	0.17	0.129	1	0.224
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
I have a special connection to the Battlefield and the people who have used the space over the years	Correlation Coefficient	.	0.189	0.5	0.546	0	0.45
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.626	0.17	0.129	1	0.224
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9

Spearman's rho

Correlation

Spearman's rho

		Volunteering here is more important than volunteering any other place	I have a lot of fond memories of WICR	I tell many people about WICR	I will (do) bring my children to this place	I have a special connection to the Battlefield and people who visit it	I have a special connection to WICR and people who have used it over the years
WICR means a lot to me	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N						
I am very attached to WICR	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N						
I identify strongly with WICR	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N						
WICR is the best place to do the things I enjoy doing	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N						
I get more satisfaction out of volunteering at WICR than at other places	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N						
I would not substitute any other place for the type of activities I do at WICR	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N						
Volunteering here is more important than volunteering any other place	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 . 9					
I have a lot of fond memories of WICR	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	0.055 0.888	1 . 9				
I tell many people about Wilson's Creek National Battlefield	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	. . 9	. . 9	. . 9			
I will (do) bring my children to this place	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	-0.659 0.054 9	0.283 0.46 9	. . 9	1 . 9		
I have a special connection to the Battlefield and the people who visit it	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	0.732* 0.025 9	0.189 0.626 9	. . 9	-0.375 0.32 9	1 . 9	
I have a special connection to the Battlefield and the people who have used the space over the years	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	0.732* 0.025 9	0.189 0.626 9	. . 9	-0.375 0.32 9	1.000** . 9	1 . 9

Works Cited

- Agnew, V. (2007). History's affective turn: Historical reenactment and its work in the present. *Rethinking History*, 11(3).
- Altman, I., & Low, S. M. (1992). *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Baker, A. R. H. (2003). *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Burke, D. M. (2010). *On slavery's border: Missouri's small-slaveholding households, 1815-1865*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Carter, P., Butler, D. L., & Alderman, D. H. (2014). The House that Story Built: The Place of Slavery in Plantation Museum Narratives (Vol. 64:4). *The Professional Geographer*.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Cosgrove, D. E. (1984). *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. London: Croom Helm.
- Davenport, M. E., Baker, M. L., Leahy, J. E., & Anderson, D. H. (2010). Exploring Multiple Place Meanings at an Illinois State Park. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 28(1), 52-69.
- Dey, I. (1999). *Grounding grounded theory: Guidelines for qualitative inquiry*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Dinnie, E., Blackstock, K., & Dilley, R. (2012). Landscapes of Challenge and Change: Contested Views of the Cairngorms National Park. *Landscape Research*, 37(4), 451-466.
- Evans, E., Ching, C. C., & Ballard, H. L. (2011). Volunteer guides in nature reserves: exploring environmental educators' perceptions of teaching, learning, place and self. *Environmental Education Research*, 18(3), 391-402.
- Foote, K. E., & Azaryahu, M. (2007). Toward a Geography of Memory: Geographical Dimensions of Public Memory and Commemoration. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 35(1).
- Gapps, S. (2009). Mobile monuments: A view of historical reenactment and authenticity from inside the costume cupboard of history. *Rethinking History*, 13(3), 395-409.

- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *A postcapitalist politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Glaser B. & Strauss A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Rutgers; New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Glymph, T. (2008). *Out of the house of bondage : the transformation of the plantation household*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, D. B. (1991). *Historical geography: a methodological portrayal*. Savage, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Hardin, G. (1968). The tragedy of the commons. *Science*, 162(3859), 1243-1248.
- Hess, E. J., & Brest, C. L. (2006). *Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove: a battlefield guide, with a section on Wire Road*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Hoelscher, S. (2003). Making Place, Making Race: Performances of Whiteness in the Jim Crow South. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 3(93), 657-686.
- Hoelscher, S., & Alderman, D. H. (2004). Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 5(3).
- Horton, J. O., & Horton, L. E. (2006). *Slavery and public history: the tough stuff of American memory*. New York: New Press: Distributed by Norton.
- Hufford, M. (1994). *Conserving culture: a new discourse on heritage*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Jorgensen, B., & Stedman, R. (2001). Sense of place as an attitude: lakeshore owners' attitudes toward their properties. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21, 233-248.
- Kil, N., Holland, S. M., & Stein, T. V. (2010). Improving the Management of Natural Resource Recreation Areas through Understanding Place-Attached Visitor Segments. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 28(3).
- Kobayashi, A., & Peake, L. (2000). Racism out of Place: Thoughts on Whiteness and an Antiracist Geography in the New Millennium. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 90(2).
- Kyle, G., Absher, J., & Graefe, A. (2003). The Moderating Relationship between Attitudes toward Fees and Spending Preferences. *Leisure Sciences*, 25, 33-50.

- Kyle, G., Graeffe, A., & Manning, R. (2005). Testing the Dimensionality of Place Attachment in Recreational Settings. *Environment and Behavior*, 37(2), 153-157.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Lowenthal, D. (1975). Past time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory. *Geographical Review*, 65, 1-36.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, D. (2000). *Cultural geography : a critical introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Mitchell, M. Y., Force, J. E., Carroll, M. S., & McLaughlin, W. J. (1993). Forest places of the heart: incorporating special spaces into public management. *Journal of Forestry*, 4, 32-37.
- Morgan, M. (2009). Interpretation and place attachment: Implications for cognitive map theory. *Journal of Interpretation Research*, 14(1), 47-59.
- Moss, P. (2002a). *Feminist geography in practice: Research and methods*. Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Moss, P. (2002b). *Feminist geography in practice: Research and methods*. Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Newton, E. (2000). *Margaret Mead made me gay: Personal essays, public ideas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- O'Brian, W. E., & Njambi, W. N. (2012). Marginal Voices in "Wild" America: Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and "Nature" in The National Parks. *The Journal of American Culture*, 35(1), 15-25.
- Olson, G. A., & Hirsh, E. (1995). *Women writing culture*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Piston, W. G., & Hatcher, R. W. (2000). *Wilson's Creek : the second battle of the Civil War and the men who fought it*. Chapel Hill, N.C. ; London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Pred, A. (1984). Place as a Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the time-geography of becoming places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2), 279-297.

- Rubin, G. (2011). *Deviations : a Gayle Rubin reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Said, E. (2000). Invention, Memory, and Place. *Critical Inquiry*, 26(2), 175-192.
- Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2011). *Heritage that hurts : tourists in the memoryscapes of September 11*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast ; London : Eurospan [distributor].
- Sisco, M. (2014). At the Dawn of a New Spring, a Confession of Sorts from an Ozarks Storyteller. *These Ozark Hills*. KSMU: Ozarks Public Radio.
- Smaldone, D., Harris, C. C., Sanyal, N., & Lind, D. (2005). Place Attachment and Management of Critical Park Issues in Grand Teton National Park. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 23(1), 90-114.
- Suckall, N., Fraser, E. D. G., Cooper, T., & Quinn, C. (2009). Visitor perceptions of rural landscapes: A case study in the Peak District National Park, England. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 90, 1195-1203.
- Taylor, S. (2010). *Narratives of identity and place*. Hove, East Sussex ; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Toelken, B. (1996). *The dynamics of folklore* (Rev. and expanded ed.). Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Tuan, Y.-f. (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values*. Eaglewood Cliffs: NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Tuan, Y.-f. (1977). *Space and place : the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Tuan, Y.-f. (1979). *Landscapes of fear*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Utley, R. M. (1992). Who's Shrine Is it? The Ideological Struggle for Custer Battlefield. *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, 42(1), 70-74.
- Walker, G. J., & Chapman, R. (2003). Thinking Like a park: The effects of sense of place, perspective-taking, and empathy on pro-environmental Intentions. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 21(4), 71-86.
- Whites, L. (2005). *Gender matters : Civil War, Reconstruction, and the making of the new South*. New York ; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.