A HISTORY

OF

MISSOURI

FROM THE EARLIEST EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS UNTIL THE ADMISSION OF THE STATE INTO THE UNION

BY

LOUIS HOUCK

VOLUME III

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PAGE

ARMS AND THE GREAT SEAL OF MISSOURI 269
AUSTIN, STEPHEN F. From a painting in the Missouri Historical Society. 7
BABER, COL. HIRAM M. From a photograph 265
BATES, EDWARD. From a painting 17
BATES, FREDERICK. From a painting 50
BENTON, THOMAS HART. From a painting in the Missouri Historical Society 268
BOONE, NATHAN. 112
BRACKENRIDGE, HENRY M. From the National Cyclopedia of American Biography 16
CARR, WILLIAM C. 14
CHARLESS, JOSEPH. From a painting in the Missouri Historical Society 65
CHOUTEAU, PIERRE, JR. 254
CHRISTY, WILLIAM. From a painting in the Missouri Historical Society 49
CLARK, GOVERNOR WILLIAM. From a painting 3
COOK, JOHN D. From a painting 266
DAVIS, GREER W. From a photograph 32
DODGE, GENERAL HENRY. From a painting of Catlin 122
DONALDSON, WILLIAM LOWRY. From a painting 42
DUELLING PISTOLS, PHOTOGRAPH OF. Property of Mr. Henry L. Rozier of Ste. Genevieve 76
EASTON, COL. RUFUS. From a painting in the Missouri Historical Society 9
FARRAR, DR. BERNARD G. 80
FIRST MAP OF SURVEY OF ST. LOUIS BY BROWN 164
GEORGE, BISHOP 241
GEYER, HENRY S. From a painting 21
GRATIOT, CHARLES. From a painting in the Missouri Historical Society 44
GREEN, DUFF. From the National Cyclopedia of American Biography 258
HEMPSTEAD, EDWARD. From an oil painting 2
HEMPSTEAD, STEPHEN. From a painting 224
JONES, JOHN RICE. From a photograph 257

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER XXIII 1

Act of Congress, 1812 — "Territory of Missouri"— Territorial Government — Legislative Council Appointed by President — House of Representatives Elected — Howard Appointed Governor — First Election in the Five Counties of the Territory, St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid — Edward Hempstead Elected First Delegate to Congress — First Territorial General Assembly — Washington County Organized — Laws Enacted — Judicial Circuits Established — Second and Third Territorial Assemblies — Legislative Council Made Elective — Howard County Organized — Last Territorial General Assembly — Rufus Easton Elected Second Delegate — John Scott Elected Third Delegate — Territorial Judges and Lawyers — Common Law Introduced by Statute, 1816.

CHAPTER XXIV 34

Settlement of Spanish Land Titles — A Subject of Lively Interest — Appointment of Special Land Commissioners — Land Values Enhanced by Change of Government — Immense Land Grants Secured by Speculators — Questionable Methods Employed — Efforts of Lawyers Aided by Clients — Congressional Legislation — Personnel of Board of Land Commissioners — Secretaries Appointed by the Commission — Frugal Expenses — Confusion Concerning Rights of Lead Miners on Public Lands — Public Ownership of Lead Mines Recommended in 1805 — Correspondence with President Jefferson Concerning Public Lands — Daniel Boone's Grant — One of the Land Commissioners Assaulted — Unconfirmed Claims Made a Political Issue — Benton, Favoring Such Claims, Elected to United States Senate — Additional Congressional Legislation.

CHAPTER XXV 55

Social and Political Changes — An Era of Lawlessness — Non-observance of Sunday — Noted People of Various Settlements — Pioneer Tavern-keepers — Ferries — Postal Service, Postage, Postmasters — Newspapers — Schools — Private and Public Libraries — Gambling Mania — Carrying Weapons — Duels, between MeFerron and Ogle — Graham and Farrar — Fenwick and Crittenden — Geyer and Kennerly — Benton and Lucas — Martin and Ramsay — Browne and John Smith T. — Carroll and Gentry — Berry and Leonard, etc. — Pioneer Physicians — Roster of Revolutionary Soldiers, Pioneers of Missouri — Notable Residents of Territorial Missouri.

CHAPTER XXVI 98

The War of 1812 — Hostility of Indians to American Settlers Incited by British Agents — Indians Supplied with Arms and Ammunition by British Agents — Indian Depredations Prior to the War — Indian Raid on Loutre Island, 1810 — Pursuing Party almost Annihilated by Indians — Friendly and Hostile Tribes — Declaration of War, and Renewed Activity of British Agents — Black Hawk Attacks Ft. Madison — Joins British Expedition — Preparations for War — Enrollment of Militia —

Roster of Officers of Militia, 1812-14 — First U. S. Recruiting Office West of the Mississippi — Indian Atrocities, 1812 — Fort-building — Narrative of Col. John Shaw — Indians more Hostile, 1813 — Citizens Resolve to Fortify St. Louis — Volunteer Companies, Expeditions and Engagements — General Howard's Expedition in Illinois — Missouri Troops Swim the Mississippi — Indian Hostilities on the Missouri River — Capture of French Trading Boat — Conflicts with Predatory Indian Bands — Captain Cooper Killed in 1814 by Indians — Troops of General Dodge Swim the Missouri River — Capture of the Miamis — General Dodge Quells a Mutiny and Prevents Massacre of Indian Captives — Death of James Callaway — Indian Attack on Roy's Fort — Explosion of the Block-house Magazine — Black Hawk's Relentless Indian War Along the Mississippi, 1814 — Disaster to Lieutenant Campbell's Expedition — Timely Arrival of a Gunboat — Black Hawk Repulses Major Zachary Taylor — Indians Greatly Emboldened — Black Hawk's Account of a Bloody Episode — Butchery of the Ramsay Family in St. Charles County — Five White Men Ambushed and Tomahawked — Black Hawk and Band Surrounded in the "Sinkhole"— Account of the Battle of the Sink-hole — Death of Captain Craig, and Lieutenant Spears — Black Hawk and Band Escape by Strategy — Indians on Warpath after Conclusion of Peace — Volunteer Regiment from Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis Counties — Expedition up the Mississippi and Through Illinois — List of Forts Erected During the War of 1812 in Missouri Territory — Scarcity of Horses after the War.

CHAPTER XXVII 140

Increase of Population after the Cession — Lewis and Clark Expedition — Glimpses of the Country along the Missouri — St. Charles — La Charette — Daniel Boone — Pike's Expedition up the Mississippi in 1805 — Portage des Sioux — The Germ of Hannibal — Pike Goes up the Missouri in 1806 — His Voyage up the Osage — No Vestige of Fort Carondelet — Lisa Operates as a Trader on the Osage then — Chouteau a trader there — H. M. Brackenridge and Bradbury on the Missouri in 1811 — Côte sans Dessein — The Boonslick Settlement — The Settlements south of the river — Fort Osage — G. C. Sibley — Rapid Increase of Population after the War of 1812-15 — Long's Expedition of 1819 — Goes up the Mississippi from the Mouth of the Ohio — Appearance of the Country along the River as Reported by Him — Cape Girardeau — Ste. Genevieve — Herculaneum — St. Louis — Long Goes up the Missouri — Changes on this River since the Expeditions of Lewis and Clark and Pike — Franklin — Rapid Growth of this Town — The Cradle of the Santa Fe Trade — Chariton — Isolated Settlement and Settlers north of the Missouri, and Names of some of these Settlers — Ferry across the Missouri at Arrow Rock — Dr Sappington and his Pills — Beginning of the Export Trade on the Missouri — Flatboats Sail south from the Missouri with Produce.

II. St. Louis Made the Seat of Government of the Territory — Growth of St. Louis — Appearance of St. Louis — Incorporated in 1808 — Road Authorized by the Territorial Legislature to Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid — Opened in 1813 — Revenue of St. Louis — Fire Companies — First Street Improvements — Market House — Lisa builds the first Brickhouse — Survey of the Town by Brown — First Contested Village Election — Water Supply — Jealousy of St. Charles — Cape Girardeau laid out in 1805 by Lorimier — Road Established from there to Ste. Genevieve in 1806 — Jackson Laid out in 1815 — Appearance of Jackson in 1818 — Peck — The German Settlement on Whitewater — New Madrid — The New Madrid Harbor — Scene in, described by Flint — Decline of New Madrid — The Earthquake of 1811 — Extent of — Cause of Earthquake, Various Theories — Audubon's Notice of it —

Description of the Earthquake by Senator Linn — Noticed on the Kaskaskia — At Cincinnati — Described by Bradbury — Louis Bringier's Description — The Earth Opens at Various Places — River Runs Backward — Lands Sink — The Description of it by Mrs. Bryant — LeSieur's Description — Flint's Observations Seven Years Afterwards of its Effects — Little Prairie Destroyed — Reelfoot Lake — Continues from Time to Time for Several Months — Effect in Cape Girardeau — Act of Congress for Relief — Frauds Resulting from this Act — Description of New Madrid by Nuttall in 1818 — St. Michael now Fredericktown in 1820 — Potosi — Picture of, by Schoolcraft — Large Sales of Public Lands — New Towns Founded on the Missouri and Mississippi and Names of same — Disappearance of most of these — Jefferson City Located and Made Seat of State Government — Sawmills, Tanyards — Various Industries of the Pioneer Settlers Detailed — Lead Mines — Shot Towers — Fur Trade — Banks — Early Merchants — Steamboats — Change Made by Steamboat Travel — A Question whether Boats Could Navigate the Missouri — Flint's Comparison between Keelboat and Steamboat Travel.

CHAPTER XXVIII 201

Early Protestant Ministers and Churches — Spanish Authorities Opposed to Protestantism — Religious Qualifications Required of Immigrants — First Protestant Ministers in Spanish Territory, now Missouri — First Protestant Baptism west of the Mississippi — Religious Decadence ot early American Settlers — First German Protestant Minister in upper Louisiana on Whitewater — First Protestant church west of the Mississippi — Its Members — First Baptist church north of the Missouri river — Its Members — Pioneer Baptist Preachers and Laymen —Adventure of Elder David McLain with Indians — Rev. John Mason Peck — Peck's Ministry in St. Louis and the Territory — Peck's Observations — Baptist Congregations and Associations — Pioneer Missionary society Opposition to Missionary society — Early Ministers poorly Compensated — Noted early Baptist Preachers — Women's Mite societies — First Sabbath school at Chariton — Religious Conditions Prevailing in St. Louis and the Territory in 1812 — Distribution of Bibles — Rev. Timothy Flint — Observations of Flint — Pioneer Presbyterian Ministers — Members of first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi — Noted early Presbyterian Ministers — Presbytery of Missouri, 1817 — Pioneer Bible societies — First Episcopal Minister at St. Louis, 1819 — Members of first Episcopal church at St. Louis — First Methodist church west of the Mississippi — Noted early Methodist Preachers — Early Methodist Circuits and Stations — First Methodist Conference, 1810.

CHAPTER XXIX 243

Rapid Growth of Population — Memorial to Erect Territory into State — Proposed Boundaries — Memorial Presented to Congress — Referred to a Select Committee — The Slavery Question — Parties Divide on Sectional Lines for the first Time in Congress — The Talmadge Amendment Adopted by the House — Fails in the Senate — Fifteenth Congress Adjourns without Admitting Missouri — Sixteenth Congress Meets — The Admission of Missouri Coupled with that of Maine — The Missouri Compromise — Excitement Produced by the Congressional Debates — Passage of the Enabling Act Creates Great Joy — Members of the Constitutional Convention Elected — A Pro-Slavery Body — Constitutional Convention Meets at St. Louis — Constitution Adopted after a Short Session — Political Preaching Adhorred at the Time — Some Provisions of the Constitution — Biographical Sketches of some of the Members of the Convention — McNair Elected First Governor — William H. Ashley Elected First Lieutenant-Governor — State Officers Appointed by McNair

— Barton and Benton Elected United States Senators — Struggle of Benton to be Elected — Arms of the State — Meaning of the Arms of the State Explained — Opposition to the Admission Renewed by the Anti-Slavery Party — Clay's Compromise — The State Adopts the Declaratory Law Required by Congress — Proclamation of Monroe admitting Missouri dated August 10, 1821 — The Grand Destiny of the State.

LAWLESS, LUKE E. From a painting in the Missouri Historical Society 19
LEONARD, ABIEL. From a painting in the Missouri Supreme Court . 28
LUCAS, J. B. C. From a painting 267
MCKENDREE, BISHOP 240
MCKENDREE CHAPEL. From a photograph 235
PECK, REV. JOHN MASON. From a picture in his Life 212
POTOSI. From Schoolcraft's View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, 1819 182
RAMSAY, GENERAL JONATHAN 263
REEVES, COL. B. H. From a painting 259
RIDDICK, THOMAS FIVEASH. From a painting 71
ROBINSON, DR. JAMES H. From a painting 80
RYLAND, JUDGE JOHN F. From a photograph 31
SCOTT, ANDREW. From Fay Hempstead's "History of Arkansas" . 5
SCOTT, JOHN. From a daguerreotype 13
THOMPSON, REV. WILSON. From a picture in his Life . . . 209
TUCKER, NATHAN BEVERLY. From a painting 10
WALKER, JOSEPH R. From a photograph in the Missouri Historical Society 91
WATKINS, GENERAL NATHANIEL W. From a photograph . . 24
WELLS, ROBERT W. From a painting in the U. S. Circuit Court Room 25
WELSH, REV. JAMES E. From a painting 212

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On page 57 of Volume II, line 19, read "three" for "there."

HISTORY OF THE EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF MISSOURI

CHAPTER XXIII.

Act of Congress, 1812 — "Territory of Missouri"— Territorial Government — Legislative Council Appointed by President — House of Representatives Elected — Howard Appointed Governor — First Election in the Five Counties of the Territory, St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid — Edward Hempstead Elected First Delegate to Congress — First Territorial General Assembly — Washington County Organized — Laws Enacted — Judicial Circuits Established — Second and Third Territorial Assemblies — Legislative Council Made Elective — Howard County Organized — Last Territorial General Assembly — Rufus Easton Elected Second Delegate — John Scott Elected Third Delegate — Territorial Judges and Lawyers — Common Law Introduced by Statute, 1816.

By the Act of 1812 the name of the territory was changed to "Territory of Missouri" and a territorial government established on a broader basis. Under this Act the legislative power of the territory was vested in a General Assembly consisting of a Governor, a Legislative Council and a House of Representatives. Upon this General Assembly was conferred the power to make laws, both civil and criminal, to establish inferior courts and to define their jurisdiction, prescribe the duties of the justices of the peace and other civil officers, regulate their fees and provide for the payment of the same and for the payment of all other services rendered the territory. Provision was made for the assent of the Governor to all bills and no bill or legislative Act was to be of any force without his approbation. A Legislative Council to consist of nine members, it was provided should be selected by the President of the United States by and with the advice of the Senate, out of eighteen persons nominated by the territorial House of Representatives; members of this Legislative Council to be residents of the territory and own at least 200 acres of land therein; to hold office for five years, and no person under the age of twenty-five years to be eligible. The members of the House of Representatives were to be elected for two years. Each five hundred of the free white male inhabitants was to be represented by one member until the population of the country should so increase as to return more than twenty-five

members, when a different proportion was to be established. Representatives were required to be residents of the territory, to have resided in the territory one year prior to election, to be free-holders, and to have paid a territorial or county tax. It was enacted that this General Assembly should meet annually in St. Louis. The mode of proceeding to set this new government in motion was also particularly set forth. The citizens of the territory were authorized to elect a delegate to Congress, and the Act further provided that religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, good schools and the means of education should be encouraged and provided for from the public lands of the United States in said territory, and in such manner as Congress might deem expedient.[1] By the Act of 1816 that part of the law providing for the selection of a Council by the President, out of names to be submitted to him, was repealed, and the statute so amended as to provide for the election of one member to the Council from each county, and for a biennial meeting of the General Assembly instead of an annual meeting.

EDWARD HEMPSTEAD

In a proclamation issued, as provided by this Act, Governor Howard defined the qualifications of electors, and ordered an election in the five counties of St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, (which before that time had been known as "districts"), on the second Monday in November, for members of the territorial House of Representatives as well as for a delegate to Congress. At this election Edward Hempstead was elected first delegate to Congress. He was a native of Connecticut, born at New London, June 3, 1780 and son of Stephen Hempstead, a soldier of the Revolutionary war. He received a classical education, studied law, was admitted to the bar, practiced his profession in Rhode Island several years, but removed to upper Louisiana immediately after the acquisition of the territory. He came west on horseback as far as Vincennes, where he remained for some time, and then walked on foot from Vincennes to St. Louis, settling in St. Charles in 1805 and afterward removing to St. Louis. In 1805 he was elected Clerk of the Legislative Council; in 1806

[1] Statutes at Large, vol. 2, pp. 445, 446, 447.

Deputy Attorney-General for the districts of St. Louis and St. Charles, and in 1809 Attorney-General for the Territory of Louisiana, which position he held when elected first delegate of the Missouri Territory to Congress.

The members of the first territorial House of Representatives chosen at this election were John Pitman and Robert Spencer from St. Charles; David Musick, Bernard G. Farrar, William C. Carr and Richard Caulk from St. Louis; George Bullit, Richard S. Thomas and Israel M'Gready from Ste. Genevieve; George Frederick Bollinger and Stephen Byrd from Cape Girardeau, and John Schrader and Samuel Phillips from New Madrid. These representatives met at the house of Joseph Robidoux between Walnut and Elm streets on the 7th of December, 1812; the oath of office was administered by Judge John B. C. Lucas; William C. Carr was elected Speaker, and Thomas F. Riddick, Clerk pro tem. and Andrew Scott[2] permanent Clerk before the close of the session. Under the Act of Congress providing for the nomination of eighteen persons from which the President of the United States was to select nine, to constitute the Council for the territory, the House proceeded to nominate eighteen persons and then adjourned. From the names submitted the President selected as the first territorial Council: James Flaugherty and Benjamin Emmons from St. Charles, Auguste Chouteau and Samuel Hammond from St. Louis, John Scott and Rev. James Maxwell from Ste. Genevieve, William Neeley and Joseph Cavender from Cape Girardeau and Joseph Hunter from New Madrid. By proclamation of Frederick Bates, Secretary of the territory and acting as Governor, (Governor Howard having resigned upon being appointed Brigadier-General) the names of the Legislative Council selected by the President were announced and the first Monday in July following fixed as the day for the meeting of the first territorial General Assembly under this Act. On the day named this legislative body accordingly met. William

WILLIAM CLARK

[2] He was a brother of John Scott; in 1818 was appointed Judge of the Superior Court of the Territory of Arkansas and moved from Potosi to Arkansas Post and was the first official to arrive in the territory. Died on his farm "Scotia" in Pope county, Arkansas, March 13, 1851, aged 63 years. He married a Miss Gregoire of Ste. Genevieve.

Clark [3] had been appointed Governor of the territory and during the recess assumed the duties of his office. Friendly relations were established and maintained between the executive and this legislature.

[3] William Clark, a younger brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, August 1, 1770, with his parents he removed to the Falls of the Ohio, now Louisville, Kentucky, in 1784, and where his brother then occupied a conspicuous position; here the family established itself on a farm which became known as "Mulberry Hill"; in 1787 at the age of 17 years he became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, his certificate of membership being signed by George Washington. In 1788 he was appointed ensign in the Regular Army, and in 1790 made a Captain of the militia by Gov. St. Clair; in 1791 he was commissioned Lieutenant in the Regular Army, and in 1796 resigned and returned to the farm. In 1803 he was requested by Merriwether Lewis, with whom he became acquainted in the army, to join him in the Expedition to the headwaters of the Missouri and the Pacific ocean; appointed by Jefferson Lieutenant in the Corps of Artillerists and thus came to participate in this great Exploration and which has forever immortalized his name with that of Lewis. Upon his return he was appointed by Jefferson Brigadier-General of the Militia of the Territory of Missouri in 1807, also Indian Agent of the United States for the territory then extending indefinitely west. In 1812 he was again appointed Brigadier-General of the Missouri militia by President Madison. After the resignation of Governor Benjamin Howard, he was appointed Governor of the Missouri Territory and this position he held until the admission of the State into the Union. In 1822 he was again appointed Indian Agent and in 1824, Surveyor-General of Missouri and Illinois and the Arkansas Territory. In 1828 he laid out the city of Paducah. He was married twice. His first wife, Julia Hancock, he married in June, 1808. She died in 1820, leaving four sons and one daughter. His second wife was the widow of Dr. John Radford, and she died in 1831, leaving him two sons and one daughter by her first husband. Clark died in 1838. He was a remarkable man and his name will remain identified with the history of the State and the west. He was a man of affairs, able, enterprising, and energetic. He negotiated many Indian treaties and his personal influence among the Indians was unbounded, and among them he was known as "Redhead"; they had faith in him, respected him, and loved him. He was one of the founders of the Missouri Fur Company in 1808. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that he was without faults. In the Letters of Lucas we catch a sketch of his character from a hostile pen. In a letter to President John Quincy Adams he says, "This William Clark has nothing to recommend him personally, except his trip to the Pacific ocean. He knew so little of his duty as Indian agent as to be publicly concerned in Indian trade, and was actually President of a fur company and trading up the Missouri in 1808 and 1809 whilst he was Indian agent. He also kept Indian goods for sale at his store in St. Louis. It was he who had laid the plan of a military expedition from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien in 1813 and 1814; he caused a very large boat to be built which he manned with a large crew. Many of them had twenty dollars pay per month. He took care to have his nephew, Ben O'Fallon, with a boat following him as sutler, who swept all the money from the crew. He erected a fort at Prairie du Chien which was taken by the British a few months after. The latter annoyed our force at the rapids of the Mississippi with the very same artillery which they had taken from us at the Prairie du Chien, and no one was benefited by that expedition but General Clark, his nephew and company. If I am correctly informed the Indian agents have generally been appointed at the recommendation of General Clark. Those offices are filled with his nephews, brothers-in-law or other friends and dependents. They are mostly loitering at home and are nearly sinecure." Letters of Lucas, page 79. All of which shows that public men in those early days were not exempt from perhaps ill-natured criticism.

No official record has been preserved of its proceedings but from the Missouri *Gazette* it appears, that one of the first laws enacted related to weights and measures, a subject as well can be imagined of general interest to the people. By another act the office of sheriff was established. Laws relating to crimes and their punishment also received attention. An act was passed providing that a census should be taken of the male population of the territory in order to fix the basis of representation. Courts of Common Pleas were created and their jurisdiction defined. The first bank of the Missouri territory — the Bank of St. Louis — was chartered. A new county was organized and appropriately named Washington out of territory cut off from the county of Ste. Genevieve. This new county embraced the lead mining district and Mine à Breton was made the county-seat and then first named Potosi. Of course provision was made for the compensation and pay of the members. This embraces the most important subjects of legislation of the first session. When the legislature adjourned it was to meet again for a second session in the following December.

ANDREW SCOTT

For some reason the speaker of the first session did not act at this adjourned session and George Bullit of Ste. Genevieve was elected as speaker. It then appeared that under the census which had been taken under the act passed at the first session that the white male population of the county of St. Charles was 1,096, of St. Louis 3,149, of Ste. Genevieve 1,701, of Cape Girardeau, 2,062, of New Madrid, 1,548, and of the county of Arkansas 287. The new county of Washington which had been detached from Ste. Genevieve had a population of 1,010. The total male population of the territory then was 11,393 and allowing the same number for white females and 2,000 for slaves and free blacks the total population of the territory was at least 26,000. Under the census of 1810 the population was 20,845 of all classes. At this second session of the legislature the new county of Washington was represented by Dr. Israel M'Gready. Perhaps the most important law adopted at this adjourned session was an act defining the boundaries of the several counties, about which some vagueness existed prior to this time.

The second General Assembly of the territory met in St. Louis

on the 5th of December, 1814. The number of representatives under the new census was twenty and all members were present on the first day of the session. In this General Assembly St. Charles county was represented by John Pittman, Peter Journey and John G. Heath; St. Louis county by five members, Barnabas Harris, Richard Caulk, William C. Carr, Robert Simpson and Kincaid Caldwell; Washington county by two members, Nicholas Wilson and Philip McGuire; Ste. Genevieve county by three members, Richard S. Thomas, James Caldwell and Augustine De Mun; Cape Girardeau county by five members, Stephen Byrd, George F. Bollinger, —— ——, Robert English and Joseph Sewell; New Madrid county by three members, John Davidson, George G. Hart and Henry H. Smith and Arkansas county by one member. James Caldwell was elected Speaker of the House and Andrew Scott re-elected Clerk. William Sullivan was made Doorkeeper. William Neeley was presiding officer of the Council, Rev. James Maxwell having died. Charles Lucas took the place of Seth Emmons as a representative in the Council from St. Louis also deceased since the last session, and John Rice Jones took the seat of Rev. James Maxwell, these new members of the Council having been appointed by the President. This legislature met in the old Sanguinette log house on Second street. No record of the proceedings of the first session has been preserved. The first law suppressing vice and immorality on the Sabbath day was enacted by this legislature. An Act was passed to regulate the fiscal affairs of the territory and the office of Territorial Auditor established. The subject of roads and highways, a matter which has engaged the attention of every legislature since that time, also became the subject of anxious solicitude.

The second session met in January, 1815, at the house of Madame Du Breuil. Some change in the representation seems to have taken place, by resignation or otherwise. Washington county at this adjourned session was represented in the House by Hardage Lane and Stephen F. Austin; Ste. Genevieve county by Isidore Moore; New Madrid county by Dr. Robert D. Dawson, and Arkansas county by Henry Cassiday, while Matthias McGirk represented St. Charles county in the Council. St. Louis now was growing in importance and real estate rapidly increased in value and this led to the passage of an act providing for the survey of the town. By another law a county court was established in each county except Arkansas

county, these courts to be composed of the justices of the peace of the several counties. The clerks of these courts were made ex-officio recorders of the several counties. Under another law the new county of Lawrénce was organized. The most important law adopted was that which created two judicial circuits for the territory, the counties of St. Charles, St. Louis and Washington constituting the northern and Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid the southern circuit. This Act abolished the office of Attorney-General and created the office of Circuit Attorney.

The third territorial General Assembly elected in 1816 was composed of Hugh McDermid, ——— Evans, and ——— Spencer of St. Charles county; Edward Hempstead, James Mackay, John Coons, John W. Honey, Barnabas Harris, Jesse Murphy, and John E. Allen of St. Louis county; Hardage Lane and Stephen F. Austin of Washington county; Nathaniel Cook, Isidore Moore and John McArthur of Ste. Genevieve county; George F. Bollinger, Robert English and John Dunn of Cape Girardeau county; Dr. Robert D. Dawson of New Madrid county; Edward Hogan of Arkansas county; and Alex. S. Walker of Lawrence county. Edward Hempstead was Speaker of the House and William Neeley, President of the Council. For this General Assembly the Council was elected and St. Charles was represented by Ben Emmons, St. Louis by John Ward, Washington county by Samuel Perry, Ste. Genevieve by Joseph Bogy, Cape Girardeau by William Neeley, New Madrid by Joseph Hunter, Arkansas by John Cummins, and Lawrence by Richard Murphy. The sessions were again held in the house of Madame Du Breuil on Second street. One of the first acts passed was a law organizing the county of Howard, which was so named in honor of Governor Ben Howard, who had recently died. Benjamin Cooper and James Alcorn were immediately upon the organization of the county elected to represent the people of the county in this legislature and afterward participated in its deliberations. At this session the Bank of Missouri was chartered and this gave rise to great agitation at the time.[4] The bank was authorized to issue notes to circulate as money and in 1817 the Bank of St. Louis

STEPHEN F. AUSTIN

[4] Douglas vs. Bank, 1 Mo. Rep., p. 38.

chartered in the previous year, and the Bank of Missouri both began to issue notes. Acts were also passed offering a bounty for killing wolves, panthers and wildcats; establishing several lotteries, and a charter was granted to the Potosi Academy. The first law for the organization of the School Board of St. Louis and out of which has grown the splendid school system of that city was adopted by this legislature. St. Louis was authorized to erect a jail, but although the jail was commenced in 1817, it was not completed for want of funds until the winter of 1819-20.

In the fourth and last territorial General Assembly elected in 1818 and which met in that year Howard county was represented by six members, John Adams, Samuel Brown, David Jones, Daniel Munro, Thomas Rogers and George Tompkins; St. Charles county by six members, Hugh McDermid, —— ——, Christopher Clark, William Smith, James Talbot and Ira Cottle; St. Louis county by David Barton, Barnabas Harris, Henry S. Geyer, Robert Wash, John W. Harvey, John C. Sullivan, Marie P. Leduc, Daniel Richardson and David Musick; Washington county by Lionel Browne and Stephen F. Austin; Ste. Genevieve county by Isidore Moore, David F. Marks, William Shannon and Jacob Walters; Cape Girardeau county by Johnson Ranney, Robert English, Joseph Sewell, Erasmus Ellis and James Ravenscroft; New Madrid county by Stephen Ross; Lawrence county by Perry G. Magness, Joseph Harden and John Davidson, and Arkansas county by Edward Hogan. The Legislative Council was composed of Ben Emmons from St. Charles; —— ——, Howard county, Thomas F. Riddick, St. Louis; Samuel Perry, Washington; John D. Cook, Ste. Genevieve; George F. Bollinger, Cape Girardeau; Robert D. Dawson, New Madrid, and Henry Cassidy from Arkansas county. David Barton was elected Speaker of the House, Ben Emmons President of the Council, and Andrew Scott again elected Clerk of the House and William Sullivan Doorkeeper. This General Assembly passed an Act organizing eight new counties, viz.: Jefferson, Franklin, Wayne, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, Pike, and Cooper, but Lawrence county was abolished. The territory was also, by another Act, divided into three judicial circuits, the southern circuit composed of the counties of Ste. Genevieve, Madison, Wayne, New Madrid and Cape Girardeau; the northern circuit of the counties of St. Charles, Franklin, Washington, Jefferson and St. Louis, and the new northwestern circuit of the counties of Cooper, Howard, Montgomery, Lincoln and Pike. A

memorial was adopted praying for the establishment of a state government and this was afterward presented by the delegate of the territory to Congress.

In 1814 Rufus Easton was elected second delegate to Congress, receiving 948 votes; his opponents being Samuel Hammond who received 744 votes, Alexander McNair who received 854 votes, and Thomas F. Riddick who received only 35 votes. Easton took his seat in Congress November 16, 1814. At the next election for delegate John Scott of Ste. Genevieve and Rufus Easton were competitors. Scott received 1,816 and Easton 1,801 votes, and Scott was declared elected by 15 plurality, but Easton was not so easily retired; he contested the election on the ground that the judges of Côte sans Dessein, where Scott had received 23 votes and Easton only one vote, were not sworn before entering upon their duties as judges, and this fact being established the seat was declared vacant and a new election ordered. This election took place in 1817, and Scott received 2,406 votes and Easton 2,014 votes, Scott's majority this time being 392. This satisfied Easton, and he made no further contest. Afterward Scott was re-elected and remained in Congress until 1828.

RUFUS EASTON

The first judge appointed for the southern circuit established by the territorial legislature was Hon. Richard S. Thomas. Judge Thomas was a native of Virginia; settled in Ste. Genevieve in 1810, and appeared as attorney in the first case for murder tried there in 1811. After he was appointed Circuit judge he removed from Ste. Genevieve to Jackson. In 1825 he came in conflict with the Jackson bar and was impeached on various charges. It was alleged that he was arbitrary, oppressive, unjust and partial in that he refused to recognize John Juden, Jr., as Clerk of the Circuit court of Cape Girardeau county under the pretense that the amendment to the constitution of 1822 vacated the office, that he appointed his own son, Claiborne S. Thomas, as Clerk, and demanded that the records of the office be delivered to him, that he adjourned the April term, 1823, because Juden refused to deliver the papers to the Clerk appointed by him; that he had shown partiality in a suit between his son and Charles G. Ellis; that he had agreed to admit Dr. Ezekiel Fenwick, charged with murder, to bail provided that he

would surrender himself to the sheriff. The articles of impeachment were presented by the House of Representatives February 25, 1825, Judge Thomas appearing by his attorney Edward Bates and denying them, but on March 5, he was found guilty of the charges preferred against him and removed from office. He resumed the practice of law at Jackson, but shortly after on his way to attend court at Greenville, he was thrown from his horse, and from the injury sustained he died in 1825.[5] Judge Thomas was succeeded by Judge John D. Cook who had been appointed one of the judges of the Supreme court when the state was admitted, but resigned. He remained Circuit Judge until the constitution was amended making judges elective. On the northern circuit David Barton was appointed first Circuit Judge and held his first term of court April 10, 1815, but in 1818 resigned and resumed the practice of law. Nathaniel Beverly Tucker was then appointed Judge of this circuit by Frederick Bates, acting Governor. He was a native of Virginia, a half brother of John Randolph of Roanoke, his father, J. St. George Tucker, having married his mother. Judge Tucker came to St. Louis in 1815. In 1826 he was succeeded by Judge Alexander Stuart.[6] In 1831 Judge Tucker lived in Saline county, but in 1833-34 returned to Virginia to accept the chair of Law in William and Mary College, at Williamsburg. He remained there for the remainder of his life, dying August 26, 1851, at the age of 67 years.

NATHANIEL B. TUCKER

Judge Tucker was eccentric like his half-brother. When he came to the territory he purchased a farm near Florissant, and in a large, hollow sycamore tree about ten feet in diameter, which was on the place, he established his law office, cutting off the tree about ten feet above the ground, cleaning out the inside, putting in a floor, door and window, and arranging his law books around on the side

[5] He was very unfortunate in his domestic relations. His son Claiborne and daughter Sabrina both became insane. According to the recollections of those who knew them, the family were cultivated and accomplished. Dr. Peck says in 1818 he preached at the house of the Hon. Richard S. Thomas, and that he was kindly and hospitably entertained there. "Mrs. Thomas," he says, "and her daughters were members of Bethel church."—Life of Rev. John Mason Peck, p. 119.

[6] Alexander Stuart was born May 11, 1770, in Virginia. He was a younger brother of Judge Archibald Stuart, of Staunton, and studied law in his office.

of this natural wall. When Circuit Judge, he would get on a horse and gallop twenty or thirty miles to hold court, and as soon as the grand jury finished its business, try the cases presented and then he would return home in the same way. He was an extreme States' rights man. In 1828 he married Miss Eliza, daughter of Mr. John Naylor of St. Charles. She died within five months after the marriage. He married his second wife, Miss Lucy Ann Smith, a daughter of Gen. T. A. Smith, at Franklin in 1830. Judge Tucker was an able jurist and an ornament of the profession, a man of classical education, of fine literary attainments and excelled as a writer.[7]

The first judge of the northwestern circuit was David Todd, who was appointed in 1819 and continued in office until 1835, when all the judicial life-appointees were legislated out of office. He was born in 1790, in Fayette county, Kentucky, and admitted to the bar in that

After he was admitted to the bar, he began to practice his profession in Campbell county, Virginia, and not long afterward was elected to the Executive Council of the State and removed to Richmond where he resided for some years. He was appointed a territorial Judge of Illinois and settled in Kaskaskia, but the climate proving unfavorable, he returned to Virginia. In about 1808, he settled in St. Louis and while residing there was on terms of intimacy with Gov. Merriwether; and he appointed him, W. C. Carr, and William Clark as his attorneys when about to make his trip to end so tragically to Washington. Stuart continued to reside in St. Louis, and died December 9, 1832, while on a visit to his old home in Virginia. His brother Archibald Stuart was father of Alexander H. H. Stuart, who was a member of Fillmore's cabinet and grandfather of Gen. J. E. B. Stuart. A great grandson of Alexander Stuart, the Hon. Henry C. Stuart, is now a member of the State Corporation Commission of Virginia, and Mrs. Dr. Robert Preston of Wytheville, Va., is another descendant.

[7] Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, second son of St. George Tucker, born at Williamsburg, James City Co., Va., Sept. 6, 1784, died in Winchester, Va., August 26, 1851, was generally known by his second name. He was graduated at William and Mary in 1801, studied law, and practiced in Virginia until 1815, when he came to the Missouri territory. His most remarkable work after he returned to Virginia is "The Partisan Leader; a tale of the future, by Edward William Sydney," (New York, 1836; Washington, 1837). This was printed secretly, bearing the fictitious date 1856, and purported to be a historical novel of events between 1836 and that year. In its accurate delineation of events between 1861 and 1865 it seems almost prophetic. It was reprinted with the title, "A Key to the Disunion Conspiracy," (New York, 1861). His other works include "George Balcombe," a novel (1836); "Discourse on the Importance of the Study of Political Science as a Branch of Academic Education in the United States," (Richmond, 1840); "Discourse on the Dangers that threaten the Free Institutions of the United States," (1841); "Lectures intended to prepare the student for the Study of the Constitution of the United States," (Philadelphia, 1845); and "Principles of Pleading," (Boston, 1846). He left an unfinished life of his half-brother, John Randolph, of Roanoke. He wrote a great number of political and miscellaneous essays, and was a large contributor to the "Southern Literary Messenger" of Richmond, Va., and to the "Southern Quarterly Review." He corresponded with scholars and politicians, and the influence of his mind was felt by all such with whom he came in contact. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.

state in 1810 — came to the Missouri territory in 1818 and died in Columbia in 1859. In 1828 an effort was made to impeach him, but this attempt failed.

In looking over the legislative history of the territory it should be noted that in 1816 the first Act was passed introducing the common-law, although, as we have seen, at least in one instance, the rules of the common-law were followed by the very first American officers stationed in upper Louisiana. The Act of 1816 expressly made the common-law, and statutes of England prior to the reign of James I., of a general nature, the law of the land, provided they were not in conflict with the laws and constitution of the United States, and the statutes of the territory. This statute did not abrogate the Spanish law, nor was the Spanish law *eo nomine* abolished until 1825.

From 1804 until Missouri was admitted into the Union many members of the legal profession settled in the territory, and this chapter would be incomplete without giving at least a cursory sketch of the lives and careers of some of these early jurists whose names have become inseparably connected with the history of the territory. During the Spanish government upper Louisiana offered no field to the professional lawyer, but after the acquisition of the country by the United States a great change took place. Lawyers occupied the stage, — their disputes, their quarrels, their claims for political preferment and their jealousies became the subjects of popular interest; they were engaged in nearly all the duels fought, in fact were the duellists, the protagonists of the *code duello*. The land claims and questions of law connected with these land claims agitated the minds of all the old settlers as well as of the purchasers of such claims. The rapidly rising value of land, the great interests at stake in this litigation, the immense fees involved in success, and the great political prizes offered in this new domain, brought out the splendid intellectual powers of these early advocates. The number of remarkable jurists these great opportunities developed is unparalleled in the history of any state. Nearly all the lawyers who came to Missouri before the admission of the state into the Union achieved distinction, and many attained a national reputation.

In 1804, almost immediately after it became known that the country had been purchased, Nathaniel Pope settled in Ste. Genevieve to practice law in the new courts which were to be organized. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1784; received a classical education, graduated at Transylvania University and studied law with his broth-

er, John Pope. When the first court met in Ste. Genevieve, in December, 1804, he was present as attorney; he was also in attendance at the first court which met at Cape Girardeau, March 19, 1805. Pope, however, remained at Ste. Genevieve only a few years, and removed thence to Kaskaskia, then the capital of the Illinois country. When the territory of Illinois was organized, in 1809, he was appointed its first Secretary. He was elected delegate to Congress in 1817, and after the organization of the state government was appointed United States District Judge of Illinois. He died in 1850.

The first lawyer who settled permanently in Ste. Genevieve was John Scott, a native of Virginia and graduate of Princeton College. He came from the east to Vincennes, studied law there and was admitted to the bar; in 1805 he removed from Vincennes to Ste. Genevieve to practice his profession. Subsequently he was elected delegate from the Missouri territory to Congress. He was the first representative of the state of Missouri in Congress after the state was admitted to the Union. In the presidential contest between Jackson and Adams he voted for Adams and this ended his political career. The remainder of his life was devoted to the practice of law in which he became eminent. For many years he was a familiar figure in all the courts of the southeastern counties. His honesty and integrity won him the unlimited confidence of the people. In those early times almost all collections were made by lawyers. The amounts thus collected by Scott for his clients were often very large, and it is said that he would put all such collections made by him while traveling on the circuit in separate buckskin bags with the name of the owner marked on them, nor would he touch such money for his individual use no matter how sorely pressed. His personal influence with juries was so great that on one occasion when a jury brought in for one of Scott's clients a verdict manifestly against the evidence, one of the jurors excused his verdict by saying, "Didn't John Scott tell us to bring in a verdict that way!" Scott died at the age of 80 years, and Scott county was named in his honor.[8]

JOHN SCOTT

[8] Other attorneys at Ste. Genevieve during the territorial era of Missouri were, George Bullit, elected to represent the county in the territorial legislature, and also at one time Register of the Land Office; T. T. Crittenden, who was appointed Deputy Attorney-General in 1810 by Governor Howard; and Beverly

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Isaac Darnielle was perhaps the first lawyer who came to St. Louis after the acquisition of Louisiana. As early as 1794 he had settled in Cahokia. Darnielle was a native of Maryland, and Reynolds says had received a collegiate education; was a man of strong intellect, fine appearance, extremely neat in his dress and attentive to his personal appearance, an agreeable speaker and popular, but unfortunately indolent.[9] He seems to have been engaged in the early political intrigues of the territory, and General Wilkinson says that Hammond "has become the intimate associate of that rascal Darnielle whose name is mentioned only in the same breath as a 'libel on integrity!' "[10]

W. C. CARR

Three lawyers, William C. Carr, Rufus Easton and Edward Hempstead came to St. Louis about the same time, in 1804. Carr was the son of Walter Carr of Albemarle county, Virginia, a personal friend of Jefferson; he was born April 15, 1783; received an academic education; studied law and after being admitted to the bar came to Louisiana territory, arriving in St. Louis March 31, 1804, making the journey from Louisville to St. Louis on a keel-boat, a tedious trip re-

Allen, for a time law partner of John Scott, who resided in Ste. Genevieve until 1827, when he removed to St. Louis. Allen was a native of Virginia, a graduate of Princeton and began the study of law under Judge Upshur; when he first came to the territory he opened a Latin school at Jackson, but from there he removed to Ste. Genevieve; he was appointed U. S. District Attorney by President Adams probably on the recommendation of Scott, and this appointment was no doubt connected with his removal to St. Louis. In St. Louis Allen entered into partnership in the practice of law with Hamilton R. Gamble. When Jackson was elected President he was removed from office, but was afterward elected to the state legislature. In 1838 he was a candidate for Congress but defeated. Judge Otto Schrader settled in Ste. Genevieve in 1809; he was a German-Austrian; appointed territorial judge by Jefferson; at the time of his appointment resided at Sunbury, Pa.; in Austria had served as a soldier under Archduke Charles; he died in St. Louis, in 1811, while in attendance upon a council of the governor and territorial judges. At the first Circuit Court of Jefferson county, at Herculaneum, in 1819 Ebenezer Martin produced a license and was admitted to the bar, and in 1820 Henry Maffit was also admitted, these being the first resident attorneys there.

[9] Reynold's Pioneer History, p. 185. Reynolds further says, "He never married according to the laws of the country, but to all appearances he was never without a wife or wives;" that on one occasion he ran off with a married lady of Cahokia to Peoria; that at another time he resided on the Mississippi bluff northwest of Alton with another woman; that Col. Easton purchased Darnielle's pre-emption rights of land granted him by Act of Congress; from Illinois he removed to Kentucky where he died in 1830 at the age of 60 years.

[10] Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 76, No. 99.

quiring 25 days. He remained in St. Louis that month and then went to Ste. Genevieve to settle and practice law; but after a year he returned to St. Louis. While in Ste. Genevieve he married Miss Anna Marie Elliott, daughter of Dr. Aaron Elliott, from Connecticut. In St. Louis Carr occupied for many years a prominent and influential position. In 1826 he was appointed Circuit judge, a position which he held for eight years, being succeeded by Luke E. Lawless in 1834. After the death of his wife in 1826 he married, in 1829, a daughter of Silas Bent. He died on March 31, 1851, at the age of 68 years.

Rufus Easton, who came to St. Louis in the same year was born in Litchfield, Conn., May 4, 1774. At the age of 17 years he began to read law, and about the year 1800 he removed to Rome in the state of New York where he soon became known as a promising young lawyer. In 1803 we find him in Washington, and from there he went west with the intention of settling in New Orleans, but on his way south he changed his mind, and went to Vincennes, where he remained for several months. Then with General Harrison and the Indiana judges he came to St. Louis and took up his residence there. In 1804-5 he visited Washington again and secured the appointment as one of the judges of the territory of Louisiana under the new Act. In the same year he was appointed first postmaster of St. Louis, but was not reappointed judge when his commission expired in 1806, and this led to the correspondence between him and Jefferson already alluded to. He also acted as United States Attorney for the territory for some time. In 1814 he was elected delegate of the territory to Congress, but was defeated by John Scott at the next election. When Missouri was admitted to the Union Easton was appointed United States Attorney for the state of Missouri. In 1822 he removed from St. Louis to St. Charles, where he died in 1834. Unlike many other members of the legal profession he would not be drawn into duels. On one occasion he was challenged to fight by Scott, but declined in these words, "I don't want to kill you, and if you were to kill me I would die as a fool dieth."

Edward Hempstead was the first delegate in Congress from the territory of Missouri, and the trans-Mississippi country, and at the close of the term did not become a candidate for re-election. But his career was well nigh run, for in 1817 be accidentally was thrown from his horse and died shortly after from the effect of the fall. He married a daughter of Louis C. DuBreuil at Ste. Genevieve, in 1808.

Hempstead's death was universally lamented at the time. Flint says of him that he was "a man unlettered, but of strong sense, and it was said by competent judges, a great special pleader; he had a kind of fierce, sharp and barking manner of speaking, which had such an effect as to awe the jury, and had become so popular that it descended to the bar as his mantle, after he was dead. Often have I heard young and incompetent lawyers attempting to catch the bark of Edward Hempstead."[11]

In 1810 Henry M. Brackenridge for a short time thought he would take up his residence and practice law in St. Louis and the territory. After a couple of months of "busy idleness," being admonished by the low state of his finances he concluded to follow "the county courts which were held in each of the four or five counties of the territory twice a year." He went from St. Louis on horseback to Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, to attend these courts, and was accompanied by a young lawyer who, he says, afterward fell in a duel. He first went to Ste. Genevieve, from Ste. Genevieve "retraced the road in company with my brethren of the bar" on the route which he had "traveled on foot with Bill Hewlings and Mark Higginbottom" to Cape Girardeau. After court adjourned there he proceeded to New Madrid, his mind constantly occupied with the changes which he saw had taken place since first he had traveled this road, a little boy riding on a pony with Lucas. After court adjourned at New Madrid he says he returned to St. Louis "fully resolved it should close my professional career in upper Louisiana."[12] A man of the literary inclination and disposition of Brackenridge could hardly be expected to settle down on the frontiers of civilization, although he had been reared amid such surroundings. He was a man of a roving disposition, keen to observe the faults of others and the reason for their failures, but could not or would not apply his observations to himself. To his temporary residence in Louisiana we owe his "Views of Louisiana," his "Journal of a trip up the

H. M. Brackenridge

From Nat. Cyclo. Am. Biog. White & Co., N. Y.

[11] Flint's Recollections, p. 184.

[12] Recollections of the West, p. 235.

Missouri," and his "Recollections of the West," giving us a delightful picture of times otherwise long forgotten.[13]

As intimately connected with the legal profession of his time we also may mention Silas Bent, who was born in Massachusetts in 1768, moved to Ohio in 1788 and came to St. Louis in 1806, having been appointed Deputy-Surveyor for the territory; in 1807 he was appointed judge of the court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Lucas and Augustus Chouteau being his associate Judges. Subsequently he was Clerk of the County court, and Recorder for a number of years; and died in office in 1827.

In 1812 David Barton and his brother Joshua Barton, in 1814 Edward Bates and Matthew McGirk, and in 1815 Thomas H. Benton and Luke E. Lawless came to St. Louis to practice law, a brilliant galaxy of great names. The Bartons came from Tennessee. They were the sons of a Baptist preacher, Rev. Isaac Barton. David Barton, shortly after his arrival in the territory, was appointed Circuit Judge but soon afterward resigned, and beginning to practice law on the St. Louis circuit, he became very popular. When the constitutional convention met in 1820 he was unanimously elected presiding officer of that body; and after the admission of the state to the Union, was elected first United States senator of the new state by acclamation. The support he gave Adams in 1825 closed his political career, just as it closed that of Scott. After his retirement from the Senate in 1830 he removed to Cooper county where he was elected to the state senate in 1834–5. He died September 28, 1837. Barton county was named in his honor. His brother Joshua, associated with Edward Bates in the practice of law, was appointed Secretary of State in 1821; resigned his office to accept the position of United States Attorney for Missouri, and was killed in a duel with Rector, June 30, 1823. It is said that as a lawyer he was superior to his brother, and Edward Bates one time declared that he "was the most accomplished lawyer that he had ever met."[14]

Edward Bates was intimately associated with the Bartons and in

[13] James A. Graham was the name of the young lawyer who traveled with Brackenridge. He came to St. Louis in 1810 and died in consequence of a wound received in a duel with Dr. Farrar.

[14] Isaac Barton, a third brother, also came to St. Louis and lived there for a time; acted as deputy sheriff, and was appointed clerk of the U. S. District court by Judge Peck. Mrs. Murphy, widow of Rev. Wm. Murphy of the Murphy settlement, who came to upper Louisiana during the Spanish government, was a sister of the Bartons. The present city of Farmington is located where the Murphys received their Spanish grants.

political sympathy with them. He came to the territory without a profession, induced to do so doubtless by the fact that his brother, Frederick, was then living in the territory and occupying a prominent position. Upon his arrival he entered the office of Rufus Easton and began to read law, and in 1816 was admitted to the bar. In 1818 he was appointed District Attorney by Governor Clark, and in 1820 elected a member of the constitutional convention. Afterward he was appointed Attorney-General, and in 1824 United States District Attorney. In 1826 he was elected to Congress, defeating John Scott, but in 1828 was himself defeated by Spencer Pettis; he was then elected to the state legislature, and after his term of service expired, retired to a farm on Dardenne prairie in St. Charles county; but in 1842 he resumed the practice of law in St. Louis. His name now became national and as a lawyer he was constantly growing in public esteem. In 1860 he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States in Lincoln's first cabinet, but ill health caused him to resign and he died in 1864. An indefatigable student of law, he presented his points in matchless order, in the words of Colonel Gantt, "sometimes wringing from a reluctant court by irresistible argument a reconsideration and over-ruling of a hasty decision." The public schools of St. Louis owe to him much of the great endowment made by Act of 1812; but for his legal ability and acumen a large portion of that great grant might have been lost.[15]

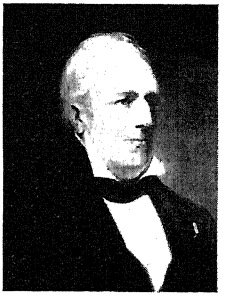
EDWARD BATES

Matthew McGirk came to St. Louis from Tennessee where he was born in 1790. He had his law office "on the hill" in an old stone building, which had been occupied as officers' quarters by the old Spanish garrison, situated on what is now Fourth street opposite the

[15] In 1823 he married Julia D. Coalter, one of the five daughters of David Coalter of St. Charles. The Coalter family originally settled in Augusta county, Virginia, thence removed to South Carolina and from there came to the Missouri territory. The sisters of Mrs. Bates all married men of distinction. One became the wife of Hamilton R. Gamble, afterward Governor of Missouri; another the wife of W. C. Preston, United States Senator from South Carolina; another was the wife of Chancellor Harper of South Carolina, one of the most distinguished jurists of the South, and another the wife of Dr. Means, an eminent practitioner of medicine. His brother-in-law John D. Coalter, was one of the early lawyers of St. Charles and a member of the legislature from that county. It is worthy of note that the Coalters were related to the Tuckers, and that Miss Naylor, the wife of Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, was also related to the Coalters.

present courthouse. Upon the organization of the state government he was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme court, and this office he held until 1841. In 1827 he removed to Montgomery county where he married a Miss Talbot.

Thomas H. Benton when he first came to the territory settled at Winchester to practice law; but remained there only a short time, then removed to Ste. Genevieve and finally to St. Louis where he at once took an active interest in political matters. The law was always a secondary occupation with him, his ostensible rather than his actual profession. After he was elected to the Senate he abandoned the practice of the law and severed all connection with the litigation involving Spanish titles, claims which no doubt he well knew required additional congressional legislation. His intimate friend and supporter was Luke E. Lawless, born in 1781 at Dublin, Ireland. As a youth Lawless entered the British navy, and after his discharge from the navy, it is said, matriculated and graduated at the Dublin University. In various sketches of his life it is said that, as a Catholic, the numerous disabilities then in force seemed to present insuperable obstacles to his advancement, but the fact seems to have been overlooked that, as a Catholic, at that time he could not have found even admittance to Dublin University, nor graduated at that institution. Another statement, that he was in the French service under his uncle, General Lawless and that in 1810 he acted as military secretary for the duc de Faltre and was promoted to a colonelcy seems equally romantic, as it is hardly to be believed that in two years he could attain even the nominal rank of colonel in the French service. But be this as it may, in 1816 or 1817 he appeared in St. Louis and his aggressive conduct at once made him a figure of mark. He soon became an intimate associate of Benton, and was his second in the Benton-Lucas duel. In 1826 he became involved in a difficulty with Judge James H. Peck of the United States District court. Lawless representing the claims of the Soulards for ten thousand acres of land, wrote an article for the "Enquirer" in which he criticised the opinion of the court in a similar case.[16]



LUKE E. LAWLESS

[16] It was in this case when Judge Peck requested that the manner in which Spanish grants were made be explained to the court, and Judge Lucas arose and proceeded to do so, that Lawless arose and said: "May it please the court,

Judge Peck issued an attachment for contempt, against the proprietor of the paper, and it then appeared that Lawless was the author of the article. Lawless was thereupon cited to appear before the court, and, after a hearing, he was sentenced to be imprisoned for 24 hours and suspended from practice in the court for eighteen months. But he was not a man to be cowed in that way. He resolved to appeal to Congress and prepared a memorial charging Judge Peck with tyranny, oppression and usurpation of powers; and this memorial being presented to Congress by Scott, and referred to a committee of the House, was afterward duly reported with the recommendation that charges of impeachment be preferred against Peck. This case, involving the question of the liberty of the press, attracted wide attention, one of the managers of the impeachment for the House being James Buchanan. Peck, on the other hand, was ably defended by William Wirt and Jonathan Meredith, the most celebrated lawyers of the day. Half the members of the St. Louis bar of that day were witnesses in the case, and the trial occupied six weeks. Peck was acquitted, and the decision settled many questions relating to the powers of the courts to punish for contempt. Yet Lawless did not wholly fail, because Congress, as if to soothe his lacerated feelings, passed a special Act by which his clients secured the ten thousand acres of land, and thus the case which was the cause of all his woe was satisfactorily settled. When

so far as my clients are concerned, I most respectfully protest against Judge Lucas saying anything on the subject of these French and Spanish claims in this court. Judge Lucas, if your Honor please, is not a licensed attorney of the court," and then Lucas turning upon Lawless a scornful look of contempt and making a most graceful bow to the court, said: "If the court please, I am licensed by the God of Heaven: He has given me a head to judge and determine and a tongue to speak and explain;" and proceeding said that he had received a finished education in the best schools of France; that he had studied the civil law; that after he came to this country he made himself familiar with the common law; that he had been judge in the great state of Pennsylvania, where he administered the law and had been a member of Congress from that state; that he had been Judge of the Superior courts of the territory of Missouri, and concluding, said: "One reason why the gentleman does not think me (Lucas) qualified to practice law, is perhaps the fact that when he (Lawless) applied for a license to practice law here, it was my (Lucas') duty as chief justice of the Superior court of the territory with my two associate judges to examine him to see whether or not he was qualified to practice law, and that on that occasion I well recollect I thought he might be licensed when my two associates did not think him qualified; and as the majority of the court was against him, it was at my request (Lucas') that the other judges yielded and agreed that he might be licensed," and then bowing again he continued, "May it please the court, I did not come to this country a fugitive and an outcast from my native land. I came as a scholar and a gentleman, upon the invitation of Dr. Franklin." Judge Lucas then continued his statement during three sittings of the court, and his argument was published by him in 1825.

Judge Carr was impeached and resigned as Judge, Lawless was appointed as his successor, but so unpopular did he become on the bench on account of his arbitrary conduct that when, in 1837, it was proposed to reappoint him, the bar of the third judicial circuit protested, all the most distinguished and eminent lawyers of St. Louis joining in this protest. In May 1825 he married at Georgetown, D. C., the Baroness Grenham, widow of the Resident Minister of Prussia. Lawless died in September, 1846. He was a slender man, dignified, lame, owing to a wound said to have been received in a duel in France, not eloquent as a speaker, but terrible "in his pungent sarcasm." Darby says that Lawless was connected with the Irish rebellion in 1798 and very likely was colonel in that uprising rather than in the French service.

Judge James Hawkins Peck, the Federal judge who punished Lawless for contempt, also from Tennessee came to St. Louis in 1817. After the admission of Missouri he secured the appointment, through the influence of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, supported by David Barton, who had recently been elected senator of the new state. Apparently, at least, in return for this support, Peck appointed Isaac Barton clerk of his court. "Judge Peck," says Darby, "was a tall, fine looking man, over six feet in height," and "pompous in his language, manner and carriage." He labored under the delusion that if he exposed his eyes to the light he would go blind, and consequently when he left his room, in daylight, would bandage his eyes with a large white handkerchief, and then, according to the veracious Darby, his colored servant would lead him to his carriage, assist him in and out, lead him to the court room, and up to the bench where he would take his seat; with his head perfectly blindfolded he would try cases seeing neither the clerk nor the lawyers, hearing them read papers and authorities in the cases he was trying. Evidently he was what we would now call "a crank." Peck died, unmarried, April 30, 1837, in St. Louis county, opposite St. Charles.

HENRY S. GEYER

Henry S. Geyer, another celebrated lawyer of St. Louis, arrived there in 1815. He was of German descent, born in Frederick county, Maryland, December 9, 1790. He studied law and was admitted to the bar before he came to the Missouri territory. In the war of 1812 he entered the

army and rose to the rank of Captain. Within two years after he arrived in St. Louis he compiled and published a digest of the laws of the territory then in force. In 1818 he was a member of the territorial assembly; he became a member of the first House of Representatives in 1821 and was elected Speaker. In 1824–5 he made the first revision of the statutes of Missouri; he also participated in the revision of 1835, and in 1843 he was again appointed to revise them but declined to serve. For "forty-three years his clear, acute and logical mind, unimpaired to the last, dealt with all the great questions which have arisen in connection with the peculiar jurisprudence of this state." He made the argument in the celebrated Dred Scott case, which went to the United States Supreme court from Missouri. The decision of Chief Justice Taney, in that case, furnished at the time much political capital by taking isolated and disconnected sentences out of the text and representing the same as the opinion of the court. He gained great reputation as a criminal lawyer in the case of Darnes who was tried for the murder of Davis, publisher of a newspaper in St. Louis. His argument in the case which occupied two days, was published in book form in Boston, and Rufus Choate expressed the highest admiration for the ability which Geyer displayed in that case.[17] But it was in the great land litigation, in the Supreme court of the United States, involving early Spanish titles, that his learning and legal acumen were most conspicuous, notably in the case of Strother vs. Lucas, in which he was associated with William Wirt. In 1851 Geyer was elected to the United States senate as successor to Thomas H. Benton. He died March 5, 1859, aged 69 years.[18]

[17] Darnes was a resident of Scott county; represented that county in the legislature.

[18] From 1804 to 1821 a number of other lawyers came to St. Louis, established themselves professionally and achieved distinction. Among these Robert Wash must be noted. Wash was born in Louisa county, Virginia, in 1790; was educated at William and Mary college, graduated in 1808; during the war of 1812 he served on the staff of General Howard in the Indian campaign on the Mississippi; was appointed United States Attorney by President Monroe, and in 1824 appointed one of the judges of the Supreme court of Missouri, a position which he held until 1837 when he resigned. Alexander Gray, another early lawyer in St. Louis, came to the Missouri territory in 1815 from Kentucky; first settled in Cape Girardeau, then moved to St. Louis. He was appointed Circuit judge of the circuit north of the Missouri river; he died in 1823. Robert P. Farris (1815), a native of Natick, Mass.; died December 27, 1830. Archibald Gamble (1816) a native of Virginia, at first clerk in the St. Louis Bank, then deputy under Marie P. Leduc in the Circuit Clerk's office; attorney of the St. Louis Public Schools, married Louisa Easton, a daughter of Col. Rufus Easton, died Sept., 1866. Horatio Cozzens (1817), from Virginia;

Among the attorneys who appeared, in 1805, before the first court in Cape Girardeau we find the name of Anthony Hayden and George C. Harbison. Harbison died September 16, 1811, after an illness of six days. The name of Nathaniel Pope also appears in the records of the court of that day; and at the next term the name of John Scott. James Evans, for a number of years one of the most prominent attorneys of the territory and state, began at this time the practice of law in this section of the state. He was for a time very popular; repeatedly elected to office; member of the first constitutional convention, and on several occasions candidate for Congress. In 1837 he was appointed Circuit judge for the ninth circuit, but his term of office was short. His career was ruined by his appetite for intoxicants and he became an habitual drunkard, a mental and a financial wreck. He resided at Perryville during a part of the latter years of his life, but, finally, he removed to Kentucky where he died.

In 1815, when the county seat of Cape Girardeau county was removed to Jackson, General Johnson Ranney began the practice of the law there. Being a native of Connecticut he met with much opposition on account of prejudice then existing against "Yankees," but his firm and resolute disposition quietly overcame all that. He was opposed to slavery, and on this account in 1820 he was threatened with personal violence, but, entrenching himself in his office, he defied his political antagonists. He was not a brilliant or impressive speaker, but a profound lawyer, and a laborious student. He served several terms in the legislature; was a Major General of militia, and died at Jackson, November 11, 1849.

Alexander Buckner, third United States senator from Missouri, came to Cape Girardeau county in 1818, from Kentucky, with his

was murdered in 1826 by French Strother on account of some political difficulty with Strother's uncle. Eleazor Block (1817), first Hebrew lawyer, came from Richmond, Virginia. Rufus Pettibone (1818), from Litchfield, Conn.; appointed judge of the Supreme court in 1823; died in office at St. Charles, July 31, 1825; his brother, Levi, who came to the country with him, died in 1883 at St. Louis, 103 years old. A. L. Magenis (1818); Francis Carr (1818); B. D. Wright (1819), who removed from St. Louis to Jackson in 1822, and from there to Florida; Frederick White (1819); Abraham Beck (1819), from New York, first settled at St. Charles; died at St. Louis, 1822; Amos Wheeler (1819), from Albany, N. Y., married a daughter of Joseph Charless, Sr.; died thirteen days after his marriage, June 8, 1840; Josiah Spalding (1819), from Connecticut; born 1797; graduate of Yale; died May, 1852; D. H. Conrad (1820); George French Strother (1820), of Culpepper county, Virginia; when he came to St. Louis was appointed Receiver of the Land Office; represented Culpepper district in Congress in 1817; was a prominent man of the St. Louis bar; died Nov. 20, 1840; Francis Carr died, aged 26 years, in St. Louis, Sept. 15, 1821, a brother of W. C. Carr.

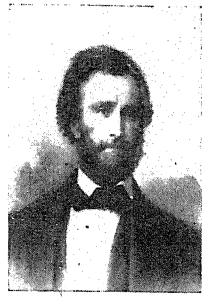
mother and five sisters, and settled on Randall creek. He immediately took a prominent position in the political affairs of the territory and secured a good law practice. Prior to his emigration to Missouri Buckner resided at Corydon, in Indiana territory; but when slavery was excluded from the new state of Indiana he moved back to Kentucky. Of course he was an ardent pro-slavery advocate. Soon after he arrived in Cape Girardeau county he was appointed Circuit Attorney, and later was elected a member of the constitutional convention. In 1822 he was a member of the state senate and in 1831 was elected third United States senator from Missouri. He organized the first Masonic lodge in the territory, "Unity Lodge," at Jackson, in 1818, under charter of the Grand Lodge of Indiana. He died of the cholera in 1833 on his farm.

Timothy Davis, born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1794, moved to Kentucky in 1816 and came from Kentucky to Jackson in 1818 to practice law, but remained only about eighteen months; he then removed to Ste. Genevieve, and from there to Iowa territory, representing that state afterward in Congress. He was an uncle of Greer W. Davis who came with him to Jackson, studied law under him, and in 1819 was admitted to the bar. Greer W. Davis was elected Circuit Attorney for the lower southeast circuit and filled the office for 17 years. He was a learned lawyer, attentive to business, and an impressive speaker. He and General Nathaniel W. Watkins began the practice of law about the same time at Jackson. Watkins was a native of Kentucky, reared near Georgetown in that state, and a half-brother of Henry Clay. For half a century he was engaged in all the important criminal and civil cases in southeast Missouri. He practiced in all the southeastern counties, every spring and fall traveling on horseback from one county-seat to another, usually in company with Greer W. Davis and the Circuit Judge. He possessed great oratorical powers, was very sarcastic, vehement or denunciatory as the occasion might require. In appearance he greatly resembled in some respects his illustrious half-brother. In 1850 he was Speaker of the General Assembly of Missouri, and in 1875 a member of the constitutional convention.[19]

GEN. N. W WATKINS

[19] Among other noted lawyers of Jackson may be named John Payne, a native of Virginia who came to Jackson to practice law in territorial days and died there in 1824; Jason Chamberlain, a native of Vermont, of whom Lucas

As already stated Edward Hempstead was the first lawyer to settle north of the Missouri river. He practiced law at St. Charles before he removed to St. Louis. Afterward we find James Devore and Everhard Hall located as lawyers there, so also William Smith, James McCall and Robert W. Wells. Wells was born in 1795 at Winchester, Virginia, and in 1818 began the practice of law at St. Charles. In 1821 he was made circuit attorney of the St. Charles circuit, and in 1826 elected Attorney-General of the state. When Judge Peck died he was appointed Judge of the United States District court. He died in 1865. He was considered a very able judge, and it was said that he did more than any other judge, "living or dead for the elucidation and correct exposition of the United States statutes on which the land titles of Missouri depend," and that the state was impoverished by his death. Although he did not enjoy the benefit of an early education, by indefatigable study he became "a good classical scholar."[20] He married Miss Amanda Rector, July 20, 1820.



ROBERT W. WELLS

After the Boone's-lick country was opened to settlement, Howard county organized, and Franklin laid out in 1816, and made the county-seat of the new county, a number of lawyers settled there. Here also, in 1818, the United States land-office was opened. Thus Franklin, or "old Franklin" became the business and political center of the whole upper Missouri river country. Judge George Tompkins, almost immediately after the town was established, opened his office there. He was a native of Charlotte county, Virginia, born there in March, 1780. From Virginia, when about 20 years of age, he removed to Jefferson county, Kentucky, where he taught school

said that he was a man of "respectable talents and excellent reputation," and was generally known by the delegation of Vermont in Congress; Gustavus A. Bird lived there in 1818-19, and was then a partner of Evans; for some cause Bird was ordered by Judge Thomas to be imprisoned for two hours for contempt of court, Bird then announced that he would withdraw from practice in the circuit over which Judge Thomas presided, and was then ordered by the Judge to be imprisoned for six hours more for contempt, "for the manner and substance of his speech" made in regard to the matter. All this finally led to the impeachment of Judge Thomas, which we have already mentioned.

[20] Among others connected with the legal profession there we find Thomas French, in 1820 a notary public at St. Charles, who in the "Missourian" says that he thinks "it is not improper that the duties of the office, generally, should be made known," and then proceeds to explain in his advertisement, in general terms, the duties of a notary public.

several years, and thence removed to St. Louis, arriving in about 1817. Here too he also taught school; but while so engaged he studied law and afterward was admitted to the bar. He then removed to Franklin, and quickly attained a position of influence. He was twice elected a member of the General Assembly. In 1824, was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme court. This office he filled until he attained the age of 65 years, the constitutional limit of age, when he resigned and retired to his farm near Jefferson City where, in April, 1846, he died. His decisions in our early Reports clearly show that he was a man of ability and integrity, but it is said that though of a kindly disposition, he was whimsical and eccentric. On one occasion a lawyer named Mendall was arguing a case before the court, attired in a most slovenly manner; when just before the usual hour of adjournment Judge Tompkins said to him in a kindly manner, "Mr. Mendall, it is impossible for this court to see any law through as dirty a shirt as you have on, we will adjourn to give you an opportunity to change your linen." [21]

Hamilton Rowan Gamble, although most of his life was passed in St. Louis, began his career in Franklin. He came to St. Louis in 1818. His brother, Archibald Gamble, was at that time Clerk of the Circuit court and he acted as his deputy for a short time, but, removing to Franklin, he was appointed circuit attorney of the new western circuit. In 1824 Governor Frederick Bates appointed him Secretary of State, and he took up his residence at St. Charles, then the temporary seat of the state government. After the death of Governor Bates he removed to St. Louis and entered upon the practice of law there. He attained great eminence in his profession, devoting himself principally to the great land cases involving property daily becoming more valuable on account of the rapid growth of the city. When Judge W. C. Carr was impeached, in 1832, he was one of his counsel. In 1846 he was a member of the legislature. In 1851, although the Whig party to which he belonged was greatly in the minority in the state he was elected judge of the Supreme court, receiving at least forty thousand Democratic votes; and in 1861 he was elected provisional Governor of Missouri. As a lawyer "he seldom addressed a jury, but was retained in all important land suits, followed them in person and became widely known as a jurist. He was slow of speech and not eloquent, but no man had greater capacity for clear, brief and logical statement of facts

[21] Scharff's History of St. Louis, vol. 2, p. 1470.

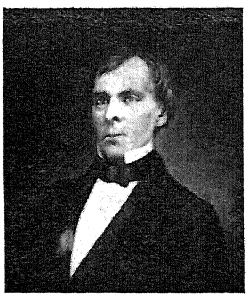
and law."[22] He was a native of Winchester, Virginia; born 1798; educated at Hampden Sidney college, admitted to practice law before he attained the age of 18 years; and died, January 31, 1864, at St. Louis.

Another distinguished lawyer of northern Missouri was Judge Abiel Leonard who arrived at Franklin in 1819. Leonard was born at Winsor, Vermont; he received a classical education, attending Darmouth college, although he did not graduate. He studied law at Whitesboro, N. Y.; was admitted to the bar, and then started west from Pittsburg. Floating down the Ohio in a canoe which he paddled up the Mississippi, he arrived at St. Louis, where he remained a few days before starting on foot to walk to Franklin, then the *Ultima Thule* of adventurous legal spirits. On the way, however, he became sick, probably with bilious fever, and was then detained at St. Charles, but he recovered and was able to reach Franklin. In the neighborhood of the town he taught school for six months, and it is related of him, says Judge Henry, that he was "so impecunious that he washed his own clothes in the Bonne Femme." After the close of his school he opened a law office at Boonville, opposite Franklin, where he was admitted to the bar in March, 1820; but in 1821 he removed to Franklin. He was appointed Circuit Attorney to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hamilton R. Gamble. In 1823 after Fayette was laid out and the county-seat removed to that place he took up his residence there. He became involved in a duel with Major Taylor Berry in 1824 on account of the cross-examination of a witness in a case in which Berry was attorney. After court adjourned for noon, the witness and Berry being both greatly offended, the former threatened to make a personal assault on Leonard, but Berry told him to let him attend to the matter. When Leonard returned from dinner Berry met him and struck him several times with a whip,— "cowhided him" according to the saying of the time. Leonard, being unarmed, could not make the slightest resistance, but he challenged Berry and the challenge was accepted. When it became known that Leonard had done this he was arrested by direction of Judge Todd and required to give bond to keep the peace; but upon being arraigned he said to the judge, "Name the amount of the bond, for I am determined to keep my appointment with Major Berry." The details of the duel were arranged by Thomas J. Boggs[23] and

[22] Scharff's History of St. Louis, vol. 2, p. 1468.

[23] A brother of Lilburn W. Boggs, who in 1836 was elected Governor of Missouri.

August Langham for the parties. It was stipulated that the encounter should take place near the town of New Madrid on the Mississippi river, either in Kentucky, Tennessee or Arkansas, and the date of the personal meeting was fixed at 10 o'clock A. M. the first day of September, 1824, "the arms to be used by the parties shall be pistols, each party choosing his own without any restriction as to kind, except that rifle pistols are prohibited." At Point Pleasant on August 31st the date of the meeting was changed to 4 o'clock, "the dress an ordinary three quarter coat." At St. Louis on his way to New Madrid Judge Leonard came near being arrested, the authorities having heard of the plans; but he was enabled to escape by the presence of mind of Mr. Boggs who, when the police appeared and asked for Leonard, arose and said, "That is my name." All the parties arrived at New Madrid and on the 31st of August were at Point Pleasant, and in the shadow of the primeval forest, on an island near there, and not "on Wolf island" as is supposed, the duel was fought at 4 o'clock. Berry fell at the first fire, shot through the breast. Dr. J. J. Lowery was Berry's surgeon and Dr. Dawson of New Madrid was the surgeon of Leonard. After the duel Berry was taken to New Madrid, and although his wound was serious he was in a fair way to recovery when he contracted a cold and died there. Leonard was both disfranchised and debarred from the practice of law, but so strong was public sentiment in his favor that in the next legislature he was restored to his citizenship,[24] and, when Judge Gamble resigned, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme court. Judge Leonard died March 28, 1863. As a lawyer he long occupied the foremost position in central Missouri. His industry was persistent and indefatigable; he was deeply imbued with the idea of the importance of the great principles of justice that should underlie every case. Shackelford, when a student under him says that he often told him, "When you have a case presented see well to it that your client is right on principle and justice and when so convinced then look for authority."[25] Apparently he was



JUDGE LEONARD

[24] See Chapter xxv for particulars of the many duels during the territorial period. A petition to restore him to the privileges of citizenship was circulated in Howard county and signed by 1,400 persons and presented to the legislature.

[25] Shackelford's Reminiscences in History of Bench and Bar of Mo., p. 394.

cold and indifferent to others, because as he walked along the street absorbed in his own thoughts he often passed people he knew well without salutation, but this unsympathetic and preoccupied manner only indicated the absorbing mental work in which he was always engaged. Judge Henry says, "he was abrupt in his manner," but had a "warm and generous heart." To illustrate, Shackelford says that on one occasion Leonard met a poor man who was under the influence of liquor, whereupon Judge Leonard extended his hand and gave the man a cordial greeting; then as the man passed on Leonard said to him, "That poor man went to school to me, I expect you think he is not a very credible scholar." During his life he suffered much from his eyes; he was compelled to abandon his course of study at Dartmouth on account of their weakness, and when he studied law he employed Littlebury Hendricks, who afterward became a prominent lawyer in southwest Missouri, to read for him; but when at last he had his eyes thoroughly examined found that the trouble was only a defect in focus which was remedied by glasses.[26]

Taylor Berry, who lost his life as a consequence of the duel with Judge Leonard, was born in Kentucky; during the war of 1812 he served as paymaster in the army and when General Hull surrendered at Detroit he saved the public funds by concealing them on his own person and the persons of other officers. In 1815 he was a Major in the line and Deputy Quartermaster-General for Missouri. He seems to have had some controversy with Mr. Charless on account of what he considered "disrespectful remarks" published in the "Gazette," and hence issued a handbill in reply in which he severely censured Mr. Charless. The latter in a sarcastic answer, said that he did not publish the report made by Berry in full "because I always give preference to merit in the selections for my paper," and that if he should employ "his pen and press" in future to record "his achievement" he would announce him as "Major Taylor Berry, Deputy Quartermaster-General." This seemed to end the matter, Major Berry doubtless realizing the disadvantages of the private citizen in controversy with a newspaper. After the close of the war Berry settled in Franklin. Here in 1823 he was appointed postmaster, but continued the practice of law until his death.[27]

[26] Shackelford's Reminiscences in History of Bench and Bar of Mo., p. 394.

[27] Among other early lawyers in Howard county should also be enumerated John Payne (1820), who removed from St. Charles to Franklin to practice law, his business at St. Charles being turned over to Howard F. Thornton. For a time Payne owned an interest in the "Missouri Intelligencer." He died in

At the March term, 1820, of the Cooper county Circuit court the following attorneys, probably all the attorneys practicing in that then far out-of-the-way region, were present: George Tompkins, John S. Brickey, Peyton R. Hayden, Cyrus Edwards, John S. Mitchell, Hamilton R. Gamble, Andrew McGirk, Robert McGirk, Abiel Leonard, John F. Ryland, and Armistead A. Grundy,[28] Dabney Carr, William J. Redd and John Payne. Hon. David Todd was Circuit judge and John S. Brickey Circuit attorney. Of the lawyers named Peyton R. Hayden and John S. Brickey then resided at Boonville. Hayden was long one of the most conspicuous lawyers of central Missouri. He was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, in 1796, where he read law and was licensed. In 1817 he came to Franklin, remaining there until December, 1819, when he removed to Boonville. Here he resided until his death which occurred December 26, 1855. He was the first attorney admitted to the practice of law by the Circuit court of Cooper county, March, 1819. Although licensed in Kentucky he did not at once, when he arrived at Franklin, attempt to practice law, but taught school in the county for twelve months, and then, having by this means secured some funds, he opened his office. After settling in Boonville he gave all his time to his profession, practicing law in all the counties of central Missouri. He was noted for the industry, energy and zeal with which he advocated the cases of his clients. His zeal in their behalf sometimes involved him in personal trouble. Judge Henry says that on one occasion he gave offense to a man named Ned Simpson, a person of some notoriety in Boonville. Hayden being corpulent was therefore not exactly in form for a street fight, but his quarrel with Simpson precipitated just such a fight. After the two had fought some time they were separated by the spectators, and Hayden, holding to a fence, panting from the unusual exercise, called on those present, "Hold him until I get my breath and I will whip

1821. Dabney Carr practiced law in Franklin (1820), but on his way to Kentucky to make a visit died in St. Louis in 1822. He was a brother of William C. Carr. They were the sons of Walter Carr of Fredericksburg, Virginia, his mother being Elizabeth Chiles, of Fluvanna county of the same state, and of this marriage 13 children resulted. Other attorneys in Franklin were Augustus Evans (1819), Andrew S. McGirk (1819), and who was Register of the land office at Lexington in 1827 and W. J. Redd (1821). John B. Wallace gives notice, in 1821, to the readers of the "Intelligencer" that he "will act as scrivener." Charles French came to Franklin in 1817; was a native of New Hampshire; born 1797; afterward attacked by melancholia took his own life; he was in partnership with Judge Tompkins for a time.

[28] A brother of Felix Grundy.

the d— rascal."[29] Hayden had no literary acquirements, and took no interest in polite accomplishments or learning. Shackelford says that on one occasion a young man named Fields was entertaining some of the young lawyers attending court, with quotations from the poets, turning to Mr. Hayden who was present, asked "Mr. Hayden, what do you think of Byron's 'Childe Harold'?" and that Hayden replied, "Egad, sir! I didn't know Byron had a child Harold!"[30]

Judge John F. Ryland, who for many years occupied a distinguished position as a jurist in central and western Missouri, was born in King and Queen county, Virginia, in 1797. When he was 12 years of age his father removed to Kentucky. Judge Ryland was educated at Forest Hall academy, an early institution of learning in that state; after graduating he opened and taught a private school, and read law with Judge Hardin. When he was admitted to the bar removed to Missouri territory and settled in old Franklin in 1819. Here he practiced law until he removed to Lexington. He was one of the earliest practitioners in the circuit south of the Missouri river. In 1830 he was appointed Circuit Judge of the sixth circuit, and in 1848 appointed Judge of the Supreme court, and subsequently, in 1849, elected to the same position. He died in 1873. Judge Ryland was a tall and spare man, and decided in manner; as a judge he was very popular; with a reputation for being very considerate. It is said that when he decided a case against any one he always made the party feel as if he did so with regret, certainly a faculty calculated to make a judge popular. He traveled all over the western part of the state attending court when it required no little endurance, and meant much hardship. His name is indissolubly connected with the judicial annals of Missouri, and it has been well said of him, "His professional and judicial life is one of the crowning glories of the profession of the law."

JOHN F. RYLAND

After Pike county was organized the first court met at the house of Obadiah Dickson, at Louisiana, in 1819, Andrew Edwards, John Jordan, James Bryson, Joseph Johnson and Peyton Watson, commissioners, having selected this town as the county seat. The

[29] Henry's Personal Recollections, History of the Bench and Bar of Mo., p. 391.

[30] Shackelford's Reminiscences, History of Bench and Bar of Mo., p. 398.

first lawyer who settled there was Judge Ezra Hunt. He was born in 1790 at Milford, Worcester county, Massachusetts. In 1816 he graduated at Harvard College and in the following year came west and taught school for a year in Tennessee. In 1818 he reached St. Louis and read law in the office of William C. Carr. In August, 1819, he came to Pike county and at the first term of the Circuit court was admitted to the bar and began to practice his profession. From that time until his death which occurred in 1860, he attended every session of the Circuit court, either as attorney or as Judge. He was deservedly esteemed by the people and it is said that "he was a profound lawyer and discriminating Judge and an eminent scholar," and that "he never failed to practice those private and domestic virtues that won for him in a pre-eminent degree the confidence and respect of the masses." He did not use his legal knowledge to enrich himself as is too often the case now,—nor did he employ "his immense legal knowledge to enhance his own selfish interests by taking advantage of the ignorance of private individuals or public officials." He was in the habit of serving those who came to him first, without respect to sex, rank or wealth, and so it was that on one occasion he was engaged as counsel against an unsophisticated widow lady, who nevertheless sought his advice and "upon telling her that it was not proper for her to communicate facts to him as opposing counsel, or for him to give advice, she still persisted 'saying, 'Well, what is the difference? Can't you advise me too?' He again explained why he could not. 'But,' she continued, 'I don't see why you can't. Everybody says you are an honest lawyer, and that is just the kind of a one I want. You will have to hear the evidence anyhow, and if you get the straight truth of it, I don't see why you can't act for both of us as well as one.'" [31] He was a man of polished manners. Nor need it surprise us to learn that he never accumulated a fortune.

GREER W. DAVIS

All these worthies so distinguished in the legal annals of the territorial days of Missouri, have now gone to their long home. It was my privilege to know two of them, General Nathaniel W. Wat-

[31] History of Pike County (1888), p. 223.

kins and Greer W. Davis, heretofore mentioned, who survived all their contemporaries, standing alone as it were in a new world, almost amid a new race, after the tempest of the Civil war. When I first met them they were both still in active practice, Greer W. Davis giving his attention to legal business in his county, but General Watkins full of energy, aggressive and apparently yet possessed of the unquenchable fire of youth, attended the circuit courts of some of the lower southeastern counties for several years afterward. In 1875 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention, and elected its Vice-President, a fit tribute to his long and useful life. He died in the following year, 1876, on his estate "Beechland" in Scott county. Greer W. Davis, the last of the territorial lawyers, died at Jackson, February 25, 1878, active and industrious almost until his last day. For fifty-four years before his death he was a consistent member of the Methodist church at Jackson.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Settlement of Spanish Land Titles — A Subject of Lively Interest — Appointment of Special Land Commissioners — Land Values Enhanced by Change of Government — Immense Land Grants Secured by Speculators — Questionable Methods Employed — Efforts of Lawyers Aided by Clients — Congressional Legislation — Personnel of Board of Land Commissioners — Secretaries Appointed by the Commission — Frugal Expenses — Confusion Concerning Rights of Lead Miners on Public Lands — Public Ownership of Lead Mines Recommended in 1805 — Correspondence with President Jefferson Concerning Public Lands — Daniel Boone's Grant — One of the Land Commissioners Assaulted — Unconfirmed Claims made a Political Issue — Benton, Favoring Such Claims, Elected to United States Senate — Additional Congressional Legislation.

The Act of 1805, which promised a speedy settlement and adjustment of the land titles by a special Board of Commissioners,[1] gave great satisfaction to the people of the territory. In no subject did the people take a more lively interest,[2] not only the Spanish grantees, inhabitants who had held their land for many years, but also that vast and increasing number of speculators and adventurers who, immediately after the acquisition of the country, flocked into it to gain fortunes or political preferment. The change of government as if by magic had changed the esteem and value in which land was held. During the Spanish government uncultivated wild land, so to speak, had no value. Improved land only was of value. Wild land was granted free to all actual settlers and farmers, tillers of the soil; these only were favored and not speculators. In fact, it was not possible for land speculators to buy land from the government. It is also true that the great mass of the ancient French inhabitants did not realize the change that had taken place in the value of wild and uncultivated land by the change of government. "Although," said Easton, in 1805, "many have sufficient discernment to perceive that the cession to the United States advanced their land and property at least two hundred per centum, they thank the stars and are unwilling to give the praise to whom it is due." Many, on the other hand, for a mere pittance ignorantly sold property made immensely valuable by the changed condition of affairs. It was

[1] U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 331.

[2] Rufus Easton wrote to Jefferson in January, 1805, that the interests of the United States and the country required a speedy examination of the land titles.— Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 32, Nos. 19 and 20.

also well understood that just before the transfer of the country, on one flimsy pretense or another, a coterie of French speculators and some Americans who had settled in upper Louisiana had secured great land concessions. These concessions were not above the suspicion of fraud. It was openly charged that many of them were antedated, and it was admitted that this was true, but the fact was excused by the easy statement that grants had been promised at the date inserted in the concession. Many of these concessions were afterward undoubtedly supported by perjury and fraud. The Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus amply provided for his family and all his friends by such concessions, making them certainly the largest landed proprietors of the western country as far as he was able to do so. In a number of instances he made large grants to persons who had not even asked for the land, and a large part of the land so granted was acquired by his secretary from the ignorant hunters and voyageurs, living far away among the Indians in the Indian country, and altogether incapable of understanding why anybody should want to own land, and so much land, which was free as the air. To these men it appeared about as absurd to ask for a particular tract of land as to ask for a particular space in the air. Some of these concessions were conveyed by the involuntary grantees to the speculating promoters of these grants and after a time ripened into a title. It must be said that the men who secured these concessions so freely, generously and extravagantly bestowed by a complacent Lieutenant-Governor, and who actually had no power to make such grants and concessions under the rules and ordinances as promulgated by Morales, had the audacity necessary to succeed in their schemes. As large and extensive land owners, and all being traders and speculators, they, under the new government, became important persons in the eyes of many people. The Chouteaus, Vallés, Clamorgan, Cerrés, Lorimier, Prattes, Mackay, Austin and other large land claimants were regarded by the early American settlers after the cession something like Spanish grandees. And even before the cession, the residents of upper Louisiana, all immigrants of any respectability and any property having received free land grants from the Spanish officials, were by the people living on the Ohio good-naturedly and ironically called "Hidalgos," that is to say gentlemen or noblemen, just as perhaps with more acrimony, because the mouth of the Mississippi was barred by the Spanish officials, they spoke of the residents of lower Louisiana, as

"Dons."[3] The fact that protests were raised against these large land claims; that many of the grants were branded as fraudulent; that it was claimed that under the rules and regulations of 1798, no land could be granted by the late Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana, merely increased the activity of the claimants. Rufus Easton in his letter to Jefferson, already mentioned, gives a history of how many of these titles were secured. Although his account may be colored by prejudice, his statements as to the manner in which many large land grants were secured were subsequently found to be not far from the truth. He says:

"That various fraudulent antedated grants have been issued by the late Spanish officers is not to be denied. It can be proven by a witness whose testimony can not be impeached that in the month of June, 1803, application was made to the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis to issue orders of survey for grants made in August, 1799. The Governor replied that it was impossible for him to issue orders for the survey of any grant, old or new, as he had received information from the commandant at New Orleans that the country was ceded to France and that positive instructions had been given him, which he offered to show, to close the bureau with respect to lands. At this time the cession of the country by France to the United States was not known in this country. In the course of two hours after the applicant had retired a message was sent to him by the surveyor-general that if the applicant would advance and pay $200, on each tract, orders of survey would issue. The proposition was rejected. Then it was proposed to issue grants and concessions with orders of survey for fifteen tracts containing from 500 to 1,000 acres for sixty dollars for every 500 acre tract, and one hundred dollars for each thousand acre tract, the surveys were to be dated back to the year 1799 * * * This proposition was accepted, and eight were on those terms made out and the name of Governor Zenon Trudeau put on them, bearing date in 1799, the same year that Mr. Trudeau left the country for Orleans, where he held no post but that of captain of grenadiers. These grants were afterwards returned by the applicant under full conviction and belief of their invalidity. About the latter end of June, 1803, information arrived in this country of its cession to the United States, when instructions were given to the various agents by the Governor, as well as to the several deputy surveyors, that grants and concessions be dated back to the year 1799, which was the general antedate, though some were dated further back, and that surveys thereof would be made of any tract from fifty to fifty thousand acres to any person who would apply, upon payment of one hundred dollars for five hundred acres, and so great was the thirst of speculation, when money could not be obtained, horses and other property was received in payment. Many grants in like manner were made for less sums, as bargains could be made. They proclaimed that their records were kept in such form that it would be utterly impossible for the United States to detect the fraud; indeed, there will be difficulty in distinguishing a bona-fide from a false grant. The above facts are notorious. I might here detail a list of names with the particular tracts thus fraudulently granted. Several persons to whom grants of the above description have been made have confessed to me and to almost every traveller

[3] And "Hidalgos" the first residents of upper Louisiana and Missouri were called, until in the mouths of the vulgar the name of "Pukes" was made current, originating perhaps in a race for vulgarity between the early residents of Southern Illinois and the mine country of Southeast Missouri. Vulgarity always finds ready imitators, and soon all memory of the more dignified sobriquet of the Missourians faded from recollection. But true "Hidalgos" the Missourians proved themselves on every field.

in the country the fact of fraudulently obtaining these grants and candidly declare they have no faith in their validity. The manner of keeping records, if so they may be called, has been this: When a person applied for lands it was customary for the commandant of the district to give a written permission to settle, which, when sanctioned by the Governor, is called a concession. It has been usual for the Governor to s gn his name to these concessions without looking at or reading the petition when presented by the surveyor-general. No record is made of this concession until the survey is actually made out, when the surveyor-general enters in a memorandum book a copy of the plot, day of the order of the survey, and the time when the plot of the survey is given out and the papers are delivered to the applicant. This form was a plan adopted by the surveyor-general for his own convenience, but no direction has ever been given by the government requiring any record whatever to be made. These records, of course, are not official; it would appear therefore, that a concession made in 1804, which bears date 1799, when no survey has been made, would be of the same efficiency with those actually made in 1799 unless the fraud can be specially proven.

"One other practice of granting land prevailed in the district of Cape Girardeau which I had the curiosity to minute on my journal upon my first arrival in this country in May last. It was this: In December, 1802, a Creek Indian was condemned to be shot for the murder of one Trotter at New Madrid. The Governor gave out to such young men as would turn out volunteers to serve as guard on the execution of the Indian, he would satisfy and reward with grants of land. A number volunteered but received no land until a year ago, about Christmas, when every person without distinction who applied received concessions at the rate of $1 for each one hundred acres. No certificate, however, was given out, but an entry without date made on the commandant's book, who pocketed considerable cash. Some thousands of acres were granted in this manner. One other circumstance must not be omitted. It not infrequently happened that persons coming to this country with a view to settle, after taking out one of these written permissions, would leave the province dissatisfied after receiving their lands, their concessions remaining behind. In February, 1804, some of these were gathered up and the name of an actual resident in the country was inserted in the place of the name to which the grant had been originally made. So, with the exception of the erasures, they have the appearance of old concessions."[4]

After the acquisition of the province by the United States the claimants employed to establish their claims the ablest legal minds and political leaders of the new country. In many instances by conceding a portion of the land as a contingent fee they aroused the latent speculative spirit of the early lawyers in the new territory, and secured their highest intellectual and diplomatic efforts. Deep down into the Spanish laws, rules and ordinances of the Spanish kings regulating grants of land, the Spanish colonial codes and regulations, the Partidas, the Cotume de Paris and the civil law, did these early legal giants of Missouri dig and delve to secure fortune and fame. Ably and audaciously were they supported by their clients by evidence, in many instances, evidently manufactured for the occasion, and by facts of which no honest Spanish official would have dreamed if the colony had not been transferred to the United States.

The Act of 1805, and which was enacted in order to speedily settle

[4] Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 32, Nos. 19 and 20.

the French and Spanish titles of the territory, provided "that any person or persons, and the legal representatives of any person or persons, who on the first day of October, in the year 1800, were resident within the territories ceded by the French Republic to the United States, by treaty of the 30th of April, 1803, and who had, prior to the first day of October, 1800, obtained from the French or Spanish governments, respectively, during the time either of the said governments had actual possession of said territories, any duly registered warrant, or order of survey, for lands lying within said territories * * * and which were on that day actually inhabited and cultivated by such person or persons, or for his or their use, shall be confirmed in their claims to such lands in the same manner as if their titles had been completed: Provided however, that no such incomplete title shall be confirmed, unless the person in whose name such warrant or order of survey had been granted, was, at the time of its date, either the head of a family, or above the age of twenty-one years; nor unless the conditions and terms on which the completion of the grant might depend, shall have been fulfilled."[5]

And further that "to every person, or to the legal representative or representatives of every person, who being either the head of a family, or twenty-one years of age, had prior to the 20th day of December, 1803, with the permission of the proper Spanish officer, and in conformity with the laws, usages and customs of the Spanish government, made an actual settlement on a tract of land within the said territories, not claimed by virtue of the preceding section, or of any Spanish and French grants made and completed before the first day of October, 1800, and during the time the government which made such grant had the actual possession of the said territories, and who did, on the 20th day of December, 1803, actually inhabit and cultivate the said tract of land, the tract of land thus inhabited and cultivated, shall be granted: Provided however, that not more than one tract shall be thus granted to any one person, and the same shall not contain more than one mile square, together with such other and further quantity, as heretofore has been allowed for the wife and family of such actual settler, agreeably to the laws, usages and customs of the Spanish government: Provided also, that this donation shall not be made to any person who claims any other tract of land in the said territories by virtue of any French or Spanish grant."[6]

[5] 2 U. S. Statutes at Large, sec. 1, p. 324.

[6] Ibid., sec. 2.

By another section every person claiming title under these provisions of the law was required to deliver to the recorder of land titles notice in writing, stating the nature and extent of his claim, together with a plat of the tract of land claimed, so as to be recorded and on failure to have such claim recorded the law provided that his rights so far as derived under the above two sections of the act should become void.[7]

To ascertain the rights of all persons claiming under this act the law provided for the appointment of commissioners to meet on December 1st, 1805, at such place as designated by the president — the board not to adjourn for a longer period than three days to meet at any other place until March 1st, 1806, and "until they shall have completed the business of their appointment," the act expressly providing that the board should have power "to hear and decide in a summary manner all matters respecting such claims, also to administer oaths, to compel attendance of, and examine witnesses, and such other testimony as may be adduced; to demand and obtain from the proper officer and officers, all public records, in which grants of land, warrants or orders of survey, or any other evidence of claims of land, derived from either the French or Spanish governments, may have been recorded; to take transcripts of such record or records, or of any part thereof; to have access to all other records of a public nature, relative to the granting, sale, transfer or titles of lands, within their respective districts; and to decide in a summary way, according to justice and equity, on all claims filed with the register and recorder in conformity with the provisions of this act, and on all complete French and Spanish grants, the evidence of which, though not thus filed, may be found of record on the public records of such grants; which decisions shall be laid before Congress in the manner hereafter directed, and subject to their determination thereon: Provided however, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed so as to recognize any grant or incomplete title, bearing date subsequent to the first day of October, 1800, or to authorize the commissioners aforesaid to make any decision thereon." [8]

From time to time additional acts were passed by Congress making more liberal provisions for the benefit of claimants. Thus under the Act of 1806 persons who commenced actually "to inhabit and cultivate" their claims prior to October 1, 1800, and during the

[7] Ibid., sec. 4, p. 326.

[8] Ibid., sec. 5.

term of three years from the time when such actual settlements commenced and prior to December 20, 1803, continued actually to "inhabit and cultivate" the same, were to be considered as having made such settlement with the permission of the proper Spanish officer, "although it may not be in the power of such person or persons to produce sufficient evidence of such permission." This secured to the immigrants who had settled in upper Louisiana, but for some reason had not been able to secure formal permission from the Spanish post commandants to settle, and without which permission no legal settlement could be made, a title to the land upon which these immigrants had established their homes. This Act also confirmed the title to extent of 640 acres in all persons who had been in continued possession for ten years prior to December 20, 1803, and this although at the time when the possession began the claimant may have been under twenty-one years of age. The time for filing claims was also extended to January 1st, 1807.[9] By another act passed March 3, 1807, that portion of the Act of 1805 was repealed which provided that no incomplete title should be confirmed unless the person making claim for the land on the date of the concession was the head of a family or above the age of twenty-one years.[10] Under this act the title of all persons who for ten years prior to December 20, 1803, were in the actual possession of any tract of land was expressly confirmed, provided, the tract of land claimed did not exceed two thousand acres.[11] The 4th section of this act also enlarged the powers of the commissioners, giving them full power to decide all the land claims coming before them according to the laws, usages and customs of the French and Spanish governments and where the claim did not exceed one league square in extent (about 6,000 acres) and the decision of the commissioners in all such cases was made final. The time was extended within which claims could be filed to July 1, 1808.[12]

Manifestly the composition of this Board of Commissioners to adjust these titles was a matter of great importance, not only to the government, but also to all bona-fide claimants as well as the claimants of suspected and illegal grants. Many applications were made for appointment to these positions at the time.[13] After some delay

[9] 2 U. S. Statutes at Large, sec. 1, p. 391.

[10] 2 U. S. Statutes at Large, sec. 1, p. 440.

[11] 2 U. S. Statutes at Large, sec. 2.

[12] 2 U. S. Statutes at Large, sec. 8.

[13] It seems there were a number of applicants. "There is already one

President Jefferson appointed J. B. C. Lucas, James L. Donaldson and Clement B. Penrose as the Board of Commissioners. Of these, Lucas undoubtedly was the best qualified by education and training. He was a native of France, born August 14, 1758, in Pont Andines, Normandy. He received a liberal education and took two degrees in the Faculty of Law at the University of Law of Caen, in Normandy. At Honfleur he married Miss Anne Sebin. In 1784 he emigrated to the United States, and at the instance of Gallatin, settled near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. In 1793 he made a journey down the Ohio in a canoe and traveled through upper Louisiana as far as St. Louis, at this time apparently engaged in the fur trade.[14] A man of great intellectual activity, he soon interested himself in politics and in 1795 was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature. In 1801 he was appointed by Jefferson on a confidential mission to upper Louisiana to ascertain the feelings and aspirations of the people, a mission for which he was in every way well qualified by his linguistic accomplishments. In 1803 he was elected to represent the Pittsburg district in Congress, and after the purchase of Louisiana, Jefferson in 1805, appointed him as one of the Board of Commissioners to adjust the land titles in this new acquisition, and as one of the judges of the Territorial Court, but an appointment which Jefferson afterward said he regretted he made, perhaps because Lucas came into conflict with many of his ardent friends. In 1805 Lucas, in consequence of his appointment, removed to St. Louis where he became

applicant, a Mr. Easton of New York, who appears to me from his looks and conversation an amphibious character."— Gallatin under date of March 22, 1804, Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 5, no. 39.

[14] This is a short account of his trip: Lucas came down the Ohio in 1793 in company with Henri Peyroux and Thomas Power on a boat in command of Capt. Bond of the army. He arrived in New Madrid at the end of May and from there went by land to Ste. Genevieve, visited Kaskaskia and thence went to St. Louis where he remained for several days with Mr. Gabriel Cerré, then the leading merchant of the town. From St. Louis he returned to Kaskaskia, thence to Ste. Genevieve and from thence to Prairie du Rocher where he fell sick at the house of Mr. Barbeau, and remained for two or three months. The season being too far advanced to return home, he went to Kaskaskia and remained for the most of the winter with Gen. Edgar, and while there daily met Mr. Francois Janis, William Morrison, and from time to time went over to Ste. Genevieve visiting Col. Vallé and Bernard Pratte. He also passed several days at Whiteside's station. From Kaskaskia he went to Vincennes and while there stayed with Col. Vigo. On this trip he was accompanied by Richard Buate. From Vincennes he went to Louisville where he visited Mr. La Cassagne. From there he went to Lexington and read resolutions and noticed an agitation to separate from the Union and from there went to Danville and with a party crossed over the wilderness road, and finally arrived at home three days before harvest and about eight days before the breaking out of the Whiskey insurrection in 1794.

one of the most conspicuous and prominent residents, and where he died in 1840, having accumulated a large amount of real property in and near St. Louis, which by reason of the growth of the city vastly enriched him.

James Lowry Donaldson, who was also appointed as attorney-general of the Louisiana territory, was another member of the Board of Land Commissioners. He was born in the north of Ireland, and his real name was "Lowry," but the name "Donaldson" was added by Act of the Maryland legislature to enable him to inherit an estate. At the time of his appointment he was a distinguished lawyer of Baltimore. He was a brother of Mrs. Robert Morrison of Kaskaskia and relative of Francis Barton Key, who wrote "The Star Spangled Banner." He resigned his position as commissioner after a short time and returned to Maryland. He was killed at the battle of North Point near Baltimore, in an attack made by the British on that place August 12, 1814, and his name is found engraved on the monument erected on Monument square in that city to the memory of "the patriotic band who devoted their lives to the welfare of the country on that memorable occasion."[1]

WM. LOWRY DONALDSON

[15] In a supplement to Niles' Register, vol. 7, I find the following details relating to Donaldson copied from the Baltimore Federal Gazette: "James Lowry Donaldson, Esq., who was killed in the late action near North Point, on the 12th instant (August 12, 1814) was a native of Ireland, but has resided in this country from the time he was eleven years old. He was the third son of Colonel William Lowry, of this city, his name having been changed by an act of the assembly of this state, in compliance with the wishes of a relative. Mr. Donaldson received a liberal education and was bred to the profession of the law which he was practicing in this city with much reputation and success. For three successive years he received the highest proof of the confidence of his fellow-citizens, by being elected a delegate to represent them in the General Assembly of this state, a station which, even his political opponents acknowledge, he filled with eminent ability. Possessing a liberal and energetic mind and correct classical taste, he distinguished himself at the bar and in the senate as an orator, a civilian and statesman; and his correct and gentlemanly conduct ensured him the respect and esteem of his associates, in both situations even when differing from him in political sentiments. While his talent, integrity and activity raised him high in public estimation, his social virtues and friendly disposition endeared him to a wide circle of acquaintances in private life, whose attachment to him increased with their intimacy, as it afforded them opportunity of knowing his worth and spirit."

He was adjutant of the twenty-seventh regiment and shortly before the action in which he was killed he addressed a short speech to the soliders, which it is said had much to do with the steady resistance to the attack of the enemy so honorable to the regiment. While in the active performance of his duty he

The third member of this Board of Commissioners was Clement Biddle Penrose.[16] He arrived in St. Louis in December, 1805, from Philadelphia. He was a man of considerable property when he came to St. Louis and invested his means in town lots and lands, but these investments proving unprofitable he gradually became so reduced in circumstances that at the time of his death, May 15, 1829, he held the position of justice of the peace.[17] After his death his widow with two daughters and a son, Clement Biddle, removed to Jefferson parish, Louisiana, where the mother and two daughters died. Clement Biddle returned to Philadelphia after the death of his mother, and there attained a prominent position. The Penrose family was cultured and refined and somewhat exclusive and hence probably Billon says, "the ladies in this family were very aristocratic in their ideas, priding themselves very much on their lineage."

This commission thus constituted met December 1, 1805, with the exception of Penrose, who did not arrive until December 4, in St. Louis. In the beginning it seemed that those favoring an indiscriminate confirmation of land claims, and claiming big land grants, greatly influenced the commissioners. Charles Gratiot

received a musket or rifle ball through the head which killed him. At his death he was about forty-three years of age. He left a widow and five small children.

[16] Clement Biddle Penrose was the only surviving child of James Penrose by his wife Sarah Biddle and was born at Philadelphia, February 20, 1771. He was married at Trinity church, New York City, to Anne Howard, daughter of Major Charles Bingham by his wife Anne Howard, daughter of Sheffield Howard. His boyhood was cradled amidst the scenes of the Revolution, and in his early childhood he was elected as one of the two youthful standard-bearers to one of the first companies raised in Philadelphia. Driven from there when the city fell into the hands of the invading foe, he accompanied his widowed mother and uncle Colonel Clement Biddle to Valley Forge. Mr. Penrose enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, part of which he received in Europe, where he went in 1788 with his mother, and step-father Rudolph Tiller. Returning to Philadelphia, he was commissioned by Governor Mifflin, ensign of a company of light infantry in the seventh battalion of the city and Liberties militia. In 1803 he was a candidate for Congress, on the Democratic ticket, but failed of an election. In 1805 he was commissioned one of the Land commissioners of Louisiana Territory, and removed to St. Louis. General James Wilkinson married a sister of Mr. Penrose's mother.

His oldest son, Charles Bingham Penrose in 1819 returned from St. Louis to Philadelphia where he finished his law studies, settled in Carlyle and became eminent at the bar and as a politician. In 1841 he was appointed Solicitor of the Treasury by President Harrison and held this office until the close of President Tyler's administration, and then resumed the practice of the law in Philadelphia. He died April 6, 1857. Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania is a descendant of Clement B. Penrose.

[17] Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 2, p. 217. He particularly explains that, "A long life of idleness and extravagant living gradually reduced his means."

was elected clerk and Marie Philip Leduc translator for the board, defeating Barthélemi Cousin for this position. Gratiot and Leduc were both closely identified with the coterie that surrounded the Lieutenant-Governors Trudeau and DeLassus when they so lavishly distributed the royal domain without authority. Leduc had been engaged in antedating many concessions made by DeLassus. Calvin Adams and William Sullivan were appointed ministerial officers of the commission. William C. Carr, on the 20th of December, appeared as agent of the United States. On the 23d of the month the board thought it time to forward to the Treasury Department an estimate of its probable expenses, and in which the monthly rent for the room in which the commission met is set down as $12 and the necessary wood to keep the room warm is estimated at fifty loads at 75 cents a load. A compensation for the ministerial officers of $30 a month, in the opinion of the board, was not deemed "unreasonable."

CHARLES GRATIOT

The commission was now well at work and soon ascertained that its task would be very difficult, and so advised the authorities at Washington and that it "would be a matter of importance also to be furnished with a correct copy of the Spanish territorial laws which we doubt the possibility of obtaining here." What was, and what was not the Spanish law, evidently began to loom up as a problem, hence the request for "correct" copies of the Spanish colonial laws. Whether these "correct" copies were ever furnished is not recorded.

In a letter addressed to Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, William C. Carr, the agent of the United States to investigate the land claims, fully describes the confusion existing as to the rights of the lead miners in the Ste. Genevieve district. Under the Spanish law all intruders on the royal domain could be removed summarily by the commandants of the several districts, but the people of the district of Ste. Genevieve contended that they had a right to dig mineral on the king's domain under the former government, by custom; that under that section of the Act of Congress which provided that "All laws, usages and customs of the Spanish government not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States should be continued in force," they still retained the right of

digging on the public lands; and hence Major Hunt, commandant for that district, was in doubt whether they ought to be removed as unauthorized settlers or intruders on the public land. Carr says that General Wilkinson thought proper to correct Major Hunt, and ordered Colonel Hammond, the commandant at St. Louis, to go into Major Hunt's district and proclaim to the people his order prohibiting them from digging mineral any longer on the public lands, and that when Major Hunt arrived at the mines he found the people in such a state of agitation concerning the prohibition, that he extended the permission of digging mineral on the lands of the United States for twenty days longer, and that about the expiration of this time, Governor Wilkinson having changed his mind on the subject, issued a counter-proclamation giving the people liberty to commence mining again on the public land. Carr then continuing gives a very interesting account of the productiveness of these lead mines, the value of the lead extracted, and how these mines might be made valuable to the government. He says:

"It is certainly not my province to determine whether such a custom did in fact exist under the Spanish government, or whether if it did it is continued by the Act of Congress. I can only state that whatever the grounds are upon which miners are permitted to continue their operation on public land it appears to me highly meriting the notice of government. Because, the quantity of mineral obtained from public land is enormous indeed and would certainly be no small source of revenue to the Treasury of the U. S. All the mineral that is obtained comes from the public land, those parts of the mines covered by private claims being preserved by the owner to carry on the manufacture of lead by purchasing the mineral obtained from the public land. It was not uncommon this year after the proclamation of the governor forbidding miners to encroach further on the public land and previous to the time which the prohibition took effect, that single miners obtained for one day's labor from $50 to $100. This was done at Mine à Breton part of which is claimed by Moses Austin, Esquire, and serves to discover the fertility of the mines and what might be done by miners who had a proper stimulus applied to induce them to labor. I estimate the mineral raised last summer at this time alone to be worth at least $50,000. The price of mineral claimed and delivered at the furnace is $2 per hundred weight, and lead is from $6 to $6.50 and none to be had. As fast as it is smelted it is exported. To estimate the probable amount of revenue which would annually flow into the Treasury of the U. S. for working only two of the mines, to-wit: that part of Mine à Breton not included in Mr. Austin's grant and that part of Mine la Motte also uncovered by private claims (however much of this mine is claimed and by what particular species of title I have not yet been able to ascertain) would be utterly impossible because it depends on so many contingencies. Yet I am clearly of opinion in the course of a few years it would discharge no inconsiderable part of the purchase money for Louisiana. Therefore, it strikes me as highly improper that the United States should be thus deprived of one of the greatest sources of wealth arising from the purchase.

I would therefore respectfully submit whether it would not be good policy in the government not only to take some immediate steps towards terminating this rapid depreciation of the value of the public mines, but also whether it would not be good policy either to make some arrangements towards working

them or letting them to the highest bidder, and whether it would not be best, at the same time giving these people who have always had permission to dig on the public land under the former government, and who have been accustomed to obtain the greatest part of their living in that manner, the greatest possible satisfaction by permitting them still to dig the mineral, but upon condition that all the mineral obtained should be deposited in the hands of an agent to be appointed for that purpose and who should further be specially charged with the care of the mines and to pay out to each miner the usual price for clean mineral delivered at the furnace, which is as I before stated $2 per hundred weight, and have the mineral smelted for the benefit of the U. S. This might be effected very easily because all the French miners will be willing to receive merchandise for their mineral, which might be furnished by government and is done now by one or two individuals who keep merchandise for that purpose, who have erected furnaces and smelted the mineral for their own benefit."[18]

Gallatin writing to Jefferson, says:

"On the subject of the papers relating to the lead mines, I believe some decision will be necessary. Shall the people be permitted to continue digging or not? The Spanish government was both despotic and lax, neither respecting individual rights nor protecting its own. The sooner the inhabitants are taught that our principles are the reverse, the better; and whether it might not be proper to instruct General Wilkinson to remove or forbid digging where no title appears, but a permission is submitted. By the Act of last year, the commissioners are directed to make to the Secretary of the Treasury a report on the subject to be laid before Congress. Nothing has yet been received from them and in the meanwhile the habit of occupying and wasting public property under the government of the United States takes deeper root."[19]

The commissioners apparently were considered too liberal by Mr. Carr at this period, and he made continuous complaint of their action to the Secretary of the Treasury. In a letter dated August 15, 1806, Gallatin writes the President:

"I enclose a letter from Mr. Carr, the land agent of the United States in upper Louisiana, in which he continues to complain of the bias of the commissioners in favor of claims which he considers as unfounded or suspicious. After making proper allowance for the party spirit in that territory, it still appears to me that the interest of the United States will be materially injured by the conduct of the commissioners, and since Congress have by their Act of last session provided that the board should "In their several proceedings and decisions conform to such instructions as the Secretary of the Treasury may, with the approbation of the President of the United States, transmit to them in relation thereto," I have prepared a rough sketch of instructions, intended to be finally submitted to your consideration, but which I request you will previously correct, adding to it or rejecting such as you please, and on its being returned a fair copy will be transmitted for your final approval. They all appear to me to be consistent with the Act of 2d March, 1805, and with equity; one exception only on which I have some doubts. The last proviso of the 2d section of the Act, which section confirms the claim of actual settlers who inhabited the lands claimed on or before the 20th of December, 1803, enacts that "This donation shall not be made to any person who claims any other tract of land in the said territory by virtue of any French or Spanish grant." The question is whether the words in the 10th instruction, "or by virtue of whose right land is claimed," are consistent with the true spirit of the proviso. Carr's letter will explain the reason why those expressions have been inserted in the instructions, but I doubt their propriety. It may also be asked whether that part of the 9th instruction which de-

[18] Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 16, No. 105.

[19] Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 6, No. 3.

clares that concessions shall be rejected as fraudulent when entered under a false date in the surveyor-general's book, is not too harsh. This with all others is submitted to your consideration.[20]

The commissioners also issued some certificates of their proceedings to claimants, and Gallatin, in 1807, wrote Jefferson that they "ought not to have given to any person certificates of their proceedings tending to give them a color of title," and under his instructions this practice thereafter ceased.

Soon the board began to inspect things more closely, instigated to this course by the inquisitive Lucas. It developed that various and sundry questions were being asked and pressed, and some of the witnesses consequently failed to appear, hence this entry on the records of the commission: "The board issued an attachment for Antonio Soulard and he was brought before the board by the constable of the United States, and there purged himself of contempt by showing that he fell from a horse the night before he was to appear and was therefore detained at the house of James Richardson, the deputy-surveyor." When he appeared and was examined, he however refused to answer some questions propounded, nor did he ever answer these questions.

Daniel Boone in 1806, accompanied by his son Nathaniel Boone, appeared before the commissioners, saying he was invited in 1798 by Trudeau to remove with his family to upper Louisiana, and that he was appointed by DeLassus as commandant of Femme Osage. At the time he appeared before the commissioners he was seventy years of age, his wife being sixty-eight years of age. He gave as his excuse for not cultivating land granted to him, that DeLassus told him that he need not trouble himself about cultivating his land, being commandant of the district it would not be required of him. The commissioners, nevertheless, rejected his claim. Evidently the commissioners were now construing the rules and ordinances as to land-grants strictly. In Boone's case, however, Congress afterward by special Act perfected his title. But James Bridges and one or two others, seeing it stated in the papers that Boone had received a grant from Congress, hastened from Kentucky to Missouri with ancient claims against him, originating out of titles made by him that under the decisions of the courts of Kentucky were held invalid, and secured payment of their demands, Boone yielding up this Spanish grant thus confirmed.[21]

[20] Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 6, No. 20.

[21] Draper's Notes, vol. 6, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

In accordance with a communication received from the Secretary of the Treasury and the attorney-general, the commissioners made a change of the rule first adopted, and under which on authority of the second section of the Act of 1805, claimants who had not received Spanish grants, but made claim by reason of actual settlement were allowed a larger amount of land than was permitted under the Spanish rules and regulations. The board accordingly resolved "that the quantity of land to be granted to each settler, (under said section), shall in the future be in the same ratio as provided for by the Spanish law and usages, and shall be restrained to one mile square."[22]

Shortly after this, Mathew Wing, who had been appointed by the board, was expelled from his important office "as constable of the United States."[23] Why, does not appear.

In June, 1806, the board met in Ste. Genevieve and again met there in November, 1807. Commissioner Bates was subsequently delegated to take testimony of claims at Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. Lucas took the testimony of claimants at St. Charles.

The board, as can be well believed, did not give satisfaction to all the interested parties. Some of the members of the board seem to have been more unpopular than others, as appears from the following entry on the minutes of the board: "While the board was in the discharge of its duty this morning, Rufus Easton, late judge of the territory, entered the room where the commissioners were seated upon the bench, and immediately in sight and full view of all the commissioners, came up to James L. Donaldson, Esq., with a bludgeon and calling him many opprobrious epithets struck him with great violence over the arm and head several times, nor desisted until Mr. Donaldson descended from the bench and got possession of a sword cane of which he drew the sword. The board taking into most serious consideration this outrage of the laws and insult to their authority, apprehensive of the alarming consequences which may flow from so dreadful a precedent, satisfied that they have the inherent right to protect their persons from outrage while in the discharge of their duty, by process of commitment do adjudge and order that a warrant be issued against the said Rufus Easton directed to the sheriff of St. Louis." The warrant was accordingly issued, ordering the arrest of Easton and his commitment "to the common jail of the town of St. Louis" during fourteen days, at which time

[22] Minutes of Board of Commissioners, vol. 1, p. 257.

[23] Minutes of Commissioners, vol. 1, p. 307.

"he will be admitted to make such reparation as may be satisfactory to the board, or be remanded until such reparation be made." But what reparation Easton made does not appear on the record.

It is circumstances such as these that indicate the distracted condition, the feuds, contentions, lawlessness, and greed for land, that then prevailed in the territory. Such events convulsed society, destroyed the confidence of the old inhabitants of the country and caused them to regret the change of government. Many of the leading Americans were always armed with either dirks or pistols, and the notorious desperado John Smith T. is a fair sample of the adventurers, land speculators and bullies that for a time made it customary for the judges on the bench to have pistols and ataghans by their side. The conduct of Easton in assailing Donaldson while in the performance of his judicial functions, plainly indicated the necessity of being prepared for any emergency by judicial officers. Donaldson shortly after this incident resigned.

WILLIAM CHRISTY

Charles Gratiot remained secretary of the board until July, 1807, when from the minutes in the records it appears that his services "were dispensed with." This would seem to indicate that the board was then emancipating itself from the influence of the large Trudeau and DeLassus land claimants. William Christy was appointed as his successor.[24] Christy was succeeded in 1808 by Thomas Fiveash Riddick, originally from Virginia, and who was in every way competent. He was the ablest clerk of the board during its existence. Frederick Bates succeeded Donaldson as a member of the board. He was a native of Virginia, born in Goochland county, June 23, 1777, and only enjoyed the benefits of a limited education. At the age of 20 years he went to Detroit, where he engaged in the mercantile business, and also acquired a familiarity with the French language, customs and habits of the French habitants there, which proved of great value to him in his new position in

[24] Wm. Christy, born at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Jan. 10, 1784, moved to Kentucky as a boy of 15 years of age, was with St. Clair in his campaign against the Indians in northwest Ohio, served under Wayne in 1794, came to St. Louis in 1804, appointed one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions; auditor of public accounts for the territory; register of the land office for a number of years. He died in St. Louis in 1837.

the Louisiana territory. In 1805 he was appointed by Jefferson as United States Judge of the Michigan territory, but in the following year removed to St. Louis and was appointed secretary of the Louisiana territory under the administration of General James Wilkinson, then governor. Bates published a compilation of the laws of Louisiana in 1808, the first book published in Missouri. After the admission of Missouri he was elected second governor, succeeding Governor Alexander McNair. He died in office in 1825. He married Mary Ball, daughter of Colonel John S. Ball, and lived on a farm in Bon Homme township in St. Louis county, at the time of his death, riding on horseback once a week to St. Charles, then the seat of government, to attend to his official duties as governor. A circumstance duly recorded in the minutes of the board throws some light on his true character and evidences a somewhat demagogic spirit. It seems that the clerk of the board in speaking of the commission used the word "honorable" before his name, to which he objected, and therefore it was solemnly resolved that henceforth the commissioners or any one of them should be styled in the minutes of the board, or in any official action, by their Christian and family name, adding to it the word "Commissioner," and not otherwise. The resolution was adopted by the vote of Lucas and Bates, Penrose voting in the negative.[25] Apparently Penrose was not disposed to lower either his own dignity or the dignity of his office in order to gain cheap popularity. On another occasion, when Bates was Governor of Missouri, he was invited to attend the reception of La Fayette, to take place in St. Louis, but declined to have anything to do with the matter, because no appropriation had been made by the state to entertain him in a manner becoming the dignity of the state. So the governor of the state on that memorable occasion was conspicuous by his absence. The total expense incurred by the city of St. Louis to entertain this distinguished guest on that historic visit amounted to exactly $37.[26]

FREDERICK BATES

The commission made a final report in 1811, confirming in a most liberal manner all legitimate claims, but rejecting all manifestly

[25] Minutes of the Commissioners, vol. 3, p. 476.

[26] Darby's Personal Recollections, p. 57.

illegal, unauthorized and fraudulent claims. All the books and papers of the commission were transmitted to Washington, and thus closed the first chapter of these Spanish land claims.

After this report was made, on the suggestion of Penrose and Riddick, by the Act of 1812, the right and title of the United States to certain town lots, outlots and claims in and adjacent to St. Louis, Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Ferdinand, Village à Robert, Carondelet, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid and Little Prairie in Missouri were confirmed to the inhabitants of these villages. And in 1834 by a supplementary act all claimants to lots and outlots in such villages were required within eighteen months from date of said Act to prove the "inhabitation, cultivation and possession" of claims to lots so as to distinguish between the private or individual and vacant property in such towns and villages as had been granted these towns and villages by the Act of 1812. Such proof, it was provided, should be made before the recorder within eighteen months, and accordingly Theodore Hunt, the recorder, began to take testimony in February, 1825, and this testimony has been preserved in what is now known as "Hunt's Minutes." The Act of 1812 further provided that the claims to land in virtue of settlement and cultivation which were not confirmed because permission to settle by the Spanish officers had not been proven, or because the land claimed, though inhabited, was not cultivated on December 20, 1803, should be confirmed in case it should appear that it was cultivated prior to December 20, 1803, and cultivated eight months thereafter. The recorder of land titles was vested with the same power in relation to claims as the board of commissioners had under the former laws, respecting claims filed prior to July 1, 1808, except that his decision was subject to revision by Congress.[27] The time within which to file claims was again extended by this act to December 1, 1812, and then by a supplement again to January 14, 1814. By Act of 1813, in all cases where the commissioners had reduced the amount of land, Congress confirmed to the claimants the full quantity claimed, but not exceeding six hundred and forty acres.[28] Under Act of 1814 all incomplete French and Spanish grants or concessions, granted prior to 1803, for land in every case where it appeared that the concession contained a special location or had been located prior to the date mentioned "by a surveyor authorized by

[27] U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 751.

[28] U. S. Statutes at Large, par. 4, p. 812.

the government making such grant, such persons shall be confirmed and are hereby confirmed in their claims." And finally, claims which were not confirmed merely because they were not inhabited on December 20, 1803, were confirmed; but this did not include claims which the commissioners found were antedated or otherwise fraudulent.[29]

Edward Hempstead, the first delegate from the territory of Missouri, no doubt aided greatly in securing this most liberal legislation. He took his seat in January, 1813, and at once introduced several bills looking to the adjustment of the Spanish land claims. In the only speech he made while member of the House, he strongly urged the equity of the concessions made by the Spanish officers after the treaty of San Ildefonso ceding the country to France, but before France took possession of the country, and assailed the former acts of Congress, declaring null and void these grants so made by the Spanish government while in actual possession of the country, and which nullified "not only the treaty with France but every known principle of international law." "Would," he asked, "the Spanish government have sanctioned the grants made by its officers? If so, they ought now to be sanctioned; without the solemn stipulations to support it, policy alone would dictate such a course?" Then referring to the former acts of Congress he said: "They had been so amended and altered by so many different statutes that difficulties had been increased instead of diminished. It could not be denied that the people of this territory were in a worse situation in that respect than others. It now remains for me, Mr. Speaker, to consider very briefly whether the present bill will do full and complete justice to the claimants. During the ten years of scrutiny and investigation, few have made improvements. Many families, despairing of obtaining their equitable claims, and tired of the uncertainties attending their titles, have abandoned a country which cannot prosper without the fostering aid of the government, and if the delay of justice has not in all cases been equal in its consequences to an absolute denial of it, still it has caused much distress and injury. The present bill will quiet the apprehensions of most of the claimants and although it will neither satisfy nor do justice to all, yet it will restore that confidence which has been much impaired, and will do what the national faith is pledged to do."

The fact also should not be overlooked, that a large party of the

[29] U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 3, par. 1, p. 121.

country after the purchase of Louisiana did not look favorably upon the extension of the settlements west of the Mississippi, and hence legislation tending to settle the Spanish land titles for a time probably received but scant attention. In 1816, Easton writes that "a disposition has manifested itself, and as far as practicable supported, since Louisiana was first acquired, not only to discourage but to prevent the extension of the settlements west of the Mississippi and north of the state of Louisiana. It is but a short time that a contrary opinion prevailed."

Frederick Bates, who had been appointed recorder under the Act of 1814, made a report under the several acts of Congress in 1816, showing that 2,555 claims were presented and of which all were confirmed except 801. William Russell alone filed 309 claims, but of these only 23 were confirmed.

The claimants, however, of the rejected, illegal and unauthorized grants did not abandon their contention or demands, or surrender their claims or even abandon possession, where they held possession, or their claim or right to the possession. These unconfirmed claims were made a political question, and Benton was finally elected to the United States senate over Lucas, because he diplomatically favored the confirmation of those claims, most of which were held by very influential residents of the new state, claims which Lucas was known to have unalterably opposed as a member of the board of commissioners. Marie Philip Leduc, a member of the first legislature, and doubly interested in these claims, because as secretary he had antedated some of these claims, and a large beneficiary of the illegal acts of DeLassus, was urged to vote for Benton as senator by Auguste Chouteau, and other beneficiaries of these grants, so Darby says, "because if Judge Lucas was elected senator the French inhabitants would never have the grants to their lands confirmed; that Judge Lucas, as member of the board of commissioners for adjusting the titles under these grants to the inhabitants of upper Louisiana had been inimical to, and had warred against the confirmation of their claims for fully 20 years; that Benton was friendly to, and would take an active part in passing the laws confirming them in their titles to their lands."[30]

The continued clamor of the owners of these claims, purchased in many instances by speculators from the simple and unsophisticated French settlers, for merely nominal sums, finally induced Congress,

[30] Darby's Personal Recollections, p. 51.

in 1832, to create another board of commissioners to examine and classify all unconfirmed claims on file in the office of the recorder.[31] In 1833, by a supplementary act, the law was so enlarged as to embrace any other claim under the Spanish government, arising by virtue of settlement and cultivation. The new board of commissioners was at first composed of Dr. Lewis F. Linn, A. G. Harrison and F. R. Conway,[32] but before the conclusion of its work Dr. Lewis F. Linn resigned, having been appointed United States senator in place of Senator Alexander Buckner, deceased, and A. G. Harrison also resigned, having been elected a member of the 24th Congress.[33] To fill the vacancies thus occasioned, James S. Mayfield and Dr. James H. Relfe[34] were appointed commissioners. This board in 1834 made a report, recommending the confirmation of certain claims and the rejection of others. In 1836, the claims favorably recommended by the board were confirmed by Congress. To the claimants of the rejected claims was saved the right "to assert the validity of their claims in a court or courts of justice," but the act expressly and distinctly provided that nothing in it shall be so construed as to confirm 28 claims which are set out and named in the act of Congress.

Thus the Spanish land claims were finally settled and adjusted by a liberal and generous government, although many of these claims undoubtedly were antedated, if not of a fraudulent character.

[31] These claims became the subject of political controversy, and were used by Barton to discredit Benton. In a letter to Lucas in 1827 about these Spanish claims, Barton gives expression to his bitter personal feelings as follows: "I view these claims now as a subject of almost sheer speculation by a few lawyers, including a corrupt Senator and common swindler of whose re-election we have just heard."

[32] Frederick Rector Conway, a nephew of Gen. Wm. Rector. In 1833 lived in St. Louis and married Miss Caroline Smith of Washington county.

[33] Albert G. Harrison was born in Kentucky, where he was admitted to the bar; he removed to Missouri shortly after the admission of the state into the Union; settled at Fulton in Callaway county and began to practice law; after he was appointed one of the Commissioners to adjust the Spanish land titles under the Act of 1833 he was elected a member of the 24th Congress and re-elected to the 25th Congress. Died while a member of Congress in 1839. Harrison county was so named in his honor.

[34] James H. Relfe was a native of Virginia. He came with his father John Relfe to the Missouri Territory in about 1816 and with the family settled in Washington county near Caledonia. Although he had received only a limited education he studied medicine and began to practice at Caledonia and was successful in the practice. Upon the resignation of Dr. Lewis F. Linn as Commissioner to adjust the Spanish land claims, he was appointed to fill the vacancy. In 1836 he was appointed United States Marshal of Missouri. In 1843 was elected member of Congress and re-elected in 1845. His sister Elizabeth married Dr. Lewis F. Linn in 1818.

CHAPTER XXV.

Social and Political Changes—An Era of Lawlessness—Non-observance of Sunday—Noted People of Various Settlements—Pioneer Tavern-keepers —Ferries—Postal Service, Postage, Postmasters—Newspapers—Schools —Private and Public Libraries—Gambling Mania—Carrying Weapons —Duels, between McFerron and Ogle—Graham and Farrar—Fenwick and Crittenden—Geyer and Kennerly—Benton and Lucas—Martin and Ramsay—Browne and John Smith T.—Carroll and Gentry—Berry and Leonard, etc.—Pioneer Physicians—Roster of Revolutionary Soldiers, Pioneers of Missouri—Notable Residents of Territorial Missouri.

As can be well imagined the change of government following the American acquisition at once produced a great change in the social and political conditions in upper Louisiana. Before the cession the Lieutenant-Governor and several district commanders practically wielded an unlimited despotic military and civil power, and their families and friends occupied the most prominent social positions in the settlements. These commandants were directly or indirectly interested in the fur trade, the only business of importance in the country. Political discussion was unknown. Trade and traffic and social life moved along well defined channels. The recent immigrants from the United States, although at the time of cession almost as numerous as the French inhabitants, did not live in the villages, but in the country, and were busy clearing and cultivating lands in order to perfect their titles under the Spanish regulations. They were not familiar with the official language. A wholesome fear of the Spanish dungeons of Cuba and the mines of Mexico was well calculated to quell any lawless disposition. Although more insubordinate than the French habitants of the villages the Spanish officials maintained strict order among these heterogeneous pioneer immigrants from the United States. With the change of government, however, all this changed. The repressed spirit of the early settlers, in many instances, became manifest, and lawlessness became rampant. Great numbers of adventurous men flocked into the country and among them were not a few persons of depraved character, "who had fled to escape the lash of justice of their native states."[1] Such men as John Smith T. became conspicuous and attained notoriety.

Scenes of riot, contention and violence were not uncommon.

[1] Schoolcraft's Travels, p. 244.

The oppression which some of the early American settlers fancied they had endured from the Spanish commandants they now endeavored to repay by suing them in the new American courts. These ex-officials were thus made to realize that conditions had changed. The first grand jury of the Cape Girardeau district found a "true-bill" for horse stealing against Don Louis Lorimier, the Spanish commandant of that district. The case, of course, was never tried, but it indicates the feeling that must have existed among the settlers of the district. The sale of spirituous and intoxicating liquors, which the Spanish government had kept under strict control, was now allowed without restriction. The Indians, who had been protected and treated with great consideration by the Spanish officials, as soon as the restraint of their protectors was removed, also began to feel the effect of American hostility. Bold and bad men invaded their villages, took their property and stole their horses, a thing unheard of during the Spanish dominion. For the peace and quiet that prevailed in these Spanish settlements, agitation, loud and boisterous discussion of politics — national and territorial — drunkenness, profanity, abuse of constituted authority and government, the floating of fraudulent land titles, lawyers fomenting litigation, duels, mayhem, assaults with intent to kill and murder, became the order of the day.[2] New commercial enterprises were daily inaugurated, often ending in quick bankruptcy. All kinds of speculations and swindling schemes were launched; new towns were laid out everywhere, and the mania to get rich quick animated all classes.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that at that time there were not also many refined and intelligent American residents of the new territory. St. Louis, especially, possessed a refined and cultivated society. As early as 1805 we find a number of respectable American families settled there and Edward Hempstead says, that "society is good."[3] But in 1810 he writes that "the manners of the people are far from being so chaste as with you."[4] Schultz says in 1807, that the ladies of St. Louis were celebrated through all the lower country for their beauty, modesty and agreeable manners "as well as for their

[2] The mine country, an unpleasant place of residence, "a constant scene of warfare." Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 53. Frederick Bates writes Madison, September, 1807, that he was not present as reported at the "wild, indelicate, etc., conduct, on July 4th, held at the Mines."

[3] Hempstead Letters, August 5, 1805, in Missouri Historical Society Collection.

[4] Hempstead Letters, November 20, 1810, in Missouri Historical Society Collection.

taste and the splendor of their dress,"[5] and that he accepted an invitation to one of their balls, on the first Sunday evening after his arrival, having previously attended chapel, "for the express purpose of being able to form some judgment with respect to their claims," and to which reputation he concludes they were entitled. Miss Easton, in a letter to her father, dated 1816, refers to numerous balls and parties she had attended at the homes of the Garniers, Carrs, and others. Then Mrs. Peebles "who keeps tavern where Mr. Austin formerly did" gave entertainments and so also Mr. Solomon, "where every one pays $1.50, and is admitted to eat tough pancakes and dance as long as they please."[6]

In 1816 Sibley remarks that "in general the society of St. Louis is pretty good, and daily improving," that the utmost harmony prevails between the French and American families; and that the dancing assemblies were attended by "from forty to seventy-five ladies and as many gentlemen, American and French in about equal proportion."[7] In 1817 James Kennerly laments that "there is no house for balls and that the inhabitants of St. Louis for the first time will spend a dreary winter."[8]

In Ste. Genevieve, too, according to Schultz, one ball followed another in the winter, these balls generally opening at candle-light and continuing until 10 or 12 o'clock on the next day.[9] "In this place," says Flint, "we were introduced to amiable and polished people, and saw a town evidencing the possession of a considerable degree of refinement."[10]

Sunday, at that time, was much better known in all the old Spanish settlements "as a day of general amusement than of worship," and no kind of work was then suspended on account of the day. Carts and wagons from the country came to town to market and provisions were sold at retail throughout the village as late as 1818.[11] In fact, more trading was done on Sunday than on any other

[5] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 41.

[6] Letter of Mary Easton to her father, dated February 11, 1816, in Archives of Missouri Historical Society.

[7] Letter of Sibley, dated September 28, 1816, in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society. Sibley also says the French inhabitants of St. Louis have but little influence in public affairs and Americans and French do not associate much together in private circles on account of difference of language.

[8] Letter of Kennerly, dated December 19, 1817, in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

[9] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 60.

[10] Flint's Recollections, p. 99.

[11] Life of John Mason Peck, p. 87.

day of the week, nor did the day often pass without fighting. On one occasion Peck says that Governor Clark was compelled to call out the militia to suppress a riot among the negro slaves on Sunday.[12] He says in 1817 that one half, at least, of the Anglo-American population were "infidels of a low and indecent grade and truly worthless for any useful purpose of society," and that this class despised and vilified religion and boasted that the "Sabbath had never crossed, and should never cross the Mississippi,"[13] that the Sabbath was a day of hilarity, given up to billiards and other sports. Sparks, in his letters, says that on Sunday the people amused themselves playing billiards, ninepins, dice, cards, dancing and playing the fiddle, roulette and shuffle-boards, &c., and that if any one desired to raise a building he must do it on Sunday with negro slaves "who have Sunday for their own day, and will work for three or four shillings."[14]

The first Sunday on which Flint preached at St. Charles a horse race took place, starting from the front of the house where religious services were to be held. But six years afterward the members of the legislature remarked upon the manifest influence of religion in the town.[15] Then there was in the town "an agreeable society" and "a choir of good singers."[16] At New Madrid were some "cultivated and distinguished French families," who "among the bears and Indians" had discovered the wide difference between the Arcadian residence as described in romance, and "the actual existence in the wilderness."[17] Travelers were surprised to find so many people who had latent and intrinsic claims to distinction in such a place. Only two years before Flint visited New Madrid he says that "a German nobleman, a professor of Göttingen, a man gifted in the highest degree, left behind him volumes of scientific remarks upon the natural history of the country," and died there, an object of charity. But he gives no name, and no trace can now be found of these "volumes of scientific remarks." Describing the accomplishments of a certain Mrs. Gray, "not the smallest wonder of the place," he says "that she was familiar with Plato, well versed in history, had all the great ancients, their exploits and respective merits entirely at command," read French well, and that her daughter lived

[12] Life of John Mason Peck, p. 88.

[13] Ibid., p. 19.

[14] Letter of John Sparks in Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

[15] Flint's Recollections, p. 126.

[16] Ibid., p. 215.

[17] Ibid., p. 221.

in the great world "in Natchez and New Orleans" in the family of Mr. Derbigny.[18] But Jackson he thought "a fine range for all species of sectarians." Of the North Carolina "Dutch," the Germans settled on Whitewater, he says that they had all the habits of the race, "a taste for permanent building," a "disposition to build with stone," a "love of silver dollars and contempt for bank bills," the "disposition to manufacture every necessity among themselves," and he adds that he counted "forty-five dresses hung around my (his) sleeping room, all of cotton raised and manufactured and colored by the family." [19]

Almost universally, strangers were received with generous hospitality in town and country, in the settlements and in the wilderness.[20] Schoolcraft records that when he traveled through the Ozarks he was uniformly received in the cabins of the "hardy, frank and independent hunters" with a hearty welcome, and "experienced the most hospitable and generous treatment." [21] When Flint and Matthews on their trip to Bellevue were lost in the Maramec hills, although they came to a cabin at "an unreasonable hour" they were hospitably received and entertained, and Flint remarks, "Indeed I have very pleasing recollections of the hospitality from all the inhabitants of these remote regions, wherever we called." [22] The only instance of positive rudeness and inhospitality that he experienced in all his extensive travels, was from a comparatively rich German, on the waters of the Cuivre river, who turned him away at night and compelled him to travel through a deep and dark forest amid "the concert of wolves howling" until he heard the barking of dogs and found refuge about midnight at the cabin of a very poor man, who provided him with supper and gave him a "most cordial reception." The backwoodsmen were a hardy, hospitable, rough, but sincere and upright race of people.[23] But on the "old Boonslick trace" Peck, on his missionary tour to north Missouri, found a more hospitable German.[24]

[18] Flint's Recollections, p. 229. See Ante, vol. 2, p. 140. Full name, Auguste Charles Bouisgay Derbigny; married a sister of DeLassus; was elected fifth governor of Louisiana in 1828, and died at New Orleans, Oct. 6th, 1829, killed by being thrown out of a buggy.

[19] Ibid., p. 236.

[20] In 1st Niles' Register, page 214, it is said that "a tavern among them is but a late thing"—this in 1811.

[21] Tour in Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, pp. 49, 50. (London, 1821.)

[22] Flint's Recollections, p. 128.

[23] Letter of the Rev. Nicholas Patterson, in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

[24] Life of John Mason Peck, p. 126.

During the Spanish dominion public taverns or houses of entertainment were hardly known in upper Louisiana. When Moses Austin came to St. Louis in 1799, there was no tavern in the town, but fortunately meeting someone able to talk English he secured a boarding place in a private family. After the acquisition of Louisiana, Alexander Bellisime and Andre L'Andreville opened a tavern where the farmers of the country found food for themselves and horses.[25] According to Sibley the storekeepers, in 1807, most of whom were without families, in many instances kept bachelor's hall in their places of business and cooked their own meals. Resin Webster, in 1808 in St. Louis, opened the Eagle Tavern in the house "lately occupied by General William Clark," where, he says in his advertisement, "a few genteel boarders can be accommodated." Horace Austin kept a tavern at Herculaneum in the same year, but in the year following entered into the mercantile business at Ste. Genevieve with a stock "purchased in New York," which he offered to sell for "cash or lead." In 1812 St. Louis had Toussaint Benoist as its baker. In 1815 Christian Smith also had a "bake-shop" there, so also had Abijah Hall & Company; and in 1819 a distinct advance is noticeable, because Sarrade "has now a confectionery on Main street." Mrs. Peebles succeeded Horace Austin as tavern keeper at Herculaneum. Tavern keepers were also retailers of liquors although intoxicating spirits were sold at retail in stores. What we now euphoniously name a "saloon" was then called a "grocery." Among the early taverns outside of St. Louis, the "Kentucky Hotel" at St. Charles may be noted. At one time this house was conducted by H. L. Mills; then by Uriah J. Devore, and afterward by James Emmons. Of this hostelry the proprietor, in 1821, boastfully said that it was "superior in point of extensiveness to any house north of the Missouri." In 1821 Henry V. Bingham had a tavern northwest of the public square in Franklin, with the sign of the "Square and

[25] During the territorial government the following tavern keepers and retailers of liquor secured license to do business in St. Louis: Calvin Adams (1805), William Sullivan (1805), William Christy (1806), Resin Webster (1809), Joseph LeBlond (1809), Charles Bosseron (1809), Baptiste LeBeau (1809), F. J. LaBrosse (1810), Henry Capron (1810), Charles Shewe and Frederick Weber (the first Germans in that business–1811), Lambert LaJoie (Salle–1811), Joseph Phillibert (1812), Michael Marti (1812). In 1809 William Christy offers to keep a few horses by the week or month. James H. Audrain also opened a tavern in St. Louis in 1819, in "Cerré's large storehouse." Joseph Charless in 1809 received boarders by the day, week, or month, "on moderate terms," and had "stabling for eight or ten horses." Colonel Timothy Kibby, from St. Charles, opened Washington Hall some time before his death. Evarist Maury "conducted the first Planters' Hotel" on Second street in 1817.

Compass." John Shaw, Robert W. Morris, Foster Freeman, Vibert Pinet, Price Arnold, John Nanson, Daniel and William McKinzie, Beatty and Armstrong, Michael Collier, Larrent Vibert, William Pipes and Thomas Hickman were all licensed tavern keepers and retailers of spirituous liquors in Howard county in the same year, and Isaac Donahue, James Ross, Lewis White and Isaac Campbell in Chariton. In about 1817 or '18 Thomas Rogers opened a tavern in Boonville. Shortly afterward Justinian Williams built a large building for the same purpose there. John Ervine conducted the "Green Tree Hotel" at Jackson in 1820, named evidently for the Green Tree Tavern at St. Louis, conducted by H. C. Davis in 1816. James Russell was the proprietor of the "Eagle Hotel" at Jackson. William Brown and William Sublette successively managed the "General Jackson Tavern" and James Lockhardt, James Seavers and William Montgomery were likewise engaged in this business there. In 1811 Ellis kept tavern at Cape Girardeau, and when Stephen Hempstead, the father of Edward, came up the river he stopped with Ellis; so also did the Rev. J. M. Peck several years afterward. In St. Louis Kimball and Ward in the "Gazette" advertised their "reading room and punch house," evidently thus intending to satisfy the literary as well as the bibulous demands of their patrons. Medad Randall kept tavern and sold liquors at Bainbridge. Dr. Ezekiel Fenwick kept "a house of entertainment" opposite Grand Tower where the town of Wittenberg is now located.

Ferries across the great rivers to facilitate travel were not wanting. At Bainbridge, Thomas Nichols and Jacob Littleton operated a horse ferry. A good road led from Golconda to a point opposite Bainbridge, and a road was cleared out in 1815 from Bainbridge to Winchester (then the county seat of New Madrid county) and the White river settlements in Arkansas. These ferries were then important enterprises, and the horse ferry-boat established at a point opposite Alton was indispensable to emigrants moving from the east to the Boonslick and Salt river settlements in Missouri. Roswell Merrick and Company were proprietors of this ferry, and Eneas Pembroke, manager. Of course the ancient ferry at St. Louis, established by Piggott, was the great crossing on the river and in constant operation after the acquisition of the Territory. Charles Findley in 1805 had a ferry near the mouth of the Ohio across from the Tywappity bottom, and a road led from there to New Madrid. Lorimier maintained a ferry before and after the Louisiana purchase,

at Cape Girardeau. John Ross operated a ferry on the lower Mississippi, at what is now known as Gray's Point, then known as Ross' Point. Other ferries were maintained farther up the river by William Hickman, James Edmonds, and by John Hays near the mouth of Apple creek in Cape Girardeau county. On the Missouri Alexander McCortney was authorized to establish a ferry below Tavern Rock opposite the Femme Osage settlement in about 1805 and at St. Charles David McNair had a ferry in 1816, and advertised that he would "always be ready to convey passengers" with safety and dispatch.[26] In 1813 Lockhardt had a free ferry at St. Louis — why free is not recorded — but St. Louis has not enjoyed that advantage since. Alexander Nash in 1817 ran a large flatboat and two keel-boats as a ferry, and says that he lands "just above the sand-bar." Further up on the Missouri, in Howard county, ferries were maintained by Thomas Haldiman, Adam Woods and Shadrach Barnes, and in Cooper county by William Shackleford and William Potter, the first in that vicinity being established by the Cole boys at Boonville.[27]

Then, as now, roads and ferries were intimately connected with the establishment of postal facilities. In no single respect was the change of government in the country more conspicuous than in the immediate demand for posts. During the Spanish dominion, no one dreamed of demanding the establishment of post-routes and post-offices; but after the acquisition of Louisiana post-offices were established without delay in the old Spanish posts of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau and St. Charles. In St. Louis the post-office, in 1805, was in the residence of Rufus Easton on Third street under the Courthouse hill. In no subject were the early American settlers more interested than in the mail facilities, and constant complaints were made about the uncertainty and irregularity of the mails. Postage was from 25 to 75 cents a letter, and a letter from New England was sometimes three months on the way.[28] Kaskaskia seems to have been the distributing center, at first, for the Missouri Territory. The earliest post-road in Illinois

[26] Other ferry keepers at this period were, George Boli, over the Maramec, (1804); John B. Belland, at St. Charles, (1805); George Smirl, on the Maramec, (1806) and Lawson Lovering in 1819; Nathaniel Carpenter, at St. Louis, (1807); Silas Bent, across the Mississippi to Kahokia, (1807); Samuel Saloman, across the Mississippi, at St. Louis, (1809) and Elisha Ellis in 1819, opposite Harrison. John Jolly kept the first ferry across the Lamine river, still known as Jolly's ferry. The Jollys settled in that region in 1812.

[27] History of Cooper County, by Levins and Drake, p. 127.

[28] Letter of Lewis Bissell, in the Archives of Missouri Historical Society.

extended from Vincennes to Kaskaskia; afterward this road was extended from Vincennes to St. Louis, and a route established from Golconda and Shawneetown to Cape Girardeau. In 1816 Rufus Easton at that time Delegate in Congress, in a circular letter advised the people that a post-route had been established from St. Charles via St. Johns (Charette) to Fort Cooper on the Missouri, and to Potosi from St. Louis, and that service once a week will be established from New Madrid, via Cape Girardeau, Jackson, Ste. Genevieve, Potosi and Herculaneum to St. Louis. But the mails were irregular, and the "Gazette" and other newspapers in the Territory frequently mention that the mails and papers were not received. On the 31st of January, 1820, the "Gazette" says it was reported "that Mr. Lindsley, agent for the post-office department has this day started four or five bushels of mail for St. Louis by special contract." The "Independent Patriot" of Jackson, says, in February of the same year, speaking of publications from east of the Alleghenies, that "none of the papers are less than 34 days from the press, and many nearly double that time," and the editor suspects that "some of the public documents have been purloined by the deputy-postmasters on the way." Also note is made of the fact that the mail road from Golconda does not bring the papers to Jackson, but that the mail is sent by way of Kaskaskia, although that route is longer. The "Ste. Genevieve Correspondent" complains that "it takes fourteen days to three weeks to get mail from St. Charles, a distance of eighty miles, and that the country printers have got tired of grumbling, * * * that more attention should be paid in Washington to the mail establishments of the western country."

In 1819 the Postmaster-General, for the first time, called for proposals to carry the mail by steamboat between Louisville and New Orleans. Occasionally the mails were robbed; thus on February 1st, 1819, a highwayman, on the route between the Boonslick country and the mines, took the mail-bags, horse, blanket, bridle and spurs of the mail carrier. The robber was described as "about six feet, short sandy hair, both ears cropped and branded in the left hand; dressed in a buckskin dress and had a rifle." Among the earliest postmasters of the Territory were Rufus Easton at St. Louis; Joseph N. Menefee at Cape Girardeau; J. Frizzel and E. N. DeLashmutt at Jackson; Robert P. Clark at Boonville; Samuel H. Lewis at Stout's Fort; Uriah Devore at St. Charles; ——— at Ste. Genevieve; Nathaniel Patten at Franklin, and Duff Green at Chariton. Duff Green was

one of the first mail contractors in the territory, carrying the mail between St. Louis and Franklin. Nothing gives a better idea of the immense difference in conditions then and now than this postal service. It shows at a glance the difference in transportation facilities. Now mails are carried daily by railroad to the most remote territory, while carrying mail on horseback is the exception; then, it was the rule. Bradbury remarks that, in 1809, the "post" of St. Louis was dispatched by a mail rider from Louisvile in Kentucky, a distance of more than three hundred miles, through a wilderness, and from various causes was often retarded for several weeks.[29] The distances traveled by these mail riders at that time, in good and bad weather, along bridle paths in many instances, were immense; and but fifteen minutes were allowed for opening and closing the mail at all offices where no other time was specified. Free white persons only were allowed to carry the mail.[30]

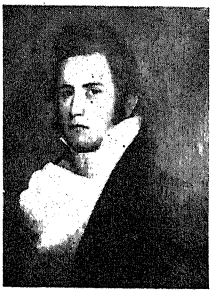
In 1819 Return J. Meigs, Postmaster-General, advertised the following and only mail routes in Missouri territory: Mail from Shawneetown to St. Louis, once a week; from Smithland on the Ohio river to Cape Girardeau, once a week; from Vincennes to St. Louis, once a week; from St. Louis to Florissant, once a week; from St. Charles to Missouri Crossing, Montgomery Courthouse, St. John's, Prices, Bibbs and Big Bonne Femme to Howard Courthouse, once a week; from St. Charles by Clark's Fort, Stout's Fort, Lincoln Courthouse and Clarksville to Louisiana, once a week; from St. Louis to Bellefontaine, Portage des Sioux by Lincoln Courthouse, once a week; from Harrisonville in Illinois, by Herculaneum, Potosi, St. Michael's (Fredericktown), Wayne Courthouse (Greenville), Hick's Ferry, Doct Betties, Ballinger's (Bollinger), Currans (Current river), and Laurens (Lawrence) Courthouse to Poke Creek on White river, once in two weeks; from Harrisonville by Herculaneum, Mine à Breton (Potosi) Ste. Genevieve to Kaskaskia, once a week; from Kaskaskia by Ste. Genevieve, Tucker's, Hughes', Cape Girardeau and Winchester to New Madrid, once a week; from Ste. Genevieve to St. Michael's (Fredericktown), once in two weeks; from Ste. Genevieve by Potosi to Franklin Courthouse, once in two weeks; from Franklin Courthouse to Montgomery Courthouse, once in two weeks; from Jackson to Wayne Courthouse, once in two weeks;

[29] Bradbury's Travels, p. 11.

[30] In 1809-12, Henry Wilton, an Englishman from Cambridgeshire, was the mail carrier between Kentucky and the settlements south of St. Louis in upper Louisiana.

from Potosi by Bellevue to the Murphy settlement (Farmington), once in two weeks.

The first newspaper published west of the Mississippi was established by Joseph Charless, in 1808, in St. Louis, under the name of the "Missouri Gazette," but the following year the name was changed to the "Louisiana Gazette," and in 1812 the name was again changed to "Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser." In 1810 the proprietor of the "Gazette" was not too proud to receive from his subscribers "pork and flour as pay for subscriptions." Charless sold his interest in the paper to James C. Cummins September 12, 1820, and Cummins in 1821 again disposed of his interest to Edward Charless, son of the original owner, and who changed the name from "Missouri Gazette" to "Missouri Republican."[31] In 1815 Mr. Joshua Norvell founded the "Western Journal" as an opposition paper, Drs. Farrar and Walker, W. C. Carr, C. B. Penrose, Robert Wash and William Christy advancing one thousand dollars to start the paper. The paper proving a financial failure he sold the printing office to Sergeant Hall, a lawyer from Cincinnati, who, in 1817, began the publication of the "Western Emigrant," but soon abandoned it. The St. Louis "En-



JOSEPH CHARLESS

[31] The first number of the "Missouri Republican" was issued Wednesday, March 20th, marked "Vol. I, No. I," Edward Charless, proprietor, and Josiah Spaulding, editor; from which it appears that it was intended to discontinue the "Gazette" and start the "Missouri Republican" as a new paper. The editor says: "The Missouri Gazette having changed its name as well as its proprietors, it may not seem improper to give some account of the manner in which it will be conducted," and the readers are then told that "it is not intended that this paper shall be the hand-maid of party," and further that " the paper is offered to all fair and candid discussion, but personality and indecency will not be tolerated. Whatever has a tendency to preserve, strengthen and perpetuate the Union, and aid the prosperity and respectability of our own State in particular, will always find admittance in this paper." And finally the editor and proprietor says, that "The Missouri Republican will continue to be sent to the subscribers of the Gazette should they not withdraw their names within three months." Nathaniel Paschall was an apprentice in the printing office of the "Gazette" in 1814—in 1828 became one of the proprietors of the "Republican," but in 1837 sold out his interest. In 1844 he was Associate Editor with Col. A. B. Chambers and after the death of Chambers, chief editor of the paper. He was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, and his father before he removed to St. Louis located at Ste. Genevieve. George Knapp, also for many years controlled the paper; was born in Orange County, New York, in 1814 and came to St. Louis with his father in 1819. In 1827 he became a printer's apprentice in the "Republican" office, and in 1834 acquired an interest in the paper which he retained until his death in 1883. A noble character, and who I am proud to say was my friend.

quirer" was next published by Isaac N. McHenry and Evarist Maury, two young men from Nashville, Tennessee, the first number appearing in July, 1819. Thomas H. Benton was for a time editor of this paper. Apparently great rivalry and bitter personal feeling existed between these early newspaper men of St. Louis, and as a consequence Charless was assaulted by McHenry. The Rev. Joseph Piggott happened to be present when the assault took place and tried to prevent it, but was hindered in his laudable effort by Wharton Rector, who with pistol in hand ordered him to desist. McHenry died January 21, 1821, aged 24 years, and the paper was thereafter published by P. H. Ford and Walter B. Alexander; and, in 1824, Duff Green became the sole proprietor. Tubal E. Strange in July, 1818, began to publish the "Missouri Herald" weekly at Jackson in Cape Girardeau county, and this publication was continued until 1820; in April, 1820, Dr. Zenas Priest acquired an interest in the paper. The "Missouri Intelligencer" was established by Benjamin Holliday, July, 1819, at Franklin. He sold his interest to John Payne who for a time published the "Intelligencer," then sold it to Holliday again who then transferred his interest to Nathaniel Patten and John T. Cleveland; but afterward Cleveland sold out to Patten. In November, 1820, the "Independent Patriot" was founded in Jackson by Stephen Remington, Minor W. Whitney and William Creath, as partners doing business under the style of Stephen Remington and Company; subsequently James Russell[32] purchased the interest of Whitney and Creath, and in 1824 was the sole publisher of this journal. Robert McCloud, in June, 1820, started the "Missourian" at St. Charles with the motto "Intelligence is the life of liberty." In the following year, the "Ste. Genevieve Correspondent and Record" was established by Thomas Foley. Incidently it may be observed that at that time the papers usually abbreviated the name Missouri, "Mri." Robert McCloud was elected the first public printer by the first legislature of the State.[33] The first book printed west of the Mississippi was a compilation of the laws of the "Territory of Louisiana" made by Frederick Bates

[32] A native of Rockbridge county, Va.; came to Missouri about 1820; removed to St. Louis in 1826. In Virginia he married Miss O'Bannon, and after her death in St. Louis married a daughter of Silas Bent. Died at Oak Hill, May 3, 1850.

[33] He was a stepson of Joseph Charless, Sr.; his mother, whose maiden name was Sarah Jourdan, first married McCloud and after his death married Mr. Charless at Louisville, Ky., in 1798. Robert McCloud married Daphne, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Emmons, of St. Charles, in 1821, but she afterward obtained a divorce from him.

in 1806, containing 312 pages, Joseph Charless being the printer. In 1821 William Orr printed in St. Louis a "Manual or Handbook Intended for the Convenience in Practical Surveying" for John Messinger.[34]

During the Spanish occupation of the country, a few schools existed in upper Louisiana in the most important villages. Almost immediately after the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory efforts were made to establish schools and seminaries of larger pretensions. The first convention which met in St. Louis, in 1805, urged that land be set apart to maintain "a French and English school in each county, and for the building of a seminary of learning, where not only the French and the English languages, but likewise the dead languages, mathematics, mechanics, natural and moral philosophy and the principles of the constitution of the United States should be taught." As early as 1806, Benjamin Johnson taught an English school on Sandy creek in what is now Jefferson county. In 1808 the Ste. Genevieve Academy was organized with twenty-one trustees, composed of the leading citizens of the town, and Mann Butler, who afterward became the historian of Kentucky, was employed as teacher of this academy.[35] The trustees began the erection of a handsome building on a beautiful hill commanding a wide prospect, but before the building was finished the enterprise, not being sufficiently supported, failed. In 1809 Christopher F. Schewe proposed to open a French and English grammar school in St. Louis; however he did not meet with much encouragement. Isaac Septlivres also advertised in 1809 that he would teach drawing, geography, mathematics and French grammar at the house of Vincent Bouis. In 1810 George Tompkins, who afterward abandoned school teaching for the law and became judge of the Supreme court, opened a school in St. Louis. In 1812 he and Septlivres formed a copartnership to teach a French and English school, but in 1814 Tompkins gave notice that he would "decline keeping school any longer," and consequently offers for sale his

[34] A native of Massachusetts; born at West Stockbridge in 1771; a mathematical genius; moved to Illinois in 1804; appointed Deputy United States Surveyor; taught mathematics at Peck's Rock Spring Seminary; member of Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1808; Speaker of the first General Assembly of Illinois. Died in 1846 on his farm in St. Clair county, Illinois.

[35] These trustees were the Rev. James Maxwell, Vicar General of upper Louisiana and priest of the village, Jean B. Vallé, Jacques Guibourd, St. Gem Beauvais, Francis Janis, J. B. Pratte, Dr. Walter Fenwick, Andrew Henry, Timothy Phelps, Aaron Elliott, Nathaniel Pope, Joseph Spencer, John Scott, William James, Thomas Oliver, Joshua Penneman, William Shannon, George Bullit, Henry Dodge and Henry Diel.

furniture, bookcase, and "a ten-plate stove." In 1813 Mrs. Jane Richards commenced a school in the house of Manuel Lisa on Second street. In 1815 James Sawyer advertised that he would open a seminary, and in the following year he and the Rev. Timothy Flint associated themselves together to continue "their school on the Lancasterian system." But in Ste. Genevieve a school was established by Joseph Hertich in 1815, in which the pupils were educated according to the more enlightened methods of Pestalozzi. Hertich was a native of Switzerland, and hence, no doubt, came under the influence of this great master. With his mother, brother and sister, in about 1796 he came to America, landing at Baltimore, where his mother died from the hardships endured during sea voyage. Some time afterward with his brother and sister he moved west across the mountains to Danville, Kentucky, and engaged in teaching school there. In 1810 he went from Danville to Ste. Genevieve, with a stock of merchandise, and which he carried on a pack-train through the wilderness of Southern Indiana and Illinois, then still to some extent tenanted with Indians. Arrived at Ste. Genevieve he opened a store and sold goods for several years, but with indifferent success. In 1815, he retired from this business and resumed teaching. He opened a school, which in the true Pestalozzian spirit he named "The Asylum." In this school he first in Missouri applied the educational theories of Pestalozzi, as contra-distinguished from the so-called Lancasterian system, and put into practical play the ideas of Pestalozzi as expounded in his book, "How Gertrude Teaches her Children," and as practised by Pestalozzi himself. He was deeply interested in his educational work, his constant aim was to foster the moral development of his pupils, to build up the higher and better principles of human nature, and he felt a sympathetic interest in all their work. Abstract knowledge was not allowed in his school to supersede moral culture or religious impulses and knowledge. The fact that three of the pupils of the "Asylum" finally reached the United States Senate and that others although not filling positions so conspicuous became useful and distinguished in their local spheres, makes evident the value of his educational work, and the value of good teachers and good schools in a community. Augustus C. Dodge, United States Senator from Iowa, Hon. George W. Jones, also a United States Senator from the same state and Hon. Lewis V. Bogy, United States Senator from Missouri, enjoyed the benefits of his instruction at the "Asylum." Rev. Thomas Parrish Greene taught school in territorial Missouri

in 1820, advertising in Jackson that "ten or twelve students can yet be received in my school at this place." The Rev. Timothy Flint also conducted a school at Jackson before this time. An academy was incorporated at Potosi, in 1817, to be under the direction of seven trustees who were to be elected annually. Every free white male inhabitant of 21 years and upwards, who subscribed and paid $5 towards said academy, and who was a resident of the country one year preceding was entitled to vote for trustees of the school at the annual election.[36] Rev. J. M. Peck and Rev. James E. Welch, in 1817, opened a school near the post-office in St. Louis; and in the following year, in St. Charles, Peck with Rev. Mr. Robinson opened a school there. But in 1820 Peck advertised in the "Missouri Gazette" that "he has resumed school teaching at the Baptist church, in St. Louis." Rev. Salmon Giddings, in 1816, shortly after his arrival taught a school there with Miss Mary L. Elliott whom he engaged as instructress; the terms — "first class, per quarter, five dollars; second class four dollars, and for the small Misses three dollars per quarter." In 1818 A. C. Van Hertum, from Amsterdam, advertised in the "Gazette" that he would teach the "Forte Piano" and clarionet; and in the same year Mrs. Perdreauville advertised her "young Ladies' Academy." A seminary for young ladies was also established by Mrs. Francis Carr in St. Louis, in 1820, "number limited to twenty; reading, writing, English, grammar, composition, geography, etc.," and in addition "embroidery, paper-work, wax-work, filigree, grotto-work, gilding on wood, fine needle work, netting, fringing and plain sewing and marking" were all taught in this seminary. P. Sullivan and Frances Regnier were instructors in English and French, in 1821, in St. Louis. Miss LeFavre gave notice in 1820 that she would teach French and English; and Francis Demailliez and Elihu H. Shepherd issued a prospectus of the St. Louis College shortly after, in which they say that "The most careful attention will be given to the morals and conduct of students, but no influence exercised over religious sentiments." The settlers near Herculaneum had a school in 1815, and in the two following years. In 1818 St. Mary's Seminary was organized and located near Perryville in Perry county. In Jackson subscription "schools of various degrees of excellence" existed from the time the town was laid out in

[36] Of this academy Gen. Wm. H. Ashley, Lionel Browne, John Rice Jones, Moses Austin, David Wheeler, Moses Bates, Benjamin Elliott, James Austin, William Perry, John McIlvain, Andrew Scott, John Hawkins, and Abram Brinker were named as trustees in the Act.

1815. Henry Sanford taught the first grammar school there; and Beverly Allen, in 1820, advertises in the "Missouri Herald" that he will teach Latin. Primary schools were taught by Mrs. John Scripps, Mrs. Edward Criddle and Miss Rhoda Ranney. Dr. Barr was another early teacher in the town. The first school in Cooper county was established in 1813 by John Savage about one mile from the present town of Boonville; but owing to Indian troubles, after a month this school was discontinued.[37] In 1817 William Anderson had a school near Concord church in this county, and in the following year a number of other schools in different sections were opened by Andrew Reavis, James Donaldson, Judge L. C. Stephens, Dr. William Moore and Rollins.[38] In Franklin, Howard county, a number of educational institutions were opened at an early day. Grey Bynum, a South Carolinian by birth, who came to the Boonslick country with the first settlers was the first school teacher in that then remote land, and taught forty-three children residing in the settlement within a radius of five miles from the school. Among his pupils were Polly Smith, Matthew Kinkead, Dorcas Kinkead, the Alcorn children, the Hubbards and others.[39] The school books used were the "Kentucky Preceptor" and "Lessons in Elocution," all published in about 1800. The school house was a cabin which stood about a mile from the Hickman graveyard, not far from the present town of Franklin. Thus early the foundations of an educational system were laid in that part of Missouri. A few years afterward James Daly advised the public, in the "Intelligencer" that he was able to instruct sixty or seventy students by having his son assist him "in the capacity of usher." J. B. C. Washington opened a select school in Franklin in about 1820 to instruct young ladies and gentlemen "in most of the solid and ornamental branches of a polite English education," and Mr. Fisher advertises that he teaches the classics, and that he "will take under his immediate superintendence a limited number of young men." Pleasant Grove Academy was established by Alonzo Pierson, in Howard county, soon after the organization of the State government. George Crawford was another early teacher, a resident of Cooper

[37] This is the statement of Samuel Cole, and he says that pupils who attended this school were Benjamin Delaney, William Bolin, William Savage, Hess and William Warden, John and William Yarnell, John and William Jolly, Joseph and William Scott and John and William Rupe. History of Howard and Cooper counties, p. 808.

[38] Levin's and Drake's History of Cooper county, p. 61.

[39] History of Howard and Cooper counties, p. 160. Bynum was afterward circuit clerk of Howard county for a number of years.

county in 1821, who taught school there as well as in Howard county. The first legislature established academies by charter in the towns of Jackson and St. Charles. Bishop DuBourg of St. Louis, in conjunction with his vicar, the Rev. Francis Niel, took steps to establish a college in St. Louis in 1819. In this latter school were to be taught "the classics, philosophy, English and French." This college was opened in 1820 on the site of the old Catholic log church on Second street below Market. Rev. Francis Niel was president of the faculty; Rev. Leo Deys, professor of languages; Rev. Andres Ferrari, professor of the ancient languages, assisted by Mr. P. Sullivan; Rev. Aristide Anduze, professor of mathematics; Rev. Michael G. Saulnier, professor of languages and also assisted by Mr. Samuel Smith; Mr. Francis C. Guyol was professor of writing and drawing and Mr. John Martin prefect of studies. But many citizens of the territory were not satisfied with these meagre educational advantages and in a letter to the "National Republican" John G. Heath says that "the state of education is deplorable," yet consoles himself with the fact that "the masses of our citizens are perhaps not as ignorant as the same class of men in the States." [40]

In 1812, by Act of Congress, the lots and outlots, common field lots and commons joining and belonging to the towns and villages of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, the Village à Robert and Little Prairie, not rightfully owned or claimed by any private individual, were granted to the several towns and villages named "for the support of schools in the respective towns and villages aforesaid." This Act became the foundation of the magnificent school fund to St. Louis, owing to the growth of the city and consequent appreciation of real estate there. It is to the forethought of Thomas Fiveash Riddick that the schools of St. Louis owe this inheritance. He rode to Washington City on horseback "at his own individual expense," says Darby, to secure the passage of this Act, and was there aided in his efforts by the delegate from the territory at that time Edward Hempstead.[41] In 1817 the ter-

THOMAS F. RIDDICK

[40] Brown's Gazetteer, p. 194.

[41] The work of Riddick seems all but forgotten in St. Louis now. If he had been a son of New England instead of Virginia—in that case, if the statement of Darby is indeed true that "so far as St. Louis public schools are con-

ritorial legislature passed the first Act for the organization of the public schools of St. Louis, and the first trustees named in the Act were William Clark, William C. Carr, Thomas H. Benton, Bernard Pratte, Auguste Chouteau, Alexander McNair and John P. Cabanne.

The primitive school facilities enjoyed by the people, both during the Spanish government and the early territorial days of Missouri, were of course confined to the villages and towns; in the wilderness schools were unknown. Indeed, it was impossible then for the isolated settlers to secure any educational advantages for their children even if so disposed. Their children grew up wholly ignorant of any learning or books, were not taught even the rudiments of their own tongue, and Schoolcraft observes that being "thus situated without moral restraint, brought up in the uncontrolled indulgence of every passion, and without a regard for religion, the state of society among the rising generation of this region is truly deplorable. In their childish disputes the boys frequently stab each other with knives, two instances of which occurred since our residence here. No correction was administered in either case, the act rather being looked upon as a promising trait of character. They begin to assert their independence as soon as they can walk, and by the time they reach the age of fourteen years have completely learned the use of the rifle, the art of trapping beaver and otter, killing bear, deer and buffalo, and dressing skins and making mockasons and leather clothes." [42]

Brackenridge, in 1810, remarks that Auguste Chouteau has a large private library consisting chiefly of folios and quartos, from which Brackenridge conjectured that it must have once belonged to the Jesuits who, a half century before, had "a college at Kaskaskia," [43] the library being confiscated and sold by the French government when the Jesuits were expelled from Louisiana. At New Madrid Madame Peyroux had a fine library "left by her husband" [44] who was well known as a writer and literary man. Edward Bates also possessed an extensive private library. Flint notes, in 1816, that

cerned Colonel Thomas F. Riddick was the creator and originator of that noble system of instruction which now obtains in St. Louis," his name would not have been allowed to fade from memory. His name has been inserted in one of the memorial windows of the Cape Girardeau Normal school, as having deserved well of the common schools of Missouri.

[42] Tour in the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, pp. 49, 50, (London, 1821).

[43] Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 231. But this statement made by Brackenridge seems to have been made on insufficient evidence.

[44] Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 231.

"few good books are brought into the country," [45] and that the people are too busy, too much occupied in making farms and speculations to think of literature, but he says that Mrs. Gray of New Madrid "had a considerable library." There was no book store at that time in the Territory, but the proprietor of the "Gazetteer" in 1808 advertised that he had school books for sale. In 1820, however, Thomas Essex and Charles E. Reynroth opened a book and stationery house in St. Louis. The first effort to organize a public library in St. Louis was made in 1811 when a meeting was called at the house of Henry Capron for that purpose, but nothing tangible seems to have resulted from this meeting. In 1819 another movement was inaugurated to secure a public library for the town, and this, too, was unsuccessful. In the following year, an association was organized and Isaac Barton elected the first librarian. In Franklin a Library society was organized in 1819 of which R. W. Morris was president and Dr. J. J. Lowry secretary. The library of the Catholic College of St. Louis in 1821 contained 8,000 volumes.

Gambling was the prevailing amusement of the times. At the gaming table the old French residents and the newer American immigrant met on common ground. According to Schultz, he never saw a place where people engaged "with so much spirit and perseverance to win each others' money" as at Ste. Genevieve.[46] Sometimes they would continue to play for thirty hours at a time. They were then in the habit of meeting three times a week to play a favorite game. In all places of amusement in St. Louis gambling was openly carried on.[47] In 1818 when Peck came into Donahue's tavern at Ste. Genevieve at 8 o'clock in the evening he notes that he found "the landlord with a company of gentlemen busily employed at the card table." [48] Lawyers, medical men, merchants and officers in civil and military authority, and Indian traders, all played cards for amusement, and bet liberally.

The practice of carrying concealed weapons also was a general custom. Schultz says that he was greatly surprised at this, when on more than one occasion he saw daggers fall out of the bosom or out of the girdle "while the owner was dancing with a lady," and that the ladies did not betray any uneasiness at the sudden and unexpected

[45] Flint's Recollections, pp. 185, 229.
[46] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 61.
[47] Life of John Mason Peck, p. 88.
[48] Ibid., p. 117.

exposures of such "murderous and assassin-like weapons." [49] Even during the sessions of the court everybody was armed, some with pistols behind them under their coats, nearly all with dirks peeping from their bosoms; even the Judges on the bench had their pistols and attaghans by their sides.[50] On this account "the mine country" was a very unpleasant place of residence, as the workmen were always engaged in brawls and quarrels and the proprietors were always at war with each other. Nearly everybody you met "wore concealed daggers, and sometimes even two, one in the bosom and the other under the coat, while others had a brace of pistols in the girdle behind the back." [51]

Rifled-barrelled pistols were altogether used at Mine à Breton and Ste. Genevieve, and pistol-shooting at a mark was a very general amusement. Pistols and rifles were made at home and not imported. Good gunsmiths were highly esteemed. One Cramer "who lived in an obscure place in Illinois" was famous as "the maker of pistols and guns." Brackenridge says that he has known a perfectly plain pair of pistols made by him to sell for two hundred dollars, and one of his rifles for one hundred and fifty dollars.[52] This Cramer originally came to Illinois from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. John Smith T. had two negro men at work constantly making firearms at his gunsmith shop, and he himself took pride in being no mean gunsmith. A good marksman was highly respected. On one occasion old Callaway, one of Boone's salt-boilers, who had afterward in Missouri attained the dignity of County judge, appointed his friend, McCormick, a justice of the peace to fill a vacancy, and gave as a reason, when asked about it, that "he was handy with a gun." [53]

Such being the habits and feelings of the people, it does not surprise us to find that duels often occurred. The shortest road at that time to settle the pretension of any one to be a gentleman of courage, or entitled to prominence, was to fight a duel. What wonder that the most trivial circumstances were seized upon as an excuse for mortal combat with pistols. Although duels really decided nothing and were not at all tests of courage, yet the apparent indifference with which the parties engaged in the duel placed their lives in

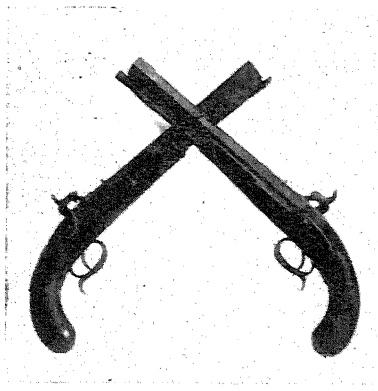
[49] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 62.
[50] Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 207.
[51] Schultz's Travels, p. 53.
[52] Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 261.
[53] Draper's Notes, vol. 4, p. 81.

jeopardy, or threw them away, has always awed the minds of people, and the fact was overlooked that in such a contest the innocent may fall and the worthless survive. One of the first duels, after the cession of Louisiana, occurred in Cape Girardeau, in 1807, between Joseph McFerron and William Ogle. McFerron, the first clerk of the courts of the Cape Girardeau district, was an Irishman by birth, of superior education but unprepossessing appearance, his face bearing a hard and stolid expression, eyes overhung by long projecting eyebrows; in manner he was apparently very reserved, but on acquaintance genial and pleasant. He settled in Cape Girardeau district before the cession, and taught school in the American settlement near the post. When under the new government the courts were organized he was appointed clerk, and remained clerk of the courts of Cape Girardeau until his death. The old records of the county bear evidence of his scholarship and his beautiful and singular chirography, like copperplate, without an error or erasure, is to this day admired by all who have occasion to examine these ancient books. William Ogle was a merchant of Cape Girardeau at this time, a native of Maryland who had settled in the town in the previous year. In Maryland, Ogle had held the position of collector of internal revenue. The exact cause of the duel between these men is not now known; but it seems that McFerron and Ogle had for some time previous been on unfriendly terms, that Ogle insulted McFerron, that he struck him in the face and then challenged him and although McFerron had never fired a pistol he promptly accepted the challenge. The parties met on a sand-bar, on what was then known as Cypress island, opposite Cape Girardeau. At the first fire Olge fell dead with a bullet in his brain, while McFerron remained unhurt. He at once resigned his office, but public sympathy being on his side, he was soon reinstated in his position.

In 1810 another duel was fought between James A. Graham and Dr. Farrar, both of St. Louis, this duel being the result of a constructive quarrel between two friends. Graham was a young lawyer of distinguished family and a warm personal friend of Brackenridge. It seems that Graham being present at a game of cards noticed that one of the players, an army officer, was guilty of cheating, and following the impulse of his feelings proclaimed at once the disgraceful act. The officer, a Lieutenant in the army, gave notice that for this insult, — of being exposed,— he should demand the satisfaction due him as a gentleman. The next morning the challenge came, borne

by Dr. Farrar, with whom Graham had been more intimate than with any one else in St. Louis. Dr. Farrar being a brother-in-law of the officer was in a manner compelled to act for him. Graham declined to fight a duel with one whom he had denounced as a cheat and swindler, and according "to the law of honor and according to correct reasoning the refusal of a challenge, on the ground that the principal was not a gentleman, was an insult to the second," so that Graham finally was compelled to accept the challenge of his friend on a "constructive insult." The duel took place on Bloody Island, and after three fires, at each of which the combatants were wounded, the seconds decided that the duel should cease, to be renewed when Graham, who was so severely lacerated on his hand that he could not hold the pistol, should be in condition to renew it. It was then found that Graham had been severely injured in his spine by the first shot. He was confined for four months to his room, when the wound healed. But it opened afresh, and in the spring when he attempted to return to his native place on horseback, after he had travelled about one hundred miles, he was found dead one morning in his bed.[54]

In 1811 another such "constructive" duel took place, in Ste. Genevieve, between Dr. Walter Fenwick and Thomas T. Crittenden. Crittenden was a lawyer, and brother of Senator J. J. Crittenden of Kentucky; and Dr. Fenwick, says Rozier, "an eminent physician and estimable and polished gentleman." It seems that Crittenden in a lawsuit had denounced Dr. Fenwick's brother, Ezekiel Fenwick, at that time a resident and merchant opposite Grand Tower, where Wittenberg is now located. As a consequence Ezekiel Fenwick sent a challenge to Crittenden which was borne by his brother, Dr. Walter Fenwick. Crittenden refused to meet Ezekiel Fenwick, assigning as a reason that he did not consider him "a gentleman," whereupon Dr. Walter Fenwick, deeming the refusal a personal affront challenged Critten-



DUELING PISTOLS USED BY FENWICK AND CRITTENDEN

[54] Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 265.

den, and the challenge was accepted. The parties met October 1st, 1811, on Moreau's Island, then a little below Ste. Genevieve. Henry Dodge acted as second for Fenwick, and John Scott as second for Crittenden. Dr. Fenwick fell mortally wounded at the first fire. Crittenden was unhurt. It is said that the barrels of the pistols used on that occasion were twelve inches long, of very large bore, and made by one of the negro gunsmiths belonging to John Smith T.

Another duel took place on Bloody Island in 1816 between Henry S. Geyer and George H. Kennerly, in which Kennerly was wounded in the knee. After the duel Geyer and Kennerly became warm personal friends.

In August, 1817, the first duel between Thomas H. Benton and Charles Lucas took place. Of the origin of this duel Charles Lucas prepared a statement which was found among his papers and is given here:

"The causes of the difficulty between T. H. Benton and me, were as follows: At the October court of last year (1816) Mr. Benton and I were employed on adverse sides in a cause. At the close of the evidence he stated that the evidence being so and so he requested the court to instruct the jury to find accordingly. I stated, in reply, that there was no such evidence, to my remembrance. He replied, "I contradict you, sir." I answered, "I contradict you, sir." He then said, "If you deny that you deny the truth." I replied "If you assert that you assert what is not true." He immediately sent me a challenge which I declined accepting for causes stated in my correspondence. The jury in a few minutes returned a verdict for me, and in opposition to his statement. He never even moved for a new trial. Since that time we have had no intercourse except on business. On the day of the election at St. Louis, 4th August, 1817, I inquired whether he had paid a tax in time to entitle him to vote; he was offering to vote at the time. He applied vehement, abusive and ungentlemanly language to me, and I believe some of it behind my back, all of which he declined to recant, to give me any satisfaction other than by the greatest extremities. This is the state of the dispute between T. H. Benton and myself. I make this declaration that, let things eventuate as they may, it may be known how they originated."

After the controversy in court Benton sent Lucas a challenge which he declined, saying that he would not suffer the free exercise of his rights or the performance of his duties at the bar to be with him the subject of a private dispute, nor would he allow it to others for doing his duty to his clients, "more particularly to you." But after the difficulty at the polls, Benton refusing an amicable adjustment, Lucas sent him a challenge. On the morning of the 12th of August, Benton with Luke E. Lawless and Major Pilcher as his seconds, and Dr. Farrar as surgeon; and Lucas, with Joshua Barton and Colonel Clemson as his seconds, and Dr. Quarles as his surgeon, met on Bloody Island, fired one shot and Lucas was wounded in the neck. Benton received a slight wound below the right

knee. Owing to his wound Lucas was unable to maintain the combat. Lawless, Benton's second, asked him if he was satisfied and he replied that he was, and did not require a second meeting; but Benton said he was not satisfied and that he would require Lucas to meet him again as soon as he was able to do so. After this, at the instance of mutual friends, it was supposed the difficulty had been adjusted satisfactorily. But a week or ten days after this Benton sent Lucas a challenge for a second meeting, in which he stated as a cause for the challenge that the friends of Lucas had circulated statements derogatory of him, Benton. Lucas was absent from home at the time the challenge was sent, but received the same immediately on his return and accepted it in these words:

"Although I am conscious that a respectable man in society can not be found who will say he has heard any of those reports from me, and that I think it more probable they have been fabricated by your own friends than circulated by any who call themselves mine, yet, without even knowing what reports you have heard, I shall give you an opportunity of gratifying your wishes and the wishes of your news carriers. My friend, Mr. Barton, has full authority to act for me." CHARLES LUCAS.

They again met on Bloody Island and took their positions ten feet apart. Both fired at the same time. Benton's ball went through the right arm of Lucas and penetrated his body in the region of his heart, and he fell. Benton was unhurt. Benton then approached and expressed his sorrow, but Lucas replied, "Colonel Benton, you have persecuted me and murdered me. I do not, I can not forgive you," and repeated these words, but finding that his end was approaching he added, "I can forgive you and do forgive you," and gave him his hand. He died within an hour after receiving the fatal shot, aged 25 years and three days. This tragic death of young Lucas was deeply lamented by all who knew him. He came to St. Louis with his father, Judge J. B. C. Lucas in 1805, returned to Pennsylvania in 1806 and spent five years at Jefferson college and, after completing a classical education, returned to St. Louis where he entered the law office of Rufus Easton to study law. He served in the war of 1812 in the campaign up the Illinois river. He also aided in the formation of a company of artillery and was appointed its captain. Afterward he was elected as representative in the territorial legislature, was United States attorney for Missouri territory, and held other positions at the time of his death. He was a man of energy, ability, and public spirit, and enjoyed the respect of all who knew him and was rapidly rising into eminence. To his father especially, his death was an irreparable loss, a source of unalloyed

grief; "nothing there remains" he pathetically writes Joshua Barton "of my late son Charles Lucas, but his reputation," and this he said it was his "sacred duty to protect and defend," and well he performed that duty. Every fact and every circumstance tending to show the high courage and noble bearing of Charles Lucas on that fateful day, and the malignant and bloody purpose of Benton to wantonly destroy him, as standing in his way to political preferment, was brought out; and at all times and on all occasions as long as he lived did Judge Lucas labor to expose, with inveterate perseverance, this dark and bloody page in the career of Benton. On the 27th of September, 1817, the "Gazette" speaking of this duel said, "the infernal practice of dueling has taken off this morning one of the first characters of our country,— Charles Lucas, Esq.," and that his death "has left a blank in society not easily filled up."

In the following year, in August, 1818, Captains Martin and Ramsay, both of the First United States Rifles, fought another duel on Bloody Island, and at which Captain Ramsay received a mortal wound of which he shortly afterward died. In 1819 Lionel Browne, a nephew of Aaron Burr, at the time a practicing lawyer living at Potosi and who had represented Washington county in the legislature, challenged John Smith T., and a duel was fought on an island opposite Herculaneum. Colonel Augustus Jones acted as second for Browne, and Colonel McClanahan for Smith. Browne in this duel was shot in the center of the forehead, and instantly died.[55] In February 1820, another duel took place between Charles Carroll, register of the Franklin county Land Office, and Richard Gentry,[56] in which Carroll was killed.[57] Carroll was appointed from New York.

Bernard G. Farrar, who was present at the Lucas-Benton duel, was one of the first physicians and surgeons who settled in St. Louis

[55] This duel was occasioned by some remark, it is said, that Smith made about the sister of Browne.

[56] Afterwards colonel of the Missouri regiment in the Seminole war, fatally wounded at Okee-cho-bee lake in Florida, December 1, 1837. John W. Price was Lieutenant-Colonel, and W. H. Hughes major of this regiment.

[57] A number of duels, not properly within the scope of this work, occurred after the admission of Missouri into the Union, which at the time created great excitement, notably the duel between Taylor Berry and Abiel Leonard, which was fought on an island below New Madrid near Point Pleasant, in which Berry was wounded and of which wounds he finally died. The duel between Barton and Rector, in which Barton was killed, occurred in 1823. The duel between Biddle and Pettus occurred in 1834, and both were mortally wounded. Pettus was a member of Congress and Biddle an officer in the army. In 1825 Gov. Frederick Bates vetoed a bill passed by the legislature to prevent duelling, although he said that he abhorred duelling, because in his opinion the law would do no good.

after the acquisition of the country, arriving there in the year 1807. He was a native of Goochland county, Virginia, born in 1785; moved with his parents to Kentucky; studied medicine in Philadelphia; and located first in Frankfort. But when his brother-in-law, Judge Coburn, was appointed judge of the Territory of Louisiana, he followed him to St. Louis, where he practiced medicine until his death in 1849. In 1812 he formed a partnership with Dr. David V. Walker who arrived in St. Louis that year. Dr. Walker died in 1824. Dr. Pryor Quarles, a surgeon who also attended the Lucas-Benton duel, was a native of Richmond county, Virginia; came to St. Louis in 1815 and died there in 1822. His widow, the second daughter of Colonel Rufus Easton, married Henry Geyer in 1831. Dr. Simpson, the surgeon who attended the Geyer-Kennerly duel, was born in 1785 in Maryland, and settled in St. Louis in 1812. He was appointed assistant surgeon in the army of the United States in 1809 and came west with the troops and resigned; settled in St. Louis and married a sister of Mrs. Rufus Easton. He died in 1873, aged 88 years.[58] Dr. McPheeters, in 1820, practiced medicine at Florissant. But among the prominent physicians before and after the Louisiana cession we should not omit Dr. Antoine Saugrain who in 1809 brought the "first vaccine matter" to St. Louis, and gave notice that "indigent persons would be vaccinated gratuitously."

DR. BERNARD G. FARRAR

DR. J. H. ROBINSON

We must also include Dr. John Hamilton Robinson, the brother-in-law of Dr. Saugrain, who settled in St. Louis in 1804. He was a native of Augusta county, Virginia, where he was born January 24, 1782. After completing his medical studies he came to St. Louis and in 1805 married Sophie Marie Michau, a sister of the wife of Dr. Saugrain. Dr. Robinson was a man of adventurous disposition and when Maj. Zebulon Pike started on his western expedition he joined the

[58] According to Billon the following other physicians were early residents of St. Louis, viz.: Dr. J. M. Read, of Baltimore (1811); Dr. Edward S. Gantt

corps as a volunteer surgeon and accompanied it as far as the Canejos, when in order to ascertain the trade and resources of Mexican territory, he separated from the corps on pretense that he had some commercial claims to adjust or collect. No doubt regarding this individual enterprise as a romantic adventure, he went alone through the Indian nations to Santa Fe where he was arrested and imprisoned. Pike afterward found him there but for fear that if it became known that he had separated himself from his expedition, he might be regarded as a spy, denied knowing him. When he met him again in Chihuahua, he admitted that he was his *companion de voyage*, nor did this surprise the Spanish officers. After his return to the United States he was commissioned surgeon in the army and stationed at Fort Bellefontaine from 1808 to 1810. In 1814 he was commissioned surgeon of the Militia of the Territory of Louisiana. In 1815 he went to Mexico and participated in the Mexican war of Independence for four years, attaining the rank of Brigadier General in the Revolutionary army. In about 1819 he settled in Natchez and died there at the age of 38 years. Pike says of him that he "had the benefit of a liberal education," that "he studied and reasoned," that he possessed "a liberality of mind too great to ever reject any hypothesis because it was not agreeable to the dogmas of the schools," and that "his soul could conceive great actions, and his hand was ready to achieve them."

Dr. Walter Fenwick, son of Joseph Fenwick, came from Kentucky with his father as early as 1797, and either shortly before or immediately after the cession of Louisiana began the practice of medicine in Ste. Genevieve.[59] He was born in 1775 and very probably read medicine before the family came to the Spanish possessions. He in 1801 married Julie Vallé, a daughter of Don Francesco Vallé. Dr. Ezekiel Fenwick, his brother, also a physician, resided at the

(1816); Dr. George S. Todsen, a native of Copenhagen, Denmark (1817); Dr. Arthur Nelson (1818), married a daughter of Dr. Gantt in 1819; Dr. Herman L. Hoffman (1819); Dr. Lewis C. Beck (1819), a brother of Abram Beck. Dr. Beck published the "Gazetteer of Missouri," getting the material, according to Billon, "by perambulating the different sections of the State;" also published a small volume entitled "Botany of the United States North of Virginia;" lived in Albany, N. Y., in 1823; Dr. Richard Mason (1820), from Philadelphia; Dr. William Carr Lane (1819); Dr. S. G. J. DeCamp (1819); Dr. Paul G. Gabert (1819), a native of France, died 1826; Dr. Zeno Fenn (1819); Dr. Samuel Merry (1820); Dr. Edward C. Carter (1820); Dr. Joseph Williams (1820); Dr. Le Mignon (1820).

[59] In the case of Peter Johnston, convicted of the murder of John Spear, May 25, 1810, it was ordered by the court that after the execution of the death sentence the body should be delivered to Dr. Walter Fenwick for dissection.

lower end of the Brazeau bottom near the present town of Wittenberg. Almost immediately after the acquisition of Louisiana, Dr. Aaron Elliott of Connecticut, with his family arrived at Ste. Genevieve. Here he practiced medicine for a number of years. In 1808 he was one of the trustees of the town. In 1807 his daughter Ann married Hon. William C. Carr, then a resident of Ste. Genevieve. Another daughter, Marie Louise, married Leon DeLassus, a son of Camille DeLassus. It is said by Dr. Richard C. Waters, a grandson of Dr. Elliott, that he was a descendant of John Elliot the apostle of the Indians. In 1815 Dr. Lewis F. Linn began the practice of medicine in Ste. Genevieve, which he continued until he was elected to the United States senate.[60] Dr. Zenas Priest, a native of New York, and Dr. Thomas Neale, of Virginia, settled in Cape Girardeau district about 1805, and were perhaps the first American physicians who established themselves west of the Mississippi, with the exception of Dr. Fenwick. Dr. Thomas Byrne, in 1812, practiced near Cape Girardeau. He died at what is now known as Gray's Point. Among the first physicians at Jackson we find Dr. Posey, Dr. Slaughter, and Dr. Ellis of Georgia. Dr. Franklin Cannon, who began the practice of medicine there in 1819, was a native of North Carolina; in his day he was an influential politician, being elected frequently to represent the county in the House and State senate; and in 1836 he held the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the State. Dr. E. S. Gantt, already named, practiced medicine in Jackson before he removed to St. Louis.[61] In the town of Cape Girardeau we find Dr. John C. Duncan following his profession in 1820; and Dr. Blumenau informs the readers of the "Independent Patriot" that he has just emigrated from Germany, and opened an office in that town. The leading physician in New Madrid for many years was Dr. Robert A. Dawson, a native of Maryland. In St. Charles, Dr. Andrew Wilson was the first American physician. Drs. Wheeler and Stoddard also practiced there, and in the "Missourian" advise the public that they would receive several students of medicine.

In Franklin Dr. Hardage Lane, Dr. J. J. Lowry, Dr. D. P. Wilcox and Dr. Jabez Hubbard (died 1824) were among the first physicians, so also Dr. Charles Kavanaugh, Dr. J. B. Benson, Dr.

[60] Another physician of Ste. Genevieve was Dr. Louis Guignon.

[61] Among other early physicians settled in Jackson was Dr. John J. Vance (1818); and in the same year Dr. Hayden advertised in the "Missouri Herald" that he has cured cancer "when the patient had been given over to be out of the reach of medical aid."

David Woods; and in Howard county Dr. William T. McLane and in Cooper county we find Dr. William Moore in 1818, Dr. Cooper in 1821, Dr. Finis McClanahan and Dr. B. W. Levens.[62]

As connected with the medical profession it should be noted that in 1809 William Shannon established a drug store in St. Louis, one of the first in the Territory. In 1812 Drs. Farrar and Charless had an "Apothecary shop" adjoining the "Gazette" office, in which paper they advertise that they will always have on hand "fresh from Philadelphia genuine medicines." Drs. Simpson and Quarles, in 1817, and Drs. Nelson and Hoffman, in 1819, were also in the drug business in St. Louis.

Oliver Holmes "from Baltimore," it is worthy of remark, was the first surgeon-dentist who located west of the Mississippi, in St. Louis.

Both before and after the Louisiana purchase many Revolutionary soldiers settled within the limits of the present State. The influence of Colonel George Morgan in bringing many of his old companions in arms from Pennsylvania to the Spanish province of Louisiana, is quite clear. It was owing to him that Colonel Christopher Hays came west and finally settled in Cape Girardeau district, after the collapse of Morgan's enterprise. He also induced General Benjamin Harrison, of Pennsylvania, and Colonel John Harrison, who had settled in Kentucky, to come to the new country with him. Both the Harrisons afterwards removed from New Madrid to the Ste. Genevieve district. Moses Shelby, a brother of Isaac Shelby, lived in New Madrid district and died at New Madrid.[63]

[62] Was a son of Henry Levens, who settled in New Design, in Illinois Territory, in 1797; came from the western part of Pennsylvania. Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 127. Dr. Hardage Lane married Miss Ann Rebecca Carroll in 1821, daughter of Charles Carroll, who was killed in a duel with Gentry. Other physicians of Boonville in 1819 were Dr. D. R. Wilcox, and Dr. Bohannon, who then resided about two miles south of Booneville.

[63] From various sources the names of some of these Revolutionary heroes, who settled in territorial Missouri have been collected and placed for convenience in the present counties, alphabetically arranged, although when they settled, in many instances, no such counties were organized or thought of. Those we find in the present Boone county were:

William Bryant of the North Carolina Continentals, John Connelly of the Maryland Continentals, Benjamin Colvin of the Virginia Militia, Samuel Elgin of the Maryland Militia, Reuben Hatton of the Virginia Militia, William Jones of the Virginia State Troops, Robert Lemon of the Pennsylvania Militia, William Thompson of the Virginia Militia, Isham Burks of the Virginia Continentals, Benjamin Ethell or (Athell) Corporal in the Virginia Continental Line.

In Calloway county: William Armstrong of the Pennsylvania Militia, Thomas Boyd of the North Carolina Militia, Sylvester Baker, Jr., of the North Carolina Militia, Moses Ferguson of the Virginia Militia, David Henderson of the Virginia Militia, George Key of the Virginia Militia, Josiah Ramsay of

Dr. James O'Fallon, a Revolutionary soldier who married a sister of General George Rogers Clark, was an early settler in St. Louis. O'Fallon for a time was an active agent of the South Carolina Yazoo

the Virginia State Troops, Major Jesse Evans of the Virginia-Illinois Regiment, Charles Cooley of the Virginia Continentals, Samuel Rhodes of the Virginia Continentals. Josiah Ramsay was a hero both of the Colonial and Revolutionary war, and died at the home of his son, General Ramsay, in 1833.

In Cape Girardeau county: Thomas Bull of the Virginia Continentals, John Harbison of Captain John Holder's Company, John Cockran of the North Carolina Militia, Mitchell Fleming of the North Carolina Militia, Thomas Hill of the North Carolina Militia, Alexander McLane of the North Carolina State Troops, Robert Greene, sergeant of the Maryland Continentals, Thomas Wrightington of the Massachusetts Continentals, Major T. W. Waters of the South Carolina Troops, Stephen Ranney of the Connecticut Troops, Uriah Brock of the Virginia Continental Line, Robert Chase of the North Carolina Continentals, James Crouster or (McCronister) of the North Carolina Continentals, James Verden of the South Carolina Continentals, John Boyd of Captain May's Company, in 1778 of John Bowman's Regiment, Ithamar Hubble of the New York State Troops.

In Chariton county: William Burton of the Virginia State Troops, Jonathan Elston of the New Jersey Militia, Joseph Parke of the North Carolina State Troops, Thomas Watson of the Virginia State Troops, Thomas Holloned of the Virginia State Troops.

In Clay county: James Jewell of the Virginia Militia, Richard Simmins (?) of the Virginia Continentals, Safert Sollers of the Virginia State Troops, Joseph Wills of the Virginia State Troops, William Ross of the Virginia Continentals.

In Cole county: James Moore of the Virginia Militia, William Powell of the North Carolina Militia, John Roberts of the Virginia Militia, Andrew Salisbury of the North Carolina State Troops, Enoch Job of the Virginia Continentals.

In Cooper county: David Allen of the Virginia Militia, George Carr of the Virginia Militia, George Cathey of the North Carolina Militia, John Chilwat of the Pennsylvania Militia, Joseph Dickson of the Virginia Continentals, David Jones of the Virginia Militia, Robert Kilpatrick of the Virginia Militia, James Kelly of the Virginia State Troops, William Campbell of the Virginia Continentals, Edward Robertson of Housegger's German Regiment.

In Crawford county: Thomas Nelson of the Virginia State Troops, William Wright of the Virginia State Troops.

In Franklin county: John Epperson of the Virginia Militia, Leonard Farrar of the North Carolina Militia, Littleberry Hunt of the Virginia Militia, William Mitchell of the Virginia Militia, Hartley Sappington of the Virginia Militia, Russell Twitty of the North Carolina Militia, Charles Whittlesey of the Connecticut State Troops, George Miller of the Pennsylvania Continentals.

In Howard county: Benjamin Cooper, Lieutenant in Virginia-Illinois Regiment, Amos Ashcraft of the Virginia Militia, Abner Chappell of the Virginia Militia, James Calloway of the Virginia Continentals, Joseph Hager of the Pennsylvania Militia, Claiborne Johnson of the Virginia State Troops, William Long of the Virginia State Troops, James Noble of the Virginia Continentals, Edward Williams of the North Carolina Militia, Jesse Walker of the North Carolina Militia, Henry Lynch of the Virginia Continentals.

In Jackson county: William Moore of the Virginia Continentals, Ledston Noland of the North Carolina Militia.

In Jefferson county: James Sturgis of the Virginia-Illinois Regiment, Joseph Bartholomew Herrington of the Pennsylvania Line.

In Lafayette county: James De Master of the Virginia Continentals, Joshua Ferguson of the North Carolina State Troops, James Kincaid of the Virginia Militia, John McLaughlin of the Virginia Continentals, Andrew McGirk of the Virginia Continental line.

Land Company, and in treaty with Governor Miro to secure permission to take possession of the country claimed by his company, which was also claimed by the Spanish officials as lying within the

In Lincoln county: Joseph Brown of the Virginia Continentals, William Butler of the Virginia State Troops, James Cannon of the South Carolina Militia, Thomas Graves of the Virginia Militia, Thomas Hampton of the Maryland Militia, Hezekiah Murphy of the Maryland Militia, Robert McNair of the Pennsylvania Militia, Adam Zumwalt of the Virginia State Troops, John Basco of the North Carolina Continentals, John Chambers of the Virginia Continentals.

In Madison county: William Boren of the South Carolina Militia, Isham Harris of the Virginia Militia, John Reeves of the North Carolina Militia, Jeremiah Robinson of the Virginia Militia, Robert Sinclair of the Virginia Militia, Jacob Stephens of the Virginia Militia.

In Marion county: Michael Burchfield of the North Carolina Militia, Moses Gill of the Maryland State Troops, William Johnson, Sr., of the Virginia Militia, Anderson Long of the Virginia Militia, William Montgomery of the Virginia Continentals, John Wash, Sr., of the Georgia Militia.

In Monroe county: Neilly Bybee of the Virginia Continentals, Samuel Cobb of the Virginia Militia, William Hull of the North Carolina Militia, Jacob Patton of the South Carolina Militia, Daniel Taylor of the Virginia State Troops.

In Montgomery county: Robert R. Felter of the Washington Life Guards, William B. Rice of the Virginia Continentals, Stephen Hancock in Captain John Holder's Company in 1779.

In Morgan county: Benjamin Letchworth of the Virginia Continentals.

In New Madrid county: Conrad Carpenter, Captain of Richard May's Company under command of Colonel John Bowman.

In Perry county: John B. Gough of the Maryland Militia, Casper Hinkle of the North Carolina Militia.

In Pike county: Zachariah Burch of the Maryland Continentals, William Craig of the Virginia Militia, James McElwee of the South Carolina Militia, John Mulheren of the South Carolina Militia, James Mackey of the North Carolina Continentals, William M. Quire of the Virginia Militia, George Reading of the Pennsylvania Militia, David Tomb of the South Carolina Militia, Samuel Watson of the South Carolina Militia, Elijah Hendrick of the Virginia Continentals, in 1819 was 62 years old, served under Washington in New Jersey, under Gen. Sullivan, and was taken prisoner in North Carolina in 1781.

In Pulaski county: John Vest of the Virginia Militia.

In Ralls county: Ignatius Greenwell of the Maryland Militia, Robert Jamison of the Virginia Militia, R. R. Sims of the Virginia Militia, Samuel Turner of the Virginia Militia.

In Randolph county: Leonard Bradley, Lieutenant Virginia State Troops, Edmund Bartlett of the Virginia Militia, Edmund Chapman of the Virginia Militia, James Davis, sergeant of Virginia State Troops, James Fletcher of the Virginia State Troops, Charles Finnell of the Virginia Militia, Nicholas Tuttle of the Virginia Continentals, Bernard Tilley of the North Carolina Militia.

In St. Charles county: Christopher (Stoffle) Zumwalt (Soumwalt) was under the command of Colonel John Bowman in 1778, Matthew Farmer of the Virginia Militia.

In St. Francois county: James Cuningham of the Virginia Militia, James Caldwell of the Virginia Militia, William Murphy of the Virginia Militia, Joseph Murphy, Sr., of the Virginia Militia, William Nicholson of the Pennsylvania Continentals, Thomas Arman of the Virginia Continentals.

In St. Louis county: William Berry of the Virginia Continentals, John Cuningham of the Pennsylvania Continentals (lived near Joseph Conway), Zacharia Cross of the North Carolina Militia, Francis Hickman of the Penn-

limits of the jurisdiction of Spain. Nogales, where Vicksburg now stands, was the place where O'Fallon proposed to plant a colony under Spanish protection.[64]

sylvania Continentals, David Musick of the North Carolina Militia, Abram Musick of Albemarle county, Virginia, a spy in the Revolutionary war on the frontiers of North Carolina, was the father of David Musick. Thomas Mathias Rose of the Virginia State Troops, Daniel Applegate of the North Carolina Continentals, Robert Blackwell of the Virginia Continentals, James Little of the Pennsylvania Continentals, Thomas Wyatt of the Pennsylvania Continentals, Joseph Conway, served in the Indian wars during the Revolution; Thomas R. Musick of the North Carolina Troops. Stephen Hempstead of the Connecticut Continentals, came to St. Louis in 1811; born May 6, 1754, in New London, Conn.; died in 1831 in St. Louis; joined the Revolutionary army at the breaking out of the war; was with the first troops at Boston; under arms in New York; heard the Declaration of Independence read while under arms with the troops; was in the forlorn hope that attacked the British frigate in New York harbor; was at the retreat from Long Island, and closed his military career at Fort Trumbull, where he was bayonetted and received many wounds, and by accident escaped being dumped into the river as dead.

In Saline county: Isham Brown of the Virginia Continentals, Benjamin Chambers of the Virginia Continentals, Benjamin A. Cooper of the New York State Troops

In Ste. Genevieve county: Jean Beauvais St. Gem of the French Company, enlisted after the conquest of Kaskaskia by General Clark, Major John Dodge of the Virginia-Illinois Regiment and who removed to New Bourbon shortly after the Revolutionary war and died there, Captain François Charleville, who commanded the French Company organized at Kaskaskia, Jean B. Janice (Janis) Ensign of this Company, died in 1802 on his way from Ste. Genevieve to New Orleans, Peter Hildebrant of Pennsylvania, served in Virginia-Illinois Regiment under General George Rogers Clark; came from Monongahela to the Falls of the Ohio in 1776, then to Fort Jefferson; was killed by the Osages. John Hildebrant, a brother of Peter.—Draper's Notes, vol. 24, p. 151, et seq. To these names may be added that of LaPlante and Dufore, who piloted General George Rogers Clark from the Ohio river to Kaskaskia; both died in Ste. Genevieve, LaPlante in 1812 and Dufore in 1835.

In Warren county: Benjamin Sharp of the Virginia Militia, John Wyatt of the North Carolina State Troops, William Ward of the Pennsylvania State Troops.

In Wayne county: David Strickland, sergeant in Virginia Continentals. Also through John Scott, delegate of the Territory, Thos. Wyatt and James Little, soldiers of the Revolution, ask for a land bounty.

[64] Dr. James O'Fallon was born at Athlone, Ireland, came to America before the Revoluion and served as Surgeon in the Continental army. He married Miss Frances Clark, the youngest sister of Gen. George Rogers Clark in 1790, but died at Louisville in 1793, leaving two sons, John O'Fallon and Benjamin O'Fallon. John O'Fallon attended school at Danville, Kentucky, and in 1810 went to Louisville to complete his education, and with his brother Benjamin he afterward came to St. Louis and lived with his guardian, Gov. William Clark. In 1811 John O'Fallon marched with the Kentucky volunteers to the Indian towns on the Wabash river, and was wounded at the battle of Tippecanoe. In 1813 he was appointed Ensign in the army; and later was promoted to 2d Lieutenant, and then 1st Lieutenant and Captain. He resigned in 1818, moved to St. Louis and became an army contractor and sutler. He amassed a great fortune, principally by investing in St. Louis real estate. He was a man of great public spirit. He died at the age of 74. In 1821 he married Miss Harriet Stokes, who died in 1826 and subsequently he married Miss Caroline Sheets, from Baltimore. His brother Benjamin O'Fallon was Indian agent and was with Long in 1819 on his expedition to the Rocky mountains.

John McClellan, famous as an Indian scout, was among the pioneers of territorial Missouri. Together with Crooks he made the celebrated trip across the Rocky mountains, which has been forever embalmed in the classic pages of Irving. McClellan was general master of pack-horses of General George Rogers Clark's army, and afterward served under Anthony Wayne. It is said that he lies buried in the old Cape Girardeau graveyard, but no stone marks his last resting place.

William Neeley, a son-in-law of Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, celebrated in the annals of Tennessee, settled in Cape Girardeau district in 1810, and before he came to Missouri was famous as an Indian fighter. He was one of the early members of the territorial council of Missouri.

A notable resident of territorial Missouri was John McKenzie, who took up his residence in Jackson, but while temporarily absent from home died at Arkansas Post, at eighty years of age. McKenzie was a Scotchman by birth, and at the time of his death the last remaining adventurer who accompanied the celebrated Captain John Cook on his voyage around the world. He came to the United States about 1770, and first lived in Georgia, but after the acquisition of Louisiana removed to Jackson.

Another celebrated character among the early settlers of Missouri was Russell Farnham, who first appears in history as a clerk in the employ of Astor and Company in New York. As agent of this firm in about 1817 he came to St. Louis and here he died in 1832. He was one of the Astorians who sailed for the mouth of the Columbia in the Tonquin in 1811. His life on the Pacific coast was full of adventure. Ramsey Crooks said of Farnham's life on the Columbia that "he underwent greater privations than any half dozen of us." He was one of those who captured a number of deserters in the fall of 1811. He was in the party which included Reed, the man who carried the bright tin box which excited the cupidity of the Indians, and participated in the fight at the Dalles of the Columbia when the tin box was stolen. He was at Spokane and helped to build the fort there, and spent the winter of 1812-13 among the Flatheads. It was Farnham to whom fate assigned the duty of executing the Indian whom Clark ordered to be hanged for theft in June, 1813. After the downfall of Astoria he sailed with Hunt in the brig Pedlar in the spring of 1814. Farnham was landed on the coast of Kamchatka with instructions to get to New York, while Hunt continued his

journey by water. In his "Narrative," Franchère[65] says: "Mr. Farnham accomplished the journey, reached Hamburg, whence he sailed for the West Indies, and finally arrived at New York, having made the entire circuit of the globe."[66]

As if the achievement of Farnham in making his way alone across Siberia and Russia were not remarkable enough, romance has played her part, and made of this feat a superhuman performance. With some variation the story has become traditional that Farnham walked from St. Louis to St. Petersburg, crossing Bering Strait on the ice.[67]

Among other territorial residents we also find Sylvester Pattie and his son James O. Pattie, famous as hunters and trappers. The father, Sylvester Pattie, came to the territory from Kentucky during the war of 1812 and settled in the St. Charles district, at that time the scene of the predatory excursions of the Indians. He was ap-

[65] Franchère's Narrative, p. 370.

[66] When the American Fur Company began to regain its business on the Missouri after the War of 1812, Farnham was sent by Astor to St. Louis, where he became a valiant worker for supremacy in the fur trade. In 1829 Farnham married Miss Susan Bosseron, daughter of Charles Bosseron and Therese Brazeau Bosseron. He died of cholera at St. Louis, October 30, 1832. His wife died a few days before him, leaving a little son, Charles, who lived to the age of eighteen and died of consumption. In a letter to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., written in New York in the fall of 1832, Ramsey Crooks said: "Poor Farnham; he has paid the debt of nature after a life of uncommon activity and endless exposure. Peace to his manes! He was one of the best meaning but the most sanguine men I almost ever met. During all the ravages of the pestilence here, and the unexpected rapidity with which some of my friends were hurried to their long account, I never felt anything like the sensation I experienced upon hearing of my honest friend's death, for I did not know he was at St. Louis, and thought him safe in some part of the wilderness."

[67] This is the story as given by Elihu Shepard in his "History of St. Louis," page 51, et seq., though Shepard states that he was obliged to rely upon "tradition, his own knowledge, and the public journals of those days" for the statements made. Shepard says that Farnham was a native of New Hampshire, and that he was accompanied by his dog on the perilous journey on foot and alone from St. Louis to St. Petersburg. In his "Personal Recollections," page 163, John F. Darby says that Farnham was born in Massachusetts, that he went in the Tonquin from New York to Astoria, and from there by way of Bering Strait to Siberia and thence to St. Petersburg, carrying drafts to the amount of forty thousand dollars on his person. In his list of passengers on the Tonquin Franchère mentions "Russell Farnham, of Massachusetts." Captain H. M. Chittenden in his "American Fur Trade of the Far West" calls Farnham a "Green Mountain Boy." An interesting statement is made by Shepard, page 52, in regard to the evidence of Farnham's journey: "The exact date of his departure and arrival at the different points of his long journey were carefully noted by him, as well as the remarkable incidents and observations on the route, in a well kept journal, prepared for publication, and was placed in the hands of a publisher in New York, who failed and died several years before Colonel Farnham, and he was never able to recover the journal or learn of its fate." It is told by members of the Bosseron family yet living that Charles Farnham, the young son, had planned to go to New York in quest of this journal, but failed to do so because of failing health.

pointed Lieutenant of a company of Rangers and in 1813 for a short time was in command of the fort at Cap-au-Gris. While in command there he was surrounded by the Indians and the ammunition of his troop becoming exhausted, disguised as a British soldier he managed to pass through the Indians and secured relief. He was mustered out of service in 1813 and then removed to the Gasconade river, where he established a saw and grist mill, an enterprise which proved profitable. At that time the demand for lumber was large and constantly increasing and he rafted the product of his mill by river to St. Louis. His wife died while he lived on the Gasconade. This caused him to become despondent and dissatisfied and he was seized with the wandering and adventurous spirit inherited from his fathers, among the first who had crossed the Appalachian range and settled west of the mountains. Accordingly he resolved to engage in trading, hunting and trapping on the headwaters of the Missouri. In 1824 we find him in St. Louis purchasing an outfit for this enterprise. He embarked all his means in this expedition, enlisted five men, packed ten horses with traps, ammunition, knives, tomahawks, provisions, blankets and arms, but so dangerous did even at that time the enterprise appear to the adventurous spirits then generally congregated around and near St. Louis that he could not engage more men to go with him. His son James, although a mere youth insisted on accompanying him and reluctantly he consented to allow him to go. Starting from St. Louis, he went to Newport, now Dundee, on the Missouri river, where he crossed over to the north side, and reached Pilcher's fort, or Bellevue, about nine miles above the mouth of the Platte, losing one man by desertion near Chariton. When he arrived at Council Bluffs, then a military station, the commanding officer would not allow him to go up the Missouri to trade as he originally intended, because he had not secured a trading permit. He then changed his course to New Mexico, and the southwest. His son James in his "Personal Narrative," edited by Rev. Timothy Flint has preserved for us the story of the long series of incidents and trials of their adventures. They had not proceeded far in a southwest direction, when near the first Pawnee villages they fell in with the caravan of Bernard Pratte, then one of the first merchants of St. Louis, consisting of about 116 men, in charge of his son, and on the way to Santa Fe to trade, and of this caravan Sylvester Pattie on account of his experience in Indian warfare soon was made chief commander. Frequently attacked,

always while on the plains in peril, this caravan finally reached and crossed the mountains and descended into the valley of Taos and marched into Santa Fe. Here young Pattie says he rendered service to the Governor by rescuing his daughter from Indian captivity, and under permit from the Mexicans the Patties went to the Gila river, visiting the copper mines of Santa Rita, the first Americans that appeared in that then far away region. They returned to Santa Fe, and here the elder Pattie resolved to go to Santa Rita and engage in working the valuable copper mines. He repulsed the attacks made upon him there by the Apaches and made great profits, but his son James would not remain and again visited the Gila, and from the mouth of this river went up the Colorado, and was among the first Americans to behold the great canyons of this river. He crossed the continental divide, once more hunted buffalo on the plains, went to the Big Horn and the Yellowstone and striking the headwaters of the Arkansas followed this stream to the Santa Fe trail, returned to Santa Fe and thence to his father at Santa Rita. From there went to Sonora and Chihuahua. Upon his return from this trip he found that his father had lost his profits in his mining operations and both then started out again west with a number of followers to the Gila, followed that river to the Colorado and thence down the Colorado to the barren and desert waste of sand and tidal waters of the Gulf. Unable to return on account of the swift current of the Colorado they struck across the deserts lying between the mouth of the river and California and after much hardship and great suffering they and their companions arrived at the Dominican Missions near San Diego, but their ragged and emaciated appearance did not inspire much confidence and they were arrested as suspects and imprisoned in San Diego and in prison the elder Pattie died after a life of ceaseless activity worn out by hardship, December 28, 1828. His son was retained in prison for sometime, but became interpreter and finally was released on parole and because it was ascertained that he knew how to vaccinate was sent along the coast to vaccinate the inhabitants. He traveled along the coast of California from mission to mission, visited San Francisco, then went to the Russian port at the Bay of Bodega, and was in Monterey in 1829 in time to participate in the Solis revolt. From there he went to the city of Mexico to secure compensation for his losses suffered by his imprisonment at San Diego. In this he was unsuccessful and returned via Vera Cruz to New Orleans. From there he went to

Kentucky to visit his relatives. Afterward he returned to California where it is supposed he finally died. The Patties, father and son, were among the first Missourians, by adoption, who traversed the country west of the Mississippi, scaled the Rocky mountains, explored the high plateau and followed the rivers that empty their waters into the Pacific.

Joseph Reddeford Walker, famous as trapper, hunter, guide and explorer, and whose name has thus become identified forever with the history of the west, like many others resided for a time in territorial Missouri, became an adopted citizen and filled an official position in the state, that of sheriff, and then impelled by that resistless impulse, which seems to have taken possession of the minds of so many adventurous spirits of the times, he sought the farther west, the mountains, the streams and passes that led to the Pacific, never ceasing in his wanderings until he reached the shores of the ocean. Walker was a native of Goochland county, Virginia. In early youth he moved to Tennessee and from that state in 1818 came to the Missouri territory. Here he remained until 1831 when he engaged in a trading and trapping expedition to the headwaters of the Missouri and thereafter his active life was spent in the plains and mountains and thus his name has become inseparably connected with the explorations across the mountains to the western ocean. "Walker river," "Walker lake" and the "Walker pass" derive their names from him. In 1833 he first crossed the Sierras and came to California, starting from Salt Lake he on this trip discovered "Walker lake" and "Walker river." In 1834, having remained during the winter in Monterey, he returned by way of "Walker's pass." In 1841 we find him at Los Angeles where he traded horses, having gone to southern California from New Mexico. In 1845 he piloted the Chiles party, consisting of 50 persons from Missouri to California, meeting this caravan at Fort Laramie. This was the first wagon train attempting to cross the plains and mountains to California. Chiles took with him from Missouri a complete sawmill which he expected to erect on the Sacramento, but was compelled to bury on the way and to finally abandon his wagons before he accomplished the trip. For 20 years thereafter, Walker continued to trap and hunt in the mountains. He piloted Fremont's third expedition across the mountains to the Pacific and which gave Fremont errone-

JOS. R. WALKER

ously the name of "Pathfinder." Walker finally settled down with a nephew (James T.) in Contra Costa county, California, in 1876 and died there 76 years old. His brother Joel P. Walker, almost equally as famous in the early western history, was born in 1797 and from Virginia moved to Tennessee and from there came to Missouri. At the age of 17 he was under Jackson in the Seminole war. In 1818–19 he settled in Howard county where he married Miss Mary Young. In 1820 he was engaged in the Santa Fe trade with Cooper and others. In 1840 he went with his wife and five children overland to Oregon and from Oregon in 1841 came to California. His wife was the first white woman who came overland to California and settled north of the Bay of San Francisco.[68]

[68] Joseph J. Monroe, a brother of President Monroe, was one of the first settlers of Howard county, arriving there in 1819. He was a widower at the time of his arrival, and in 1820 married Mrs. Hulda Davis, a daughter of one of the earliest Baptist preachers of North Missouri, Elder Hubbard. Monroe died July 6, 1824, and says the "Intelligencer," was "a man of warm heart, of undoubted integrity, of polished education and inestimable worth." The first clerk of Chariton county was his son-in-law.

A brother of Chief-justice Taney, named Mathew Taney, settled in Potosi, Washington county, and died there. A brother of Hugh L. White, long a distinguished senator from Tennessee, lived and died in the same county.

Among those who accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition, John Colter, (Coalter, or Coulter) has perhaps gained the widest and most enduring celebrity, as the discoverer of the Yellowstone Park. In 1811 Colter lived on Boeuf creek, near the house of Sullens, in St. Louis county, and here Bradbury the distinguished botanist met him, on his trip to the Rocky Mountains, and obtained a knowledge of the Yellowstone region and the incidents of his life he narrates. Colter in 1807, as he was about to return to civilization, met a brigade of the Missouri Fur Company and was persuaded to return with this company to the Yellowstone river, and in the summer following was the first white man to cross what is now the Yellowstone National Park. He was a native of Virginia and from that state moved to Kentucky, where he enlisted in 1803 in the Lewis and Clark corps. On the return of the expedition at Fort Mandan he obtained his discharge and in company with a man named Dixon, who alone had gone as far as the headwaters of the Missouri, engaged in trapping, and after a time separated from him and together with another man named Potts hunted beaver in the Blackfeet country, but afraid of the hostility of these Indians they set their traps at night. However, finally both were captured by the Blackfeet, principally because Potts would not follow the advice of Colter. In the incidents immediately following their capture, Potts was killed, but not before he shot an Indian with his rifle. After this, Bradbury says these Indians "seized Colter, stripped him naked, and began to consult on the manner in which he should be put to death. They were first inclined to set him up as a mark to shoot at; but the chief interfered, and seizing him by by the shoulder, asked if he could run fast. Colter, who had been some time amongst the Kee-kat-sa or Crow Indians, had in a considerable degree acquired the Blackfoot language, and was also well acquainted with Indian customs. He knew that he had now to run for his life, with the dreadful odds of five and six hundred against him, and those armed Indians; therefore cunningly replied that he was a very bad runner, although he was considered by the hunters as remarkably swift. The chief now commanded the party to remain stationary, and led Colter out on the prairie three or four hundred yards, and released him, bidding him to save himself if he could." In this race Colter

But long before the Patties and Walker went westward, as early as 1807, Ezekiel Williams with a company of twenty men, left St. Louis intending to cross the Rocky mountains and go overland to the Pacific. This Ezekiel Williams afterward in 1820 lived on the Missouri five miles above Franklin and from his residence Wm. Becknell started with the first trading party to Santa Fe. The story of Williams' venture has been published under the name of "The Lost Trappers," by David H. Coyner, embellished no doubt by the fancy of the author. The party according to this narrative left St. Louis and reached the Yellowstone, and trapped and hunted along that river for beaver, but one of the hunting parties consisting of ten men fell in with the Blackfeet Indians and in an engagement five men were killed. Owing to the extreme danger, Williams concluded to turn south, where he met and was received in a friendly manner by the Crows. Here he remained for a time, and then going farther south hunted and trapped for beaver on the headwaters of the Platte in the direction of the South Pass, but one of his men named Rose remained with the Crows. While on the Platte he was attacked by the Crows, who seem to have become unfriendly, and he lost five more of his men. The remaining nine men now concluded since they had also lost their horses to cache their furs and other things too heavy to carry. Going still farther south they wandered among the headwaters of the Colorado and one by one were cut off until only Williams, Workman [69] and Spencer remained, and to

successfully escaped the Indians, but his situation was nevertheless dreadful, because he was completely naked, under a burning sun, and the soles of his feet were entirely filled with the thorns of the prickly pear. He was hungry, and had no means of killing game, although he saw abundance around him, and was at least seven days' journey from Lisa's fort on the Big Horn branch of the Roche Jaune river. "These were circumstances," says Bradbury, "under which almost any man but an American hunter would have despaired." But he arrived at the fort in seven days, having subsisted on a root much esteemed by the Indians of the Missouri, now known by naturalists as *Psoralea esculenta* (Bradbury's Travels, p. 40). After his remarkable escape Colter remained in the upper Missouri country for some time longer, but in 1810 came down in a little canoe a distance of three thousand miles to St. Louis, having traversed this immense distance in 30 days. From St. Louis he removed to Boeuf creek in St. Louis county, where he married. His nearest neighbors were the Sullens, and here Bradbury met him and obtained the story of his discovery of the Yellowstone Park and the petrified woods there, and the story of his race for his life. Colter, it seems, died in St. Louis county in 1813; no doubt his death was hastened by the hardships he endured. From the Missouri Gazette it appears that his estate was administered in St. Louis county, and some of the papers relating to it have recently been found by Judge Douglass in the old records of the city.

[69] The name of a saddler and harness maker of Franklin, in Howard county, under whom Kit Carson served as apprentice.

add to the trouble of these survivors, they quarreled among themselves and Williams separated from them. He found a stream which he supposed to be the Red river, but which he afterward found was the Arkansas, and going down that stream in a canoe met some Osage Indians, who gave him the direction to go to Fort Osage after having taken his skins. When he arrived at the Fort which had just been established, he fortunately found the factor Sibley about to pay the Osage Indians their annuities, and made known the robbery and they were compelled to restore the furs. Workman and Spencer, after they separated from Williams, also found the Arkansas and which they too thought was the Red river and following the river found the trail of Pike's expedition, and finally became entangled in the mountains. They saw Pike's Peak and say that it seemed to them "so high that the clouds could not pass between its top and the sky." They now endeavored to reach Santa Fe and came across a plain trail and a few days afterward met a Mexican caravan on the way to Los Angeles, which they joined and thus reached the Pacific. The following year they returned to Santa Fe and here they remained for fifteen years. Williams in 1809 organized a party in Missouri and went back to the mountains and secured the furs he had cached. Many of the details of Coyner's little volume no doubt are fictitious, but perhaps in its main features this narrative is true. At any rate, we find a part of it confirmed in a most unexpected manner. Col. John Shaw in his "Narrative" says, that in 1808 he, Peter Spear and William Miller, all names well known in Cape Girardeau county, resolved to push "into the western wilderness" as far as the Pacific ocean; that they began their march from the extreme western limits of the Cape Girardeau District on the St. François river, following a route about on the 36½ parallel. He says, that they crossed the Black river, and then a branch of White river to which he gave the name "Current" and a name "which it has since retained" and afterward crossed Spring river. Shaw and his two men then crossed the main fork of White river and continued to go westwardly until they reached the prairie country. He says they journeyed 800 or 1,000 miles from the settlements, that he met a number of friendly Indians and had no trouble with them, encountered vast herds of buffalo and occasionally herds of wild horses, and came in view of the spurs of the Rocky mountains. "In this region," continues Shaw, "we one day during the summer met three men, who proved to be the only survivors of a party of some fifteen trappers, who had penetrated up the Missouri, when in two

savage attacks by the Indians all the others were slain, and these survivors were now directing their course to the Arkansas river, and admonished us to desist our further journey westward." Thus Shaw clearly confirms at least that part of Coyner's narrative relating to the three survivors, Williams, Workman and Spencer, then wandering on the plains eastward, intending to reach the settlements. Shaw and his men, however, did not carry out their purpose. Shortly after they left the three trappers, they saw some Comanche Indians chasing wild horses, just in time to conceal themselves, and this view of these Indians undoubtedly so deeply impressed them with the folly and madness to attempt to reach the Pacific that they then and there abandoned their purpose. Returning down the Arkansas, between that river and the Kansas and Missouri, they hunted and trapped beaver and bear, in the fall of 1809 and in 1810. In 1811 they concluded to return with the proceeds of their hunt, amounting to 50 beaver and otter skins, three hundred bear skins and eight hundred gallons of bear's oil, which they carried in sacks of bears' skins on horseback to the White river and thence in a pirogue to New Orleans.[70]

Andrew Henry, "Major Henry of the Mines," also should not be forgotten as one of the earliest explorers and adventurers of the Rocky mountains. He was a native of Fayette county, Pennsylvania, born in about 1775 and came to upper Louisiana during the Spanish domination, lived first at Ste. Genevieve, and then settled in the mineral district. Here he must have acquired some property, because in 1808 he became one of the original partners of the Missouri Fur Company, his other partners being Benjamin Wilkinson, Pierre Chouteau, junior, Auguste Chouteau, junior, Reuben Lewis, a brother of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, afterward Governor of the Missouri Territory, Sylvestre Labadie, of St. Louis, Pierre Menard, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, and William Morrison of Kaskaskia, and Dennis Fitzpatrick of Louisville, Kentucky. This company possessed for that time a large capital and all the partners pledged themselves to go and remain for a certain time in the Indian country. The expedition of the company started from St. Louis in 1809, with 150 men, all well armed, accompanied by all the partners. Without any serious trouble the party reached the Rocky mountains and at or near the mouth of the Three Forks, erected a fort. For a time everything looked as if the venture would prove very profitable; beaver were found in abundance and the

[70] Wis. Hist. Collection, vol. 2, p. 199-200.

Indians appeared friendly. Fortune seemed to smile on the adventurers. But suddenly all this changed and the Blackfeet Indians opened a relentless war, making it impossible for small parties of trappers to go out to catch beaver, and which alone made the financial success of the enterprise possible. A number of trappers going out in small parties were cut off and killed, among them George Drouillard,[71] who had been interpreter and hunter with Lewis and Clark and was the best hunter, woodsman, and shot of that expedition. The difficulties daily increasing, the other partners and many of the men returned to the settlements and Henry was left in command to bear the brunt of the terrible struggle with these Blackfeet Indians. He successfully held the fort and repelled repeated attacks, but it was impossible to trap or hunt with any safety and Henry lost thirty men of his party during the winter. In 1810 he abandoned the fort at Three Forks and moved south across the Continental divide, and established a small stockade on the north fork of Snake river, still known as Henry Fork, and in making this change lost a part of his horses and men by an attack of the Crow Indians. This stockade fort was the first American trading post erected in the valley of the Columbia west of the Continental divide. In 1811, unable to hold out any longer, Henry and his little band separated, all endeavoring to reach as best they could the frontier settlements. Henry himself recrossed the mountains, going probably down the Yellowstone to the Missouri. On the Missouri he met Lisa who had gone up the river to meet him. After this ill-fated enterprise, Henry returned to Potosi and there doubtless became acquainted with Ashley. At any rate we find that in 1822 he and Ashley obtained a license to trade on the upper Missouri and accordingly advertised for 100 young men "to ascend the Missouri river to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years." Persons desiring to know particulars, were referred to "Major Andrew Henry, near the lead mines in the county of Washington, who will ascend with and command the party." Their plan was to ascend to Three Forks and exploit the fur business there. The expedition started in April but again bad luck seemed to follow Henry in his footsteps, because near Fort

[71] He was master "of the common language of gesticulation." On one of his trips to the mountains with a trading expedition of Lisa, when an engagé named Antoine Bissonette deserted, Lisa ordered him to bring him back dead or alive. Drouillard overtook the deserter and shot and wounded him severely. In the following year on their return, he and Lisa were both tried for murder before Judge Lucas. But the jury found them not guilty. Evidently a man who took things seriously, this Drouillard.

Osage one of his keel-boats with a cargo estimated to be worth $10,000 sank by striking a snag, and all the goods on board were lost, the men only being saved with difficulty. But this disaster did not stop the progress of the party and Henry reached the mouth of the Yellowstone, where he built a fort and passed the winter. In the following spring he started out for the Blackfoot country, but was attacked by these Indians near the Great Falls and forced to return. In the meantime, Ashley had ascended the river with more goods and stopping at a village of the Aricaras was treacherously attacked by them and barely escaped destruction. He sent for Henry, who had fortunately returned to the mouth of the Yellowstone, and at once with his force he came to his relief. An army force now came up the river under Leavenworth, and after the close of this campaign against these Indians, Ashley dispatched Henry with 80 men back to the Yellowstone, but here he was again attacked and harassed by the Indians. In the fall of 1823, he dispatched a party under Provost to the southwest. This party discovered the South pass. In 1824 Henry took a large consignment of beaver furs that had been collected in spite of these adverse circumstances, to St. Louis, and so promising did the venture then appear, that he immediately returned up the river equipped with new goods. But this is the last mention of Henry's name in connection with the fur trade.

He returned from the upper Missouri, perhaps after settling with Ashley, and spent the remainder of his days in Washington county. It is a matter of family tradition that he was very successful in the fur trade with Ashley, yet at the time of his death he was a poor man. He labored in the shallow mines between Potosi and Caledonia. In about 1818 he married a daughter of Patrick Fleming, one of the original owners of the Mine á Joe.[72] He died in February, 1833, near Webster, now Palmer, in Washington county. It is said that he was intemperate and which may account for some of his ill-fortune on his expeditions.

[72] He married after his return from his first trip to the Rocky mountains. His children were respectively named: Jane, Patrick, Mary, and George.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The War of 1812 — Hostility of Indians to American Settlers Incited by British Agents — Indians Supplied with Arms and Ammunition by British Agents — Indian Depredations Prior to the War — Indian Raid on Loutre Island, 1810 — Pursuing Party almost Annihilated by Indians — Friendly and Hostile Tribes — Declaration of War, and Renewed Activity of British Agents — Black Hawk Attacks Ft. Madison — Joins British Expedition — Preparations for War — Enrollment of Militia — Roster of Officers of Militia, 1812-14 — First U. S. Recruiting Office West of the Mississippi — Indian Atrocities, 1812 — Fort-building — Narrative of Col. John Shaw — Indians more Hostile, 1813 — Citizens Resolve to Fortify St. Louis — Volunteer Companies, Expeditions and Engagements — General Howard's Expedition in Illinois — Missouri Troops Swim the Mississippi — Indian Hostilities on the Missouri River — Capture of French Trading Boat — Conflicts with Predatory Indian Bands — Captain Cooper Killed in 1814 by Indians — Troops of General Dodge Swim the Missouri River — Capture of the Miamis — General Dodge Quells a Mutiny and Prevents Massacre of Indian Captives — Death of James Callaway — Indian Attack on Roy's Fort — Explosion of the Block-house Magazine — Black Hawk's Relentless Indian War Along the Mississippi, 1814 — Disaster to Lieutenant Campbell's Expedition — Timely Arrival of a Gunboat — Black Hawk Repulses Major Zachary Taylor—Indians Greatly Emboldened — Black Hawk's Account of a Bloody Episode — Butchery of the Ramsay Family in St. Charles County — Five White Men Ambushed and Tomahawked — Black Hawk and Band Surrounded in the "Sink-hole"— Account of the Battle of the Sink-hole — Death of Captain Craig, and Lieutenant Spears — Black Hawk and Band Escape by Strategy — Indians on Warpath after Conclusion of Peace — Volunteer Regiment from Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis Counties — Expedition up the Mississippi and Through Illinois — List of Forts Erected During the War of 1812 in Missouri Territory — Scarcity of Horses after the War.

Several years before the war of 1812 the British agents along the lakes and in the Northwest industriously fomented dissatisfaction among the Indians; consequently they were restless even before the declaration of war, dissatisfied and openly hostile. Frequently these Indians, between 1809 and 1812, visited the British agents on the lakes, and by them were generally supplied with rifles and fusils, powder and lead, and liberally with almost everything else they needed.[1] In 1810 a roving band of about eight Pottowatomies led by

[1] As early as 1808 the subagent on the Missouri wrote General Clark, Superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, that the Indians had fired upon one John Rufty about six miles above Fort Osage and killed him. Nicolas Jarrot, in 1809 made an affidavit that the British agents were stirring up the Indians at that place and on the frontiers of Canada, but this statement was denied by two of these British agents. The Osages and Iowas too were on the warpath in 1810 and some of the Osages were killed not far from the present city of Liberty in that year.

a war-chief named Nessotinaineg,[2] stole a number of horses from the settlers of Loutre island on the Missouri, and a volunteer company was raised, consisting of Stephen Cole, William Temple Cole, Sarshall Brown, Nicholas Gooch, Abram Patton and James Moredock, of which Stephen Cole, then captain of the militia of Loutre island, was leader, to follow them and recapture the property. Following the Indians up the main Loutre creek about twenty miles they came to a place where the Indians had peeled bark, evidently to make halters, and stopped for the night on the Indian trail. Next morning they followed this trail about thirty miles across Grand Prairie when suddenly they discovered the Indians with the horses just as they emerged from a small patch of timber. W. T. Cole and Sarshall Brown, on the fastest horses, started in pursuit, the others following them; and so hot did they crowd the Indians, who did not know the number of whites pursuing them, that apprehensive they might be captured they threw their packs into a plum thicket near a pond of water, and scattered in the woods. These packs, consisting of buffalo robes, deer skins and partly tanned leather, they had stolen from Sarshall Brown. Night overtaking the pursuing party they went into camp at a place known as Bonelick, on the waters of Salt river, 65 miles from the Loutre settlement, about a mile or two northwest of the present city of Mexico in what is now Audrian county, and here contrary to the advice of their leader Stephen Cole, without posting any sentinels they tied their horses in the thicket, and after broiling some meat at a little fire for supper, went to sleep, with the exception of Stephen Cole, who was apprehensive of an attack. They had not been asleep long when Cole thought he heard the cracking of a bush and told his brother Temple to get up, that he believed the "Indians are about," but everything remaining still, and Stephen Cole just having pulled his saddle against his back and shoulders, the Indians who had crawled up so close that by the light of the little camp fire they could see their unsuspecting victims, opened a volley upon the party, instantly killing Gooch and Brown, wounding Patton and Temple Cole. A hand to hand struggle then took place between the Indians and Stephen Cole, in which he killed four of the Indians, when the remaining members of the band disappeared. Stephen Cole went into the near-by pond and squatted in the water to cool off and to quench the flow of blood from the many wounds

[2] 11 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 320.

he had received. After a little while the Indians returned, found Temple Cole who had crawled away from the scene of carnage, and killed him; and Patton who had managed to get off some distance also was afterward found dead near a little sapling. Stephen Cole, after stanching the flow of blood from his wounds, left the scene of the bloody encounter, and next morning after he had gone about two or three miles sat down on a small gopher hill to rest when he discovered two mounted Indians some distance away, who eyed him for a few minutes, then wheeled their horses and disappeared. He reached the settlement on the third day nearly famished, not having had a morsel to eat during all this time. Moredock escaped unhurt, and it was afterward charged that if he had acted with one half the bravery of Stephen Cole the Indians would have been defeated. Samuel Cole, a son of William Temple Cole, says that the Indians did not scalp the whites, peace then being supposed to prevail between the Indians and settlers.[3] This skirmish proved the beginning of the Indian troubles on the Missouri river. It is possible that this band of Pottowatomies had been on the warpath against the Osages, and since the war trail from the Pottowatomie country led to the mouth of the Gasconade, near which Loutre island is situated in the Missouri river, the temptation as they returned home to steal some of the horses of the new white settlers, who had just located on the island must have been too great for the Indians. At any rate, it is not said that they did any personal injury to any of the settlers, and which if they had really been bent on mischief, they undoubtedly would have perpetrated.[4]

[3] Stephen and William Temple Cole, born on New River, Wythe county, Virginia; married there sisters named Allison; emigrated to the south fork of the Cumberland, Wayne county, Kentucky; in 1807 came to upper Louisiana; settled on Loutre Island; about the time the Coopers settled on this island, and afterward when they went to the Boonslick country also moved there.— Draper's Notes, vol. 23, pp. 65 to 81. inclusive. Stephen was with Dodge's expedition up the Missouri. James Cole, a son of Stephen, says that in this fight on Bonelick Stephen Cole received 26 wounds, and that on his way home he chewed up some elm bark and placed it on his wounds. He was killed by Indians about 1822 on the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite El Paso. Cole was a large, strong, uneducated frontiersman and Indian fighter. Cole served subsequently as a member of the legislature, and on one occasion, when two members of the legislature after adjournment — who had been engaged in a heated debate during the session — engaged in a fight and clinched, Governor McNair, who happened to be present, tried to separate them, but Cole seized the governor and pulled him away, saying, "In such a scrimmage a governor is no more than any other man."— Draper's Notes, vol. 8, pp. 312, 313. Peck says that he became a pioneer in the Santa Fe trade and "was killed by the redskins on the plains." Annals of The West, p. 753.

[4] Life of John Mason Peck, p. 136.

Brackenridge says that on his trip up the Missouri, in 1811, he met a man who was captain of the militia, who told him that in the previous summer the Indians had committed robberies in the settlements, and that he pursued them and narrowly escaped; that the Indians attacked his party in the night time and killed one of his men after a desperate resistance.[5] This may be another version of the same skirmish in which William Temple Cole was killed. Brackenridge does not give the name of this captain of the militia, but says that "he seemed to possess no small measure of pride and self-importance, which, as I afterwards discovered, arose from his being captain of the militia." It is more than probable that this captain was Stephen Cole. He claimed then that he had two hundred and fifty men on his muster roll.[6]

During this year a delegation of the Saukees and Renards (Foxes) had a meeting with General Clark, in St. Louis, and assured him that they were peaceably inclined. Quashquama in his speech to Clark, said "My father, I left my home to see my great-grandfather (the President of the United States) but as I can not proceed to see him, I give you my hand as to himself. I have no father to whom I have paid any attention, but yourself. If you hear anything I hope you will let me know, and I will do the same. I have been advised several times to raise the tomahawk. Since the last war we have looked upon the Americans as friends, and I shall hold you fast by the hand. The Great Spirit has not put us on the earth to war with the whites; we have never struck a white man; if we go to war it is with red flesh. Other nations send belts among us and urge us to war; they say if we do not, in less than eight years the Americans will encroach on us and drive us off of our lands."[7] In 1812, however, the Great and Little Osages and representatives of the Saukees and Renards residing on the west side of the Mississippi, led by Quashquama and others, Shawnees and Delawares, met in St. Louis to accompany Governor Clark to Washington. This may be here observed, that the Saukees and Renards of Quashquama's band at no time during the war of 1812 participated in hostilities; on the other hand the Saukees and Renards residing on the east side near the mouth of Rock river, were conspicuous by their hostile activity.

Toward the close of 1811 the Indians killed the Neal (or O'Neill)

[5] Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri river in 1818, p. 21.

[6] Brackenridge's Journal, p. 21.

[7] Beck's Gazeteer of Missouri, p. 217.

family, living on the Mississippi near the mouth of Salt river. Hostile Indian parties, presumably Pottowatomies, Winnebagos and Rock river Saukees and Renards, lurked around Fort Mason, which had been erected early in 1812 for the protection of the settlers, by Governor Howard, on the Mississippi river fifteen miles above the mouth of Salt river not far from the present site of Hannibal, and named so in honor of Lieutenant Mason, of Colonel Kibby's Rangers of St. Charles. Lieutenant John Campbell was in command there in 1812. In a skirmish of a scouting party near this fort, it is stated that one Kerr alone held a band of pursuing Indians at bay, and thus saved two wounded men, and was much praised for the brave act. He subsequently went to Texas.[8] And now, too, the Indians north of the Missouri river began greatly to harass the pioneer settlers. Governor Howard accordingly sent orders to Capt. Kibby of St. Charles to call out the militia, and personally visited that settlement to organize a company of rangers. This company, consisted of hardy woodsmen and covered the country between Salt river and the Missouri river near Loutre island. Nathan Boone belonged to the troop scouting in that region.

As soon as war was declared the British agents then residing on the upper Mississippi became very active in inciting the Indians to war. Robert Dickson,[9] one of these agents, who had his headquarters at Prairie du Chien, sent one La Gouthrie,[10] a trader, to the village of Black Hawk of the Saukees and Renards on Rock river, with presents of money and ammunition, and on September 5, 1812, these Indians together with the Winnebagos under Black Hawk made an effort to capture Ft. Madison, also known as "Ft. Bellevue," by surprise, but the attempt failed. After this Black Hawk with two hundred

[8] Draper's Notes, vol. 6, pp. 313, et seq.

[9] This Robert Dickson was a Scotchman and long engaged in the western fur trade as a partner in the English Northwest Company. He was a man of great ability and Pike says "a gentleman of commercial knowledge and possessing much geographical knowledge of the western country and of open, frank manners." He was fearless and often would traverse alone the country from St. Louis to the headwaters of the Missouri. He married a sister of Red Thunder, one of the bravest chiefs of the Dacotahs. He was for a time British Indian Superintendent in the Northwest. During the entire war he was active in organizing the Indians. After the close of the war he continued to trade in the Northwest a few years longer, then returned to Canada and it is said afterward returned to Scotland, where he ended his days.

[10] Edward La Guthrie, probably a son of the La Guthrie sent as an interpreter from Canada with Lieut. Frazier when the English took possession of Fort de Chartres in 1765. This Edward La Gouthrie or La Guthrie was a trader in 1812 at Prairie du Chien.

warriors went to Green Bay to join a British expedition which was being fitted out there.

Governor Howard was energetic in his efforts to protect the settlements and settlers. So also his successor, Governor Clark, who perhaps better than any man in the western country understood every phase of Indian warfare and diplomacy. The militia of the territory was enrolled for active service.[11] Forts and stations

[11] Regiments were organized in the several counties of the territory, and the following is a roll of the officers of the several regiments in 1812-13, Alexander McNair being Adjutant-General and Inspector-General of this militia with the rank of Colonel: First Regiment, county of St. Louis, David Musick, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Thos. F. Riddick, Major of 1st Battalion; Richard Chitwood, Major 2d Battalion; Jonathan Kendal, Major 3d Battalion; Pierre Chouteau, Major 4th Battalion. Companies of First Battalion: 1st, William Smith, Captain; Hubert Guyon, Lieutenant; Paul L. Chouteau, Ensign. 2d, Gregoire Sarpy, Captain; Joseph Bouju, Lieutenant; Frederick Geiger, Ensign. 3d, Louis ———, Captain; Louis Courtois, Lieutenant; Francis Roy, Ensign. 4th, Zephaniah Sappington, Captain; Thomas Sappington, Lieutenant; William L. Long, Ensign. Companies of Second Battalion: 1st, James Musick, Captain; Levi Lanzey, Lieutenant; John McDonald, Ensign. 2d, Hyacinthe Dehetre, Captain; J. M. Courtois, Lieutenant; Joseph Aubuchon, Ensign. 3d, Jonathan ———, Captain; John Kinkead, Lieutenant; Gabriel Long, Ensign. 4th, John E. Allen, Captain; Joseph Lard, Lieutenant; William McDowns, Ensign. Companies of Third Battalion: 1st, James McCullock, Captain; Jacob Collins, Lieutenant; John Horine, Ensign. 2d, Abner Vansant, Captain; David Briant, Lieutenant; Ben. Johnson, Ensign. 3d, Thomas Williams, Captain; William Ink, Lieutenant; ——— ———, Ensign. Companies of the Fourth Battalion: 1st, Benj. Hatherly, Captain; Samuel Cantley, Lieutenant; Lewis Hall, Ensign. 2d, Stephen Lanham, Captain; John S. Farrar, Lieutenant; John Sappington, Ensign. 3d, Auguste P. Chouteau, Captain; —— ———, Lieutenant; —— ———, Ensign.

Second Regiment, county of Ste. Genevieve, Nathaniel Cook, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: John Donohue, Major 1st Battalion; Martin Ruggles, Major 2d Battalion; Joseph Hertick, Paymaster. Companies of First Battalion: 1st, Thomas Oliver, Captain; John McArthur, Lieutenant; Joseph Hertick, Ensign. 2d, John B. Bossieur, Captain; James Rigdon, Lieutenant; Joseph Amouroux, Ensign. 3d, Rich. Moore, Captain; Thomas Kiney, Lieutenant; Thomas Patterson, Ensign. 4th, Francis B. Bissell, Captain; Mark Brooks, Lieutenant; Samuel McCall, Ensign. Companies of Second Battalion: 1st, Joseph Garrett, Captain; John Sinclair, Lieutenant; Benj. LaChance, Ensign. 2d, Andrew Miller, Captain; Wm. Harrison, Lieutenant; Stephen F. Austin, Ensign. 3d, Henry Poston, Captain; Robert Andrews, Lieutenant; Joseph Windt, Ensign. 4th, Thomas Sloan, Captain; —— ———, Lieutenant; —— ———, Ensign. 5th, William Holmes, Captain; Laken Walker, Lieutenant; Isaac Murphy, Ensign.

Third Regiment, county of St. Charles, Daniel M. Boone, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Peter Tourney, Major of 1st Battalion; James Morrison, Major of 2d Battalion; Henry Hight, Judge Advocate; James Beatty, Adjutant; Stephen Hempstead, Quartermaster. Companies of the First Battalion: 1st, John McConnell, Captain; Peter Teague, Lieutenant; Jos. Yardley, Ensign. 2d, Isaac Van Bibber, Captain; Anthony Head, Lieutenant; William Cassio, Ensign. 3d, Samuel Gibson, Captain; Isaac Hostetter, Lieutenant; Samuel Lewis, Ensign. 4th, Nathl. Simonds, Captain; Roswell Durky, Lieutenant; Wm. Ewing, Ensign. 5th, Elijah Collard, Captain; James Lewis, Lieutenant; Jacob Groshong, Ensign. Companies of Second

were established, and garrisoned. The Mississippi and Missouri rivers and more exposed districts were patrolled. By such measures the hostile Indians were somewhat held in check. The fact that the western and northern Indians during the war were not united, and that it was apparently not possible for the British agents to unite

Battalion: 1st, William Hart, Captain; Stephen Hempstead, Lieutenant; Osborn Knott, Ensign. 2d, Robert Spencer, Captain; John Wetteau, Lieutenant; Joshua Fisher, Ensign. 3d, Samuel Griffith, Captain; Charles Saucier, Lieutenant; Ebenezer Ayres, Ensign.

Fourth Regiment, county of Cape Girardeau, Stephen Byrd, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: George F. Bollinger, Major 1st Battalion; James Brady, Major 2d Battalion. Companies of First Battalion: 1st, Joseph Young, Captain; Austin Young, Lieutenant; Joseph Looney, Ensign. 2d, George C. Miller, Captain; Henry Bollinger, (son Dan) Lieutenant; Daniel Krytz, Ensign. 3d, Henry Widner, Captain; Abraham Krytz, Lieutenant; ——— ———, Ensign. 4th, David Whetstone, Captain; John Bollinger, Lieutenant; Frederick Keep, Ensign. Companies of Second Battalion: 1st, Abraham Krytz, Captain; Jacob Sheperd, Lieutenant; Elijah Dougherty, Ensign. 2d, Jesse Jeffry, Captain; Jacob Friend, Lieutenant; John Friend, Ensign. 3d, James Ravenscraft, Captain; Medad Randall, Lieutenant; Elijah Randall, Ensign.

Fifth Regiment, county of New Madrid, John E. Hartt, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Stephen Ross, Major 1st Battalion; Joseph Hunter, Major 2d Battalion; Frs. Vaughne, Major 3d Battalion; Richard J. Waters, Judge Advocate; John Walker, Adjutant. Companies of the Two Battalions of New Madrid Regiment: 1st, Elisha Winsor, Captain; Thos. Winsor, Lieutenant; Joseph Shields, Ensign. 2d, Edw. Matthews, Captain; Joseph Smith, Lieutenant; James Lucas, Ensign. 3d, Samuel Cooper, Captain; Robert Boyd, Lieutenant; Alex. LaForge, Ensign. 4th, Benj. Myers, Captain; John Walker, Lieutenant; Joseph Westbrook, Ensign. Companies of the Arkansas Battalion: 1st, Daniel Mooney, Captain; Harrold Stillwell, Lieutenant; T. Racine, Ensign. 2d, James Scull, Captain; Peter Lefevre, Lieutenant; Charles Bougy, Ensign. 3d, Blassingham H. McFarland, Captain; John Lemmon, Lieutenant; William Doyle, Ensign.

Volunteer Companies: Cavalry: 1st, Henry Dodge, Captain; John Scott, 1st Lieutenant; E. A. Elliott, 2d Lieutenant; James C. Young, Cornet; Wm. James, Purser. 2d, Alex. McNair, Captain; Josh. H. Buckhart, 1st Lieutenant; Hiram Cordell, 2d Lieutenant; Absolom Link, Ensign; Alex. Lucas, Cornet; A. E. Rheile, Purser. 3d, Jos. Callaway, Captain; P. K. Robbins, 1st Lieutenant; Joshua Dodson, 2d Lieutenant; John B. Stone, Cornet; Jonah Riggs, Purser.

Mounted Riflemen: 1st, James Rankin, Captain; John Geiger, Lieutenant; Joseph Andrews, Ensign; Joseph Hanks, Purser. 2d, William H. Ashley, Captain; Strother Covington, Lieutenant; William Harrison, Ensign. 3d, Morris Young, Captain; Thomas Wyley, Lieutenant; James Patterson, Ensign; Robert McWilliams, Purser. 4th, John Hughes, Captain; William Strother, Lieutenant; Thos. Reid, Ensign; Timothy Phelps, Purser. 5th, Andrew Ramsey, Jr., Captain; Jas. Morrison, Lieutenant; William Ramsey, Ensign; Peter Craig, Purser. 6th, Samuel Philips, Captain; Philip Ross, Lieutenant; Robert Trotter, Ensign. 7th, Joseph Conway, Captain; Richard Caulk, Lieutenant; Thomas Caulk, Ensign.

Infantry: 1st, Joseph Millard, Captain; Stephen Martin, Lieutenant; Anthony Bridger, Ensign.

Artillery: Robert Lucas, Captain; John McKnight, 1st Lieutenant; Joseph Henderson, 2d Lieutenant.

Militia appointments, by the Governor of the Territory of Missouri, from April 1st till September 30th, 1813:

them, also was a great advantage to the settlers. The Saukees and Renards, notably, were divided into two camps, the band living on the west side of the Mississippi favoring the Americans. After the war was declared in 1812 Quashquama's band renewed the offer of services to fight the British, but was urged to remain neutral, which advice it is claimed most of these Indians followed,[12] a fact, however, which may be well doubted.

Soon after the outbreak of the war Governor Howard resigned his position as Governor of the Missouri Territory, having been appointed Brigadier-General, of the U. S. army, and Clark was appointed his successor. At this time it was generally thought that the frontier settlements of Missouri were greatly exposed. Many of the American residents of Missouri having emigrated to the territory from Kentucky and having family connections in that state several companies of Kentucky volunteered their services to the territorial government to protect the settlements from Indian ravages, but so confident were the people and the territorial government of their ability to hold the Indians in check that these offers were declined.[13]

May 24, Burwell J. Thompson, Captain; James F. Murty, Lieutenant; E. D. Davenport, Ensign, 6th company, 2d battalion, 2d regiment.

September 2, Martin Ruggles, Captain; Phil McGuire, Lieutenant; James McCullock, Ensign, of a company of mounted infantry on a service of sixty days.

September 3, Thomas Williams, 1st Lieutenant; Robert Wash, 2d Lieutenant; George Henderson, Ensign, of a company of mounted infantry on a service of sixty days.

[12] Stevens' Life of Black Hawk, p. 41, note.

[13] After William Clark was appointed Governor in 1814 Henry Dodge was appointed Brigadier-General and Alex. McNair Adjutant-General and Inspector of the militia of the Territory, and the force increased to seven regiments with the following officers:

First Regiment, county of St. Louis, —— ———, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: John Washington Thompson, Adjutant; Wm. Christy, Quartermaster; Thos. F. Riddick, Major 1st Battalion; Richard Chitwood, Major 2d Battalion; Jonathan Kendall, Major 3d Battalion; Peter Chouteau, Major 4th Battalion.

Companies of the First Battalion: 1st, Robert A. Smith, Captain; Hubert Guyon, Lieutenant; Frederick Geiger, Ensign. 2d, Paul L. Chouteau, Captain; Henry Battu, Lieutenant; George Tompkins, Ensign. 3d, Louis Courtois, Captain; Louis Courtois, Jr., Lieutenant; Francis Roy, Ensign. 4th, Zeph Sappington, Captain; Thos. Sappington, Lieutenant; William L. Long, Ensign.

Companies of Second Battalion: 1st, James Musick, Captain; Elisha Patterson, Lieutenant; Green Baxter, Ensign. 2d, Hyacinth Dehetre, Captain; J. M. Courtois, Lieutenant; Joseph Aubuchon, Ensign. 3d, John Miller, Captain; John Kinkead, Lieutenant; Gabriel Long, Ensign. 4th, John E. Allen, Captain; Joseph Lard, Lieutenant; Wm. McDowns, Ensign.

Companies of the Third Battalion: 1st, James McCullock, Captain; Jacob Collins, Lieutenant; John Horine, Ensign. 2d, Abner Vansant, Cap-

It was during this war in July, 1812, that the first United States recruiting office west of the Mississippi was opened at Ste. Genevieve by Captain O. Allen of the regular army, and that town made the rendezvous for enlisted men.

In the fall of 1812 after the attack on "Ft. Bellevue" hostile Saukees and Renards from the Rock river band and Winnebagoes

tain; David Brant, Lieutenant; Benj. Johnston, Ensign. 3d, Thos. Williams, Captain; William Ink, Lieutenant; Hardy Ware, Ensign.

Companies of the Fourth Battalion: 1st, Benj. Hatherley, Captain; Samuel Cantley, Lieutenant; Lewis Hall, Ensign. 2d, John Maupin, Captain; Joshua Brock, Lieutenant; John Sappington, Ensign. 3d, Augte Chouteau, Captain; ——— ———, Lieutenant; ——— ———, Ensign.

Second Regiment, county of Ste. Genevieve, Nathaniel Cook, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Joseph Hertick, Paymaster; Wm. McFarland, Adjutant; John Donohue, Major 1st Battalion; John Callaway, Major 2d Battalion.

Companies of First Battalion: 1st, Thomas Oliver, Captain; John McArthur, Lieutenant; Jos. Hertick, Ensign. 2d, John B. Bossueur, Captain; James Rigdon, Lieutenant; Jos. Amouroux, Ensign. 3d, Richard Moore, Captain; Thos. Kiney, Lieutenant; Thos. Petterson, Ensign. 4th, Frs. R. Cissell, Captain; Mark Brooks, Lieutenant; Samuel McCall, Ensign.

Companies of Second Battalion: 1st, William Dillon, Captain; William Hines, Lieutenant; Benj. LaChance, Ensign. 2d, Andrew Miller, Captain; Isaac Murphy, Lieutenant; John Burnham, Ensign. 3d, Henry Poston, Captain; Archd. Huddleston, Lieutenant; Alex. Craighead, Ensign.

Third Regiment, county of St. Charles, Daniel M. Boone, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Henry Hight, Judge Advocate; Jas. Beatty, Adjutant; Stephen Hempstead, Quartermaster; Peter Journey, Major 1st Battalion; Robert Spencer, Major of 2d Battalion; Benj. Cooper, Major 3d Battalion.

Companies of First Battalion: 1st, John McConnell, Captain; Peter Teague, Lieutenant; Joseph Yardley, Ensign. 2d, Isaac Vanbibber, Captain; Anthony Head, Lieutenant; William Cassio, Ensign. 3d, Samuel Gibson, Captain; Isaac Hostetter, Lieutenant; Robert Gray, Ensign. 4th, Nathl. Simonds, Captain; Roswell Durky, Lieutenant; Wm. Ewing, Ensign. 5th, Elisha Collard, Captain; James Lewis, Lieutenant; Jacob Groshong, Ensign.

Companies of Second Battalion: 1st, William Hart, Captain; Osborn Knott, Lieutenant; Ralph Flaugherty, Ensign. 2d, Henry Hight, Captain; Sylvestre Pattie, Lieutenant; Charles Dennis, Ensign. 3d, Samuel Griffith, Captain; Charles Saucier, Lieutenant; Eben Ayres, Ensign.

Companies of the Third Battalion: 1st, Sarshall Cooper, Captain; Wm. McMahon, Lieutenant; Benj. Cooper, Ensign. 2d, Jas. Alexander, Captain; John Morrow, Lieutenant; Amos Barnes, Ensign. 3d, William Head, Captain; David McQuitty, Lieutenant; John Berry, Ensign. A company at Côte Sans Dessein: Frs. Coursault, Captain; Jos. Rivard, Lieutenant; Louis Dehetre, Ensign.

Fourth Regiment, county of Cape Girardeau, Stephen Byrd, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Samuel Dinn, Paymaster; Erasmus Ellis, Surgeon; George F. Bollinger, Major 1st Battalion; James Brady, Major 2d Battalion.

Companies of First Battalion: 1st, Abraham Byrd, Captain; Austin Young, Lieutenant; Andrew Byrne, Ensign. 2d, Geo. C. Miller, Captain; H. Bollinger, (son of Dan), Lieutenant; Daniel Krytz, Ensign. 3d, Wm. Johnson, Captain; John Baker, Lieutenant; Thos. Tyner, Ensign. 4th, Adam Ground, Captain; Adam Shell, Lieutenant; John Ground, Ensign.

Companies of the Second Battalion: 1st, Abraham. Dougherty, Captain; Jacob Sheperd, Lieutenant; Elijah Dougherty, Ensign. 2d, Jesse Jeffry,

crossed the Mississippi and attacked the frontier settlers of the territory. Several settlers were killed at different places about thirty miles above the mouth of Salt river. Some distance above the mouth of the Missouri was "Gilbert's Lick" on the western bank of the Mississippi, a noted resort for animals to lick the brackish waters, where a man named Samuel Gilbert had settled two or three years prior to

Captain; Jacob Friend, Lieutenant; John Friend, Ensign. 3d, James Ravenscraft, Captain; Medad Randall, Lieutenant; Elijah Randall, Ensign. 4th, Geo. Jameson, Captain; Charles Logan, Lieutenant; Wm. Ingram, Ensign.

Fifth Regiment, county of New Madrid, John E. Hart, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Richard J. Waters, Judge Advocate; John H. Walker, Adjutant; Stephen Ross, Major 1st Battalion; Joseph Hunter, Major 2d Battalion; Dr. R. D. Dawson, Surgeon.

Companies in the two Battalions: Elisha Winsor, Captain; Thos. Winsor, Lieutenant; Joseph Shields, Ensign. Edward Matthews, Captain; Jos. Smith, Lieutenant; James Lucas, Ensign. Samuel Cooper, Captain; Robert Boyd, Lieutenant; Alex. LaForge, Ensign. Benj. Myers, Captain; John Walker, Lieutenant; Joseph Westbrook, Ensign. Edward Tanner, Captain; Andrew Robertson, Lieutenant; Daniel Stringer, Ensign. John Hines, Captain; Alex. Willard, Lieutenant; Jacob Gibson, Ensign.

Sixth Regiment, county of Washington, Wm. H. Ashley, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Andrew Henry, Major 1st Battalion; Martin Ruggles, Major 2d Battalion.

Companies of the First Battalion: 1st, Jacob Petit, Captain; William James, Lieutenant; Stephen F. Austin, Ensign. 2d, Jesse Blackwell, Captain; Anthony Wilkinson, Lieutenant; Benj. Horine, Ensign. 3d, Robert L. Brown, Captain; James H. Moutree, Lieutenant; Drury Gooche, Ensign.

Companies of the Second Battalion: 1st, Joshua Morrison, Captain; Zach. Goforth, Lieutenant; Thomas McLaughlin, Ensign. 2d, Timothy Phelps, Captain; William Reed, Lieutenant; James Gray, Ensign. 3d, Job Westover, Captain; John Baker, Lieutenant; Joseph Wood, Ensign.

Seventh Regiment, county of Arkansas, Anthony ———, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding: Daniel Mooney, Major 1st Battalion; Blassingham H. McFarland, Major Second Battalion.

Companies of First Battalion: 1st, Alex. Kendrick, Captain; Peter Lefevre, Lieutenant; Charles Bougy, Ensign. 3d, Samuel Moseley, Captain; Lemuel Currin, Lieutenant; —— ———, Ensign.

Companies of Second Battalion: 1st, Edward Hogan, Captain; John Payette, Lieutenant; Joseph Duchassin, Ensign. 2d, John C. Newell, Captain; Benj. Murphy, Lieutenant; Geo. Rankin, Ensign. 3d, William Berney, Captain; Isaac Cates, Lieutenant; Samuel Gates, Ensign.

Volunteer companies: —— ———, Captain; John Scott, 1st Lieutenant; E. A. Elliott, 2d Lieutenant; Jas. C. Young, Cornet; Wm. James, Purser. —— ———, Captain; —— ———, 1st Lieutenant; Joshua Dodson, 2d Lieutenant; John B. Stone, Cornet; Jonah Riggs, Purser. John W. Thompson, Captain; Alexander Lucas, 1st Lieutenant; Absalom Link, 2d Lieutenant.

Mounted Riflemen: James Rankin, Captain; John McGeiger, Lieutenant; Joseph Andrews, Ensign; Jos. Hanks, Purser. Morris Young, Captain; Thos. Wyley, Lieutenant; James Patterson, Ensign; Thos. McWilliams, Purser. John Hughes, Captain; William Strother, Lieutenant; Thos. Reed, Ensign; Timothy Phelps, Purser. Samuel Philips, Captain; Philip Ross, Lieutenant; Robert Trotter, Ensign. Jacob Petit, Lieutenant, and Jesse Blackwell, Ensign, of a company from Ste. Genevieve.

Infantry: Joseph Conway, Captain; Richard Caulk, Lieutenant; Thomas

the spring of 1812. In that neighborhood, and particularly below him, the Jordans, the Watsons, Templetons, Turners and a number of others had settled at what was then called "Buffalo Lick." Here in the previous May a party of from twelve to fifteen hostile Indians coming down the river in canoes surprised the scattered cabins of the settlers in the night, killing a dozen or more people, among them the Neil family as already stated, and when pursued got into their canoes and disappeared.[14] This massacre caused great consternation, and people actively began "forting." Seven or eight such stockade forts were erected near the Mississippi, because the people were more exposed to Indian depredations near the river than elsewhere. The largest of these forts, and one in which twenty or thirty families could be safely lodged, was named Fort Howard in honor of the Governor, Benjamin Howard, and erected near where is now the village of Monroe in Lincoln county.

Supplied with new British rifles the Indians became very aggressive along the river. Coming south as far as Portage des Sioux they crossed the river and killed a man and his wife, stole ten horses and some beef cattle, returning to the east side of the Mississippi after this raid. Lieutenant John McNair of the Rangers, a resident of St. Charles county and nephew of Colonel Alexander McNair, afterward the first Governor of Missouri, followed this band with a small force, and according to Colonel John Shaw, was permitted to take the command, at his own urgent request, selecting twelve men for the

Caulk, Ensign. Joseph Millard, Captain; Stephen Martin, Lieutenant; Anthony Bridger, Ensign. Manuel Lisa, Captain; Barthélemi Berthold, Lieutenant; Francis Guyol, Ensign.

Militia appointments, by the Governor of the Territory of Missouri, from April 1st until September 30, 1814: Daniel Mooney, Major, 1st Battalion, 7th Regiment; Blassingham H. McFarland, Major 2nd Battalion, 7th Regiment, July 23, Daniel M. Boone, Lieutenant Colonel Commanding, 3rd Regiment; July 26, George Tompkins, Ensign 2nd Company, 1st Battalion, 1st Regiment; July 28, John W. Thompson, Adjutant, 1st Regiment; John Miller, Captain 3rd Company, 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment; Aug. 13, Benj. Cooper, Major 3rd Battalion, 3rd Regiment; Edward Hempstead, Captain of a Company of militia.

Artillery: Charles Lucas, Captain; John McKnight, 1st. Lieut.; Joseph Henderson, 2nd. Lieut.

[14] "Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 1, p. 204. In the "History of Pike County," Robert Jordan and his son James are also named as having been scalped by the Saukee and Fox Indians. It is stated in Draper's Notes, vol. 24, pp. 151 to 204, inclusive, on the authority of Samuel Conway, that Captain Jordan and his son, who was Lieutenant of a company commanded by Jordan, were waylaid and killed in a field they were cultivating, and that after this news was sent to the Governor, he sent up a company from St. Louis commanded by Capt. Joseph Conway.

service, together with Shaw as pilot. Shaw says he strongly recommended a larger number, but that the Lieutenant was headstrong and rejected his advice. There were only a couple of small canoes or dugouts with which to cross the river, and it required three trips to convey this small party of fourteen over the Mississippi. This detachment immediately pushed forward, Shaw taking the lead as pilot, and soon came in sight of the Indian encampment. Then Shaw says, "Each party discovered the other about the same moment, we having crossed a rise of ground which brought us within about forty rods of the Indians, who when they espied us seized their arms and rushed forward toward us, seeing that they outnumbered us four or five to one. We instantly retraced our steps toward Cape au Gris rock, a distance of some four or five miles. It was a hot chase, the Indians rather gaining upon us, and as soon as we arrived at the water's edge of the river, about midday, we turned and fired upon the Indians, who were now within a few rods of us. They were momentarily checked, and in turn fired upon us, killing McNair and eleven of the men instantly, while the twelfth ranger, one Weber, dressed in a yellow hunting shirt, jumped into the river, evidently intending to swim over to the fort, but was soon arrested by a ball and his lifeless body dragged to the shore." Shaw escaped, crossing the river on a raft of dry sticks fastened together with a grape vine, landing about twenty miles below Cape au Gris, and on the morning of the third day after the massacre reached Fort Howard.[15]

The country along the Mississippi at this time, according to Dr. Farrar, who was both a surgeon and a soldier, literally swarmed with Indian savages. In October a body of four hundred Indians, supposed to be under the command of a British officer, came down the Illinois river to a point within twenty-five miles of the mouth of this stream where they stopped and crossed over to the Mississippi, but did not make an attack because they found that the settlements were well and vigilantly protected. Major Henry Dodge with two hundred men was dispatched to a point higher up on the Mississippi to intercept these savages on their return, but they escaped.

In 1813 Fort Madison, or "Ft. Bellevue," which Black Hawk's band of Saukees, Renards and Winnebagos had attempted to capture by surprise in the previous year, was closely besieged by the Indians and finally abandoned and burned by the garrison, the starved garrison escaping by strategy by digging a trench to the river thus

[15] Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 1, p. 211.

reaching the boats on which to descend the river. Among the officers of the fort was A. F. Baronet Vasquez, who accompanied Pike to the Rocky mountains as interpreter, and was called "Baroney" by him.[16]

In 1813 Clark wrote Sibley that undoubtedly all the Indians on the Mississippi are secretly hostile to the Americans, and seeking to get a foothold on the Missouri, and that he is anxious to check the intimacy between the Mississippi and Missouri tribes. The Indian depredations everywhere now became more serious. Some of the people of St. Louis even thought that the town ought to be fortified, and so resolved in a meeting that year. The people of St. Charles were also very apprehensive owing to several Indian attacks made on settlers near the town. Thus Joseph Mackay, and his nephew James Mackay on the way from Clark's fort, located in what is now Lincoln county, to Sulphur Lick to watch a deer-lick, on the north side of Cuivre, finding no deer, returning on the way home were pursued by several Indians. James Mackay was wounded in the hip by a shot, and told his uncle to escape and save his own life, that he was unable to escape, so Joseph Mackay escaped, but James was killed. The Indians also came to the house of one Wm. Burgalow who lived near the Mississippi Bluff ten miles above St. Charles, and finding the door was open and Mrs. Burgalow sitting at the fire shot her through the leg just below the knee, and escaped.

On the 20th of March, 1813, the volunteer companies commanded by Captains Dodge, McNair, Callaway, Ashley, Young, Hughes, Millard, Ramsay[17] and Rankin were mustered into service. The

[16] This Vasquez was born in St. Louis in 1783, and in 1808 appointed Ensign in the Second Infantry, transferred to the First Infantry October 31, 1810, commissioned Second Lieutenant March 4, 1811, First Lieutenant July 30, 1813, and resigned October 1, 1814. He was a son of Benito Vasquez and Julia Papin, married Nov. 27, 1774. "Baroney" Vasquez married Emily Faustine Parent. In a letter to General Wilkinson, Aug. 16, 1806, Pike says he "sends some trifles to 'Baroney,' whom I have found to be one of the finest young men I ever knew in his situation;" and further says, that "he seems to have entirely renounced his St. Louis connections and is as firm an American as if born one; he, of course, is entirely discarded by the people of St. Louis, but I hope he will not suffer for his fidelity."— Pike's Expedition, p. 580, Cous' Ed. In another letter he says of "Baroney": "He proved a notable fellow in his line, and I beg to recommend him to some appointment near the Kans."— Pike's Expedition, p. 834, Cous' Ed. Afterward, likely this letter, led to his appointment as Ensign in the 2d Infantry by the President, who, we can rest assured, carefully examined Pike's report. In 1823 he was employed as interpreter among the Indians by Gov. Wm. Clark, and acted also as subagent.

[17] The first company raised in Southeast Missouri was raised by Andrew

order says, so that the "citizen soldier may not be ignorant of the manner in which the law requires him to be equipped, he is reminded that it is his duty to provide himself with a good musket, with bayonet and belt, or fusil, two spare flints and a knapsack and pouch, with a box thereon to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges; or a good rifle, knapsack, powder horn and pouch, with twenty balls and one quarter of a pound of powder."[18] In order to intimidate the Indians some of these companies marched through the district threatened by them. In July "on the frontier of St. Charles near Ft. Mason on the Mississippi river, Captain Allen Ramsay, John Duff, Levi Tansey, Davis Whitesides, John Matthews, Stephen Hancock, Jr., and others had an engagement with some Winnebago Indians. They were in hot pursuit of the Indians and on the 4th of July reached an Indian camp just as the Indians were painting themselves; fired upon them, killed and wounded some of them, but the Indians rallied and returned the fire and both parties sought the protection of trees. Tansey behind a small tree had a number of holes shot through his hunting shirt and was wounded across the wrist. Matthews was shot through the leg and had his horse killed; Captain Allen Ramsay was killed; Whiteside and Duff were both mortally wounded and died. Duff was buried with military honors afterwards at St. Louis. Captain Ramsay was from Cape Girardeau, a son of Andrew Ramsay and a brother-in-law of Captain Peter Craig, subsequently killed at the battle of the Sink-hole, John Matthews, also, was from Cape Girardeau.[19]

Ramsay, junior, in the spring of 1813. Of this company he was selected Captain; James Morrison, 1st Lieutenant; Peter Craig, 2d Lieutenant; Drakeford Gray, Lieutenant; William Ramsay, Ensign; William Able, Edward Spear, John Giles, John Gray and John Ramsay, Sergeants; and Dan. Herkelrod, George Simpson, Willis Flannagan, Michael Ault, Alexander Scott, Edward Tanner, Corporals, and Solomon Fossett, Trumpeter.

[18] See Territorial Laws.

[19] Of this action John Matthews, who seems to have had poetical proclivities, made a song as follows:

"July fourth, one morning fair,
From *Cap au Gris* we started.
Sixty-four our number was,
We being valiant hearted,
Traveled on to Buffalo,
And there we separated,
Some went on, others returned
To the fort evacuated.
The Indians lay concealed,
Of the Winnebago nation.

In August Nathan Boone with a party of seventeen men was sent to reconnoiter and select a route for the army to march against the Indian towns near Peoria. Boone and his men started from *Cap au Gris* below Ft. Mason, crossed the river and encamped on the second day after going out between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. They had seen no signs of Indians, but near midnight, the sentinels discovered that Indians were about, and soon ascertained that they were endeavoring to surround the camp which was situated in the woods on a small branch. Boone doubled the sentinels and ordered all the men from the fire, and to take to the trees around the camp a little distance from the fire, not knowing where the attack would be made. Then one of the sentinels named White, and an Indian, close to each other, fired the same instant. White was wounded in both hands and lost both thumbs. Whether White's shot took effect was not known, but the attack immediately became general. Another man was slightly wounded in the shoulder. The Indians rushed upon the campfire and the whites got away to the opposite side where Boone was, who ordered the men to retreat, and himself wheeled and ran from the tree behind which he had been posted, but on the first or second jump one of his feet went into a sink-hole in the ground, causing him to fall and at the instant he fell a platoon of guns from the Indians at the fire was fired at him, but his fall doubtless saved him. He recovered and ran some 60 steps, "treed" and ordered his men to rally and take to the trees at that point, and all promptly did so, except two or three. The Indians continued to fire several guns from the camp, and the alarm having caused the horses to run off Boone ordered a pursuit of the horses, but only secured about half of them. He then returned to the station *Cap au*

NATHAN BOONE

The first to yield upon the field
Were Duff and Allen Ramsay,
No sons of Mars e'er fought more brave
Than did our Levi Tansey."

Then a couplet is devoted to Jordan Whitesides, who was mortally wounded. Tansey who was shot across the wrist, returning by swimming over streams, his wound became irritated, inflamed and mortified, and he had his arm amputated three times, the third time at the shoulder joint, but finally died from its effects, greatly lamented.— Draper's Notes, vol. 24, pp. 151 to 204, inclusive.

Gris. The Indians proved to be from 60 to 80 Saukees and Renards, and it was afterward ascertained, followed Boone's party some 30 to 40 miles, before attacking them in camp.[20] Among Boone's men in this affair was Captain James Callaway, one of the sons of Flanders Callaway, and grandson of Daniel Boone, and who in the following year also fell in this Indian war.

In September General Howard with a force of 1,400 men started from Portage des Sioux on an expedition against the Indians of Illinois. At Fort Mason the Missouri troops all swam the river and joined the Illinois forces. The army then moved up the Mississippi bottoms to a point above Quincy and thence across the country to Peoria, and camped near the lake there for several weeks. On this expedition General Howard burned several of the Indian towns and captured their caches of corn, perhaps for them the most serious loss. Here he detached Boone with 100 men to go to the Rock river in search of Indians, and Major Christy was ordered with a detachment up the Illinois, but the Indians had all fled. While at Peoria lake General Howard erected Ft. Clark. This campaign, although not remarkable for events, did much to check the aggressions of the Indians.[21] Shortly after his return from this expedition General Howard, after an illness of two days, died in St. Louis.[22]

Predatory hostilities were begun on the Missouri river by the Indians soon after the declaration of war. The settlers here also erected forts for their protection, and in these forts the few families then living in that section gathered for safety. For subsistence the people depended entirely upon the wild game they killed from day to day.

About this time these settlers captured a boat in charge of Captain Coursault belonging to French traders of St. Louis loaded with Indian goods, twenty-five kegs of powder and 500 pound of balls, going up the river. When the boat first came up Ben Cooper and others admonished Coursault of the impropriety of supplying the Indians

[20] Draper's Notes, vol. 6, Trip of 1851.

[21] Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 343.

[22] General Benjamin Howard was born in Lexington, Ky.; entered public life early; a member of the Kentucky legislature in 1800; Governor of the Indiana Territory; member of Congress from Clay's district in Kentucky; then Governor of the Missouri Territory, resigning the position to become a Brigadier-General. He was the son of John Howard, who was one of the first settlers of Boonesborough; a soldier of the Revolution; fought at Guilford Courthouse; wounded in a charge by one of Tarleton's troopers and left for dead on the field, but survived and attained the age of 104 years.

with ammunition under existing conditions, and he seemed to see and appreciate the danger of this and promised to return down the river. But it was doubted from his reluctance whether he would descend and hence a guard was stationed on the river and as was suspected, a night or two afterward about 2 o'clock in the morning Coursault was intercepted attempting to go up the river, he and his men having muffled the oars of the boats. When ordered to run ashore he did not stop and Colonel Cooper fired, but Captain Sarshall Cooper knocked the gun up thus saving Coursault's life. The settlers confiscated the ammunition, Coursault himself was detained for a short time, but finally allowed to return home with his goods except the ammunition and a large keg of whiskey. Coursault was at Côte sans Dessein when attacked by the Indians and during the war loyally aided in the defense of the country against the attacks of the Indians, and was Captain of the Côte sans Dessein company. After the capture of this boat the people on the south side of the river abandoned their fort, crossed over the river to Fort Kinkead or Fort Hempstead, located in the present county of Howard within about a mile from where the railroad bridge at Boonville now spans the river. It is said that prior to the time when this supply of powder was taken from Coursault's boat one Joseph Jolly manufactured powder from saltpeter found in a cave near Rocheport, which, if true, is a fact also to be noted.[23]

Not long after the capture of this boat two other men were killed by the Saukee Indians on the north side of the river, being the first men killed in the Boonslick country during the war of 1812, named respectively Jonathan Todd and Thomas Smith. These men were out at the time in the wilderness, on the Moniteau, selecting a location to settle.[24] It is said that the savages, after slaying them, "cut off their heads, cut out their hearts and placed them on the side of the road on poles." What road is referred to is not stated, nor is it at all likely that any road, further than a trail or trace existed in the locality where Smith and Todd were killed. When the news reached the settlers a party of men started out to get their bodies. On the way an Indian was captured who seemed to observe their movements, but as they came near the fort with him he suddenly broke away, and when it was found that he could not be caught he was shot and instantly killed. After this, James Cole and others were sent out on a

[23] History of Cooper county by Lewin and Drake, p. 23.

[24] Ibid., p. 23.

scouting expedition to ascertain if the Indians were really on the war-path. As they returned they discovered that they were being pursued by a large band of Indians and that they had intercepted their retreat to the fort. In order to escape they fled to a trading post kept by a man named Johnson, known as Johnson's factory, on Moniteau creek, in what is now Howard county, and nearly two hundred yards from the Missouri river. That night at about 12 o'clock they left the factory by stealth in order to advise the settlers of the impending danger and were nearly captured by the vigilant Indians.[25]

On the south side another man named Smith was killed while out hunting with one Savage, but Savage fortunately escaped. This attack occurred near Cole's fort not far from the present Boonville.[26]

On the 14th of April, 1814, Captain Sarshall Cooper was killed at Cooper's fort on a dark and stormy night. The night was so dark and stormy that the watchful sentinel could not see an object six feet from the stockade. Captain Cooper lived in one of the angles of the fort, and while sitting at his fireside with his family, his youngest child on his lap and others playing around the room, his wife sitting by his side sewing, a single Indian warrior crawled up to the fort, made a hole through the clay between the logs just large enough for the muzzle of his gun, the noise of his work being drowned by the howling storm, and discharged it with fatal effect.[27] The death of

[25] History of Cooper county by Lewin and Drake, p. 25.

[26] History of Cooper county, by Lewin and Drake, p. 22.

[27] Life of John Mason Peck, p. 138. The muster-roll of Capt. Sarshall Cooper's company, dated April, 1812, and which manifestly embraced all the settlers then living in the upper Boonslick country, on both sides of the river, preserved in Draper's Notes, vol. xxiii, pp. 65-81, is not without interest, and gives us the names of the following officers and men: Wm. McMahan, 1st Lieutenant; David McQuilty, 2d Lieutenant; John Monroe, 3d Lieutenant; Ben Cooper, Jr., Ensign; John McMurray, 1st Sergeant; Sam McMahan, 2d Sergeant (killed December 24, 1814); Adam Woods, 3d Sergeant; David Todd, 4th Sergeant; John Mathews, 5th Sergeant; Andrew Smith, Thomas Vaughn, James McMahan, John Busby (killed February, 1814), James Barnes, Corporals. The privates were: Jesse Ashcraft, Jesse Cox, Sam Perry, John Thorp, Solomon Cox, Henry Ferrill, Harman Gregg, Wm. Gregg (killed December 24, 1814), John Wasson, Josiah Higgins, David Gregg, Robert Cooper, Gray Bynums, David Cooper, Abbott Hancock, Wm. Thorp, Wm. Cooper, John Cooper, Jos. Cooper, Stephen Cooper, Wm. Read, Stephen Turley, Thos. McMahan, James Anderson, Wm. Anderson, Stephen Jackson, John Hancock, Robert Irvin, Francis Cooper, Benoni Sappington, James Cooley, Nathan Teague, James Douglass, John Snethan, Wm. Creasson, Jos. Cooley, Wm. McLane (killed October, 1814), James Turner, Ervin McLane, Wm. Baxter, Peter Creasson, David Burns, Price Arnold, John Smith (killed November, 1814), John Stephenson, Alfred Head, Gilliard Roop, Daniel Durbin, Jas. Cockyill, Jesse Tresner, Mitchel Poage, Townsend

Captain Cooper was deeply deplored by the settlers and the whole pioneer community mourned his loss. He was a natural leader; was about five feet ten inches high, of fine physique, a superior horseman, cool and deliberate.[28] His wife was Ruth, a daughter of Stephen Hancock, the Boonsboro pioneer with Daniel Boone. Cooper county was so named in his honor.

However, only small bands of Indians harassed the settlers. Thus in May, 1814, two negroes belonging to James and John Heath while cutting wood for making salt were captured by the Indians. A party of fully sixty men pursued these Indians in a northerly direction high up the Chariton, on horseback, fifty or sixty miles, and near night found where the Indians had killed a deer and evidently encamped, indicating twenty or twenty-five of them. But some of the Indians were up in a tree on watch, and could look over the prairie a mile and a half in every direction. When they saw the settlers approach they decamped, leaving two axes and a water jug they had taken from the negroes, blankets, leggings, moccasins, camp kettle, awls, and the fresh venison they had just commenced to broil. Although the settlers searched all next day for the trail of these Indians it could not be found, nor were the negroes ever recovered or anything heard of them afterward. This pursuing party was hastily assembled and made sixteen miles by sunrise and galloped nearly all day. On their return the men were much fatigued and on short allowance, and opened the keg of whiskey seized from Captain Coursault, and which had long tempted them, and James Cole says that they "had a jolly high time."

In the following August a band of eight Indians was followed by a party of forty men from Cooper's and Kinkead's fort. These Indians had killed some cattle and stolen some ten or twelve horses, driving away the horses to high ground not over three or four

Brown, John Arnold, Robert Poage, Francis Berry, Lindsay Carson, David Boggs, Jesse Richardson, Robert Brown, John Peak, John Elliott, Jos. Beggs, Andrew Carson, John Cooley, Reuben Fugitt, Seibert Hubbard, John Berry, Wm. Brown, Francis Woods, Wm. Allen, Robert Wells, Jos. Moody, Jos. Alexander, Amos Barnes, Daniel Hubbard, Harris Jamison, Abraham Barnes, Wm. Ridgeway, Enoch Taylor, Mathew Kinkead, John Barnes, Henry Weadon, Otto Ashcraft, John Pursley, Wm. Monroe, Isaac Thornton, Stephen Feils, Dan Monroe, Giles Williams, Henry Barnes, Wm. Savage, Thomas Chandler, John Jokley, Stephen Cole, Wm. Robertson, Wm. Bolen, Mike Box, Sabert Scott, John Savage, James Cole, Stephen Cole, Jr., John Ferrill, Delaney Bolen, James Savage, Jos. McMahan, Braxton Cooper, Robert Hancock.

[28] Draper's Notes, vol. 23. Trip of 1868, pp. 65 to 81, inclusive.

hundred yards from the bottom, to a place about three miles from the present Franklin, where they tied the horses in a thicket. Captain Cooper with 25 or 30 men, among them Lindsay Carson, the father of Kit Carson, David Boggs, Stephen Jackson, William Thorp, then and afterward a Baptist preacher, and James Cole, who in 1868 gave Draper this version of the affair, found the horses in the thicket and then followed the trail of the Indians into the bottom below. After going not much more than a quarter of a mile, they divided into three parties, Captain Cooper with one party going up to the left of the hollow of a branch; another party going direct up the hollow, and the third party up the eastern bank skirting the hollow. Just after entering the mouth of the hollow, four or five of the men, mostly on foot, whose feet from long and hot pursuit had become blistered, among them James Barnes, whose horse had given out, remained behind, and sat down on a log together, some one hundred yards above where the hollow commenced at the river bottom. As the three parties of whites advanced, the Indians who as the event proved were in the hollow, seeing the approaching settlers were too numerous for them, hid in bushes till they passed, when they ran out of the branch and came unexpectedly upon the men on the log, who seeing the Indians fired on them. The Indians returned the fire and wounded Francis Woods through the thigh, and Barnes' horse. Both parties then took to the trees, this about midday. Hearing the firing, all three parties quickly returned, being but a short distance away, arriving nearly simultaneously, and surrounded the Indians before they were aware of it. Captain Cooper's party was on the high point skirting the western side of the branch, some twenty or thirty feet above the Indians, and fired down on them. The Indians concealing themselves in the thick, tall fern grass some three or four feet high, would rise up and shoot, then drop down and reload. Captain Cooper then ordered a charge, and the whole party being near enough to hear, suddenly ran down upon the Indians. One Indian who had his ball about halfway down his rifle, was knocked down by Lindsay Carson, and David Boggs shot off his gun between Carson's legs, the muzzle close to the Indian's head, blowing his head all to pieces; just then Lieutenant McMahan, with savage ferocity, ran up and plunged his knife into the dead Indian's body, broke off the blade and made a flourish of the handle. But this Lieutenant McMahan, James Cole, says made many false alarms, and was not much thought of. The men engaged in this expedition were from

Cooper's and Kinkead's forts. In this encounter five Indians were killed, all shot to pieces. A day or two afterward another dead Indian was found three or four miles above the scene of conflict, on the river where he had evidently attempted to move into the water a canoe which the Indians had left there, but was too feeble to do so and had died on the bank of the river. Unquestionably he was one of the band Captain Cooper had encountered. The party of whites now got the horses and Indian guns, and carried home Woods who, though badly wounded, recovered.[29] Thus terribly were the Indians punished for stealing horses. To what tribe these Indians belonged is not certain, likely, however, they were affiliated with the Saukees and Renards, or may have been, as General Dodge supposes, Miamies.[30] They were certainly not Quapaws as is supposed in the "History of Cooper County," because that tribe of Indians was located on the Arkansas river, and not on the warpath at that time.

During the whole year 1814 small parties of Indians continued to keep the settlements on the Missouri river in constant agitation. In September of that year Braxton Cooper, Jr., was killed, apparently after a desperate struggle with several Indians, near the present town of New Franklin, while cutting logs to build a house. He was a cousin to Ben and Sarshall Cooper, and only two or three months before he was killed had married a daughter of David Boggs. In October Joseph Still was killed near the Chariton river. He was one of a party pursuing some Indians who had killed a negro named Joe, belonging to Sam Brown, near Burckhart's lick. This party, among whom were Stephen Jackson,[31] James Cockrill, Stephen Cooper, Lindsay Carson,[32] John Peck, and others, was nearly surrounded by the Indians, who on this occasion, happened to be more numerous than the settlers.[33] In the same month William McLane was killed near where is the present town of Fayette, in Howard county. McLane had gone from his fort with Ewing McLane and four others to select a location for settlement, and was killed on his horse just as he came out of a big ravine leading

[29] Draper's Notes, vol. 23, pp. 65-81.

[30] Iowa Historical Record, October, 1889, p. 360.

[31] Stephen Jackson came to upper Louisiana from Georgia; settled in St. Charles; after the war he lost his wife, then returned to Georgia, and finally moved to Irish Bayou, Texas, where he died in 1848.

[32] Came from Marion county, Kentucky, to upper Louisiana; had his finger shot off at the time Wm. McLane was killed; was accidentally killed about three years after the war by a piece of falling burning timber.

[33] Draper's Notes, vol. 23, pp. 65, et seq.

to Moniteau creek, the ball striking the back of his head. He fell backwards off his horse, and the Indians, so it is said, cut out his heart and ate it.[34] His companions managed to escape to the fort, where they collected a large party of settlers, but the Indians had left no trace of the direction in which they retreated. Not long before the negro, Joe, was killed, one Austin, stopping at McLane's fort, while coming around the corner of a fence, about two miles from the fort, discovered an Indian in the act of firing from the corner of the fence, and suddenly reining up his horse, the ball passed through the horse's head, and the horse fell upon Austin. One Hough, and Nicholas Burckhart, who were some distance in the rear, saw what had happened, and Hough shot and wounded the Indian as he was jumping over the fence to kill Austin. Austin soon extricated himself and reached the fort, so also Hough, but Burckhart, who ran into the woods, did not come in until the next morning. This Hough only temporarily remained in the Boonslick country, and was a hunter and trapper on the upper Missouri.[35]

On the south side of the river in the bottom, about three miles above Arrow Rock, William Gregg and his father-in-law, Jesse Cox, made a settlement in 1814. There they built a blockhouse, a sort of family fort, called "Cox's Fort," and began to make improvements, hunting also for subsistence. Gregg and Cox killed a bear on the 23d of October, and the next day Gregg went out on his horse and got it, and subsequently went to feed his hogs, and while doing so he was shot by an Indian lying in ambush. He ran to the blockhouse a hundred yards off, got inside the stockade, grasped his gun, and fell dead. It is said that seven bullets hit the gate post of the stockade where he entered.[36]

[34] Draper's Notes, p. 65 and 31, Sam Cole's narrative.

[35] Draper's Notes, vol. 23, pp. 65, et seq.

[36] Cox and Gregg came from Looking Glass Prairie, Illinois, to the Missouri Territory. Cox was a native of Madison county, Kentucky, and William Gregg married his daughter there. It is said that after the Indians killed William Gregg they made an attack on the cabin and captured his daughter Patsy, and took her away as a prisoner; that a party was immediately organized to pursue the Indians; that the girl was on horseback, seated behind an Indian warrior, to whom she was tied by one hand, but that the horse on account of this double load lagged behind and that she, in the hope of seeing some one following to rescue her, constantly looked behind; that at last discovering horsemen she prepared to escape, waiting until the white men were within fifty yards of her, when, with her unbound hand she suddenly seized the Indian's knife, drawing it from the scabbard, cut the thongs which bound her hand to his, sprang to the ground and rushed into the brush on the side of the trail, all in almost an instant. The pursuing party then fired on the Indians, who fled precipitately. According to another account the Indians

On the same day and in the same month, Samuel McMahan was also slain, not far from the present site of Boonville, while out driving up his cattle. The day after McMahan was killed all the settlers living near where Boonville is now located, came to the house of Hannah Cole, which was located on a bluff overlooking the Missouri river, to erect a fort in which to take refuge against Indian attacks. In about one week they completed the work. This fort was built on this bluff because near where a good supply of water could always be procured from the river. Among others killed by the Indians was a man by the name of Campbell, commonly called "Potter" because he was a potter by trade; being the only person of that trade in the neighborhood, his loss was keenly felt by the settlers.

The number of militia-men in the western part of the Missouri Territory during the war of 1812 did not exceed 290 men, and these Indian troubles thus continuing on the Missouri, General Dodge in command of the militia of the territory, was ordered to take command of 350 mounted rangers, and march to the relief of these settlers in September, 1814. Lyman C. Draper, who noted down the personal reminiscences of General Dodge in this campaign, says that the mounted men in his command consisted of a company under Capt. W. Thompson of St. Louis, a company under Capt. Isaac Vanbibber of Loutre island, a company under Captain Poston of the mining country (now Washington and François counties), a company under Captain Daugherty of Cape Girardeau,[37] and finally a company of the Boonslick settlement under Capt. Benjamin Cooper. Nathaniel Cook and Daniel M. Boone were Majors. General Dodge says that he had some blank commissions with him, and that in this campaign he appointed Benjamin Cooper Major, who was an elder brother of Sarshall

tomahawked their prisoner in the head and hip and fled, but she recovered. It is also said that Patsy Cox was the name of the young woman captured, and not Gregg. Harmon, William and David Gregg were natives of Overton county, Tennessee, and members of Capt. Sarshall Cooper's company, and so also Jesse Cox. Dr. Josiah Gregg, author of the *Commerce of the Prairies*, undoubtedly was a relative of these Greggs. He, too, seems to have for a time at least, made Missouri his home and started out on his trading expeditions from Missouri. The Cox family subsequently moved to Lafayette county.

[37] This company was mustered into service for 60 days on the 15th of August. Medad Randall was 1st Lieutenant, Andrew Patterson 2d Lieutenant; Robert Buckner, 3d Lieutenant; Frederick Kelp, Ensign; Michael Rodney, William Cox, Joseph Thompson, Ben. Anthony, Sergeants; Jacob Yount, Henry Shaner, Hall Hudson, John Davis, Nero Thompson and John Ezell, Corporals.

Cooper, on account of his experience in Indian warfare.[38] David Barton, afterwards United States senator, was a volunteer in Thompson's company, refusing any rank, but tendering General Dodge any service he might be able to render him.[39] With Dodge's command Draper says were forty friendly Shawnees, but Peck says fifty Delawares and Shawnees. These were under four Indian captains named Na-kour-me, Kish-ka-le-wa, Pap-pi-qua, and Wa-pe-pil-le-se, the two latter were fully seventy years old and had both served in the early Indian wars. These Indians resided on Apple creek in the Cape Girardeau district, and were

[38] The Coopers came from Culpepper county, Virginia. Sarshall Cooper born in 1762, was younger than Col. Ben Cooper, and never performed any military service except perhaps at the Bluelick fight in Kentucky. Col. Ben Cooper was in that battle, also his two brothers-in-law, Peak and Woods, both of whom were killed. Col. Ben Cooper was engaged in all the Indian wars in Kentucky before he came to the Missouri territory. They were early settlers in Madison county, Kentucky. Col. Ben Cooper died on the Osage river about eighteen miles above Osceola, in 1842. He was a large and tall man, over six feet high, and weighed 200 pounds; a man of temper and action; was a typical frontiersman. Sarshall and Braxton Cooper came to the territory in 1807 and settled in what was then known as Hancock's bottom in St. Charles county. It is related that after they settled there they went up the Missouri to procure a supply of salt from Nathan Boone, and took it down in sycamore troughs with ends fastened and caulked with clay. Col. Ben Cooper settled in the same bottom in 1806. In the spring of 1808 Col. Ben Cooper and family moved to Boonslick country and located on the river on the northern bank, about a mile below Arrow Rock, built a house and got into it, but was ordered off by government officials, the Gasconade being the western line to which the Indian title had been extinguished. He then moved back, first to Hancock's bottom, and the next year, spring 1809, to Loutre island, and about the same time Sarshall and Braxton Cooper also moved to Loutre island. Stephen Jackson, John Fail and families, settled there in the fall of 1809; so also Joseph Wolfscale. The Coopers again started in February, 1810, for the Boonslick country, and arrived there about the 10th of March. The following forty persons came and settled successively in the country that spring, to wit: Col. Ben Cooper, and his sons, Francis Cooper, Wm. Cooper, David Cooper, and John Cooper; Braxton Cooper, and his son, Robert Cooper; Capt. Sarshall Cooper, and his sons, Braxton, Joseph and Stephen Cooper; John Hancock and son, Abbott Hancock, unmarried; John Busby; John Berry, and cousin Wm. Berry, unmarried; John Ferrill and son, Henry Ferrill; Peter Popineau, unmarried; Gray Bynum, unmarried; Robt. Irvin, unmarried; Jas. Cyle, unmarried; Joseph Wolfscale and son, Wm. Wolfscale, unmarried; James Anderson, and his sons Middleton and Wm. Anderson, unmarried; Stephen Jackson; Wm. Thorp, and son John Thorp; Josiah Thorp and small family; James Thorp, unmarried; Amos Ashcraft and sons, Otto and Jesse Ashcraft, latter son unmarried; Gilliard Roop and young family; James Jones and family; James Alexander and family. All the young Coopers were unmarried. Col. Ben Cooper and Capt. Sarshall Cooper had leased of Mrs. Ira Nash a Spanish grant of 600 arpens claimed by her husband, so as to settle in the country under the guise of this claim, but they all settled considerably above this claim, the precise location of which was much in dispute for a long time. Nash never lived on the claim at any time.

[39] Iowa Historical Record, October, 1889, p. 360, note.

induced, as we have seen, to settle in the Spanish possessions by Lorimier at the instance of the Spanish government. Their relations with the white people on the west side of the river always had been friendly. They had small farms on Apple creek and its branches, and resided there until finally, in 1835, they were removed to the Indian Territory. But Wa-pe-pil-le-se had a village where Bloomfield is now located, in 1830. Dodge marched to the Boonslick country on the north side of the Missouri and crossed over to the southern bank at Arrow Rock by swimming the stream. This crossing he effected by selecting six of his most active men, good swimmers on horseback, for the advance, the others followed flanked by canoes, and in the rear by canoes as a vanguard above and below the main body, stemming the swift current. When about one-half way over, he says he struck a strong eddy, which soon carried his men to the southern bank in safety. Only two hours were thus consumed in crossing the river with horses and baggage. Once on the south side his Indian allies soon located the hostile Miamis where they had thrown up a small entrenchment. Dodge's men rapidly pushed forward several miles up the river and quickly surrounded these Indians at this point, since known as Miami's bend, in Saline county. The Miamis saw that it would be folly to resist, and proposed through the Shawnees to surrender themselves prisoners. At a council of officers called by General Dodge for the purpose of asking advice, all agreed to receive them as prisoners, and that their lives should be sacredly preserved, the Coopers and other Boonslick officers assenting. General Dodge then told all the officers that he would hold them personally responsible for their own conduct and that of their men in par-

GEN. HENRY DODGE

ticular, in that matter. It is quite evident from this that General Dodge even then anticipated some trouble in carrying out faithfully the stipulations made with the Indians, and that in order to prevent a massacre he exacted an explicit pledge from the officers of the several commands. The Indians now formally surrendered to him, and 31 warriors and 122 women and children, 153 in all, were received under his protection. The trouble General Dodge expected would arise must have come on earlier even than he thought, for the next morning Cooper and others who had been scouring around in search of hidden property in the Indian camp, found the well known rifle of Campbell (the potter), who had been slain in the Boonslick region, and, greatly infuriated by this discovery, and the fact that these Miamis had perpetrated the killing, came galloping up to General Dodge and demanded a surrender of the Indian who had killed Campbell, so as to make an example of him. This General Dodge peremptorily denied, when Cooper threatened that his company, who had all come dashing up on their horses, would kill all of the Indians, and his men, as if by common consent, cocked their rifles and assumed a shooting attitude. When Dodge heard the clicking of the locks of the rifles, fearing consequences, without even turning to the men, he drew his sword, and thrusting its point within six inches of Captain Cooper's breast, he reminded him of his pledge to protect the Indians on their surrender, and said that if Captain Cooper's men fired on them Captain Cooper himself should immediately suffer the consequences. At this critical moment Major Nathan Boone rode up by the side of General Dodge and said that he would stand by him to the last, taunting Cooper with the treachery of the act proposed. Cooper at length yielded, and Dodge ordered him to take his place in the line and march away; he doggedly obeyed, and his men rode by. The Indians, who had been in dreadful consternation, jumped to their feet with expressions of joy and gratitude to Dodge and Boone. The Shawnees were also gratified that the Miamis had been saved. A strong attachment sprung up between Kish-ka-le-wa and Dodge, and long afterwards, at Fort Worth, in 1835, there was an affectionate recognition between him and Dodge. Salter, the biographer of Dodge, says that he looked back "upon his conduct in saving these prisoners as one of the happiest acts of his life." But for a long time General Dodge, by reason of his magnanimous conduct on that occasion, was not popular in the Boonslick country.

Another sad event of this war was the killing of James Callaway, son of Flanders Callaway, and grandson of Daniel Boone. Early in the year 1814 the Saukees, Reynards and Pottowatomies stole some horses in the neighborhood of Loutre island. Fifteen or twenty rangers, commanded by Captain Callaway, being out on a scouting tour, accidentally fell on their trail and followed it. They came on the Indians in their camp near the head of Loutre creek, found the horses, but the Indians seemingly had fled. They took the horses and proceeded towards the settlement until they reached Prairie Fork, and here the Captain, being desirous of relieving the men who had charge of the horses in the rear, gave the command to Lieutenant Riggs and went on with the main body. In a short time Captain Callaway and the men who had charge of the horses were fired on by a large party of Indians concealed in ambush, and he was severely wounded. He broke through the line of the Indians who had apparently surrounded him, while the men on horses followed and rode rapidly toward the main Loutre creek, but here he was again intercepted by the savage enemy and mortally wounded, fell from his horse as he attempted to swim the stream and expired. Major Long, who shortly after this time passed up the Missouri, describes the attack and death of Callaway as follows: "The assault commenced as the rangers entered a narrow defile near the confluence of the Prairie Forks of the Loutre creek. Several men were killed at the first fire, and Captain Callaway received in his body a ball that had passed through his watch. So furious was the onset that there was no time for reloading their pieces after they had discharged them. Captain Callaway threw his gun into the creek, that it might not add to the booty of the Indians, and though mortally wounded, drew his knife and killed two or three of his assailants; but seeing no prospect of success, ordered a retreat, hoping thereby to save the lives of some of his men. He was the last to leave the ground, and when springing into the creek he received a shot in the head and expired immediately."[40] Four rangers, named McDermott, Park Hutchinson, McMillan and Gilmore, were killed. The county of Callaway was named in honor of James Callaway.[41]

[40] Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 76.

[41] Life of John Mason Peck, p. 139. Draper in his Notes, vol. 23, pp. 65-81, has this account: "James Gleason and John Atkinson were both wounded and escaped. James McDermott, James McMullin, and one Gilmore were among the killed. Lieutenant Griggs was among those who escaped

During this year also occurred the attack on Roy's Fort, or blockhouse, at Côte sans Dessein, so named from an isolated limestone hill six hundred yards long and very narrow, standing in the Missouri bottom, and which it is thought some convulsion of nature separated from the Osage bluffs on the opposite side of the river. Côte sans Dessein was once a village of considerable importance, and but for a Spanish land claim the capital of Missouri undoubtedly would have been located at the mouth of the Osage not far from this place, but on the opposite side of the Missouri river. A number of French families among whom Baptiste, François and Louis Roy settled here in 1810. Several blockhouses were erected; one called Tibeau's (Tebo's) fort, and the other Roy's fort. These forts were about three hundred yards apart. Tibeau's fort was the upper one, and Louis Roy's blockhouse and the log house that served as a powder magazine, was between the two forts. On the day of the attack Baptiste Roy went out on his pony to kill some venison, but when he had gone about a mile he discovered many Indians hid in the bushes, grass and weeds, turned his horse and hastened back, yelling as he neared Tibeau's fort, "Indians! Indians!" All the men at Tibeau's who had arms at once went out to fight the enemy, leaving only two or three old men and half a dozen unarmed and partially grown negroes in the fort. Louis Roy was at his blockhouse, which was some two or three rods from Roy's fort, and vacant at that time. When the others went out to fight the Indians Louis Roy excused himself by saying that he was fixing his ramrod, and kept busily at work whittling and scraping it. In the meantime the fight began in the woods below Côte sans Dessein and continued nearly all day, all fighting from behind trees, and finally apparently the Indians were driven away. In

and thinks several others escaped. Gleason was shot in the leg, the ball lodging against the shin bone; Atkinson across the breast; Gleason's horse was shot from under him, and Gleason got McDermott's horse; Callaway was shot through the hip; Gleason invited him to mount behind him; he said he could not and bid Gleason to make his escape. Callaway resolved that the Indians should never have his scalp, hobbled to the creek, plunged in, throwing in his gun, and while in the water was shot in the back of the head, the ball lodging under the skin at the top of his nose. Saw his gun after it was recovered; a part of the breech was shot away. Callaway was in previous fights, but can't tell about them. Capt. Wm. Ramsay had been an old Indian fighter in Kentucky; was pilot, and seeing some saddles the Indians had hung up, and some few beaver traps, advised against pursuit; and not long before the fight, in recrossing Loutre, Ramsay was on the shore where the Indians had just crossed, and would go no farther, seeing the Indians were tolling them on into a trap; and Callaway was headstrong and said he felt sure the Indians had got too much the start and could not overtake them."

this fight, which occurred one or two miles below the fort in the woods, Captain Coursault, the leader, and four or five others were killed, the two LaCroixs and Ricard being remembered, but how many Indians were killed is not known. While this fight was progressing another party of Indians came up to Roy's, burned the barn and then attacked Louis Roy's blockhouse, in which were at the time Roy, his wife, and François Roy's wife, and several others. Roy had two guns which the women loaded and which he used so effectually that, it is claimed, he killed fourteen Indians. When the Indians in the woods below disappeared, they crept up under the river bank and suddenly emerged between the two forts and made for the magazine near the Roy blockhouse, took dry cedar which they found there, split it up with their knives and tomahawks and piled it around the blockhouse magazine and set fire to it. There were some forty or fifty Indians, mostly armed with only bows and arrows, and they yelled and capered around the building, but when the fire reached the powder a tremendous explosion occurred, which sent timbers and rafters, fire and Indians in every direction, killing, according to one account, some twenty of them, including some who ran and jumped into the river and were drowned. The survivors then quickly disappeared, as the whites from below came in sight.[42] This account of this Côte sans Dessein affair is substantially confirmed by Jesse Farmer, who came to Missouri in 1810, five years of age, and whose family settled at Côte sans Dessein shortly after this event. He says that he learned from the Roys and others that when they discovered that the Indians were near, most of the men went out to meet them, and had some fighting, but that when they found that the Indians were getting between them and the forts they scattered, that some fled to St. Charles, and that "Joe" Roy swam across the Missouri but returned and reached the fort to assist in the defense, that he was a large man and brave. Describing the location he further says that the main fort was thirty or forty yards from the river and enclosed several houses with picketing, and that some 400 yards below, and about the same distance from the river, was Roy's blockhouse, but that if there was another fort near it that it must have been small compared to the main fort, and that the picketing was gone when he knew it, that the maga-

[42] See account of Barney Farmer (Negro), who was in Tibeau's fort at the time, 16 years old. Draper's Notes, vol. 6, pp. 313, et seq.

zine was located about midway between the fort and the Roy blockhouse, and much nearer the river, and so located doubtless as to supply both the fort and blockhouse as might be needed with powder, and to be at the same time beyond the reach of burning the fort in case it should be set on fire or explode. He, too, says that the Indians set fire to the magazine, and that when it exploded many Indians were killed and crippled, and that after this they decamped quickly with their wounded, leaving fourteen dead bodies to be buried.[43] It seems that when the Indians approached Roy's blockhouse the door was open, and that a relative of one of the Mrs. Roys ran and hid under a bench, but the first ball of an Indian musket passed through his head and killed him. His wife and several women were in the blockhouse with Roy, in all seven persons, and he had several guns which the women loaded for him and which he fired so rapidly that the Indians naturally thought the number of defenders much greater than it really was. The incident is related that an Indian ball struck near Roy and made the bark fly, and that he then watched closely in the direction the ball came from, and discovering the tassel or hair-bunch of an Indian to slowly rise from behind the river bank, he fired and killed him. Of course the Indians were always anxious to secure horses. In a log stable, not far off, with the door fronting the blockhouse, Roy, so it is said, had a fine horse, very likely only a pony, and that an Indian in his efforts to get the horse, and yet not expose his person in doing so, reached his hand around the corner of the stable to open the door, and that Roy shot off three of his fingers. But this was of no avail, because after the fight, when Roy looked for his horse he found that the Indians had secured the animal by cutting through the logs in the rear of the stable with their tomahawks.[44] But Jesse Farmer makes no mention of the attempt of the Indians to set fire to the blockhouse by sending burning arrows upon the roof, and that the fire was extinguished by the use of the water in the chambre-de-nuit, as related by Peck, but this perhaps, too, was an incident of this heroic defense.

In the meantime on the Mississippi, under the leadership of Black Hawk, the Saukees and Renards and allied Indian tribes continued a relentless war. In July, 1814, Lieutenant John Campbell of the First Infantry, acting as Brigade Major, was entrusted with the

[43] Life of John Mason Peck, pp. 130-131.

[44] Draper's Notes, vol. 6, pp. 313, et seq.

command of an expedition up the Mississippi, consisting of forty regulars and sixty rangers. The detachment moved up the river in three keel-boats accompanied by the contractors, sutlers and boatmen, the whole party consisting of 133 people, including women. This force reached Rock river without any accident and when the boats arrived there they were visited by hundreds of the Saukees and Renards, and Campbell, unacquainted with Indian manners, supposed these visits to be friendly. However, after some of the boats had gone up the river, and thus the expedition divided, he was suddenly awakened out of his fatal dream of security by a murderous fire from the shore by the Indians. In this attack Campbell was severely wounded, so also Dr. Stewart, the surgeon, three regulars were killed and fourteen wounded One ranger was also killed and four wounded on Lieutenant Rector's barge, and two women and a child wounded. Ultimately the whole expedition with the exception of Campbell's barge, which was burned, escaped, principally owing to the timely arrival of the gunboat "Governor Clark," commanded by Capt. Yeizer, which happened on its return trip from Prairie du Chien to fortunately reach the scene of this disaster to render timely assistance. Subsequently Black Hawk repulsed a force under Major Zachary Taylor on Rock river. This greatly emboldened the Indians throughout the year and they continued their warfare along the Mississippi after the treaty of Ghent was signed December 24, 1814. In fact, it was evident that the Indians, although advised that peace had been declared, proposed independently to continue the war.

Not long after Major Taylor had been repulsed, a man named Bernard was killed on the Dardenne, and so also William Linn, a ranger, within 30 rods of the fort opposite Cap au Gris. Linn had gone from the fort to the edge of the woods to visit a whiskey jug which he had concealed there, when the report of several guns was heard. Lieutenant Massey quickly went out, suspecting that the Indians were making an attack, and in this he was not mistaken, but they had crossed the river below in their canoes and shortly appeared on Cap au Gris rock on the opposite side of the river, where a young Indian warrior only twelve years old flourished Linn's scalp, hallooed in the Saukee language, "Come here, you Americans, and we will serve you in the same way!" Linn's family at the time lived in Wood's fort. A few days after a young man, named Bowles, who went to a deer-lick at the foot of the bluff, about two and one-half

miles from Cap au Gris, was also killed and scalped.[45] Another young man, residing at Portage des Sioux was vigorously pursued by four Indians and only escaped because he was well mounted.[46]

Horses were constantly stolen by the Indians; the high water, usual in the spring, enabling the Indians to successfully baffle pursuit. Shaw, who has given a full and complete account of these Indian troubles in this neighborhood, in his narrative says that he too made a narrow escape one night before the Sink-hole fight, while riding from Cap au Gris to Fort Howard, that a party of Indians made an attempt to cut him off from the fort, but that by taking a by-path, while they were hid in ambush for him on the main trail, he escaped. In the spring of 1813 Rowell Durkee and Abraham Keitley went to look at their farms and crops, two or three miles from Cuivre fort. They met Black Hawk and one of his braves. Durkee was shot down and scalped; they also pursued Frederick Dickson who was with them; Dickson stubbed his foot and fell, and rising he seized a fence stake to strike Black Hawk, who backed out, and Dickson escaped. The other Indian chased Keitley perhaps half a mile, and just after he had crossed the Cuivre river, and was going up the bank Keitley, who alone was mounted, was shot dead. Two little boys of Durkees, who were with their father, fled to the woods when their father was killed, and were not pursued by the Indians.[47]

Black Hawk, in his autobiography, gives this account of this episode: "I landed some of our braves near Cap au Gris, the remainder of the party went to the mouth of Cuivre; I hurried across the trail that led from the mouth of the Cuivre to a fort and soon heard firing at the mouth of the creek. Myself and brave concealed ourselves by the side of the road. We had not remained here long when two men riding one horse came in full speed from the direction of the firing. When they came sufficiently near we fired; the horse jumped and both men fell. We rushed toward them; one rose and ran; I followed him and was gaining on him when he ran over a pile of rails that had lately been made, seized a stick and struck at me. I now had an opportunity to see his face; I knew him; he had been at Quashquama's village to learn his people how to plow. We looked upon him as a good man. I did not wish to kill him and pursued him no further. I returned and met my brave; he said

[45] Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 1, p. 215.

[46] Stephen's Life of Black Hawk, p. 561.

[47] Draper's Notes, vol. 23, pp. 65-81.

that he had killed the other man, and had his scalp in his hand. I had not proceeded far before we met the man, staggering like a drunken man, all covered with blood. This was the most terrible sight that I had ever seen. I told my comrade to kill him to put him out of his misery; I could not look at him; I passed on and heard a rustling in the bushes and distinctly saw two little boys concealing themselves. I thought of my own children and passed on without noticing them. My comrade here joined me and in a little while we met the balance of our party. I told them that we would be pursued and directed them to follow me." [48]

Another incident of this war which at the time created great excitement was the atrocious butchery of the Ramsay family on the Femme Osage in St. Charles county, residing about six miles above Nathan Boone. Mrs. Ramsay had gone out to milk when the Indians fired on her and shot her through the body. Ramsay, who was a cripple, having but one leg, saw his wife fall, and managed to get her to the house, but as he reached the door received a wound in the thigh which prevented him from going to the relief of his three children who were chased by the Indians around the house, caught by them and scalped in the yard. Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay both died from their wounds.[49] When Nathan Boone and other settlers who had heard of this raid came to the place, one of the children, a boy about 5 years old, who had been scalped, still breathed, and as he opened his eyes and saw his father, he attempted to get up, and said, "Daddy, the Indians did scalp me," and died.[50]

The Sink-hole fight, in which Black Hawk was also engaged, occurred about the same time. Of this fight Colonel Shaw gives the following detailed account: "Of the Sink-hole battle fought on the 24th of May, 1815, near Fort Howard, I shall be able to give a full account, as I was present and participated in it. Captain Péter Craig who commanded at Fort Howard, was a resident of Cape Girardeau county, and there resided with his father-in-law, Andrew Ramsay, and was not over thirty years of age. Drakeford Gray was 1st Lieutenant and Wilson Able the 2d, Edward Spears 3d Lieutenant.[51] Craig enlisted this company in May and June, 1814,

[48] Black Hawk's Autobiography, in "Pioneer Families of Missouri," p. 477.

[49] Niles' Register, vol. 8, p. 348, July 15, 1815.

[50] Duden's Bericht aus Nord Amerika, p. 117, (2d Ed.)

[51] Drakeford Gray afterward resided in what is now Mississippi county, and thence removed to Kentucky. Wilson Able removed to Alexander county, Illinois, after the war; was the father of Capt. Barton Able and Daniel Able,

for one year's service on the frontiers of Missouri and Illinois, and the company was attached to Col. William Russell's regiment and mustered into service July 2d."

Continuing Shaw says: "About noon five of the men went out of the fort to Byrne's deserted house on the bluff, about one-fourth of a mile below the fort, to bring in a grindstone. In consequence of backwater from the Mississippi they went in a canoe; and, on their return were fired on by a party, supposed to be fifty Indians, who were under shelter of some brush that grew along at the foot of the bluff near Byrne's house and about fifteen rods distance from the canoe at the time. Three of the whites were killed and one mortally wounded, and as the backwater where the canoe was was only about knee deep, the Indians ran out and tomahawked their victims. The people of the fort ran out as quick as possible and fired across the backwater at the Indians, but as they were nearly one-fourth of a mile off, it was of course without effect. Captain Craig, with some twenty-five men hastened in pursuit of the Indians and ran across a point of the backwater, a few inches deep, while another party, of whom I was one, of about twenty-five, ran to the right of the water with a view of intercepting the Indians, who seemed to be making towards the bluff or high plain west and northwest of the fort. The party with which I had started and Captain Craig's soon united. Immediately on the bluff was the cultivated field and deserted residence of Benjamin Allen, the field about forty rods across, beyond which was pretty thick timber. Here the

both afterwards distinguished citizens of St. Louis. The names of the members of Craig's company were as follows: ' James Atkinson, John Able, Stephen Byrd, Jonathan Brickey, John Brown, Touissant Bertheaume, James Brown, William B. Bush, Peter Barribeau, François Barribeau, Thomas Boyce, Burrel Castly, John Cameron, Charles Cardinal, William Crump, John Cooper, Jesse Cochran, Baptiste Cottu, Alexander Cottu, James Cowen, Hugh Dowlin, Elias Davis, Ludwell Davis, John Dotson, Samuel Foster, Able Galland, Alexander Giboney, Louis Guliah, Charles Hamilton, Louis Heneaux, Abijah Highsmith, John Houk, Benjamin Hail, John Holcomb, Frederick Hector, Thomas Hail, John Hodges, Stephen Jarbeau, Jehoida Jeffrey, Andrew Johnson, Baptiste Janneaux, Jr., Baptiste Janneaux, Sen., William King, Charles Lloyd, Francis Lemmey, (LeMoine), Joseph Lemmey (LeMoine), John Langston, Baptiste Le-Croix, Baptiste Labeaux, Stephen McKinzie, James Massey, Nathan McCarty, James Masterson, Mark Murphy, William Martin, Ben. Ogle, Samuel Parker, James Putney, Samuel Phillips, John Patterson, Antoine Pikey (Piquette), John Roach, Touissant Reeves, Robert Robertson, Joshua Simpson, John Sorrels, John Sheppard, Alexander S. Scott, Joseph Seavers, Edward Stevenson, Solomon Thorn, Hubbard Tayon, John D. Upham, John Vance, Louis Vanure, Pascal Vallé, George Wilt, William Wathen, Jenkins Williams, William Wells, Levi Wolverton, Michael Vigo, Frederick Webber, Isaac Gregory, George Van Leer.

Indians made a stand and here the fight commenced. Both parties "treed," and as the firing waxed warm, the Indians slowly retired as the whites advanced. After this fight had been going on perhaps some ten minutes the whites were reinforced by Captain David Musick of Cap au Gris with about twenty men. Captain Musick had been on a scout towards the head of Cuivre river, and had returned, though this was unknown at Fort Howard, to the crossing of Cuivre river about a mile from the fort and about one and one-half mile from the scene of the conflict; he had stopped with his men to graze his horses, when, hearing the firing, they instantly remounted and dashed towards the place of battle, dismounted in the edge of the timber on the bluff and hitching their horses, they rushed through a part of the Indian line, and shortly after the enemy fled, a part bearing to the right of the Sink-hole towards Bob's creek, but the most of them taking refuge in the Sink-hole which was close by, where the main fighting had taken place. About the time the Indians were retreating Captain Craig exposed himself about four feet beyond his tree and was shot through the body and fell dead.[52] James Putney was killed before Captain Craig, and perhaps one or two others.[53] Before the Indians had retired to the Sink-hole the firing had become animated, loading was done quickly, shots rapidly exchanged, and when one of our party was killed or wounded it was announced aloud.

"This Sink-hole was about sixty feet in length, and about twelve to fifteen feet wide and ten to twelve feet deep. Near the bottom of the southeast side was a shelving rock, under which perhaps some fifty or sixty persons might have sheltered themselves. At the northeast end of the Sink-hole the descent was quite gradual, the other end much more abrupt, and the southeast side was nearly perpendicular, the other side about like the steep roof of a house. On the southeast side the Indians, as a further protection in case the whites should rush up, dug under the shelving rock with their knives; on the sides and in the bottom of the Sink-hole were some bushes which also served as something of a screen for the Indians.

[52] It is said that he ran up to the very edge of the Sink-hole to shoot an Indian, and was shot himself. Draper's Notes, vol. 23, pp. 63-81. He was scalped that night.

[53] Among the killed at this battle was Alexander Giboney, a nephew of Andrew Ramsay. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 274. Also James Putney, Antoine Pikey (or Piquette), H. Tayon and François Lemmey (Le-Moine); these were all buried near the fort, and a man was sent to St. Charles to secure aid for the wounded: John Patterson, Ben Hail (or Hale) and Abraham Letts. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 495.

Captain Musick and his men took post on the northeast side of the Sink-hole and the others occupied other positions surrounding the enemy. As the trees approached close to the Sink-hole, these served in part to protect our party. Finding we could not get a good opportunity to dislodge the enemy, as they were best protected, those of our men who had families at the fort gradually went there, not knowing but a large body of Indians might seize the favorable occasion to take the fort while the men were mostly away, engaged in the exciting contest.

"The Indians in the Sink-hole had a drum made of a skin stretched over a section of hollow tree and which they beat quite constantly, and some Indian would shake a rattle called she-shu-que, probably a dried bladder with pebbles within; and even for a moment would venture to thrust his head in view, with his hand elevated shaking the rattle, calling out "peash," which was understood to be a sort of defiance; the same as Black Hawk, who was one of the party, says in his account of that affair, a kind of bravado to come and fight them in the Sink-hole. When the Indians could creep up and shoot over the rim of the Sink-hole they would instantly disappear, and while they sometimes fired effectual shots they in turn became occasionally the victims of our rifles. From about one to four o'clock in the afternoon the firing was inconstant, our men generally reserving their fire until an Indian would show his head, and all of us were studying how we could more effectually attack and dislodge the enemy. At length Lieutenant Spears suggested that a pair of cart wheels, axle and tongue, which were seen at Allen's place near at hand, be obtained and a moving battery constructed. This idea was entertained favorably and an hour or more consumed in its construction. Some oak floor puncheons from seven to eight feet in length were made fast to the axle in an upright position and port holes made through them. Finally the battery was ready for trial and was sufficiently large to protect some half a dozen men or more. It was moved forward slowly and seemed to attract the particular attention of the Indians, who had evidently heard the knocking and pounding connected with its manufacture, and who now frequently popped up their heads to make momentary discoveries. It was at length moved to within less than ten paces of the brink of the Sink-hole on the southeast side. The upright plank did not reach the ground within some eighteen inches, our men calculating to shoot beneath the lower end of the plank at the Indians;

but the latter, from their position, had the decided advantage of this neglected aperture, for the Indians shooting beneath the battery at an upper angle would get shots at the whites before the latter could see them. Lieut. Spears was shot dead through the forehead, and his death was much lamented, as he had proved himself the most active and intrepid officer engaged. John Patterson was wounded in the fight, and some others were also wounded behind the battery. Having failed in the object for which it was designed, the battery was abandoned after sundown. Our hope all along had been that the Indians would emerge from their covert and attempt to retreat to where we supposed their canoes were left, some three or four miles distant, in which case we were firmly determined to rush upon them and endeavor to cut them totally off. The men generally evinced the greatest bravery through the whole engagement.

"Night now coming on, we heard the reports of half a dozen or so of guns in the direction of the fort by a few Indians who rushed out through the woods skirting Bob's creek not more than forty rods from the north end of the fort; this movement on the part of the few Indians who had escaped when the others took refuge in the Sink-hole was evidently designed to divert the attention of the whites and alarm them for the safety of the fort and thus effectually relieve the Indians in the Sink-hole. At any rate this was the result, for Captain Musick and men retired to the fort, carrying the dead and wounded, and made every preparation to repel a night attack. As the Mississippi was quite high, with much backwater over the low grounds, the approach of the enemy was thus facilitated and it was feared a large Indian force was at hand. The people were always more apprehensive of danger at a time when the river was swollen than in its ordinary stage. The men in the fort were mostly up all night, ready for resistance if necessary. There was no physician at the fort and much effort was made to set some broken bones; there was a well in the fort and provision and ammunition sufficient to sustain a pretty formidable attack. The women were greatly alarmed, pressing their infants to their bosoms, fearing they might not be permitted to behold another morning's light, but the night passed away without seeing or hearing an Indian.

"The next morning a party went to the Sink-hole and found the Indians gone, who had carried off all their dead and wounded, except five dead bodies left on the northwest bank of the Sink-hole; and by the signs of blood in the Sink-hole it was judged that well nigh

thirty of the enemy must have been killed and wounded. Lieutenant Drakeford Gray's report of the affair made eight of our party killed, one missing and five wounded, making a total of fourteen; I had thought that the number was nearer twenty. Our dead were buried near the fort, and then Captain Musick and his men went over to Fort Cap au Gris where they belonged and of which Captain Musick had command. We that day sent out scouts and I proceeded to St. Charles to procure medical and surgical assistance, and sent forward Doctors Hubbard and Wilson. It may be proper to remark that from the crossing of Cuivre river to Fort Howard was a mile; from the fort to the Sink-hole one-half mile, and nearly one-fourth of a mile from the fort to Bob's creek. The fort was an oblong square north and south and embraced about an acre, with a blockhouse at all the corners except the southeast one. Lieutenant Drakeford Gray was left in command there; he belonged to the New Madrid region and did not long survive the war; Captain Musick resided near Florissant, and lived, I think, to a good old age."[54]

Lieutenant Drakeford Gray, who after this engagement assumed command of the company, in his report to Colonel Russell, dated at Ft. Howard, May 25, 1815, agrees with the narrative of Colonel Shaw, and reports as killed, one captain, one third lieutenant, five privates, and three as wounded, and one soldier as missing. Captain David Musick of the St. Louis county rangers says that when they came up to the assistance of Captain Craig they found him closely engaged with the Indians and about equally matched as to number; that the Indians retreated into a sink, and "baffled every art to get them out, as they had a better chance to kill than to be killed."[55] LaBurdash, or "The Womanly," a Fox chief, claimed, in 1816, that he commanded at the Sink-hole. He was a large, heavily formed Indian, then somewhat beyond middle age, and at the head of a band residing on the upper Mississippi a little below Dubuque's grave.[56] Mr. Archambeau says in a letter that Craig and Spears would both have done better in a combat with regular troops because they "evinced such a contempt of danger and death that they despised the devious mode of Indian warfare."[57] In the meantime peace had been concluded, and the time of service of the

[54] Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 1, pp. 213-18.
[55] Niles' Register, vol. 8, p. 312, July 1, 1815.
[56] Draper's Notes, vol. 6, p. 313.
[57] Niles' Register, vol. 8, p. 312, July 1, 1815.

Craig company having about expired, within ten days after this affair the company was mustered out of service.

In June, 1815, about 1,200 or 1,500 Indian warriors, near the Rock river and above and below the Des Moines, composed of "Saukees, Renards, Ioways, Winnebagoes and Fall Savoins," were still on the war path, and it was supposed that even then they were encouraged by British agents, although these agents must have received official notice of the conclusion of peace. So it was not strange that early in the spring of this year while the Indians were still hostile, the young men of Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and part of St. Louis counties to the number of 750 formed themselves into a regiment with a view of offering their services to the Government for the protection of the upper country. At a meeting of this regiment at Cape Girardeau John Shaw was elected Colonel, and Levi Roberts, Major. Two hundred and fifty men of this regiment embodied at Portage des Sioux, about April 15, 1816, and Shaw taking command marched up the Mississippi to Rock Island, and finding no enemy there, passed through Illinois, and from there to and across the Illinois river. In Illinois they met an express stating that hostilities should cease and that a treaty for peace was to be held at Portage des Sioux in June, to which all the Indians were invited. Shaw says that neither he nor his rangers were paid, and that he was involved in debt to the amount of $30,000 on account of supplies furnished to this expedition and eventually lost about $13,684.19.[58]

The forts, so called, erected during this war by the settlers on the Mississippi river and in the St. Charles district, were simply strong log houses with a projecting upper story, and with loopholes for musketry, says Long.[59] Fort Mason was located not far from the present city of Hannibal, Fort Howard, near the mouth of the Cuivre river and the present village of Monroe. Buffalo fort was two miles below the present city of Louisiana on what is now known as the Allison farm.[60] Fort Wood was erected near the Big spring where the town of Troy in Lincoln county is now located; Fort Howell, in Howell's Prairie; Fort Cap au Gris, eight miles above the mouth of Cuivre river, and opposite Cap au Gris in Illinois; Pond fort, a short distance from the present town of Wentzville; White's fort on Big Prairie; Kountz's fort on the

[58] Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 1, p. 223.

[59] Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 76

[60] History of Pike County, p. 192.

old Boonslick road, eight miles west of St. Charles; Zumwalt's fort near the present village of O'Fallon; Castilo's fort near Howell's Prairie; Clark's fort, four miles north of Troy in Lincoln county; Stout's fort, a small stockade near Auburn in St. Charles county.[61] On the Missouri river Kennedy's fort was near the present town of Wright City in Warren county; Callaway's fort a short distance from the present town of Marthasville, and not far from the old town Charette; Fort Clemson, near Loutre island; Boone's fort in the Page bottom was built by Daniel M. Boone and was the strongest and largest of all these forts in that locality. Several such forts were also located on Loutre island.[62] Farther up the Missouri river in the Boonslick settlement was Cooper's fort which seems to have been a stockade flanked by log houses, near the Missouri river. It was the largest fort of the settlements, in a bottom prairie (near the present town of Glasgow). About 150 yards from the timber between it and the river, a common field of 250 acres was worked by all the inhabitants of this fort,— twenty families and a number of young men resided in the fort. McLaine's fort, afterwards called Fort Hempstead[63] was erected on a high hill, near Sulphur creek, on the bluff about one mile from the present town of New Franklin; Fort Kinkead, near the river, about one and one-half mile from the site of Old Franklin;[64] and Head's fort on the Big Moniteau near

[61] Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 1, p. 204.

[62] Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 76.

[63] Connected with Fort Hempstead were the following early settlers: Amos, Jesse and Otto Albright; Aquilla, Abraham, James, John and Shadrach Barnes; Robert Barclay, Campbell and Delaney Bolan; David and Henry Burris; Prior Duncan, Stephen and John Field; John Hunes, Usebines Hubbard, Asaph and Daniel Hubbard; Joseph Jolly (afterward in Jolly's bottom, Cooper county), John, David and Matthew Kincaid; Adam McCord, Daniel and John Monroe; John Matthews, William Nash, Gilead Rupe, Enoch, Isaac and William Taylor; Enoch Turner, Giles and Britton Williams; Frank Wood and Henry Weeden.— History of Howard and Cooper Counties, p. 158. At this fort, if a man went to sleep while acting as sentinel, the penalty imposed was grinding as many pecks of corn with a handmill as there were widows in the fort. There were seven widows in the fort and each became the recipient of a peck of meal whenever a sentinel went to sleep on duty. History of Howard and Cooper Counties, p. 161.

[64] So named in honor of David Kinkead; was located in the Missouri bottom, about a mile and a quarter above Boonville, and about a mile north of the river. At Fort Kinkead, and connected with it during the War of 1812 were James Alcorn, Price and John Arnold; Joseph and David Boggs; Robert and William Samuel; Townsend Brown, Christopher and Nicholas T. Burckharrt; Lindsay Carson and sons "Kit," Andrew and Moses; Charles and William Canole; Isaac Clark, Joseph, James and Perrin Cooley; James Cockrell, James, John, Peter and William Gleason; James Douglas, Daniel Durben, John Elliott, father of Col. N. G. Elliott; Hiram, Reuben, Sarshall and

the old Boonslick trace from St. Charles, not far from what was then called the "Spanish Needle Prairie," four miles above Rocheport, the most easterly fort of the settlement. Head was "a brave and useful man."[65] On the south side of the Missouri the first Cole fort was located in the "Old Fort Field" about one and one-half mile east of the present site of Boonville, north of the Rocheport road.[66] The second fort of this name was erected about one mile below the present city, and where the widow Hannah Cole, widow of William T. Cole, settled and lived after her husband had been slain by the Indians, on the bluff overlooking the river in what is now known as East Boonville. This place was selected by the settlers as the most suitable for defense, being located at the edge of a very steep bluff and easily defended, and also affording facilities to obtain a good supply of water. In order to make the supply of water, even during Indian attack, secure, the settlers ran a long log over the edge of the bluff and attached to it a rope and windlass to draw up water. After the construction of this fort the erection of other places of defense south of the river was abandoned, because it was built large enough to afford all the scattered families then living south of the river a place for protection. McMahon's fort was also located on the south side of the river, about five miles from Cooper's fort.

During the war the Indians stole so many horses from the settlers of the Boonslick settlements, that for two or three years after the close of the war they were compelled to plow out the corn with oxen, and even with milch cows.

There were fourteen white settlers and two negroes killed in the upper Boonslick country during the war, and about as many Indians, — a small number it may seem to us now, but counting the few settlers then dwelling in that district, a large percentage of the population.[67]

Simeon Fugate; Reuben Gentry, Abner, John and William Grooms; Alfred and Moses Head; Robert Hinkson, who moved to Boone county; Noah Caton, Joseph, William and Ewing McLain; Joseph Moody, Mrs. Susan Mullins, Thompson Mullins, William Pipes, Christopher, James, Jesse and Silas Richardson; John Rupe, Thomas Smith, John and James Sneathan; Joseph Still, John Stinson, Solomon, David and John Tetlers; Isaac and John Thornton; Jonathan Davis, Elisha and Levi Todd; James Phillips, Jesse Turner, Thomas, Joseph, William and Ewing McLean. History of Howard and Cooper Counties, p. 158.

[65] Draper's Notes, vol. 6, p. 313 et seq.

[66] History of Cooper county, by Levins and Drake, p. 21.

[67] The services of Major Thomas Forsyth, at Peoria, are also worthy of note during this war. Major Forsyth in 1816 removed his family to a farm near St. Louis and on this farm he died October 23, 1833. Forsyth acted as the

secret agent of the Government at Peoria, during the war of 1812, because it was supposed that he could be more serviceable to both sides if his old friends, the Indians, did not know his true position. He did much to ameliorate the horrors of the war, and often risked his life to obtain some prisoner who had been captured. Capt. Craig from Shawneetown, however, who did not know his position, and enraged because hostile Indians fired on his boat while in the Peoria lake, captured all the inhabitants of the Peoria village, including Forsyth, placed them on his boat and took them to a point below Alton, and left them there — men, women and children — in a starving condition in the woods, without shelter and food, and all of which Forsyth did not fail to characterize as it deserved. The Indians claimed that they were offered 2,000 pounds for the head of Forsyth by the English (Niles' Register, vol. 6, p. 427.) Forsyth was born in Detroit, December 5, 1771. He early engaged in the Indian trade in Michigan. In 1798 he wintered on an Island in the Mississippi near where Hannibal is now located at the mouth of the Fabius. In 1802 he established a trading post at Chicago in partnership with John McKenzie, his step-brother, and his elder brother, Robert Forsyth. In 1804 he married Miss Keziah Malotte and then established himself in the Indian trade in Peoria, and here he became the secret agent of the Government among the Saukee and Renard Indians during the war of 1812. After the war he removed to a farm near St. Louis and for many years was the trusted Indian agent of the Government among the Saukees and Renards. In 1819 made a voyage from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony, and fully reported as to the lead mines on the Mississippi. His journal of this voyage has been published in the Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 6, p. 140 et seq. It is said that if Major Thomas Forsyth had remained Indian agent among the Saukees and Renards, the Black Hawk war would have been avoided. His son, Col. Robert Forsyth, was also largely identified with Indian affairs and was the "special confident" in 1820, of Gov. Cass, when he was superintendent of Indian affairs. In 1834 he was paymaster in the army.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Increase of Population after the Cession — Lewis and Clark Expedition — Glimpses of the Country along the Missouri—St. Charles—La Charette—Daniel Boone—Pike's Expedition up the Mississippi in 1805—Portage des Sioux—The Germ of Hannibal—Pike goes up the Missouri in 1806—His Voyage up the Osage—No Vestige of Fort Cardondelet—Lisa operates as a Trader on the Osage then—Chouteau a trader there—H. M. Brackenridge and Bradbury on the Missouri in 1811—Côte sans Dessein—The Boonslick Settlement—The Settlements south of the river—Fort Osage—G. C. Sibley—Rapid increase of Population after the War of 1812-15—Long's Expedition of 1819—Goes up the Mississippi from the Mouth of the Ohio—Appearance of the Country along the River as Reported by Him—Cape Girardeau—Ste. Genevieve—Herculaneum—St. Louis—Long goes up the Missouri—Changes on this River since the Expeditions of Lewis and Clark and Pike—Franklin—Rapid Growth of this town—The Cradle of the Santa Fe Trade—Chariton—Isolated Settlement and Settlers north of the Missouri, and Names of some of these Settlers—Ferry across the Missouri at Arrow Rock—Dr. Sappington and his Pills—Beginning of the Export trade on the Missouri—Flatboats Sail south from the Missouri with Produce.

In 1805, the first year after the country had been ceded to the United States, the population of upper Louisiana increased from 6,028 to 10,120; of this number then only 3,760 were French, 5,000 Americans and 1,200 Negroes, the latter mostly slaves. This population was distributed in the various districts, as follows: St. Louis district 2,780, Ste. Genevieve district 2,780, Cape Girardeau district 1,470, St. Charles district 1,540 and New Madrid district 1,460. In 1810 the population was 20,845, and in 1814, the census taken under an act of the territorial legislature showed an increase of 5,000, and this during the period of the war of 1812, when the frontier settlements of Missouri were greatly harassed by the Indians. Large as was this increase it was eclipsed by that which took place in the next period ending in 1820, when the total population of the territory now within the State was 70,000, showing an increase of 45,000 in six years, or nearly two hundred per cent.

To trace this growth in population and development is now interesting. Perhaps the best description of the country along the Missouri river, immediately after the cession of the country, is given in the report of the celebrated expedition of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific ocean. Evidently in anticipation of the acquisition of Louisiana, President Jefferson recommended to Congress, in 1803, the appropriation of a small sum of money to explore the headwaters of the

Missouri, and to find, if possible, a route to the western ocean. The appropriation was made, and after the cession Jefferson appointed his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, as chief of the expedition and associated with him Captain Clark. Jefferson's detailed instructions, in his own handwriting, to Lewis, show the remarkable foresight and wisdom of this great man, as well as the comprehensive scientific and commercial purpose of this expedition. For the purpose of conducting this significant enterprise he could not have made a better selection than Lewis and Clark. Their successful trip established the western boundary of Louisiana on the shores of the Pacific. In the history of explorations, with the possible exception of Alexander McKenzie's wonderful tour across the continent, this expedition must ever stand pre-eminent.

The force of Lewis and Clark was organized at the mouth of the Wood (Dubois) river, a small stream opposite the mouth of the Missouri. The explorers left camp there on the 14th day of May, 1804, in a keel-boat 55 feet long, drawing three feet of water, carrying one large square sail, and twenty-two oars. This boat had decks of ten feet in the bow and stern which formed a forecastle and cabin, while the middle was covered with lockers which could be raised so as to form a breastwork in case of attack. Accompanying them were two pirogues. The corps consisted of forty-three men, composed of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen United States soldiers, two Canadian boatmen, a negro servant belonging to Clark, an Indian interpreter and sixteen boat hands. On the 16th day of May the expedition encamped at the United States cantonment established at Bellefontaine by General Wilkinson in the previous year. Leaving here and passing northward they noted a number of small farms on the south bank of the river in the Bon Homme bottom. St. Charles is described as a small town on the north bank, situated on a narrow plain sufficiently high to protect the place from annual overflow. It was at that time more generally known to the French by the name "Les Petites Côtes." The principal street of the town was about one mile long, running parallel with the river, the town consisted of about one hundred small wooden houses, and a chapel, and had four hundred and fifty inhabitants. Ashe, in 1806, says of St. Charles, and the settlements near there on the Missouri: "Thirty miles up and on the north side of the 'Massauri' is a village called St. Charles. It is of a tolerable size, and the principal trade is with the Indians. About eight miles above

this, the village and settlement of Bon Homme opens to view, and twenty-six miles farther up the village of New Versailles,"[1] and Brown's "Gazetteer" in 1817 notes: "At St. Charles a round, wooden tower formerly occupied by the Spaniards as a fort or guard-house,"[2] and says that the place "is a handsome village" with 1,000 inhabitants.

Farther up the river Lewis mentions the fact that thirty or forty American families reside on the Femme Osage and that they had settled there by permission of the Spanish government a few years previous.

LaCharette was then the settlement farthest up the Missouri river.[3] Daniel Boone located near Charette when he came to upper Louisiana; and near this point he died. When Bradbury went up the Missouri river in 1811, Mr. Hunt, so he says, pointed out to him "an old man standing on the bank and informed him that it was Daniel Boone, the discoverer of Kentucky." Bradbury had a letter of introduction to Boone from his nephew, Colonel Grant, and went ashore to speak to him. Boone then told him he was eighty-four years old; that he had spent a considerable portion of his time in the back-woods, and that he had lately returned from his spring hunt with nearly sixty beaver skins.[4] At the age of eighty he trapped beaver with one white man and a negro on the headwaters of the Osage river, enjoining upon his companions in this hunt to take him back to his family dead or alive.[5] When Peck was on the Missouri he met and conversed with Boone, and says that his impressions experienced on this introduction were those of surprise, admiration and delight; in his imagination he had portrayed a rough, fierce looking, uncouth specimen of humanity, who, of course, at this period of life, would be a fretful and unattractive old man; but that in every respect the reverse was the case. He describes him as follows: "His high, bold forehead was slightly bald, and his silvered locks were combed smooth, his countenance was ruddy and fair and exhibited the simplicity of a child, a smile frequently played over his countenance, in conversation his voice was soft and melodious, at repeated interviews an irritable expression was never heard; his

[1] Ashe's Travels, vol. 3, p. 101. But this place is not mentioned by Lewis and Clark or Brackenridge.

[2] Brown's Gazeteer, p. 204.

[3] Lewis & Clark's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 9, (Cous' Edition).

[4] Bradbury's Travels, p. 16.

[5] Missouri "Gazette," Oct. 4, 1820.

clothing was the coarse, plain manufacture of the family, but everything denoted that kind of comfort that was congenial to his habits and feelings, and evinced a busy, happy old age. His room was a part of a range of log cabins kept in order by his affectionate daughters and granddaughters. Every member of the household appeared to take delight in administering to his comforts; he was sociable and communicative in replying to questions, but not introducing incidents of his own history. He was intelligent, for he had treasured up the experience and observation of more than fourscore years"— not moody and unsociable as if desirous of shunning society and civilization. This was in 1818, two years before Boone's death.[6]

From this point on up the river the explorers, at that time, only occasionally met a French hunter or trader coming down the river in a pirogue or canoe loaded with furs. Of the fort Robidoux is said to have established two miles from the present town of Brunswick in 1800 no mention is made, but not far from the Nish-na-botna Bennett of St. Louis had a small fort and traded with the Indians for several years. It is noted in the record of this expedition that they also met a boat coming down the Osage with a letter from a person residing among the Osages, in which it was stated that the notice advising the Osage Indians that the country had been ceded to the United States was burned by the Indians, and that they would not believe that the Americans were the owners of the country.[7]

After a wonderful trip across the mountains to the Pacific, the expedition returned to St. Louis September 6, 1806. During the two years' absence the settlements on the Missouri had been pushed some distance farther up the river, and when on the return trip they saw, near the Gasconade, some cows feeding on the banks of the river, "the whole party almost involuntarily raised a shout of joy at seeing this image of civilization and domestic life." [8]

In 1805 an expedition under the command of Zebulon Montgomery Pike went up the Mississippi from St. Louis, starting August 9, 1805, and the official report gives us authentic facts as to the settlements on the river above the mouth of the Missouri. The expedition sailed on a keel-boat seventy feet long. The corps consisted of one sergeant, two corporals and seventeen privates.

[6] Life of Peck, p. 127.

[7] Lewis & Clark's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 211, (Cous' Edition).

[8] Lewis & Clark's Expedition, vol. 3, p. 211, (Cous' Edition).

On August 11th, Pike says that at Portage des Sioux "we discharged our guns at a target and scaled our blunderbusses."[9] Of this place he observes that as he walked through the village he found that it consisted of not more than twenty-one houses built of square logs.[10] In his report he makes no note of any other settlement on the right bank of the river, but says that he passed a camp of Saukees consisting of three men with their families who were employed in spearing and scaffolding a fish about three feet in length and with a long flat snout,[11] and that he met Mr. Robidoux and a Mr. Kettletas[12] going down the river, near the mouth of the Ohaha (Salt river). However, on the 16th of August, he records that he arrived at the house of a Frenchman on the west side of the river, opposite Hurricane island, who had good cattle, but poorly cultivated ground on his little farm. This Frenchman's house, according to Cous, "was a germ of Hannibal."[13]

On July 15, 1806, Pike sailed from Bellefontaine on his more celebrated expedition up the Missouri and Osage. He carried with him a delegation of Osages, who had visited Washington and also a number of women and children, who had been captured by the Pottowatomies in a raid they made upon the Osage villages on the Osage river and who had been redeemed by the government. He was accompanied by Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, a son of General Wilkinson, three non-commissioned officers, sixteen privates, and one civilian, Dr. John H. Robinson. At St. Charles George Henry joined the party, but a man by the name of Kellerman deserted near Charboneau, a short distance above St. Charles. On his voyage up the river Pike also stopped at La Charette, which then still was the extreme western settlement. Here he was entertained by Mr. Chartron, the old Spanish syndic, and "every accommodation in his power was offered us." From La Charette Pike went to the mouth of the Gasconade. Recent traces there that the Saukees, Foxes and Pottowatomies had crossed the Missouri and followed the Gasconade on a war-path to the Osage villages greatly excited his Osages. On the Gasconade Pike camped for several days, and while here five French voyageurs coming down from the Osage informed him that low water

[9] Pike's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 37, (Cous' Edition).

[10] Pike's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 213, (Cous' Edition).

[11] Ibid., page 5.

[12] A William Kettletas was said to be an intimate of General Wilkinson, and was appointed Attorney-General by him. Is this the same person?

[13] Pike's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 8, note 13, (Cous' Edition).

would make it impossible for him to go up that river. But he was not deterred and on July 28th, reaching that river began to ascend it. Not a single settlement then existed on this river from its mouth to the west. Chouteau had a trading post in the Osage villages and Manuel de Lisa also had a trading house there. Fort Carondelet which was built only ten years before had utterly disappeared, not a vestige remaining, "the spot being only marked by the superior growth of vegetation." Not far from this place De Lisa had his establishment. Baptiste Duchuquette then was there in his employ. Chouteau also had three or four engagés there. Pike was received with great joy in the Osage villages and delivered the women and children to the assembled Osages. Here he also met Chouteau. Pike then proceeded west on his historic march.

In 1808 only two families lived on the Gasconade, and in 1810 only ten white families resided west of Loutre island.[14] But in 1811, Brackenridge says that a captain of the militia residing on the Gasconade claimed that he had two hundred and fifty men on his muster roll.[15] A compact settlement then existed on Loutre island.[16] Yet the first settlement on Loutre island was made only four years previous, in 1807, the settlers being greatly harassed by the Indians. Loutre island embraced over one thousand acres, and among the first settlers there were the McLains and Talbots. A year after the settlement of Loutre island, Côte sans Dessein, near the mouth of the Osage, was established. When Brackenridge was there in 1811, this settlement was composed of thirteen French families and two or three Indians. These settlers had handsome fields of corn, but spent the greater part of their time in hunting. Brackenridge observed as he went up the river that the people were all anxious to purchase merchandise, and from this fact alone he drew the conclusion that he was far removed from the settlements. When Bradbury passed on his trip to the upper Missouri he found a war party of "Ayauwais" (Iowas), Pottowatomies and Saukees, numbering fully three hundred warriors, at Côte sans Dessein, on their way to attack the Osages. Finding an Osage boy in the village, they were "waiting in order to catch and scalp him."[17] Actual war, however, between the Osages and the "Ayauwais" and confederates

[14] Goebel's Laenger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri, p. 2, et seq.

[15] Brackenridge's Journal, p. 22.

[16] Ibid., p. 23.

[17] Bradbury's Travels, p. 23.

already existed, because only shortly before this time the Osages had killed seven of the "Ayauwais."[18]

The last settlement, in 1811, on the Missouri river was the Boonslick settlement. Brackenridge notes the farm of Braxton Cooper, and says that "Although the settlement was only one year old more than seventy-five families had taken up their abode there, mostly residing on or near the Missouri river."[19] In 1807, Nathan and Daniel M. Boone, sons of Daniel Boone, in company with three others, first came to this neighborhood to manufacture salt, and the locality was thereafter called the "Boonslick" country or settlement. The Boones, and their associates, did not remain or settle there. In 1808, Benjamin Cooper and family first settled in this region, but this settlement was regarded as an intrusion upon the Indian lands by the government, and he was ordered off to a point below the Gasconade. He then established himself at Loutre island. In 1810, he returned again to the Boonslick country, and with him came a number of others. The first blacksmiths in the Boonslick country, both in and out of the forts, were William Canole, Charles Canole and a man named Whitley.[20] The first marriage celebrated was that of Robert Cooper and Elizabeth Carson, in 1810, at the residence of Lindsay Carson, the father of "Kit" Carson, the great scout. Carson emigrated to what is now Howard county in 1810 with his family, settling near Fort Kinkead. Long afterwards he apprenticed his son "Kit" to a man by the name of David Workman, living in the town of Franklin, to learn the saddler's trade; but labor became irksome to "Kit" and he ran off in 1826 and went to the Rocky mountains, where he remained until his death in 1869. Thomas Smith was the first shoemaker in the Boonslick country, and his wife, it is said, was an adept at making moccasins. Dr. Tighe was the pioneer physician. On the south side of the river in what is now Blackwater township in Cooper county, in 1808, it is said, William Christy and John G. Heath, Bailey, Allison and others, made salt, but did not settle.

Hannah Cole, and her nine children and Stephen Cole, with five children, were the first settlers in what is now Cooper county. Stephen Cole settled about one and one-half miles east of Boonville on what is at present called the "old fort field." In 1811 and 1812

[18] Ibid., p. 26.

[19] Brackenridge's Journal, p. 34.

[20] History of Howard county (1883), p. 161.

Joseph Jolly, Joseph Yarnell, Gilliard Rupe, Mike Box, Delaney Bolin, William Savage, John Savage, Walter Burriss and David Burriss and families also settled south of the river in what is now Cooper county.[21] Among other early settlers of that time must also be included Josiah Dickson — a Revolutionary soldier — who was still alive in Cooper county in 1832, aged eighty years.[22]

It is noted by Bradbury that the principal settlements on the Missouri were made where there was a growth of rushes (*Equisetum hyemale*)[23] on the islands of the river, and that these served the same purpose there as the cane (the *Arundinaria Macrosperma* of Michaux) in Kentucky. Wherever cane was abundant in Kentucky the first settlements were made, and this was also the case in southeast Missouri. These rushes on the Missouri river afforded food for the cattle and stock, and in many places were so tall that it was painful and difficult to walk along in them even at a slow pace.[24]

Above the Boonslick settlement Brackenridge, in 1811, notes only one other farm, that of Mr. Audrain, who began to clear some land near Fort Osage.[25] This fort, it should be observed, was established

[21] Levin's and Drake's History of Cooper county.

[22] Dickson enlisted in Colonel Neville's regiment, Captain Butler's company, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, in 1775; marched to Pittsburg under Colonel Neville in 1776; under George Rogers Clark descended the Ohio; was detailed to guard powder and convey same to settlers in Kentucky; was taken prisoner with Joseph Rogers by the Shawnee Indians, and held twelve months by them; taken to Detroit, where he was held about six months; put in irons there and taken to Montreal because suspected that he would make an attempt to escape to Vincennes and relate movements of Governor Hamilton; remained a prisoner there until the close of the Revolutionary war. Draper's Collections (Clark's MSS.), vol. 18, p. 92. Other early settlers of Cooper county were William Gibson (1815) Jesse McFarland (1816) Joseph Stephens (1817), John Kelly (1818).

[23] Bradbury's Travels, p. 21.

[24] They "grew on the sandy margins of the Mississippi and on sandy islands, strong and thick. They are more nutritious, and better on which to winter animals than cane."— Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 195. He says that, in 1807, his father kept a large gang of horses on "Gaborit" (Cabaret) island, in the Mississippi above St. Louis, and that "they wintered well."

[25] This was James H. Audrain; he married a daughter of General Samuel Wells of Kentucky, in 1806; moved to Fort Wayne in Indiana, then in the Indian country; in 1807 returned to Kentucky; in 1809 came to St. Louis, and opened "Grove Tavern" in Cerré's large stone house; in 1810 moved to near Fort Osage; was in partnership there with his brother François, and they became bankrupts.—See Irwin vs. Wells, 1 Mo. Rep., p. 9. No doubt a member of the same family after whom Audrain county is named. His father or one of his relatives may have been a partner of Jean B. Tardiveau of New Madrid, heretofore noticed. Powers in his Narrative, refers to a Mr. Audrain who corresponded with Zenon Trudeau and thus became possessed of government secrets, or at least pretended to know secrets of an important character. Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. 2, appendix.

by the government in 1808. In September of that year a company of the 1st United States Infantry, eighty-one men, commanded by Captain Clemson and Lieutenant Lorimier,[26] went up the Missouri river in keel-boats, making about fifteen miles a day, reaching the point where the fort was to be established on the 2d of October, near the present town of Sibley. Here they encamped and were joined by General Clark with eighty mounted militia, who then detached Captain Boone with an interpreter, to the Osages, recommending them to abandon their old villages and settle near the fort which was to be established. The villages of the Osages were about one hundred and twenty miles from this point. The troops at once began to erect the fort, some two hundred men making a clearing in the forest on the spot selected for the establishment. The fort was three hundred and thirty miles by water above the mouth of the Missouri, and two hundred and twenty miles by land from St. Louis. The trip by land through the wilderness, according to Sibley, occupied the best part of fifteen days. The fort was situated on a high bluff seventy feet above highwater mark on the right bank of the Missouri at a place where the river was very narrow, and commanded a charming view of four or five miles up and down the stream. The ridges abounding in all kinds of wild fruits, ran back to the prairie about a mile distant. The soil was extremely fertile and the timber straight and very plentiful, consisting chiefly of black oak, with black walnut, linn, ash, white oak and many other varieties. The buildings erected for the establishment, Mr. Sibley says in his letter, were large, comfortable and convenient, and especially so the trading house. It was intended that this fort should become a place of general rendezvous for the Indians, and for these Mr. Sibley was appointed the agent.

In 1819 Fort Osage was still the extreme frontier settlement, and for a considerable distance below the fort the settlements were confined to the immediate banks of the Missouri river. Long described Fort Osage as a stockaded fort of irregular pentagonal form, with strong log pickets perforated with loopholes, and two blockhouses placed at opposite angles. He thought one of these flanked the curtain too obliquely to be of much service in defending it, and he considered the position of the fort was not so secure as it should be, because there were numerous ravines and declivities capable of covering an enemy within a short distance of it; on the other hand boats ascending and descending the river were exposed to its fire.

[26] Appointed by Jefferson to West Point in 1804; graduated in 1806.

When the fort was erected it was supposed that at least five thousand Indians would make a settlement around the fort, and during its construction about eighteen hundred Osages actually gathered there, but they made no permanent settlement. For a number of years Fort Osage was the most important western trading point in the United States; although during the war of 1812, for a year or two, the establishment was abandoned.[27]

During the Indian troubles and war of 1812 practically no extension of settlements up the river was made, but after the close of the

[27] Sibley, who was factor of the establishment for many years, writes February 12, 1811, telling us how pleasantly he passed his time there. He says, "Having brought my business into some system, it has become rather a pleasure than a toil to keep a kind of bachelor's hall and have my clerk, a clean young gentleman, boarding with me. Our fare is simple but good and wholesome, coffee and unbuttered toast for breakfast and frequently a change of milk and hominy, beef, pork and venison for dinner, and a dish of tea, milk and hominy for supper always. We breakfast at nine, dine at two, and sup irregularly, sometimes early and sometimes late. Frequently we are honored with an Osage chief or war captain to dine or sup with us, and very often are favored with a company of princesses and young ladies of rank, dressed out in all the finery of beads, red ribbons and vermillion, silver ornaments and scarlet blankets." George C. Sibley was born in Massachusetts in 1782. He was the son of Dr. John Sibley. With his father, who had served in the Revolutionary army, he moved to North Carolina and was reared in that state. In 1807 he was appointed clerk in the new Indian store (factory) established by the United States at Fort Osage and went up with the troops when that fort was built. He resided there as Indian agent until the factory system was overthrown. He was appointed one of the commissioners to locate the Santa Fe road in 1824. While agent he first visited the Salt plains in 1811. Many early distinguished travelers, Bradbury, Brackenridge, Nuttall, Featherstonaugh and others were his friends and derived much information from him relative to the Indians. He made several reports in regard to Indian matters which have been published. He married Miss Mary Easton, a daughter of Col. Rufus Easton and retired to a farm near St. Charles where he died. He and his wife endowed Lindenwood Seminary, at St. Charles. But in defending the factory system, and under which the Indian traders were excluded, and it was proposed to protect the Indians, he made enemies. Thus Thomas Hempstead writes Calhoun in 1822, as to Sibley: "Having just seen the printed documents in relation to the Indian trade submitted to the Senate by the Committee on Indian Affairs, I was much astonished to read the letter of Mr. G. C. Sibley, United States Factor at Ft. Osage, to Thomas McKinney, Superintendent of Indian Trade. The first is dated Ft. Osage, April 16, 1819, and the second May 16, 1820; the language he uses and the charges therein mentioned against the Missouri fur traders are unwarranted and unjust. At the date of the first letter the present Missouri Fur Company was not formed; it was shortly after, but the Missouri independent trade was chiefly in the hands of the late Mr. Manuel Lisa, of whom it may be truthfully said the government nor the inhabitants of the frontiers had not a better, superior or a more sincere and efficient friend with the Indians, and of several highly respectable citizens of St. Louis. Mr. M. Lisa was the founder of the present Missouri Fur Company and I conceive that Mr. Sibley must refer to him as one 'of the merciless Indian traders.' I cannot express my astonishment at the bold insanity of this little pretended champion of Missouri when I recollect how insignificantly he acted during the late war, cooped up in good quarters with perhaps a company of United States troops to guard him and who never saw the smoke of a hostile gun during the war."

war emigration from the southern states into Missouri was very great. The roads between the Ohio and Mississippi through southern Illinois were filled with emigrants, bringing all their earthly possessions and slaves with them. Most of these emigrants were destined for the country along the Missouri river. An intelligent observer writes in January, 1815, "Swarms of immigrants are daily arriving here from Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, and among these are several gentlemen of very considerable wealth and some of these are going to settle high up on the Missouri. At present lands can be bought very low but the price is rising fast. Three years ago I bought land for ten cents an acre for which I was offered eight dollars last summer. Property in St. Louis is rising very rapidly; perhaps there is no place in the western country that promises a more rapid increase or a more permanent growth."[28] It is recorded in Niles' Register that at St. Louis from thirty to fifty wagons crossed the river daily, bringing on an average five hundred souls into the territory; that these immigrants principally came from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, and states farther south, and carried a great number of slaves; and it is remarked that "these immigrants all took it for granted that Congress had no power to restrict the introduction of slavery into the territory."[29] In 1818 and 1819 the inhabitants of St. Clair and Randolph counties, in Illinois, complained in a petition to Congress of the rage for emigration to upper Louisiana.

Thus the country on both sides of the Missouri above the Osage was rapidly settled. The few white settlers living in what is now Cooper county, who during the war of 1812 had moved into the forts on the north side of the river, returned immediately after the war with many others, forming new and extensive settlements on the south side of the river. In January, 1814, these settlers petitioned Congress that the Indian title to the Boonslick country be extinguished, and this was done in the next year. In 1816 the country north and west of the Osage was erected into Howard county, and in 1817 the county seat was established at Franklin. The growth of Franklin was phenomenal. Within one year after the town was laid out it contained 150 houses, the price of lots rising from fifty to six hundred dollars within that time.[30]

Another expedition "from Pittsburgh to the Rocky mountains"

[28] See Sibley Letters in Missouri Historical Society Archives.

[29] 17 Niles' Register, p. 288.

[30] 12 Niles' Register, p. 344.

passed St. Louis in 1819–20, organized by order of Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the command of Major Stephen H. Long. This expedition left Pittsburgh early in April, 1819, and reached the mouth of the Ohio June 1st. Some observations made by Major Long as to the appearance of the country bordering on the Mississippi are now highly interesting. He says that at that time the Tywappity bottom, (called by him "Tyawapatia"), situated opposite the mouth of the Ohio and within the limits of the present counties of Scott and Mississippi, was covered with very heavy timber, and that the "forests are dark and gloomy, swarming with innumerable mosquitoes."[31] A small settlement then existed there. The woods were still full of deer, turkeys and beaver. In his course up the river, Long notes in this bottom several abandoned Indian encampments, and says that he saw in one of these camps pieces of honey-comb, and suspended from the limb of a small tree the lower jaw bone of a bear. Farther on he came to where a Shawnee Indian was in camp with his squaw and four children; the baby of this family lashed to a board set up against a tree. Here he bought some venison, but observes the Indians usually demand more money than do the white hunters for what they sell. This family, and other Indians he met afterward, belonged to the Apple creek band of Shawnees, and spoke a little English reluctantly. The squaws wore a great number of trinkets, such as silver arm bands and large ear-rings, and the boys had lead tied in their hair. On his trip up the river Long mentions the Chain of Rocks near what is now known as Gray's Point, but then known as Cape la Croix, or Ross' Point. He points out the fact that this is a very favorable location for a bridge across the river, and here, as if to verify his judgment, a railroad bridge during the last three years has been constructed. After passing this Chain of Rocks he says that he seems now released from "deep monotonous forests," and that he sails in view of broad hills "with a few scattered plantations and some small natural meadows." He mentions Cape Girardeau which was then, in 1819, according to Darby, "one of the most flourishing settlements on the western waters," the staple of their trade being cotton, flour, tobacco, hemp and maple sugar.[32] Long

[31] Long's Expedition, p. 43. John Ordway, who was sergeant in the Lewis and Clark corps on the expedition to the Pacific, after his return took up his residence in this bottom. The journal of Clark is largely in his handwriting. He was a native of New Hampshire. A private journal of this expedition he kept has been lost. He died in southeast Missouri.

[32] Darby's Emigrant's Guide, p. 142.

also describes the "insular rock" called Grand Tower, the Devil's Oven near the mouth of Brazeau creek, Cornice Rock, the flourishing settlement in Bois Brûle[33] bottom, St. Lawrence (called by him St. Lora) creek, and finally Gabourie (by him named Gabaree) creek, on which he says stands "the old French town of Ste. Genevieve." Saline creek, where the ancient salt works were, a few miles below Ste. Genevieve, leads Long to say that here a grant of one league square was made to a Frenchman named Pegreau, evidently intended for Peyroux (the one time commandant of Ste. Genevieve and also of New Madrid), who carried on the manufacture of salt, but that Peyroux, returning to France, leased the property to a man who neglected to operate the works, and that, after the cession, this land became the subject of speculation. During his absence his worthless tenant was persuaded to institute suit against him and secured a judgment of $9,000, on account of which the property was finally sold and fell into the hands of the present proprietor. In 1819 Henry Dodge manufactured salt here.[34]

Describing Ste. Genevieve a few years before, Flint said: "Here we first see the French mode of constructing houses, and forming a village. The greater proportion of the houses have mud walls, whitened with lime, which have much the most pleasant appearance at a distance. Their modes of building, enclosing and managing, are very unlike those of the Americans. Here the French is the predominant language. Traces, too, of their regard for their worship begin to be seen. You see the Catholic church. On the ridges of the houses, or over the gates, you frequently see the wooden cross."[35] Ste. Genevieve then exported lead and flour, and imported British goods, French and West India produce. Land was worth five dollars an acre.[36] In 1817 Brown says that the Ste. Genevieve common field extended for nine miles along the Mississippi, and embraced 7,000 acres, but this is evidently an error, because this field at no time embraced more than 3,500 acres. The town then consisted of 350 houses, an Academy and eight or ten stores. A big road led from the place to the lead mines, and nearly all the citizens of the town were interested in this trade or employed in it in some way.[37]

[33] Usually now goes by the name of "Bob Ruley."

[34] Life of Peck, p. 118.

[35] Flint's Recollections, p. 100.

[36] Ashe's Travels, vol. 3, p. 119.

[37] Brown's Gazetteer, p. 205. According to Brown, New Bourbon in 1817 had about 70 buildings, but this too is a mistake.

Herculaneum, the county seat of the then recently established county of Jefferson, Long describes as a small village "depending principally upon the lead mines for business."[38] In 1819 three shot factories were in operation near the town on top of perpendicular precipices fronting the river; their situation obviating the expense of erecting the high towers used in the manufacture of shot. The lead mines were located about thirty or forty miles southwest from Herculaneum. From there, a bridle-trail near the river bluffs led to Ste. Genevieve, this trail passing through what was at the time an "immense tract of barrens."[39]

Long's expedition reached St. Louis after a trip of eight days from the mouth of the Ohio, and its arrival was "noticed by a salute by a six pounder on the bank of the river, and the discharge of ordnance on board of several of the steamboats lying in front of the town."[40] In 1804 there were only three settlements of any importance between the mouth of the Ohio and St. Louis. Of these the "Account of Louisiana" published shortly after the cession says, "Ascending the river you come to Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis; though the inhabitants are numerous they raise little for exportation and content themselves with trading with the Indians and working lead mines."[41] Schultz, in 1807, counted nine considerable settlements between the mouth of the Ohio and Cape Girardeau, all made on Spanish grants; but on the eastern side of the river he found "not a single one."[42]

In St. Louis, Major Long met John Bradbury, the naturalist, who, as we have already seen, several years before traveled up the Missouri river. Bradbury was then preparing to erect a residence in St. Louis.[43]

Long departed from St. Louis on June 21st, and going up the Missouri observed that the place where the cantonment of Bellefontaine had been established by General Wilkinson, in 1805, was completely washed away, and that consequently, in 1810, this military establishment had been removed farther back "to its present site." He describes the cantonment as being built out of logs, one story high, based upon masonry and united in the form of a hollow square.

[38] Long's Expedition, p. 52.
[39] Life of Peck, p. 117.
[40] Long's Expedition, p. 55.
[41] "An Account of Louisiana," p. 13.
[42] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 33.
[43] Long's Expedition, p. 58.

St. Charles was then a declining town of about one hundred houses, but containing many substantial brick buildings. Long tells us that owing to the loss of the fur trade the town for several years had been in a decaying condition, but that the settlement of the surrounding agricultural country "had now placed the business of the town on a more permanent basis."[44]

Above Point Labadie a fine field of wheat on the river belonging to a Virginia farmer attracted attention. Loutre island was then well settled, and Long makes mention of the farm of Talbot from Kentucky, who had located on this island in 1810. This farm, he says, was in a high state of cultivation, furnishing his boat an abundant supply of poultry and numerous vegetables. He mentions the immense size of the timber on Loutre island, and records that out of one walnut tree a farmer made two hundred fence rails eleven feet long and from four to six inches thick, and out of one cottonwood tree 30,000 shingles.

The development of the country since Brackenridge and Bradbury passed up the river a few years before is shown by the fact that now several saw mills were in operation on the Gasconade river, floating their product to market down stream, and that a town was projected at the mouth of the river to be called "Gasconade." The fact that a large claim of Chouteau at the mouth of the Osage, evidently the claim of Noel Mongrain, nephew of "White Hair," retarded the settlement of the country, is also noted.

At this time Franklin was a very important town and still growing rapidly. Although only two and one-half years old, this place contained one hundred and twenty log houses, several two-story frame houses, two brick buildings, thirteen stores, four taverns, two smith shops, two large steam mills, two billiard rooms, a Courthouse a log prison, a post-office and a printing office issuing a weekly newspaper. Brick sold at that time, at Franklin, at ten dollars a thousand, corn at twenty-five cents a bushel, bacon at ten to twelve cents a pound, and the price of labor was seventy-five cents a day. The price of uncleared land had already advanced to ten and fifteen dollars per acre; yet in 1816, three years before, only thirty families resided on the left bank of the Missouri river above Côte sans Dessein. In this short period, the population here and in this neighborhood

[44] But in 1834, Featherstonhaugh describes St. Charles as "a poor tatterdemalion looking place, presenting a long street with some old French houses and shabby brick stores, where a few American shopkeepers are wasting away their lives." Excursion through the Slave States, vol. 1, p. 286.

had increased to eight hundred families. That the flow of travel in this direction was great is shown by the fact that Austin had a public road from Potosi to the Boonslick country cut out in 1817[45] in order to draw a portion of the emigration through the mining districts.[46] Franklin was the cradle of the Santa Fe trade. In the effort to secure the Santa Fe trade the people of the Missouri territory were deeply interested. It was known to be profitable and known too that the people of New Mexico were anxious to secure merchandise from the traders on the Mississippi. Even before the cession an effort was made by William Morrison, the most important merchant in the Mississippi valley at that time, to secure some of this trade and to that end he sent an agent named Lalande to Santa Fe, but he never returned, proving a faithless servant. In 1796 the Governor of New Mexico sent Pedro Vial from Santa Fe to St. Louis to trace out a road to that town. In 1805 James Pursley started out from St. Louis to hunt and trap in the west and from the waters of the South Platte found his way to Santa Fe, where he remained and followed the trade of a carpenter quite profitably, except when he worked for the officials. In 1812 when the revolution of Hidalgo occurred and it was supposed that the Spanish dominion of Mexico was at an end Robert McKnight, James Baird, and Samuel Chambers, organized a trading expedition to Santa Fe, but when they reached the town they found that the revolution had collapsed and Hidalgo executed. They were arrested and confined to prison at various places in northern Mexico and not released until the final success of the revolution under Iturbide. They returned in 1821-2.[47] In 1815 A. P. Chouteau and Julius De Mun, supposing that they would be favorably received by the authorities of New Mexico, organized another trading venture to Santa Fe and which they thought promised well, but a change of officers taking place they were on their arrival arrested, imprisoned and a part of the time held in irons, their goods confiscated and after about three years allowed to return, losing some $30,000 in this enterprise. All this deterred others from attempting any trade intercourse in that direction, although it is highly probable that an occasional trader made a successful trip into that region, and returned with large profits and no doubt stories of still greater profits to be made, if conditions were more favorable. But no well

[45] Brown's Gazetteer, p. 193.

[46] Schoolcraft's Travels, p. 245.

[47] Chambers lived and died in Taos, Mexico; McKnight and Beard became wealthy and owned copper mines west of the Rio Grande.

concerted attempt to reach this territory was made until 1821 when William Becknell, a resident of Howard county, published his advertisement in the Franklin Intelligencer, to enlist "a company of men destined to the westward for the purpose of trading for horses and mules and catching wild animals of every description that we may for advantage to the company;" all men joining the expedition to bind themselves by oath to submit to such orders and rules as the company, when assembled, may adopt. Only seventy signers were to be received up to August 4th, and all men wishing to go were ordered to meet at Ezekiel Williams', the same Williams already known to us as the "Lost Trapper," on the Missouri river five miles above Franklin, to secure a pilot and appoint officers. But at this meeting only seventeen men met and Becknell was chosen captain. It was then resolved that thirty men would be a number large enough to undertake the expedition and that the company as organized would cross the Missouri September first, at Arrow Rock, and which it did, returning in January, 1822, after a successful trip. It is thus that Becknell became the founder of the highly profitable Santa Fe trade, of which Franklin for a number of years was the center.

Unfortunately, Franklin was laid out in the Missouri bottom on a recent alluvial plain. Long thought that the river would encroach upon the banks and wash away the town, and this supposition was very shortly verified. Boonville, situated on the opposite side of the river from Franklin, then consisted of only eight houses, but Long thought that it "has a more advantageous situation" and that it was probably "destined to rival if not surpass its neighbor." Game was then becoming scarce on the lower Missouri, and most of the deer and larger animals, as well as turkeys, had fled from that part of the country, although "a few years since, they were extremely abundant." [48]

In 1818 Chariton was founded, and "promised to become one of the most important towns of the Missouri." In 1819 the town contained about fifty houses and about five hundred inhabitants "on a spot where two years previous no permanent habitation had been established." "Such is the rapidity," Long observes, "with which the forests of Missouri are becoming filled with an enterprising and industrious population." [49]

[48] Long's Expedition, p. 98. Among the first settlers of Chariton county was Col. Hiram Craig, son of Robert Craig, one of the heroes of King's Mountain.

[49] Ibid., p. 97

And not only along the river, but also in the interior of the country, many new settlements were founded after the close of the war of 1812. Thus Augustus Thrall settled in 1816 in what is now Boone county and the neighborhood in which he established himself became known as Thrall's Prairie. Here John and William Berry, William Baxter and Reuben Gentry also settled. Columbia and the State University is now situated in this locality. In 1816 farms were opened on the Boonslick trace by Aaron Watson, William Coats, a Baptist preacher, and his brother, James Coats, John Logan, Joseph Callaway, Robert Read, Thomas Kitchens, William Pratt, and John Gibson, all within the present limits of Callaway. James Van Bibber then had a farm at "Van Bibber's Lick." Van Bibber married Eliza Hays, a granddaughter of Daniel Boone. On the Aux Vase, nine miles from Fulton, on this Boonslick road, another settlement sprang up.[50] Martin Palmer hunted and trapped in the limits of the present Carroll county in 1817 and in 1819, John Stanley and William Turner settled near the place where is now located Carrolton. In the later year a number of pioneer immigrants also settled in what is now Clay county.[51] An Englishman named Robert Littleby, hunted and trapped on a small stream now known as Littleby creek, a tributary of Salt river, in the territory of Audrain county in 1818, but in 1822 moved to the Platte country. As early as 1808, a number of immigrants from South Carolina and Kentucky settled in Pike county.[52] John Bozarth was the first settler near

[50] Among settlers of Callaway county at Côte sans Dessin were François, Louis and Jean Roy, Jos. Rivard, Jos. Tibeau, François Tayon, Louis Labrosse, Louis Vincennes, Baptiste Groza and Baptiste and Louis Des Noyer. Captain Coursault also was a resident there and appears to have been in command of a company in the war of 1812. In 1817 or a little after this date Gen. Jonathan Ramsay, Asa Williams, Thomas Smith and Jesse and George Adams settled near here.

[51] Among the first settlers of Clay county we find John Owens, Sam McGee, Ben. Hensley, William Campbell, John Wilson, Zachariah Everett, John Boaley and George Coltier.

[52] Among these settlers were James Templeton, James Venable, Andrew Jordan, Carroll Moss, John Hynem, James Orr, Jacob Lames, Joseph Holliday, Charles Montjoy, William Berry, Isaac Ash, John Bryson, Abner Hobbs, Robert Anderson, James Cox, Jos. McCoy, James Johnson, John Caldwell, Michael J. Noyes, William P. Halliday, James Watson, David James, Willis Mitchell, Jesse H. Lane, Sam Small, Sam Watson, William Lee, Moses Kelley, Sam McGary, W. K. Perkins, John Bayse, David Watson, John Turner, Hugh Gordon, James Mackey, John Lewis, John M. Jordon, Sam Kean, Ephraim W. Beasley, James Crider, Steven Clever, James Culbertson, Abraham Thomas, Thos. Cunningham, Wm. McConnell, John Watts, William Denny, James Crider, David Guernsey, William Brown, Ben Burbridge, Harrison Booth, Mathias Nichols. James Burns settled near the present town of Clarksville in 1800, and came from South Carolina; near him settled the Watsons, Alexander

LaGrange[53] in Lewis county. On one of the prongs of Salt river, half way between Paris and Florida, in the limits of Monroe, Jos. Smith and Alexander Smith established themselves in 1818.[54] James Stark settled in 1811 about three miles north of New London, in Ralls county.

Between the Chariton and Grand river, a number of settlements were formed, but no settlement existed in 1816 at any point west of Grand river, and there was only one solitary trading house, and a single residence of a family, at the mouth of Grand river. The Saukees and Foxes, Pottowatomies and Iowas still hunted along the waters of this stream, and elk and deer were yet numerous. Below Grand river a ferry had been established across the Missouri at Arrow Rock by Henry Becknell. The ferry-boat was made, as was the custom with the first settlers, by two canoes lashed together with a flat frame covering them both, and surrounded by a slight rail to prevent the cattle and stock falling off into the river.[55]

The high prairie grass beyond the settlement rendered traveling difficult in that region, but the alternating forests and meadows, apparently arranged in perfect order, gave the country on this side of the river a lovely appearance, as if it was inhabited. Dr. Sappington,

Allison, the Jordans, William McConnell, Thomas Cunningham, John Turner, John Walker, Abraham Thomas, in about 1808; all these settlers coming from South Carolina. In 1809 additional settlers arrived from Kentucky, among them James O'Neal, William Reading, Ben Gray, John Watts, David Todd, William and Joseph Holliday, Mordecai Amos, Stephen Ruddle, a son of Isaac Ruddle of Ruddle's fort, captured by the Indians and who was a brother of Abraham and George Ruddle who settled in the New Madrid district during the Spanish government. Stephen Ruddle was a pioneer preacher.

Among the early residents of Pike county in 1818, we find Elijah Hendricks, who served under Washington in the New Jersey campaign, then under Gen. Sullivan in a campaign against the Indians, and finally was taken prisoner at Charleston when that place surrendered, remaining a prisoner until 1781. James Caldwell was the first sheriff of Pike county. The first court of the county was held in the house of Obadiah Dickson: David Todd was judge and S. Brickey the circuit attorney. At this term of court Ezra Hunt was admitted to the practice of the law. Jos. McCoy, Daniel McCue, Eli Burkelow, George Myers, Andrew Edwards and Joseph Harpoel settled on Ramsay's creek in 1811, and John Mackey and James Templeton on Buffalo. Col. James Johnson built a mill in Louisiana after he arrived in 1818. James Burns built a mill above Clarksville and John Watson built a mill in the county in 1820.

[53] Robert M. Easton, Llewellyn Brown and Aaron Crane settled near Canton in 1811.

[54] Among the first settlers of Monroe county we find Ezra Fox, Daniel Jacob and Andrew Wittenburg, who settled near Middle Grove in about 1819. The first land entries in the county were made in 1818 by Joseph Holliday, Bennett Goldberry and in 1819 by JohnTaylor, Alex. Clark and Daniel McCoy.

[55] At St. Louis, in 1818, the ferry consisted of two small keel-boats thus fastened together. Darby well describes the manner of crossing the river there. It then took three days to transfer his father's effects across the river, and cost fifty dollars. Darby's Recollections, p. 2.

who came to the territory in 1817, first lived near Glasgow, but in 1819 removed to Arrow Rock and was in 1819 the first physician in what is now Saline county. In his practice he first used quinine, and Dr. John Sappington's Anti-Fever Pills were celebrated in the territory. Another settler of this county was Henry Nave, who came from Cooke county, Tennessee, in 1816. He was a soldier of the war of 1812. Nimrod Jenkins from Tennessee, John Bowles and Thomas Marlin were the first settlers in Pettis county. Henry Reed settled on the Burbeuse in Gasconade in 1812, and prior to this time James Roark lived three miles south of Herman.[56] At what is now called Bonnet's Mills a number of French settled in 1805 within the present limits of Osage county. In Moniteau county in 1816 the first settlers were Abram Otis, William Parker, Jackson Vivian and John Longan, all from Kentucky, and John and Curtis Johnson, Charles Mathews and George Pettigrew, Jos. Williams, Johnson McDaniels, Daniel McKenney and George Cooper who came in the following year. Thomas Stephens, Nathan Huff and Thos. Strain from Tennessee also settled in this county in 1817. In Maries county in 1820, Joseph Coates settled in what has since become known as Lane's Prairie. Here too settled Thomas Johnson and his sons, Daniel Waldo Joseph Renfro, George Snodgrass, William Land, all from North Carolina. Lane built the first distillery in that locality, and in what in now southwest Missouri John Pettijohn, Price and Augustine Friend, and others first came to make a settlement in 1820. This Augustine Friend was a resident on White river in 1819, and is mentioned by Schoolcraft. Pettijohn was a Virginian, a Revolutionary soldier. He came up White river from the Arkansas territory with 22 others, and they all established themselves near Springfield. One Jeremiah Pierson first built a mill on the Pomme de Terre. Near him lived George Wells, Isaac Prosser, and Nathan Burrill, a son-in-law of Pettijohn. James Fisher and William Holt resided in 1819 where the town of Forsyth, county seat of Taney county, is now built. They guided Schoolcraft and Pettibone who found them there in the wilderness, to the upper branches of James Fork in what is now Green county. Zimri Carter settled on Current river in 1820, not far from the present town of Van Buren in Carter county,

[56] William West, Isaac Perkins, G. Packett, and James Kegans were early trappers and hunters on the Gasconade. The first real estate owners of Gasconade county were Isaac Best and a man by the name of Callahan, who had a horse grist mill on the Gasconade, but was driven away by the Indians and swam down the Missouri eight miles to Talbot's Fort on Loutre island to escape.

so named for him. The Chiltons, Colemans and other families also settled in that neighborhood at that time or shortly after.

The rapid growth of the country is shown by the fact that in 1820, cornfields of several hundred acres in extent were noted far up the Missouri. Although the country along this river had only been settled for three or four years flat-boats loaded with produce of the country sailed from Franklin down the river to New Orleans. The St. Louis "Enquirer" says, under date of November, 1820, "St. Louis witnessed during the last week the no less uncommon and gratifying sight of several flat-boats laden with produce from the country high up the Missouri, descending the Missouri destined for New Orleans; these boats are the van of a much greater number on their way from the Boonslick settlement."

II.

St. Louis made the Seat of Government of the Territory—Growth of St. Louis—Appearance of St. Louis—Incorporated in 1808—Road Authorized by the Territorial Legislature to Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid—Opened in 1813—Revenue of St. Louis—Fire Companies—First Street Improvements—Market House—Lisa builds the first Brick-house—Survey of the Town by Brown—First contested Village Election—Water Supply—Jealousy of St. Charles—Cape Girardeau laid out in 1805 by Lorimier—Road Established from there to St. Genevieve in 1806—Jackson laid out in 1815—Appearance of Jackson in 1818—Peck—The German Settlement on Whitewater—New Madrid—The New Madrid Harbor—Scene in, described by Flint—Decline of New Madrid—The Earthquake of 1811—Extent of—Cause of Earthquake, Various Theories—Audubon's notice of it—Description of the Earthquake by Senator Linn—Noticed on the Kaskaskia—At Cincinnati—Described by Bradbury—Louis Bringier's description—The Earth opens at Various Places—River runs backward—Lands Sink—The Description of it by Mrs. Bryant—LeSieur's Description—Flint's Observations Seven years Afterwards of its Effects—Little Prairie Destroyed—Reelfoot Lake—Continues from Time to Time for several Months—Effect in Cape Girardeau—Act of Congress for Relief—Frauds resulting from this Act—Description of New Madrid by Nuttall in 1818—St. Michael now Fredericktown in 1820—Potosi—Picture of, by Schoolcraft—Large Sales of Public Lands—New towns founded on the Missouri and Mississippi and Names of same—Disappearance of most of these—Jefferson City Located and made Seat of State Government—Sawmills, Tanyards—Various Industries of the Pioneer Settlers detailed—Lead Mines—Shot Towers—Fur Trade—Banks—Early Merchants—Steamboats—Change Made by Steamboat Travel—A Question whether Boats could Navigate the Missouri—Flint's comparison between Keelboat and Steamboat Travel.

For a time after the cession of Louisiana, where would be the principal business and political center of the new territory of upper Louisiana, was a matter of doubt. Ste. Genevieve had a larger population than St. Louis. The principal and most important American

settlement was located near the post of Cape Girardeau, although no town had been laid out formally in the Cape Girardeau district. The French population predominated in the St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts. The New Madrid district was largely settled by Americans, but the older French settlers before the cession neglected agriculture and the population began to decline. Scattered through all the districts was a large English-speaking population, which Stoddard at the time of the purchase estimated to constitute fully one-half of the population of the country. The Spanish Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana had his residence in St. Louis, and only a few years before the cession, the sub-intendency of New Madrid was attached to upper Louisiana, consequently giving increased importance to St. Louis as the seat of government and the capital. Much, therefore, would depend upon the enterprise of the people of the respective places as to where the seat of government, and consequently, the commercial and political center of the new territory, would finally be established. When Stoddard took possession of upper Louisiana, he was instructed by Jefferson to make no changes. Accordingly, he simply assumed the position of DeLassus, the last Spanish Governor and Commandant, taking up his residence in St. Louis. After, in 1804, upper Louisiana was attached to the Indiana territory, Vincennes, the seat of government of this territory, also became the seat of government for upper Louisiana. When the officials came to St. Louis, in 1804, they divided the country west of the river into five districts, and for each district appointed a Lieutenant-Governor Commandant, and a Sheriff and Recorder, and also in each district established courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions. These district officials resided in St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, St. Charles, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, and were independent each of the other and the courts were held in these places. After the Act of 1805 was passed and General Wilkinson appointed Governor of the new "Louisiana Territory" he took up his residence in St. Louis, although the Act of 1805 did not provide that that place should be the seat of government of the new territory, but in 1806, the new territorial legislature provided that the general court of the territory "should sit twice a year in St. Louis, in May and October." When Lewis was appointed Governor to succeed Wilkinson, he also made St. Louis his seat of government.

St. Louis being the place of residence of the Governor, the territorial officers and the Supreme court, this soon brought there

some of the most enterprising Americans. The French traders of St. Louis had always been the most progressive and enterprising men in upper Louisiana under the old régime. Men like Pierre and Auguste Chouteau, Manuel de Lisa, Clamorgan, Cerré, Gratiot, Bouies, Robidoux, Pratte and others, as soon as they adjusted themselves to the new condition of affairs, were not slow to take advantage of the new and larger opportunities offered them by the change of government. Thus, aided by a location near the mouth of the Missouri river, then the artery to the great field of the fur trade, and the country along this river rapidly settling up with an intelligent and progressive American population, St. Louis quickly became the commercial metropolis of the new territory, the center of military operations, legislative action and political activity in the west.

When Stoddard came to St. Louis in March, 1804, the town contained one hundred and eighty houses; some were built of stone, but not a greater number than in Ste. Genevieve. He says that some of the houses were in squares, enclosed with high stone walls; this, with the rocks scattered about the streets, accounts he thinks for the place being "uncomfortably warm in summer." A small sloping hill ascended to what is now Third street and beyond this an extensive prairie afforded plenty of hay and pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants. The town had two long streets running parallel with the river, along which the houses of the inhabitants were scattered at intervals. At the edge of the town could be seen a few stone towers, erected in 1797, and a wooden blockhouse stood near the lower end. The stone towers were unfinished, abandoned and dilapidated in 1804. Such was the appearance of St. Louis when Stoddard came there. In 1806 Ashe says that the town had "three hundred houses and eighteen hundred souls."[57] Schultz, with greater probability of accuracy, says that, in 1807, the town only had two hundred houses; but he is impressed with their appearance, for he says that, "the whiteness of a considerable number of them, as they are rough cast and whitewashed, appears to great advantage as you approach the town."[58] General Bissell, when he arrived in 1809, describes the levee as marked by a perpendicular ledge of rocks, and the village as bounded on the west by Third street; that there were only a few buildings west of Second, and that where the Courthouse now stands was back in the prairie,

[57] Ashe's Travels, vol. 3, p. 132.

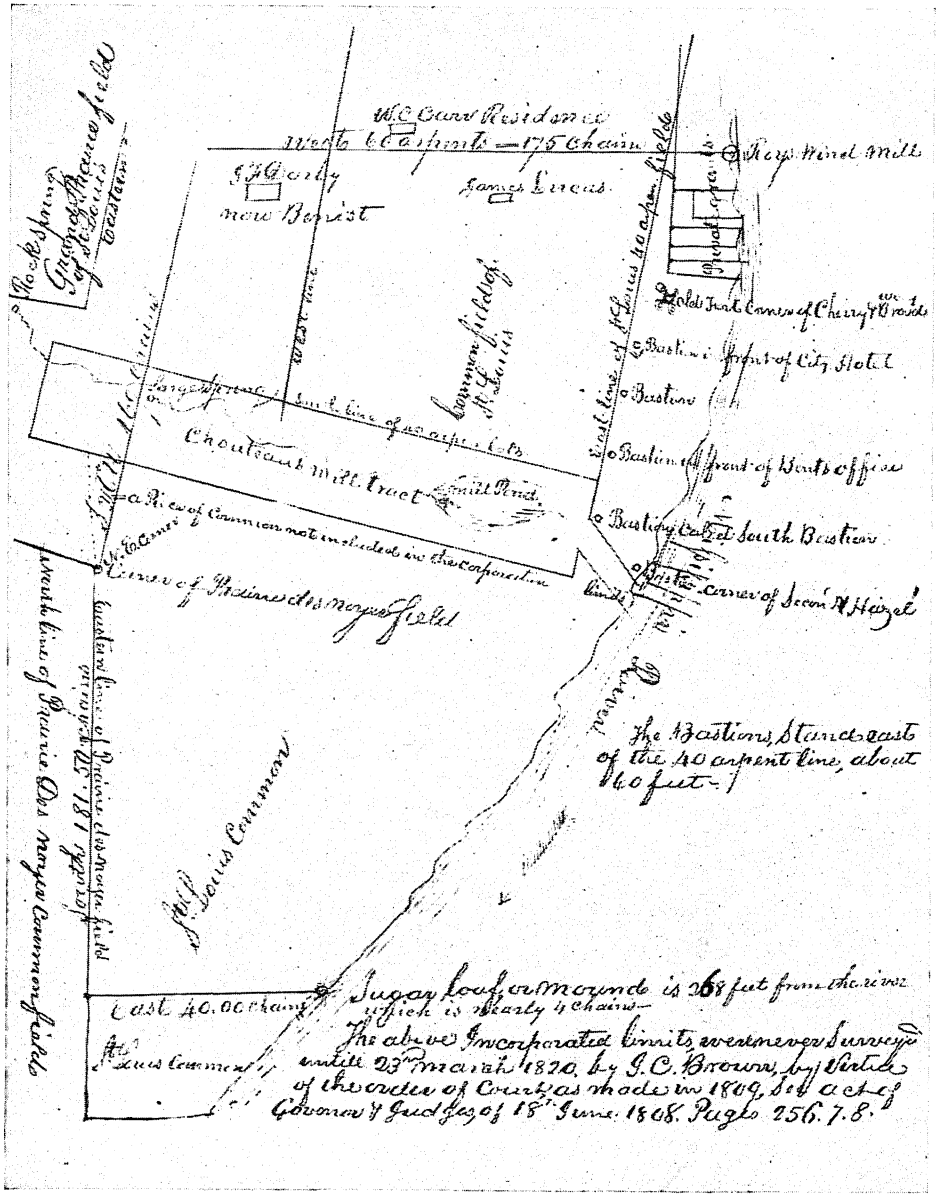
[58] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 39.

while at that time there was not a brick building in all the village. This was within five years after the acquisition of the territory. Flint remarks that as you approach the town "it shows like all the other French towns in this region, to much the greatest advantage at a distance."[59] Darby describes it as located on "a sloping hill rising from the first to the second bottom, and behind this an open prairie,"[60] and the hills which lie south and west of the town "branch off in so happy a manner that they form a great number of charming vales, enlivened and enriched by numberless rills of water."[61] St. Louis was then "full of gardens and fruit trees" and the air "in the proper season" was filled with fragrance "highly pleasing."[62]

In 1808 the judges of the court of Common Pleas, on the petition of two-thirds of the inhabitants, incorporated the town, and it thus became the first incorporated town or village in what is now Missouri, and west of the Mississippi river. Of course only a small area was embraced within the corporate limits. On July 3d, 1808, Auguste Chouteau, Edward Hempstead, Bernard Pratte, Pierre Chouteau and Alexander McNair were elected the first trustees, and Joseph W. Garnier, town clerk. In December, 1808, a meeting was called to meet on Sunday at the house of Auguste Chouteau to consult in reference to municipal affairs, for at that time a meeting of the people on Sunday, according to the practice during the Spanish government, was still deemed appropriate. Amongst the subjects engaging the attention of the village authorities were the ferry, and rates of the same, and the slaves and patrols. As to the latter any free person "associating with slaves at their balls or other amusements" was subject to a fine of ten dollars; if a free white person, free negro or mulatto was found in the company of an unlawful meeting of slaves he was subject to a fine of three dollars, and on failure to pay same it was ordained that such person "shall receive on his or her naked back twenty lashes well laid on." The whipping post of St. Louis was located where the Courthouse now stands.[63]

In 1808 the territorial legislature established the first public territorial road from St. Louis to New Madrid, through Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau, and the road was opened in 1813. This

[59] Flint's Recollections, p. 110.
[60] Darby's Emigrant Guide, (1819), p. 143.
[61] Ashe's Travels, vol. 3, p. 123.
[62] Ibid., p. 122.
[63] Hyatt's Biography, in Book of Letters, Missouri Historical Society.



SURVEY OF ST. LOUIS BY BROWN

road became the principal post route from St. Louis to southeast Missouri. In the following year (1809) the subject of streets and sidewalks began to be agitated in St. Louis. Although the amount of business was comparatively small, the village became important as a point where Indian trading expeditions for the west were fitted out. In 1810 the first ordinance levying a license tax on tavern keepers, merchants, on barges, carriages, slaves, wheels of fortune, billiard tables, and on every dog over and above one for each family, was adopted. The dog tax was fixed at $2 an animal. The total revenue from all sources only amounted to $529.68 in that year, and of this sum the clerk, Garnier, received $115.86 for his services, and Mr. Charless for printing the laws, $114. Usually little money was in circulation; in fact, not as much as during the Spanish government. Under ordinance the citizens were also enrolled into two fire companies, of which Pierre Dodier and Bernard Pratte[64] were respectively made captains. The failure to obtain money to pay for a fire engine by means of a lottery, as authorized by the Act of 1817, resulted in the organization of the "North" and "South" St. Louis fire companies, and in 1819 two small rotary fire engines were purchased in Cincinnati, the money being secured by private subscription. These engines were very primitive in construction, "the pumping machinery" being worked by two large iron wheels, one on each side, revolved by the hands of persons standing on the ground and communicating the power through cogs. One of these first engines was called "None-such."

In 1811, rules and regulations were made for improving the streets of St. Louis. In that year the total revenue amounted to $632.87, of which sum the Markethouse, then in course of construction, absorbed $420, and Mr. Charless received $50 for printing the ordinances. In the same year the first ordinance punishing a breach of the Sabbath day was enacted, and it was distinctly ordained that no person should keep open "any store for the purpose of vending goods or merchandise." What a revolution in customs and manners this must have appeared to the old French settlers!

In 1812 the new Markethouse was built with fifteen stalls, and the rent for a stall was fixed by ordinance at ten dollars per annum. Under the Territorial Act of 1813 the receipts and expenditures of the town of St. Louis, and of Ste. Genevieve, were required to be published for the years 1814–15. The total receipts of St. Louis for that fiscal year amounted to only $1,202.33.

[64] General Bernard Pratte moved to St. Louis from Ste. Genevieve in 1794.

The first brick house in St. Louis was built on the corner of Main and Chestnut in the year 1812 or 1813, by Manuel Lisa. In 1815 the population of the town had increased to 2,600, and the total population of the county and town was reported at 7,395. In this year there was ordered the first survey of the town lots, so as to actually ascertain the size of the blocks and lots of the village. The lot upon which Auguste Chouteau resided was first surveyed and made the basis of this complete survey. Joseph C. Brown, United States Deputy Surveyor, in 1818 finished the survey of the town and made a plat of the same.

In 1819 the first contested village election took place. At this election one hundred and sixty-eight votes were polled as against fifteen or twenty at former elections.[65] This year was also notable because the first work of paving the streets was inaugurated, Market street from Main to the levee being thus improved. From December 1817 to January 1819 the total receipts of the town amounted to $1,307.11. Watchmen then received the greater part of the revenue, $768.50; the constable, Warner, $56.25; the Register, $338.25; and for the "Bell-ringer" of St. Louis we find an item of $41; "trumpets for the watchmen" cost $3.50. About this time the question of a city charter began to be agitated, but the town was not incorporated as a city until after the admission of Missouri into the Union, the first legislature, December 22, 1822, granting a charter. Dr. Wm. Carr Lane[66] was the first Mayor of St. Louis, being elected by one hundred and twenty-two votes, Auguste Chouteau receiving seventy votes, and M. P. Leduc twenty-eight votes. In 1821 St. Louis contained 621 dwellings, 232 built of brick and remainder of wood; population then 5,600.

For their water supply the original inhabitants of St. Louis relied on a few springs which originally existed in the neighborhood where Laclede established his trading post; indeed, it is likely these springs to some extent determined the location of Laclede's warehouse.

[65] At this election Julius DeMun, Thomas McKnight, William C. Carr, Henry VonPhul, Pascal Cerrè and Joseph Charless were elected. The defeated candidates were Fremon Delaurier, Alexander McNair, J. P. Cabanne, M. P. Leduc, Antoine Daugin and Thomas H. Benton. It is very evident that in this election political and not municipal questions were made paramount.

[66] Dr. Lane was born in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, December 1, 1789; attended Jefferson and Dickinson's colleges; volunteered to fight the Indians in northwest Indiana; was appointed Surgeon's Mate at Fort Harrison; lived at Vincennes; in 1816 attended lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1819 located in St. Louis where he died in 1863. He was Governor of New Mexico under Fillmore; a notable figure in the history of St. Louis.

But after the growth of the village the inhabitants were dependent on the river for their water supply, and they secured it in various ways, principally by carrying the water by hand from the river to their respective homes. Several efforts were made to secure a supply of water by digging wells; Auguste Chouteau sank two, one of these being over one hundred feet deep, going through the limestone; but only a limited supply of water was thus secured.

At St. Charles some jealousy of St. Louis seems to have existed after the seat of the state government was established there. "St. Louis," says *The Missourian*, "is certainly a place of business. Its advantages, however, result from its water communications, not from its eligibility as a thoroughfare for emigrants by land to Missouri." The route upon which the contemplated national road should be built was then a subject of agitation. Whether it should strike the Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri and lead to St. Charles, or below the mouth of the Missouri opposite St. Louis, was a matter much discussed. *The Missourian* says that it "feels little anxiety on the subject, and that the chance of getting the road to St. Louis, we think, quite small, believing that Congress will be disposed to favor the emigrant who removes to Missouri with his family, stock, etc., rather than the well mounted gentlemen cavaliers who travel to see that famous city."

When Louisiana was acquired by the United States, not a single village had been laid out in the Cape Girardeau district, and accordingly Governor Harrison issued a proclamation in which he says that he has not sufficient information to determine upon a site for the permanent seat of justice in this district, and that therefore, until further information, he orders that the courts of Common Pleas and General Quarter Sessions, and of the Orphan's court of said district shall be held at "Cape Girardo" upon the lands of Louis Lorimier; and he appoints the judges of the court of General Quarter Sessions of said district Commissioners to receive proposals for the location of the seat of justice for the district. These Commissioners accepted an offer of Lorimier "at Cape Girardo" of four acres of ground anywhere "between Thorn's creek and the Shawnee path," and two hundred dollars cash and thirty days' labor of a man towards the erection of a public building. Accordingly, in 1806, by proclamation, Governor Harrison located the seat of justice for this district at this place. In the same year Lorimier laid out the town. Yet it is singular that from 1793, when Lorimier settled where the

town of Cape Girardeau now stands, until the establishment of the courts in this district by the United States, no town or settlement should have been formed there, and that from his isolated residence on the river, simply known as the "post Cape Girardeau" during the Spanish government, he should have managed the civil and military affairs of the district. Immediately after the courts were established, however, a town rapidly developed. A petition filed in 1805 in the new court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, prays for a road from "Lorimier's ferry"— by which name Cape Girardeau seems then to have been known — to William Dougherty's, a farm adjacent to the present city of Jackson. In the same year the settlers petitioned for a road from the William Dougherty's place to connect with the one leading from the upper Delaware town to Ste. Genevieve, thus opening a road from Ste. Genevieve to Cape Girardeau. But when Lorimier's title to the league square, which had been granted him by the Spanish authorities, was rejected by the first Board of Commissioners, the growth of the village stopped at once. Everything was unsettled; all speculation in town lots and land was cut off and, consequently, the more enterprising emigrants moved elsewhere; nor was the title to this land grant settled until 1836. The surrounding country, however, rapidly filled up with settlers. It was observed by Stoddard, in 1804, that the increase of population in the Cape Girardeau district was greater than anywhere else in the territory, with a possible exception of the St. Charles district. After the acquisition of the country by the United States, the farmers of the Cape Girardeau district organized "three large companies of militia."[67] The exports of this district at that time were wheat, corn, tobacco, flax, hemp and cotton, and annually considerable quantities of beef, pork, lard, smoked hams, and some peltry, were shipped in flatboats by the farmers to New Orleans. In 1814, owing to the unsatisfactory condition of the title, and the death of Lorimier in 1811, the county seat was moved to Jackson and a new town laid out, ten miles west of Cape Girardeau, in a country even then compactly settled. This town site was purchased from General William H. Ashley, who had obtained the same on his marriage with a daughter of Ezekiel Able. This new town, the second in the district, adjoined the land of William Neely, William Dougherty and Joseph Sewell, all representatives in the early territorial legislatures and councils. In 1818, this town had a popu-

[67] Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 214.

lation of three hundred souls. It was described by Flint as "a considerable village on a hill, with the Kentucky outline of dead trees and huge logs lying on all sides in the fields." The population had gathered there from almost all parts of the Union, the young men predominating. Peck says that Jackson, in 1818, according to notes he made on the subject, "contained between sixty and seventy dwelling houses, five stores, two shoemaker shops, one tannery, two good schools, one for males the other for females;" and, he adds, the population "in and around Jackson were more moral, intelligent, and truly religious than the people of any village or settlement in the territory." [68] But Flint does not agree with him: "Among these people I sojourned, and preached, more than a year, and my time passed more devoid of interest, or of attachment, or comfort, or utility, than in any other part of the country. The people are extremely rough. Their country is a fine range for all species of sectaries, furnishing the sort of people in abundance who are ignorant, bigoted, and think by devotion to some favored preacher or sect, to atone for the want of morals and decency, and everything that appertains to the spirit of Christianity." [69] The first Courthouse at Jackson was a log structure, and so was the jail. On the public square was located the whipping post and pillory. On October 18, 1820, Major Long and party arrived at Jackson,— "after St. Louis and St. Charles" he says, "one of the largest towns in Missouri." At this time Jackson was rapidly increasing in wealth and population, and was called "a thriving village." Long says that the town then contained "more than fifty houses, which though built of logs, seem to aspire to a degree of importance unknown to the simple dwellings of the scattered and solitary settlers, assuming an appearance of consequence and superiority similar to that we immediately distinguished in the appearance and manners of the people. Our horses, never having been accustomed to such displays of magnificence, signified great reluctance to enter the village. Whips and heels were exercised with unusual animation, but in a great measure without effect, until we dismounted, when by dint of coaxing, pushing, kicking and whipping, we at length urged our clownish animals up to the door of the inn." [70]

Flint was greatly interested in the German settlement along

[68] Life of Peck, p. 119.

[69] Flint's Recollections, p. 232.

[70] Long's Expedition, vol. 3, p. 146.

White-water, about six miles west of Jackson, formed during the Spanish government. He says, "the people have in fact preserved their nationality and language more unmixed than even in Pennsylvania." At a meeting in the woods at which he was present, among four hundred people assembled there not more than half a dozen were of English descent, and while all understood familiar and colloquial English and could express themselves therein, they did so "with a peculiar German accent, pronunciation and phrase." Living along a clear and beautiful stream in the forest, having but little communication with other people, according to Flint they preserved their "peculiarities in an uncommon degree." They were all Lutherans, and anxious for religious instruction, although every farmer had his distillery "and the pernicious poison, whiskey, dribbles from the corn." But Flint laments that they did not want religion to interfere with "the native beverage" of the "honest Dutch," and they argued that "the swearing and drunkenness of a Dutchman was not so bad as that of an American." Their horses were large; they themselves were of gigantic size, and they were prosperous farmers. The descendants of these "North Carolina" or "White-water Dutch," have now, however, become completely Americanized and forgotten their old tongue, although in many homes the ancient German Bibles are yet to be found.

South of Cape Girardeau, New Madrid was long a most important town, owing to its situation just below the mouth of the Ohio. During the Spanish règime, all boats were compelled to land here to have their cargoes inspected. The harbor was always filled with flatboats, "broad-horns" and keel-boats. Nor did this town lose its importance until some time after the cession. When Flint first went down the Mississippi he thus described the scene on the river at the mouth of Bayou St. John: "In the spring, one hundred boats have been numbered, that landed in one day at the mouth of the Bayou, at New Madrid. I have strolled to the point on a spring evening, and seen them arriving in fleets. The boisterous gayety of the hands, the congratulations, the moving picture of life on board the boats, in the numerous animals, large and small, which they carry, their different loads, the evidence of the increasing agriculture of the country above, and more than all, the immense distances which they have already come, and those which they have still to go, afforded to me copious sources of meditation. You can name no point from the numerous rivers of the Ohio and the Mississippi from which some

of these boats have not come. In one place there are boats loaded with planks, from the pine forests of the southwest of New York. In another quarter there are the Yankee notions of Ohio. From Kentucky, pork, flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, bagging, and bale-rope. From Tennessee there are the same articles, together with great quantities of cotton. From Missouri and Illinois, cattle and horses, the same articles generally as from Ohio, together with peltry and lead from Missouri. Some boats are loaded with corn in the ear and in bulk; others with barrels of apples and potatoes. Some have loads of cider, and what they call "cider royal," or cider that has been strengthened by boiling or freezing. There are dried fruits, every kind of spirits manufactured in these regions, and in short, the products of the ingenuity and agriculture of the whole upper country of the west. They have come from regions, thousands of miles apart. They have floated to a common point of union. The surfaces of the boats cover some acres. Dunghill fowls are fluttering over the roofs, as an invariable appendage. The chanticleer raises his piercing note. The swine utter their cries. The cattle low. The horses trample, as in their stables. There are boats fitted on purpose, and loaded entirely with turkeys, that, having little else to do, gobble most furiously. The hands travel about from boat to boat, make inquiries, and acquaintances, and form alliances to yield mutual assistance to each other, on their descent from this to New Orleans. After an hour or two passed in this way, they spring on shore to raise the wind in town. It is well for the people of the village if they do not become riotous in the course of the evening; in which case I have often seen the most summary and strong measures taken. About midnight the uproar is all hushed. The fleet unites once more at Natchez, or New Orleans, and, although they live on the same river, they may, perhaps, never meet each other again on the earth." [71] But by 1804, the population had begun to diminish. In 1808 the town, according to Schultz, had not more than thirty indifferent houses, including the chapel which was fast tumbling to pieces.[72] The bank of the river was constantly caving and fast taking away the town as laid out by Colonel George Morgan. At that time the greater portion of what was intended as Front street already had been washed away, and every one was making allowance

[71] Flint's Recollections, pp. 103-4.

[72] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 103. The Catholic chapel built by Father Gibault.

for the daily "changes and inroads of this mighty river." Cumings, who passed there in 1809, says that the town contained one hundred houses "much scattered, on a fine plain of two miles square, on which, however, the river has encroached during the twenty-two years since it was first settled, so that the bank is now half a mile behind the old bounds, and the inhabitants have had to remove repeatedly further back." [73] The population was composed of French-Canadians, Americans and Germans. The people, Cumings says, have plenty of cattle, but otherwise "are very poor." Drygoods sold enormously high, and travellers complained that they were charged "immensely for any domestic necessaries, such as milk, butter, fowls, eggs, etc." A militia company was the only organization, and the officers wore cockades "in chapeaus as a mark of distinction, although the rest of their dress should only be a dirty, ragged hunting shirt and trousers." The church was without a priest. Cumings says that the inhabitants still regretted the change of government, perhaps on account of the fact that the trade and traffic, necessarily caused by all boats being compelled to land, had ceased and thus the important business of the town had been destroyed.

Bradbury, December 14, 1811, notes that he found only a few straggling houses situated around a plain of from two to three hundred acres in extent and that in the town there were only two stores "indifferently furnished." Not quite two days after Bradbury left on his boat, with "Morin, patron," there occurred the earthquake which startled the world, and made the name of New Madrid a familiar one everywhere. Everything published about it at the time indicates that it was a most remarkable event. Subsequently seismologists chronicled the fact that it occurred about at the same period and seemed connected with similar great seismic disturbances in other parts of the world,— notably at Caracas, in South America, and at points in southern California. The New Madrid region was then only sparsely inhabited and the loss of life and property was therefore inconsiderable. The facts regarding this earthquake have almost faded from popular memory. Many otherwise intelligent persons now pretend to believe that it was no extraordinary occurrence, and that if it occurred at all, it has been grossly exaggerated. But this can in no wise diminish the phenomenal character of the occurrence, and as such it must be considered. The district most violently affected was about

[73] Cumings' Travels, p. 256.

Delaware Indians had a camp. In 1818 J. Hardeman Walker's big plantation had taken the place of the village. Between New Madrid and Little Prairie was the Ruddle settlement at Ruddle's Point, so named after Abram Ruddle, son of Isaac Ruddle, a family celebrated in the Indian wars of Kentucky.

In these days of steamboat navigation and rapid travel by rail, the picture of a voyage in a flatboat down the Mississippi among the islands of the river near Point Pleasant, which Cumings gives us in his journal is pleasant to read: "May 25th, when we were awoke to the enjoyment of a delightful morning, by the enchanting melody of the birds saluting the day — while the horn of a boat floating down the far side of the river was echoed and re-echoed from both shores, to all of which we added, with fine effect, some airs on the clarinet and octave flute. When we hauled out of the willows, several boats were in sight, which added much to the cheerfulness of the morning." [86]

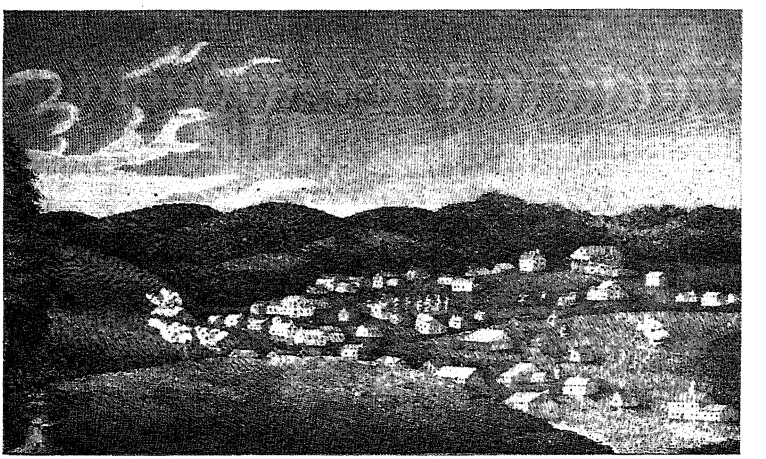
The only other villages in the interior south of St. Louis, prior to the admission of Missouri into the Union, were St. Michael (Fredericktown) and Potosi. St. Michael was originally established about a mile and a half from the present town in 1802, by a few French families. They had received grants of land, and according to the French custom, instead of building separately on the land granted them, they built a village, or rather a cluster of log houses, not far therefrom, along a stream of water known as Saline creek. In 1814, owing to a great overflow of the stream, this original village was abandoned by most of the people and a new one established about a mile and a half north, but, as usual, not all the residents moved to the new village. However, these French settlers built a Catholic church there in 1820. In 1819, when Madison county was organized Fredericktown was laid out on the opposite side of the creek from the new St. Michael village, on land belonging to Colonel Nathaniel Cook. The place was selected by commissioners appointed to locate the county seat of the new county. The new town was named "Fredericktown," in honor of George Frederick Bollinger of Cape Girardeau county.[87] The first merchants of the town were S. A. Guignon, S. B.

[86] Cuming's Tour to the West, p. 283.

[87] Theodore Tong, John Burdett and Henry Whitener were appointed the commissioners to locate the county seat and established it at the present Fredericktown, on the opposite side of the creek from the old settlement of St. Michael. William Easum, James and Samuel Campbell, John Mathews, John L. Petite, William Crawford, Daniel Phillips, Thomas Crawford, and Elijah O'Bannon settled in Madison county in 1818. The Whiteners and Mousers settled on the creeks known by these names in the same year.

Pratte and Moses and Caleb Cox. The town, however, did not grow rapidly. The trail or road into the Southwest and into Arkansas from St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve passed through St. Michael; and in 1819 there was also a road from Cape Girardeau, Jackson and St. Michael to St. Louis. In 1820 Fredericktown had about fifty houses.

We have seen how Mine à Breton became a "mining camp."[88] during the Spanish government. After Austin settled there and established his furnace and saw mills the village assumed a more



POTOSI IN 1819—ACCORDING TO SCHOOLCRAFT

permanent character. In 1807 Mine à Breton had about 40 houses and the village of Old Mines, situated about seven miles from Mine à Breton, in the little bottom of a fork of Big river, was composed of about fifteen cabins.[89] In 1812 Washington county was organized. The county seat was located opposite Mine à Breton,

[88] Vol. 1, p. 367.

[89] Among other early settlers of Potosi, we find John Brickey, first clerk of Washington county, who was born in Virginia in 1782 and settled in Potosi in 1812. John S. Brickey, also born in Virginia, but not related to John Brickey, was also an early settler, and the first resident attorney of Washington county. He died in 1872. Job Westover, who lived on the Saline during the Spanish government, a millwright by trade, after the cession moved to Potosi. He was a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, born in 1773, and died at Potosi in 1838. Abraham Brinker was an Indian trader at Potosi. On one of his trading expeditions southwest from Potosi, he was killed by the Indians. Timothy Phelps settled in Washington county in 1811. He was a native of Vermont. His daughter married Smith B. Breckinridge.

and named Potosi by Moses Austin, separated from the old mining camp only by Breton creek. Schoolcraft says that Potosi was built in better style than that prevailing in the other villages of the country, that it had a neat and thriving appearance and contained several handsome edifices; a Courthouse built on the Doric order, costing seven thousand dollars (then a large sum) gave much importance to the town. At this time Potosi aspired to become the capital of the new state. "The seat of Austin," Durham Hall, was also in this village. The town had three stores, two distilleries, one steam flour mill, nine lead furnaces, one saw mill and a post-office. A weekly mail was received from St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve; a mail from Arkansas once a month, and from the Boonslick country once in two weeks. Moses Austin and Stephen F., his son, Samuel Perry, John Rice Jones, Elijah Bates, Brickey, Elliott and Honey were among the principal early residents of the town. The total output of the local lead mines from 1798 to 1818 amounted to 9,360,000 pounds.

The Murphy settlement founded in about 1800, greatly increased in population after the change of government; so also did the one known as Cook's settlement; and those on the Saline in Bois Brûle, on the Plattin, the Joachim and the Maramec. Everywhere there was a marked increase in the value of land, and the larger opportunities opened by the new government were generally welcomed.

The public lands were rapidly surveyed, and the government established a land-office at Franklin, at Jackson and St. Louis, in 1818. To facilitate land purchases, by order of William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury in 1818, notes of the bank of Georgetown (District of Columbia) were made receivable in payment for land at these offices. George Bullit,[90] of Arkansas, was appointed Register, and John Trimble of Kentucky, Receiver of the Jackson land-office. Tunstall, also from Kentucky, was Receiver in 1820. Alexander McNair was Register, and Bernard Pratte, Receiver of the St. Louis land-office. Charles Carroll was Register of the Franklin land-office, and General Thomas A. Smith,[91] Receiver. Colonel

[90] Afterward removed to Ste. Genevieve and was elected representative of the county in 1812 to the legislature of the territory; married a daughter of Judge Richard S. Thomas.

[91] General Thomas A. Smith, a brother of John Smith T., was a native of Essex county, Virginia. He entered the army in 1800 as ensign, in 1803 was appointed Lieutenant, in 1806 Captain. He saw service on the Canadian

John Miller succeeded Carroll as Register in 1821. Land sales at the Franklin land-office in 1818 and 1819 produced seven million dollars; the average price being five dollars an acre.

The crowds of emigrants arriving and settling in the territory at this time, not only along the Missouri river, but many other points in the territory, was unexpected and unexampled. In 1819 according to the St. Louis Enquirer 120 wagons per week passed through St. Charles on the way to the Boonslick country for nine weeks in succession. In 1820 a large quantity of cotton was raised in that region by these new immigrants.

It was an era of town enterprises. Apparently every promising location along the rivers, as well as for some distance in the interior, was seized upon by some speculator to locate a town. Most of these early town enterprises have vanished from the map — Chariton, Thorntonsburg, "Louisville on Missouri river" as one town was named, Monticello, Washington, one mile from the present town of Overton, Houstonville opposite the present Rocheport, Nashville, Rectorville, Missouriton, Roche au Pierce, Gasconade at the mouth of the river of that name, Columbia at the head of the Petite Osage (Titsaw) bottom, and the town of Osage at the mouth of this river. Evidently it was thought that this town of Osage would become an important town and perhaps the capital of the future state, for we find as proprietors of the town, Angus Lewis Langham, William Rector, Alexander McNair, Samuel Hammond, Richard Gentry, Thomas Rector, Talbot Chambers, John McGunnegle, Henry W. Conway, James T. Beall, Stephen Glasscock and Thomas H. Benton, all aspiring politicians and office-holders. These towns all located on the Missouri, have disappeared, and in many instances the site even has been washed away by the treacherous current of the stream. Boonville, laid out in 1819 by Asa Morgan and Charles Lucas alone survives. On the Mississippi, the proprietors hoped that Wocondo, in Pike county, would become a great metropolis and they advertised that "its advantages are not surpassed by any

frontier. Was appointed Colonel and in 1814 Brigadier General. In 1815 he was in command of the western military department with headquarters at Bellefontaine. He resigned in 1818 when he was appointed Receiver of the Franklin land-office. He purchased large tracts of land in Saline county. The first county seat of Boone county, about a mile from Columbia, was called "Smithton" in his honor. He married a daughter of James White of Knoxville, a sister of Hugh L. White, long a distinguished senator of Tennessee. General Smith lived in Saline county for twenty years before his death on his farm "Experiment" where he died in 1844.

site on the river above the mouth of the Missouri." On the lower Mississippi William Shannon, a merchant of Ste. Genevieve, laid out Belfast, opposite the present site of Chester. Still farther down, Thomas Moselly, Jr., J. N. Copper, Medad Randall and Jenifer Sprigg, the latter at one time United States Deputy Surveyor-General, in 1820 platted the town of Bainbridge, and this remained a river landing with a single warehouse for many years. Far in the interior on the great military road leading from the Mississippi into Arkansas, on the Current river, Jesse Cheek and Ben Rogan mapped a town and in their advertisement they say that "the imagination can scarcely conceive a situation by nature more handsome." Portage des Sioux, an old Spanish post, at that early period was considered a situation very favorable for a large town. About 1815 it had fifty or sixty houses, but it is recorded that the French settlers were extremely jealous of the Americans, and would not sell them property.[92]

The permanent seat of government on the Missouri river above St. Charles, McFerron, the representative of Cape Girardeau, suggested should be called "Missouriopolis." But it was located in 1820 in Cole county, and named Jefferson City, and, consequently, the county seat was moved from Howard's Bluff to the new state capital. The first house was built in Jefferson City in 1819 and erected near where is now Lehman's foundry. Newport, on the Missouri river, was then the county seat of Franklin county. Gasconade was the county seat of the county of that name. Jefferson, located at the head of the Big bottom, ten miles above Chariton, was then the county seat of Saline county, and Beck says that "it is one of the most beautiful sites on the Missouri."[93] Here one Robert I. McMullin, a native of Ireland, settled in 1808. The county seat of Lillard county (afterwards changed to Lafayette) was at Mt. Vernon on the Missouri at a point below Talbot creek; on the opposite side at Bluffton, two miles from the river, was located the county seat of Ray.

On the Mississippi river Hannibal was founded in 1818 by Thompson and Abraham Bird of Bird's Point who had acquired the land under a New Madrid certificate. Moses D. Bates was their agent and a pioneer settler of the place. At that time, he ran a keel-boat between Hannibal and St. Louis and Ste.

[92] Beck's Gazetteer, p. 310.

[93] Ibid., p. 285.

Genevieve, and traded with the Indians who still resided in the neighborhood. In 1819 the first lots were sold there. Louisianaville, now shorn of the "ville" was the original county seat of Pike county and platted by Samuel K. Caldwell and Joel Shaw in 1818. Clarksville, a few miles below Louisiana, was laid out in 1819 by Col. John Miller — and who afterwards was elected Governor of the state. Alexandria, located one and one-fourth miles from the Cuivre river, and twelve miles from the Mississippi, was the county seat of Lincoln; and Pinckney, on the north side of the Missouri river near the line dividing ranges two and three, the county seat of Montgomery. This town was laid out on land belonging to Alexander McKinney in 1818. In 1819, Herculaneum was the county seat of Jefferson county, "promising to become a place of prominence in a few years," because all the lead trade of the country centered there, and two towers for making shot were in operation and others were commenced. It is described as a most beautiful location, built in a semi-circular cove where the edges of strata of limestone are worn away so as to resemble the seats of an amphitheatre. From this circumstance, Moses Austin, the founder of the place, and, according to Featherstonhaugh "a fanciful as well as an enterprising person," gave it the name of the ancient buried city near Naples.

Winchester, in 1812, was the county seat of New Madrid county. This old county seat as well as some of the others named are now corn fields. Greenville, still the county town of Wayne, was laid out in 1820 by David Logan and Elijah Bettis at the ford across the St. François, known as "Bettis' Ford." This place, Featherstonhaugh, in 1834, describes as "a poor wretched collection of four or five wooden cabins," and he says he found there "that indispensable rendezvous of every settlement, a dirty looking store, where all the vagabonds congregate together to discuss politics and whiskey."[94] He, however, admits that the settlement is "beautifully situated on a rich bottom of land on the east fork of the St. François, a fine clear stream about eighty yards broad."

The first settlers of Missouri sawed out the lumber they needed by hand, but after the acquisition of the province, saw mills were located at favorable points on water courses and operated by water power. The product of some of these mills was floated by rafts

[94] Excursion through the Slave States, vol. 1, p. 335.

down the river.[95] Tanyards were located in every settlement. Thus we find that Theo. Hunt had a tanyard in St. Louis on south Second street in 1818 and John Frazier advertises that he has a tanyard at St. Charles with twenty-seven vats and "a fine stream of water running through it." The observation made by Michaux when he passed through Kentucky and Tennessee that he found tanmills everywhere, applies to the first settlements of Missouri.[96] No ready-made boots and shoes were for sale then. Every town had its boot and shoe maker. In 1811 Badgly and Stubblefield were engaged in that business in St. Louis. Ropewalks were operated by Nicholas S. Burckhart at Franklin, and by Albert Bish at Ste. Genevieve. A similar establishment was also in operation in St. Louis. In 1808, William Harris carried on the business of "hatter in all its branches" in that town; and in 1814, Price and Shull were in the same business there. M. Prewitt and James Barnes were in the "hatting" business at Franklin; and George W. Roberts, as successor of George Morrow, followed the same trade at Jackson. Claiborne S. Thomas operated a wool-carding machine at Jackson. John McDonnell who had an establishment for similar purposes six miles from Franklin on the farm of Colonel Trammel on the road leading to Chariton, says in the "Intelligencer," that his terms are ten cents a pound, but peremptorily adds "bring one pound of hog's lard or oil for every pound of wool." N. S. Burckhart was also engaged in this business at Franklin. In 1820, Olly Williams built a cotton gin in St. Louis and set up the first double wool-carding machine. A tobacco manufacturing company was organized by William Lamme and William Bingham at Franklin in 1821, but Richard and Quarles had such a factory in St. Louis in 1817. These were only small establishments, and no one dreamed of the huge tobacco concerns of our day.

The old "Massey" or "Maramec Iron Works" were established in what is now Crawford county, and the product of these iron works was hauled by ox-wagon to near Herman on the Missouri. In 1817, William Harrison and Reeves had a small iron furnace on the Thickety, in the northwest part of that county. But in 1815 one Ashbran had a furnace near Pilot Knob at the "Shut-in."

Blacksmiths and gunsmiths then controlled the business now carried on by hardware stores, as well as all the most important

[95] Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 79.

[96] Travels in Tennessee and Kentucky, p. 270.

iron trade of the territory at that time. John Howland of St. Charles advertises that he "continues in the blacksmith business" and that he has "plow shares, moulds, rag-wheels, firedogs and cart and wagon boxes for sale." James Baird, in 1811, James Barlow in 1814, and Solomon Migneron, were in the blacksmith business in St. Louis. Jacob Hawken, of Hagerstown, Maryland, gunsmith, came there in 1819; afterwards he made the celebrated Hawken rifle, a favorite gun of the Rocky mountain trappers and hunters. Peers was a gunsmith in St. Charles, and George Castner in 1812. James Duke, in Cape Girardeau, made kettles and tinware. John Dowling in 1816, and Reuben Neal in 1817, were in the same business in St. Louis; so also were Joseph White and Company in 1819. John Delap advertises that he makes "bells for cattle, sheep and hogs," at Jackson. D. Stewart had a nail factory, in 1814, in St. Louis, of course making nails by hand. In 1819 W. L. Scott at Franklin advertises that he will sell "cut nails and brads wholesale and retail at his factory" there. Joseph Bouju was a clock and watch maker in St. Louis in 1812, but the business cannot have been very profitable, as he had for sale "as a side line cherry-bounce, ratafia-de-Grenoble, whiskey, etc., etc." In 1817, Charles E. Jeanneret "from Europe" was engaged in the same business. In 1818, Henry Gallagher and Charles Billon from Philadelphia, opened a business there as watch makers; and so also Robert Logan in 1819, and Israel B. Grant.

Harness and saddlery during this period was all made by hand, and practical saddle and harness makers were in every important town and settlement. John Chandler and Company made saddles, bridles and harness in St. Louis in 1812; and in 1816 we find John Jacoby in the same business, but he removed to St. Charles afterward. Jacoby in his advertisement in St. Charles says that he "keeps on hand a general assortment of saddles, harness and bridles for sale," and in connection with this business he also conducted a livery stable, "price for a horse 24 hours, fifty cents, and for a week, two dollars." This scale seems also to have obtained at Franklin.

In St. Charles Barber and Company announced, in 1820, that they were engaged in the chair making business. Heslep and Taylor advertised, in 1818, that they were "Windsor and fancy chair makers" doing work "superior to any in the west," penciling and gilding their work "in the finest Philadelphia fashion." Isaac Allen also had a chair factory in St. Louis.

At this time ready-made clothing was unknown, and custom tailors, therefore, flourished. In 1809, Peter Primm was a tailor in St. Louis; and Calvin Burns advertises, in 1808, that he wants two or three journeymen tailors "immediately." In the "Missouri Herald" William M. Bateman "advises the ladies and gentlemen of Jackson and vicinity, that he carries on a tailoring business, and that he has obtained a complete mechanical mode for cutting garments," and he says that he "will receive the fashions quarterly from Philadelphia via Nashville." But in St. Louis in 1809, Bernard Lalende, lately arrived from Bordeaux, says that he has the "latest fashions of London and Paris." J. H. Boyer in 1817 in the same town recommends himself as a "tailor from Europe." Simon and Bates tell the people of Jackson that they are tailors from New York and Philadelphia, and that they "have an apartment in the Courthouse," and express a hope "to receive a share of the public patronage," and add, "ladies' pelisses and riding dresses carefully attended to." David Brown at this time carried on the tailoring business at Cape Girardeau. In St. Louis, L. T. Hampton gives notice that he is engaged in the "skin dressing and breeches-making business." Pain and Armstrong were in the same business. Michael Dolan had his tailor shop with Hampton, and in 1817 was in partnership with McDaniel.

Horse and water mills of every kind and character were established by the Americans, generally, in each settlement, even during the Spanish regime, but in 1820 the St. Louis "Enquirer" states and editorially comments on the fact, felicitating the people that Mr. Fellows "would shortly have a steam gristmill in operation in St. Louis to run several pair of stones." But in Ste. Genevieve Edward Walsh built a steam mill in 1818 which he operated until 1824. He then moved to Fredericktown, and built another mill. From there he removed to St. Louis and where he became one of the most conspicuous and influential citizens.[97] Levi Faux and J. W. Johnson in 1820 formed a partnership to carry on the millstone cutting business thirty miles above St. Charles.

The country was not without distilleries, providing the favorite

[97] He was born in county Tipperary, Ireland, December 27, 1798, and emigrated to America in 1818, arriving in New York in June of that year, and in October following came to Ste. Genevieve. After he moved to St. Louis, he engaged in steamboating on a large scale, and at one time owned 21 vessels on the river, and had over a million dollars invested in floating property. He died March 23, 1866. In 1822, he married Miss Mary Tucker of Perry county and upon her death in 1840, Isabella De Mun, daughter of Julius De Mun.

stimulant and beverage of the early pioneers in ample quantities, and consequently, it seems that competent distillers were in demand. For instance, Valentine Haffner[98] of Dardenne (no doubt a German) advertises that he is in want of a distiller, and naively says "one from Kentucky preferred." Matthew Dugan also wants a man "who understands the art of making whiskey out of corn." Small distilleries were in operation at this period in the country on many farms. Beer was brewed as early as 1809, by one Habb, who established a brewery in St. Louis.

Sam. Bridges made brick in 1811 in St. Louis; and in 1816, George W. Ferguson established a pottery there. P. Flanagen "intimates to the people" in the "Missourian" at St. Charles, that he "intends to carry on the brick-laying business," and that he will "undertake jobs upon reasonable terms."

R. Terrel advises the people in the same paper "that he will follow sign painting."

John Keesacker it seems in 1816 opened the first barber shop in St. Louis. In 1820 the "Missourian" says that "a good barber will find liberal encouragement in St. Charles."

The lead mines of Missouri, now within the counties of Jefferson, Ste. Genevieve, St. Francois, Washington and Madison were worked industriously at that time and the output was considerable. In 1809 John N. Macklot had a shot-tower in operation at Herculaneum, "the first in the west," at Rocky Place below the town. In 1810 Moses Austin erected the second shot-tower, there and in 1814 Christian Wilt and John Honey had a shot-tower near the place now known as Illinois Station. While the lead was worked with ease and little labor and was found in abundant quantities, the cost of transportation from the mines to the river was a constant problem agitating the minds of the early mine proprietors in southeastern Missouri. The average cost of transporting one hundred weight of lead from Mine à Breton or Potosi to the Mississippi, in 1818, was seventy-five cents for the distance of thirty-six miles, and the cost of conveying the same quantity of lead from the storehouses at Herculaneum or Ste. Genevieve to New Orleans, by steamboat, was only seventy cents, for the distance of a thousand miles.[99]

Lead, peltry and salt were the principal articles of export when

[98] Afterwards resided at Fredericktown, where he killed one Chevalier.

[99] 3d Public Lands, p. 498. Letter of H. R. Schoolcraft to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War.

Louisiana was first acquired by the United States. Debts were generally paid in these articles. The people of New Madrid, in 1818, petitioned that cotton, at two-thirds of its value at Nashville, might also be made legal tender to pay debts. Peltry had been a legal tender from the earliest history of the country. A note, for instance, of one hundred dollars was payable in peltry, unless expressly stipulated to be paid in Spanish milled dollars, during the Spanish government, and one dollar in specie was considered equal to one dollar and twenty-five cents in peltry.[100] To get an idea of this fur trade and amount of peltry annually secured at that time, it need only be stated that in 1819 fifteen hundred buffalo skins were brought to St. Louis alone.[101] As late as 1819 one hundred and forty beaver skins were taken on Blue Water in one season. Although during the Spanish government all fine skins were shipped to Canada because they brought a better price there, with the American occupation of the country this business was concentrated at St. Louis. One of the factors in this trade was the organization, in 1812, of the Missouri Fur Company, at St. Louis. This company had a capital of fifty thousand dollars, divided into fifty shares of one thousand dollars each. It was the first business corporation, and then, at any rate, the most important business enterprise of St. Louis. Sylvester Labadie, William Clark and Manuel Lisa of the old company took twenty-seven thousand dollars of the stock, representing the goods they had on the Missouri, and solicited twenty-five thousand dollars additional subscription, so as to increase the capital to $50,000 and enlarge the operations of the company.

The first effort to do a banking business in Missouri was made in St. Louis. In 1808 Wilkinson and Price advertise that they have bills of exchange on the government for sale. Five years afterwards, in 1813, the Bank of St. Louis was organized, and four years thereafter, the First Bank of Missouri. Both of these institutions, however, became bankrupt after a short existence. Stephen R. Wiggins had a broker's office in St. Louis in 1817, and William O'Hara and Company conducted a private exchange bank there in 1819.

At the time of the Louisiana Purchase a number of merchants of St. Louis were engaged in the active local trade as well as in the more profitable fur trade of the interior. The change of government rapidly revolutionized business methods. The American merchants

[100] Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 282.

[101] Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 222.

not only established themselves at St. Louis, but also in the older settlements of Ste. Genevieve, St. Charles, New Madrid and Cape Girardeau, as well as in the new settlements which were rapidly established in the territory. To give a detailed history of all these various mercantile enterprises would lead too far afield; but to name at least some of the principal territorial merchants and traders of various parts of what is now Missouri can not be uninteresting. John Mullanphy, I think, was the first Anglo-Irish merchant to settle in St. Louis after the cession. He arrived in 1804 and at once engaged in business. By fortunate investments in real estate, owing to the rapid growth of St. Louis, he amassed a great fortune. His son Bryan Mullanphy, born in 1809, received a liberal education, studied law, was elected Judge of the Circuit court, Mayor of the city, and became one of the distinguished men and benefactors of St. Louis. The "Mullanphy Emigrant Home" owes its existence to his generous and liberal bequest. In 1809 John McKnight and Thomas Brady, two American merchants, arrived from Pittsburgh.[102] Jacob Phillipson in 1808 came from Philadelphia, and opened a new store, selling drygoods and groceries "for cash at reasonable prices." This Jacob Phillipson was a son of Simon Phillipson who, however did not remove from Philadelphia to Missouri until 1820. Phillipson was perhaps the first Jewish merchant to establish business in Missouri. After 1811 he removed to Potosi, and, after remaining there for some time, returned to St. Louis. He was an accomplished linguist, and gave instruction in English, German and French. His brother, Joseph Phillipson, Sr., followed him to St. Louis from Philadelphia, in 1810, and purchased the first brewery which had been established west of the Mississippi, known as Habb's brewery. In 1816 he advertised in the Gazette that he would sell beer at eleven dollars per barrel and at six dollars per half barrel, one dollar deduction if barrel returned. Phillipson's beer was then retailed at the stores of Silvestre Labadie and Michael Tesson at eleven and one-half cents per quart. He failed in the business, but being a good musician afterward adopted music as his profession. The Phillipsons originally came from Hamburg, Germany. In 1808, Wilson P. Hunt and John Hankinson; and in 1809 Falconer and Comeys, John Kerr and Matthew Kerr, and Berthold and R. Paul, William Shannon, and

[102] Thomas Brady married a daughter (Harriet B.) of John Rice Jones; and Thomas McKnight married a daughter of John Scott of Ste. Genevieve. After Brady died John Scott married his widow.

Samuel Perry all sold goods in St. Louis. John Steele advertised in addition to the new goods he offered for sale that he had on hand "two thousand gallons of whiskey." In 1810 Henry Von Phul came to St. Louis and opened a store. He remained actively in business from that time for sixty years. He was a most public spirited citizen, an enterprising merchant, and took a deep interest in everything calculated to build up the city. He was born in Philadelphia in 1784; in St. Louis married a daughter of Dr. Saugrain in 1816, and died at the age of ninety years in 1874, surviving all his contemporarie H. M. Shreeve and Company in the same year brought from niladelphia a stock of "drygoods, groceries, hardware, china, q ensware, iron, steel castings and stationery;" so too Wood and Dunn "just arrived from Philadelphia." John Arthur opened a new stock of goods during this year, and Horace Austin, a merchant of Ste. Genevieve, thence removed to St. Louis. In 1811 Zacharia Mussina came with fresh goods from Philadelphia; as also did De Pestre, and De Mun and Company from Baltimore. In 1813 the firm of Berthold and Chouteau opened a new store with new goods. In 1814 George M. Kennerly sold boots and shoes, and Peter Lindell and Company closed up their store; so too McKnight and Brady. But in 1816 Peter, John and Jesse Lindell advertised that they had received a general assortment of merchandise. James Kennerly was in business in St. Louis in that year, and so were James Clemens and Company; Rene and Gabriel Paul, and Lilburn W. Boggs, who afterward was Governor of Missouri, then was in partnership with Thomas Hanly.[103] In 1817 Patrick M. Dillon opened up a new stock of goods in the house of Peter Chouteau. In the same year Stephen R. Wiggins, John B. Herpin and Son, John Little, Porter, Glasgow and Niven, Moses Scott, Charles M. Hunter, Sanguinet and Bright, M. Detandebaratz, Charles Wahrendorff and Thomas McGuire and Company were all engaged in active business there. The next year

[103] Lilburn W. Boggs was born in Madison county, Kentucky, 1796 and died at Napa Valley, California, March 14, 1860. Served in the war of 1812 in the Kentucky volunteers, and in 1816 came to St. Louis, where he at first was engaged in mercantile business with Thomas Hanly; in 1819 he was cashier of the Bank of St. Louis; in 1820 he was assistant-factor of Fort Osage; then engaged in merchandising at Franklin, and in 1830 engaged in the same business in Independence. In 1832 was elected Lieutenant-Governor and in 1836 Governor of the state. The present State House was erected during his administration and the Mormons were expelled from the state. In 1823 he married Miss Panthea Boone in Montgomery county. In 1846 he removed to California.

(1818) Renshaw and Hoffman, and George Hammond came with fresh groceries from New Orleans and N. C. Macklot and Company, Edward Tracy, Jonathan Guest were engaged in trade. In 1819 Chouteau and Sarpy stated that they removed their store to the old Indian office, and James Timon and Son opened a new store. James Timon, it should be noted, was the father of Bishop Timon of Buffalo, so eminent in the annals of the Catholic church. Papin and Joseph L'Amoureux in the same year advertised that they "will continue business in Gratiot's stone store." Joseph Hertzog, of Philadelphia, sent his two nephews Christian and Andrew Wilt to St. Louis to operate his shot-tower, soap factory and general merchandise business, in 1811. They were men of large capital in 1820. In this year Joseph and Francis Robidoux were still in business in St. Louis. During this period no man occupied a higher or more influential position or was better known for daring enterprise among the business men of St. Louis than Manuel Lisa. He perhaps did more than any other of the early merchants of St. Louis to expand and build up the commercial interests of the city, for he was connected with all the early great commercial enterprises of the city.

William Shannon, in 1806, was the principal merchant of Ste. Genevieve. In 1810 he was in business in St. Louis. The celebrated ornithologist, Audubon, was also engaged in the mercantile business in Ste. Genevieve for a time with Ferdinand Rozier as a partner.[104] They came down the Ohio together in 1810 with a stock

[104] Audubon and Rozier met at Nantes in France and planned there to go into partnership. Together they came to Mill Grove, Pennsylvania. In 1808 they reached Louisville with a stock of goods, and for a time were reasonably successful as traders there. From Louisville, they went to Henderson and remained for several years. During this time Audubon's ruling passion was hunting and birds. The business proving unsuccessful, they concluded to remove to Ste. Genevieve, packed their goods and left Henderson on a keelboat with 300 barrels of whiskey, in a snow storm. "The boat," says Audubon, "was good and stout and well trimmed, and had a cabin in her bow; a long steering oar, made of the trunk of a slender tree, about 60 feet in length and shaped at its outer end like the fin of a dolphin, helped to steer the boat; while the four oars from the bow impelled her along, when going with the current, about five miles an hour." The boat passed the Cumberland and reached Cash river in what is now Alexander county, Illinois, and here Audubon says he met Count De Mun, also in a boat on his way to Ste. Genevieve. While camping he met some Shawnee Indians, and with them he went on a hunt. But he was finally prevailed on by Rozier to go up the Mississippi to ascertain if it was possible to go up the river, and accordingly went to Cape Girardeau and there made arrangements with a man named Loume (Lorimier, a son of Don Louis Lorimier) to take the boat up the river. After making the necessary preparations, Audubon says, they "left the creek, glad to be afloat once more in broader waters. Going down the stream to the mouth of the Ohio was fine

of goods in a keel-boat, wintered on the Mississippi in Tywappity bottom, and early in the spring of 1811 came to Ste. Genevieve and opened a store. But although the business prospered, Audubon took no interest in it, for he was more interested in hunting in the woods

sport; indeed, my partner considered the worst of the journey over, but, alas! when we turned the point, and met the mighty rush of the Mississippi, running three miles an hour, and bringing shoals of ice to further impede our progress, he looked on despairingly. The patron ordered the lines ashore, and it became the duty of every man "to haul the cordella," which was a rope fastened to the bow of the boat; and one man being left on board to steer, the others, laying the rope over their shoulders, slowly warped the heavy boat and cargo against the current. We made seven miles that day up the famous river. But while tugging with my back at the cordella, I kept my eyes fixed on the forests or the ground, looking for birds or curious shells. At night we camped on the shores. Here we made fires, cooked supper, and setting one sentinel, the rest went to bed, and slept like men who had done one good day's work. I slept myself as unconcerned as if I had been in my father's house." The next day, the boat started two hours before sunrise, and made ten miles, and for two days more toiled up the river, but then the weather became very cold and they were compelled to go into winter quarters in the great bend of the Tawapatee (Tywappity) bottom. Here Audubon maliciously says his partner was in "sorrow too great to be described. Wrapped in his blanket, like a squirrel in winter quarters with his tail about his nose, he slept and dreamed away his time, being seldom seen except at meals." No white man's cabin was within 20 miles of this camp. But for Audubon this was a delightful place. He rambled around in the woods, found the Indian trails and the lakes of the neighborhood. Soon the Indians, Audubon says Osages and Shawnee, came to the camp. The Osages were well-formed, athletic, and robust and of noble aspect, and hunted the few elk and buffalo still in the country. They were, he says, much more expert with the bow and arrow than the Shawnees. When Audubon made a tolerable likeness of one of them with red chalk, they were greatly astonished and laughed excessively. The statement, however, that Osages were then found on the shores of the Mississippi in what is now Mississippi county, and on friendly terms with the Shawnees, must be a mistake. In this camp, Audubon tells us he passed six weeks very pleasantly, studying the habits of wild animals, the deer, the bears, cougars, raccoons, and turkeys and many other animals, and he also drew more or less by the side of the great camp-fires. "No one," he says, "can have an idea what a good fire is who has never seen a camp-fire in the woods of America." While in camp, they made the best of it. The Indians, he says, made baskets of cane, Mr. Pope played the violin, and he accompanied him on the flute, the men danced to the tunes and the squaws looked on and laughed, and the Indian hunters smoked their pipes with such "serenity as only Indians can." Finally, the ice broke and after escaping the new danger of being crushed by it, they managed to reach Cape Girardeau, but found little sale there for their goods and whiskey, and hence moved on to Ste. Genevieve. With some difficulty, they passed the rapid current at Grand Tower, but here no doubt, while pulling the "cordella" but looking up to the sky, he says he first saw "the grey eagle" he named after General Washington. At Ste. Genevieve after all this laborious and expensive journey, they found a good market for the 300 barrels of whiskey they had on board the boat and he says, "the whiskey was especially welcome," and that for "what we had paid 25 cents a gallon brought us two dollars." But he was not pleased with Ste. Genevieve and he says that he enjoyed his time much more in the "Tawapatee" bottom. He records that he met a Frenchman at Ste. Genevieve who had been with the expedition of Lewis and Clark. Ferdinand Rozier was born at Nantes, Brittany, France, November, 1777; was in the French naval service in 1802. Rozier married Constantine Roy; they had ten children. He attained the age of 86 years and his wife the age of 83.

and in painting, from nature, birds and fowls. As a result the partnership was dissolved April 11, 1811. Rozier was long the principal merchant of this town.

In New Madrid as early as 1793, Bogliolo and Michel in the mercantile business, formed a partnership which continued until 1810.[105] M. H. Stallcup and Christopher C. Houts were merchants in Winchester, in New Madrid county, in 1819. Richard Jones Waters, Steinback and Reinecke and Goah Watson were engaged in the mercantile business in New Madrid either before or immediately after the purchase of the Louisiana territory. Goah Watson settled in New Madrid in 1804 and for many years was the leading merchant there.

At Cape Girardeau, Waters and Hall, John Magee, Daniel Steinback and Reinecke, as well as Lorimier sold goods; so also did Steinback and Jasperson, Charles G. Ellis, Garah Davis, Joseph Rogers, Robert Smith, George Henderson and Simon Block. In 1818 Andrew Giboney and D'Lashmutt were in the mercantile business here. Among these merchants Steinback was perhaps the most prominent. He had settled in Louisiana during the Spanish government and married a daughter of Lorimier; he was a German, and a man of great enterprise.[106] After Jackson was laid out, in 1815, we find that a Mr. Eckhart of Virginia opened the first store there. Within a year he sold out to Clifton and Charles Mothershead; this firm subsequently sold out to Samuel Cupples, a son-in-law of Judge R. S. Thomas. John Scripps, Lyne Starling, E. N. D'Lashmutt, Edmond Rutter, John Whittenberg, Frizzel and VonPhul, and Armour and Juden were merchants in Jackson between 1815 and 1820. What almost seems incredible now is that Armour and Juden employed Robert Morrison to drive a team to Baltimore and haul goods thence to Jackson for them, and that he successfully accomplished this trip in three months. Samuel Cupples was in partnership at Jackson with Thomas Mann and subsequently with Thomas Jones. Nathan VanHorn was another early merchant there, as well as Ralph

[105] In connection with this partnership an important litigation arose in early territorial days. It seems that in 1800 Bogliolo departed for Europe, returning in 1812 after the death of Michel in 1810; and the question arose as to the duration and extent of the partnership, Michel the administrator contending that Bogliolo's departure for Europe and leaving Michel in charge of affairs dissolved the partnership, but the court held that the partnership existed until the death of Michel in 1810. Over $100,000 was involved in this litigation which was finally settled at Jackson in 1822.

[106] He died on his way to Baltimore on a business trip in 1825.

Daugherty and Jonathan Guest. In 1820, Ashley and Massey were merchants at Louisiana; Shaw, Matchett and the Colliers at St. Charles in 1821. In Franklin, among the early territorial merchants were Paul Ingram, Richard D. Bonsfield, Giles M. Samuel and Company, Robert Hood and E. O'Haire. Bonsfield (an Englishman, who afterward did business at Boonville and Pisgah) not only sold dry-goods, but "wines and liquors as well." James C. Ludlow also was a merchant at Franklin, and advertised that he would sell at auction "dry-goods, tin and hardware, crockery, castings, and a black girl eighteen years of age, fifty bushels of fresh flour, two hundred bushels corn meal and a variety of furniture." Major James C. Ludlow was a grandson of General James Chambers of Pennsylvania, who served during the Revolutionary war. His mother came to Missouri in 1820 from Cincinnati; was a friend of Mrs. Washington and received from her many marks of attention when she was a girl and visited Philadelphia. Ludlow was a miller, but his mill burned May 11, 1821. In this year N. Hutchison was the druggist of Franklin. Thomas Mize, residing near the home of Captain G. Stapleton, on the Bonne Femme creek, in Howard county, advertised that he had on hand "iron and steel, and a quantity of tools for sale," and offered to sell axes at $2.75, hoes at 25 cents an inch, to shoe horses at $1.75 per horse, and to do "other work in proportion." Tiffany and Company were merchants at Chariton.

Nothing tended more to the rapid settlement of the country than the inauguration of steam transportation. At present we can hardly conceive how slow and laborious the journey up the Mississippi river by keel-boat. It required weeks and months to go up the river from New Orleans to St. Louis. These boats almost literally crept up the river. Not only was the mode of transportation slow and laborious, but the expense of moving freight in this manner was very great. Then as if by magic, the invention of the steamboat changed all this. General Daniel Bissell says that, even after the steamboat had greatly reduced the cost of travel, the expense of going to New York was one hundred dollars and upwards, and that it took fourteen and fifteen days to make the trip.[107] In 1811 it took Stephen Hempstead from the 12th day of April to June 13th to make the journey from New London, Connecticut, to St. Louis, traveling all the time. In 1815 Colonel Post left New York on August 15th and arrived in Shawneetown on October 29th. Rev. John M. Peck consumed

[107] See letter of General Lewis Bissell in Archives Missouri Historical Society.

nearly a month passing through Pennsylvania when he came west in 1818, and, reaching the Ohio on the 10th of September, he did not arrive in St. Louis until December 1st, traveling by water down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. From the mouth of the Ohio to St. Louis, he was on the way in a keel-boat seventeen days, involving hard work all the time. And in 1827 it was deemed worthy of note that Stephen Hempstead, junior, reached Washington from St. Louis in fourteen days, making the trip from St. Louis to Louisville on the steamboat "Plowboy" and the trip from there to Wheeling on the steamboat "Messenger" in four days. Freight rates, measured by our standards, were enormous. In 1819 the first two steamboats going up the Missouri river contracted to carry the government freight up the river to Council Bluffs at eight dollars per 100 lbs.; but they failed to do so, the boats being unable to stem the current.

When the first small steamboat, named "General Pike," commanded by Captain Jacob Reed, landed in St. Louis in 1816, most of the inhabitants of the town lined the shore to gaze on the novel sight. The advantage of transportation by steamboat was fully appreciated by the inhabitants on the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The vast distances that had separated the towns and settlements from New Orleans were by this means almost obliterated.

But it was a question then whether steamboats could navigate the Missouri river, and in no subject were the people along this river more interested. When the steamboat "Independence," commanded by Captain Nelson, made the first trip from St. Louis to Franklin and Chariton, and returned within twenty-one days, it was said that this "formed a proud event in the history of Missouri," and that the trip demonstrated that the Missouri river could not effectually resist steam navigation. The fact that the steamboat "Washington" made a trip from St. Louis to Franklin in six days was a matter of congratulation there; the "Missouri Intelligencer" said that "the practicability of steamboat navigation" was thus established "beyond a doubt; a fact of immense importance."

No little importance was given to Long's expedition by the fact that the voyage was being made to the upper Missouri by steamboat, the vessel being the "Western Engineer" built and equipped for the United States. Everywhere on the western rivers this was considered an extraordinary venture. This steamboat reached a point seven miles below Council Bluffs, the highest point reached by such means at that time. The "Western Engineer" in that far out-of-the-way

country greatly astonished the Indians, the bow of the boat exhibiting the form of a huge serpent which, says the St. Louis "Enquirer" "was calculated to attract and awe the savages." Yet in the same year Colonel Talbot Chambers and 260 men of the Rifle regiment went in five barges up the Missouri river, the trip to Franklin from Bellefontaine cantonment consuming eighteen days. In 1819 General Atkinson with the Sixth regiment came up the Missouri in eight barges, which we are told "made a handsome appearance in front of St. Louis." Arrived at Bellefontaine the regiment was taken up the Missouri in three steamboats and four barges, the steamboats being "The Expedition," Captain Gray, the "Johnson," Captain Colfax, and the "Jefferson," Captain Orfurt. The barges were propelled by sail and wheel. It took the steamboats from June 22d to August 29th to make 350 miles, an average of five miles a day, to Council Bluffs, but the keel-boats made the trip up the river at the rate of ten miles a day.

Flint, who had traveled up and down the river on keel-boats and afterward had the privilege of traveling on a steamboat, and intoxicated with joy with the speed and comfort of steamboat travel, says "It is now refreshing, and imparts a feeling of energy and power to the beholder, to see the large and beautiful steamboats scudding up the eddies, as though on the wing; and when they have run out the eddy, strike the current. The foam bursts in a sheet quite over the deck. She quivers for a moment with the concussion; and then, as though she had collected all her energy, and vanquished her enemy, she resumes her stately march and mounts against the current, five or six miles an hour."[108] And lost in admiration at the wonderful advance from the slow upward movement of the keel-boat, at the rate of six miles a day, he says, "A stranger to this mode of traveling would find it difficult to describe his impressions upon first descending the Mississippi in one of the better steamboats. He contemplates the prodigious establishment, with all its fitting of deck, common, and ladies' cabin apartments. Overhead, about him, and below him, all is life and movement."[109] Then speaking of the time when he first traveled on these western waters, and before the era of the steamboat, he says, "This stream, instead of being plowed by a hundred steamboats, had seen but one. The astonishing facilities for traveling, by which it is almost changed to flying, had not

[108] Flint's Recollections, p. 107.

[109] Ibid., p. 108.

been invented. The thousand travelers for mere amusement that we now see on the roads, canals and rivers, were then traveling only in books. The stillness of the forest had not been broken by the shouting of the turnpike makers. The Mississippi forest had seldom resounded except with the cry of wild beasts, the echo of thunder, or the crash of undermined trees, falling into the flood. Our admiration, our unsated curiosity at that time, would be a matter of surprise at the present, to the thousands of hackneyed travelers on this stream, to whom this route, and all its circumstances, are as familiar as the path from the bed to the fire."[110]

And yet it was only a few years before this time, in 1817, that the second steamboat, named "Constitution," commanded by R. P. Guyard, arrived at St. Louis.

[110] Flint's Recollections, p. 88.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Early Protestant Ministers and Churches—Spanish Authorities opposed to Protestantism—Religious Qualifications Required of Immigrants—First Protestant Ministers in Spanish territory, now Missouri—First Protestant Baptism west of the Mississippi—Religious Decadence of early American Settlers—First German Protestant Minister in upper Louisiana on Whitewater—First Protestant church west of the Mississippi—Its members—First Baptist church north of the Missouri river—Its Members—Pioneer Baptist Preachers and Laymen—Adventure of Elder David McLain with Indians—Rev. John Mason Peck—Peck's ministry in St. Louis and the territory—Peck's observations—Baptist Congregations and Associations—Pioneer Missionary society—Opposition to Missionary society—Early Ministers poorly compensated—Noted early Baptist Preachers—Women's Mite societies—First Sabbath school at Chariton—Religious Conditions prevailing in St. Louis and the territory in 1812—Distribution of Bibles—Rev. Timothy Flint—Observations of Flint—Pioneer Presbyterian Ministers—Members of first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi—Noted early Presbyterian Ministers—Presbytery of Missouri, 1817—Pioneer Bible societies—First Episcopal Minister at St. Louis, 1819—Members of first Episcopal church at St. Louis—First Methodist church west of the Mississippi—Noted early Methodist Preachers—Early Methodist Circuits and Stations—First Methodist Conference 1810.

Although the Spanish authorities invited American emigration into the country west of the Mississippi, they strenuously objected to the introduction of the Protestant religion. "The privilege of enjoying liberty of conscience is not extended beyond the first generation," says the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, in his ordinance, but the "children of those who enjoy it must positively be Catholics. Those who will not conform to this rule are not to be admitted, but are to be sent back out of the province immediately, even though they possess much property." And "in the Illinois," (it should always be remembered that at that time the country on both sides of the Mississippi was known as Illinois) "none shall be admitted but Catholics of the class of farmers and artisans." He further ordered that the provisions of this article should "be explained to the immigrants already established in the province who are not Catholics," and that it should be observed by them, and "that not having done it until this time being an omission and contrary to the order of his Majesty, which required it from the beginning."[1]

This ordinance was issued September, 1797. At that time a number of Protestant immigrants had settled in the territory of Spain

[1] See also Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 314, on effect of these regulations.

and received concessions. In order to cut off the settlers from all intercourse with their religious brethren on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, the ordinance expressly provided: "The Commandant will take particular care that no Protestant preacher, or one of any sect other than the Catholic shall introduce himself into the province; the least neglect in this respect will be subject to reprehension."

At the request of the Bishop of Salamanca Irish priests were sent by the King of Spain to settle among the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon settlers in Louisiana. Thus the Irish priest, Father James Maxwell, as we have seen, came to Ste. Genevieve.

Although the ordinance requiring immigrants to profess the Catholic religion was very strict, the Spanish Commandants and other officers, anxious to secure settlers from the United States, permitted Protestants to settle in the country, and granted them concessions of land after a vague, general and perfunctory examination on the subject of their faith. It need not surprise us therefore that the French residents throughout upper Louisiana entertained no very exalted opinion of the religion of the American settlers, even going so far as to say that they had no religion at all. Nor did their earliest intercourse with many of these American settlers give them an exalted idea of their piety.[2]

So whatever may be said as to the religious qualifications required and at least theoretically exacted from emigrants coming from the United States, the liberal land policy of the Spaniards nevertheless induced many emigrants to cross over the Mississippi into the Spanish dominion and swear allegiance to the Spanish King, perhaps with a vague presentiment that they constituted the advance guard of Americans — destined to carry American institutions into all that wide country stretching to the Pacific.

It was only occasionally that an American emigrant, arriving at the Spanish posts on the west bank of the Mississippi, found the religious test so intolerable and irritating as to cause him to retire from the Spanish possessions. Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau, in January, 1798, writes: "In spite of all the advantages which our government has given them, they have always present in their minds the difference of sect as regards our religion. This point occupies them so much, that worthy and rich families have returned to the other district (i. e., the eastern Illinois) because they are obliged to

[2] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 67.

celebrate their marriages and baptisms by means of our Catholic priests."[3] Thus the father of Governor John Reynolds, of Illinois, when he came to Ste. Genevieve and found that under the Spanish law and ordinances, in order to secure permission to settle and a concession of land, he must profess the Catholic religion, or at least agree to raise his family in that faith, re-crossed the Mississippi and made a settlement in Illinois.[4] The Murphys, Byrds and others, coming from the same section in Tennessee, remained. We also have an account of how Andrew Wilson, a former Presbyterian minister, came with Colonel Morgan to New Madrid. Wilson was a native of Scotland, but since it is quite certain that he never preached, at least publicly, at New Madrid, or elsewhere, it would seem that he abandoned his religious calling.

The first Protestant preacher said to have crossed over into upper Louisiana from the eastern side of the river, to preach to the English settlers, was the Rev. John Clark, a Methodist. Clark came into upper Louisiana in 1796, and in that year visited the settlements near St. Louis. He is described as a man of "singular simplicity of manners and unaffected piety, and wholly disinterested." Don Zènon Trudeau, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana, greatly favored American emigrants, and being perhaps tinctured with the French irreligion of that time, appeared little disposed to interfere with the periodic visits of Clark. But after Clark had almost fulfilled his appointments Trudeau would send out threatening messages, that the Protestant preacher must leave Spanish territory, or he would be imprisoned. Clark was at no time personally molested although he was accustomed to travel on foot when on his missionary tours from one settlement to another.[5]

But prior to this time, in February, 1794, a Baptist minister, Rev. Josiah Dodge, from Nelson county, Kentucky, while visiting his brother, Dr. Israel Dodge, on the Saline near Ste. Genevieve, preached to the few scattered American settlers then in that locality.[6] So that it would seem that the first Protestant sermon west of the Mississippi river was delivered in the Ste. Genevieve district. In

[3] Report of Trudeau, 1798, in General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

[4] Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois.

[5] He subsequently became a Baptist; after the cession settled in Illinois, and died in 1833.— Reynolds' History of Illinois, p. 221.

[6] This Rev. Josiah Dodge "was an efficient Baptist preacher." The Dodges according to Peck were "anciently a family of Baptists." The wife of Gen. Henry Dodge was a McDaniel of St. Louis county, and "joined the church in early life."—Life of Peck, p. 118.

the same year Dodge went over the river to Illinois and baptized four persons in Fountain creek, in what is now Monroe county. It is highly probable that the persons thus baptized were residents of upper Louisiana, who went over the river to be baptized in order not to violate the Spanish ordinances. In 1799, Rev. Thomas Johnson, another Baptist preacher, visited the Cape Girardeau district. He came from Georgia and at one time had been a missionary among the Cherokee Indians. While in this district Johnson baptized Mrs. Agnes Ballew in the waters of Randall creek. This is the first Protestant baptism administered west of the Mississippi river.

Deprived of all religious influences the Protestant American settlers in the Spanish country naturally retrograded morally. Many, it seems, even forgot to note the days of the week or to observe Sunday, and it is said that Mackay, Commandant of St. Andre, hoisted a flag on the first day of the week, in order to advise the inhabitants that it was Sunday. Thus this day with them became a day of festivity. What wonder that under such circumstances Hempstead, speaking of the Anglo-American settlers should write his father in 1810 that their morals were "depraved, and little or no religion in it." [7]

At the request of the German settlers, in the Cape Girardeau district, the Rev. Samuel Weyberg, a preacher of the German Reformed Church, came to upper Louisiana in 1803. Originally from Pennsylvania, this minister of the gospel in 1792 removed to North Carolina, where he labored in the counties of Burk, Lincoln, Rowan, and Carbaras, whence most of these German settlers emigrated to the Spanish possessions. Rev. Samuel Weyberg, a son of the Rev. Casper D. Weyberg, pastor of the Race street Reformed church, of Philadelphia, was born September 19, 1773. He received a classical education, and it is related by his son that during the Revolutionary war, when the English soldiers marched through the streets of Philadelphia, his father and family being enthusiastically devoted to the Revolutionary cause, and he having imbibed these sentiments, loudly yelled as the soldiers were passing his father's house, "Hurrah for General Washington!" and thus came near causing the family serious trouble. It was intended that he should follow the law as a profession, but on the sudden death of his father, at the solicitation of the ministers of the church, he gave up his preparatory legal studies and applied himself to the study of theology under the

[7] Hempstead Papers in Missouri Historical Society Archives.

instruction of the Rev. Casper Wack and Rev. Mr. Herman,[8] eminent divines of the German Reformed church. After due instruction "in the sciences connected with theology," he was admitted to the ministry. Shortly thereafter he emigrated to the German settlements of North Carolina, and subsequently married in that state.

In 1803 he met Major George Frederick Bollinger, one of the earliest settlers of the Cape Girardeau district, who had returned to his old home on a visit and was delegated by his neighbors to secure a minister for the settlement. At his solicitation Weyberg returned with him, traveling from North Carolina on horseback through the then almost unbroken wilderness to his new field of spiritual labor west of the Mississippi. On his arrival in the country late in the year 1803, and when it was already well known that the country had been or was about to be ceded, he preached one of the first Protestant sermons, certainly the first German Protestant sermon, in upper Louisiana, at the house of a German settler about one mile below where the city of Jackson now stands.[9] From that time on Weyberg held regular religious services for a number of years at the houses of various German settlers. One of his regular preaching places was the residence of Daniel Bollinger, on Whitewater river, and another, the residence of Philip Bollinger on Little Whitewater creek. He also preached at the residence of John Bollinger as well as at the residence of Peter Grount, who was one of the elders of the church and lived about six miles north of the residence of John Bollinger. The German settlements then extended up and down the Whitewater river. Weyberg organized his church as well as the isolated conditions of the settlement would permit, and although his people resided within ten miles of the Indian villages, and far distant from his Anglo-American neighbors, he had regular communions, catechumens and confirmations, the religious services being conducted in the German language.

Thus early did the Germans establish themselves, their language and one of their churches within the limits of the territory of Missouri. At the time of the acquisition of Louisiana they had become a prosperous and highly respected community.

[8] This appears in the minutes of Cötus held in Philadelphia, May 6th and 7th, 1792, where it is said that young Samuel Weyberg has been instructed in theology by him, and requests that this student might be ordained after satisfactory examination.— Harbaugh's Fathers of the German Reformed Church, vol. 3, p. 3, note 2.

[9] Harbaugh's Fathers of the German Reformed Church, vol. 3, p. 46.

In 1805 Weyberg's family, together with a large company of new emigrants, came from North Carolina to this settlement. John C. Weyberg, a son of Rev. Samuel Weyberg, and the only chronicler of the life and labors of these Swiss-German pioneers, says that in 1812 the church was well organized and in a flourishing condition, that the members regularly attended divine services, and that they were "open hearted and charitable." He describes the way in which they paid their pastor by saying that, in the fall of the year, they often brought his father fine, fat hogs, well dressed, without asking if he wanted anything before they brought them; that the women often brought loaves of bread in the week besides fresh meat and vegetables in summer, and that the Indians even, in numbers as high as twenty at a time, frequently brought fine venison, bear's meat, turkeys, and also baskets and dressed deer skins. Often they "lodged around our house," says Weyberg; his mother distributed surplus milk to them, and as a boy he often hunted with them.[10]

Almost immediately after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, in 1805, a Baptist preacher, Rev. Daniel Green, a native of Virginia, came to upper Louisiana to preach to some of his former parishioners, who had settled in the Tywappity bottom. Green continued to preach in various settlements of the Cape Girardeau district, where he died in 1809. On the 19th day of July, 1806, Green organized Bethel Baptist church at the house of Mr Thomas Bull, near Hubbell creek in the same district. The members of this first Protestant church west of the Mississippi, if we except the German Reformed church just mentioned, were Thomas English, Learma Greene, Jane English, Agnes Ballew, William Smith, Thomas Bull, Edgar Spears, Anderson Rodgers, John Hitt, Clara Abernathy, Catherine Anderson, Rebecca Randall, Francis Hitt and William Mathews. At a meeting held in September following, Mr.

[10] Harbaugh's Fathers of the German Reformed Church, vol. 3, p. 48. Rev. Samuel Weyberg wrote his name "Whybark," likely adopting this spelling because in English the sound of "Whybark" is about the same as "Weyberg" or "Weiberg," in German. There also seems to be reason to suppose that the name was spelled "Weiberger." The details of the life of the Rev. Samuel Weyberg were secured from the sketch of his life written by his son, John C. Weyberg or Whybark, and furnished Rev. H. Harbaugh by the Rev. John Stoneberger, likely "Steinberger," of Patton, Bollinger county, Missouri. Stoneberger says that Weyberg "was a very ready and eloquent speaker."

Peck, speaking of this settlement in 1818, says: "Mr. Bollinger and a number of other German families made their pitch here, under the Spanish government, about the commencement of the present century. They were nominal Lutherans, but being destitute of a pastor and without schools, they degenerated in religion, but were industrious farmers."—Life of Peck, p. 119.

Thomas Bull was elected "writing clerk," and this position he held until 1825. In April, 1807, Mr. William Mathews was chosen as "singing clerk." In October, 1806, the congregation resolved to build a house of worship, and this resolution was put into effect by erecting a small log structure on the land of William Bull, on the waters of Hubbell creek.[11] Thus the first Protestant church west of the Mississippi river was erected in upper Louisiana in 1806. Bethel church in 1809 was received into the Red River Association, which met at old Red River church near Clarksville, Tennessee, and remained a member of the association until 1816, when it was decided to form a new association of the churches in Missouri.

From the records of this church, preserved by the labors of Rev. Thomas Parish Green, who was called to the pastorate in 1818, we learn that Thomas Wright and two others were expelled from the church "for holding Arminian views." John Reynolds was also expelled "for joining a Masonic lodge." At a meeting of the church in 1818, Mrs. Hannah Edwards was allowed "to wear gold earrings for the benefit of her health." This entry appears in the minutes of March 11, 1820: "Church in conference. Query: If a member is constrained to shout shall the church bear with it? Ans.: Yes."

One of the pioneer preachers of Bethel church was Wilson Thompson, afterward a distinguished Baptist divine, who came to the Missouri territory from Kentucky in 1811. Thompson was born in 1788, and was of Welsh-English descent. At the age of twenty he began to preach, or "try to preach," as he was accustomed in after-life to say. He married Miss Mary Grigg, in Carroll county, Kentucky, in 1810, and in the following year removed to the Cape Girardeau district, settling near where the city of Jackson is now located. For a time he taught school in that neighborhood, and when he began to preach at Bethel church a great religious revival resulted. Among other converts was his uncle Benjamin Thompson, who also

[11] Judge W. C. Ranney, who remembered Bethel church as it was in 1825, describes it as follows: "It was a log house capable of seating 100 to 150 people. It was built of hewed logs. It was an old looking church when I first saw it. There were some planks nailed up in the shape of a pulpit, kind of a box shape. The seats were made of slabs, without a back, with legs put through auger holes. The floor was made of plank. It had two or three windows in it, about 8 by 10 glass. It was about 8 or 9 feet to the ceiling. The church had a fireplace in the end of the house opposite the pulpit. They went into church on the east side between the pulpit and fireplace. The chimney was built out of rock. The fireplace was about four feet across. The church had a clapboard roof. It was ceiled overhead. The walls were not whitewashed. It was chinked and daubed, otherwise comfortable."—MS. Recollections of Judge Ranney in the author's possession.

became one of the pioneer Baptist ministers of Missouri. During this revival, it it said that 400 or 500 were converted. But, not being an ordained minister, he could not administer the ordinance of baptism, and a messenger was sent to call Elder Stilley, who for several years had been pastor of Bethel church, but then resided about thirty miles south in the Tywappity Bottom. Elder Stilley came to the next church meeting, but evidently jealous of the success of the young licentiate, he "seemed distant and gruff, and was unwilling to baptize the people. His reasons were that he had been afflicted some time before with ague, and going into the water might bring on a relapse, and that he was too weak to perform the labor. These and many other poor excuses he made, such as perhaps no Baptist had been known to make before." After much persuasion, he finally, however, agreed to perform the ordinance of baptism, if Thompson would "lead them in and out, and raise them from the water." To this arrangement he agreed, and "so it was done." Under the circumstances, the members of Bethel church were very anxious to have Thompson ordained, but Elder Stilley was the only Baptist minister in the immediate neighborhood, and under the rules of the Red River Association to which Bethel church belonged, it required two ordained ministers to ordain a minister. The only other Baptist minister was Elder Tanner, who then resided near New Madrid. After much persuasion, Elder Stilley finally agreed to go with Thompson to Elder Tanner's, but when he, accompanied by Cotteral, another Baptist licentiate, and Mr. Bull, came to his residence for that purpose, "he was crusty and distant," and absolutely refused to accompany them, nor could he be persuaded to do so. Thompson, however, filled his appointments, preached at Robinson's Prairie, by which name Big Prairie was then also known, and at Matthew's Prairie, where Charleston is now located, and arrived at New Madrid, at the residence of Elder Tanner, on Sunday evening. On Monday, he and Bull, on their return trip, stopped at Robinson's Prairie the first night, and the next day reached Baldwin's in Tywappity Bottom, about four miles below Commerce.

WILSON THOMPSON

The day after was January 8th, and after leaving Baldwin's,

Thompson records that when about two miles from the hills which set in at Commerce, "a severe shock of an earthquake came on us, as we were in an open place in the timber," and here they dismounted from their "staggering horses, which could scarcely stand up, and we ourselves found it difficult to stand." These shocks were frequent, and he says, "often introduced by a noise like distant thunder and then a roaring like heavy wind would come through the air, and with this sound would come the shock and convulsive surges of the earth." These earthquakes caused Elder Tanner to come up to the high lands of Cape Girardeau. The religious work of Thompson was unusually fruitful, for he tells us the "work of the Lord was progressing gloriously," and that "saints were happy, rejoicing in the display of God's power and grace. Young converts were singing the praises of their Saviour." Elders Stilley and Tanner, being both present at the next meeting of Bethel church, during these exciting times, Thompson was ordained "to the gospel ministry." Elder Tanner delivered the charge in a sermon on this text, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" Thompson was then chosen pastor of Bethel church, but in 1813 he removed to Ohio.[12] In 1814 Elders John Farrar and James P. Edwards, of Bethel church, organized Providence and Bellevue churches. In the previous year Elder Farrar had been ordained by Bethel church, Elder Colden Williams then being the regular preacher of the church, assisted by the Rev. Fielding Wolf.[13] Colden Williams seems to have succeeded Thompson as pastor.

According to Peck, Mount Zion, the first Baptist church north of the Missouri river, was organized in about 1810, probably by Elder McLain, who came to north Missouri in that year and resided within the limits of the present Howard county. Between 1810 and 1815 but little progress was made by this church. In that sparsely inhabited country and in those perilous times of isolation and Indian wars church services were irregular. Rev. M. J. Breaker seems to think that the Mt. Pleasant church near New Franklin was the first Baptist church organized in north Missouri, and he mentions Elders David McLain, Colden Williams and John Sneethan, as the elders; Colden Williams, however, did not remove to north Missouri until 1813.[14]

[12] Life of Thompson, p. 130, et seq.

[13] Life of Peck, p. 121.

[14] The first members of this church, says Rev. Breaker, were: Samuel Brown, Abraham Grooms, William Creson and wife, William Monroe, —— Stephenson and wife, Mrs. Winscott, Nancy Goggin, Nancy Cojum, Joseph Boty, Mrs. John Sneethan, Sophia Swearingen, Josiah Boon and wife, and Dan Reder and wife.

After 1815 a stream of immigration began to pour into the country. One wagon train of settlers came after the other in quick succession to this new and promising land. This new immigration and the more settled condition of affairs made possible a revival of religion.

With the first immigration from Kentucky to north Missouri in 1810, came Elder David McLain, a Baptist preacher. An interesting incident in the life of this early Baptist preacher has been preserved. It is said that in 1813 he started on a visit to Kentucky on horseback in company with a man named Young. On this trip while traveling in Illinois along the old trace leading from St. Louis to Vincennes they were fired on by the Indians. Young was instantly killed, and McLain's horse shot through the body. McLain was uninjured, but fell with the horse, and quickly extricating himself threw his saddle bags into the brush and ran for his life, chased by the Indians. After a time all the Indians fell back except one tall, athletic fellow who kept up the pursuit. McLain had on a thick overcoat, leggins and spurs on his boots, and was not a little inconvenienced by these incumbrances, and when the Indian fired and missed him, he took advantage of this to throw away his overcoat, thinking the Indian might perhaps be diverted by this prize. But when he found the Indian, having reloaded his gun, still followed him, he made a sign of surrender. Then when the Indian came within a few feet he assumed an attitude of defiance, carefully watched his motion, dodged the instant he fired and thus escaped the ball; then gathering all his energy he again began to run. In this wise he continued for over an hour, during which the Indian fired on him several times while in pursuit. McLain in the meantime managed to throw away his boots and spurs, and running thus through the timber of the Kaskaskia bottoms for about three or four miles, he finally reached the river. Deeming this his last chance to escape, he jumped in the water, exerting his utmost strength to swim away, with his eyes, however, constantly fixed on his foe, who had loaded his gun and fired for the eighth time just when Elder McLain dived into the water. By swimming diagonally down the river he so gained distance from his pursuer that the latter giving vent to a horrible yell gave up the chase and returned to his band. McLain on reaching the opposite shore was greatly exhausted and only succeeded in climbing up the river bank with the utmost difficulty. He was so chilled by the cold water into which he had plunged when in great perspiration, that he could only get his blood into circulation by

rubbing his limbs and rolling on the ground. In addition he had received a gunshot wound in the arm, and the loss of blood greatly weakened him. After incredible suffering he reached the Badgley settlement 35 miles away on the next morning. Here several Baptist families lived, and here he was seized with a burning fever and remained sick for several weeks, until his friends from the Boonslick settlement came and took him back home.[15] But Samuel Cole gives a more prosaic account of his escape. He says that McLain escaped by pulling a purse of twenty silver dollars out of his pocket, stopping and throwing it, he hit the Indian with it, upon which the latter stopped and picked it up, and, evidently pleased with the prize, pursued him no further.[16]

In 1813 Elder Colden Williams, already mentioned, severed his connection with Bethel church and removed to Boonslick settlement, and was one of the first Baptist preachers in that remote region. "He was possessed with a strong discriminating mind, loved the work of the ministry and was faithful in his calling."[17] At the close of the war of 1812, Elder Edward Turner, "a man of moderate abilities and correct deportment as a minister of the gospel," also settled there. Another early preacher in north Missouri was Elder J. Hubbard, a man of strong mind who had received the benefit of a better education than most of the other early Baptist ministers. He was well equipped with a full and correct knowledge of the Scriptures.[18] All these early Baptist ministers came from Kentucky.

Most of the original settlers belonged to the Baptist church. Daniel Boone himself attended the services of this church. His son-in-law, Flanders Callaway, was a leading member of Friendship Baptist church, located near the mouth of Charette creek, and so also was his wife, Rebecca, eldest daughter of Daniel Boone, as well as Squire Boone and his wife. When Peck, in 1819, preached at the house of Flanders Callaway, he had Daniel Boone as a hearer.[19]

In 1816 the Baptist Foreign Mission Board resolved to send two missionaries to the Missouri territory. The Board was fortunate in the selection of one at least of these missionaries, in that it chose a man not only of great religious zeal, but also of indefatigable literary

[15] Life of Peck, p. 142.

[16] Draper's notes, vol. 23, Trip 1868, p. 65 to 81, inclusive.

[17] Life of Peck, p. 141.

[18] Ibid., p. 140. His daughter, Huldah, married Joseph Monroe, a brother of President James Monroe.

[19] Life of Peck, p. 127.

activity. This was the Rev. John Mason Peck, a man of Puritan ancestry, born in Litchfield, South Farms, Connecticut, October 31, 1789. His parents were in very humble circumstances, and when a youth he consequently enjoyed the benefits of only a common school education. But equipped with these scanty advantages he improved himself and made rapid advances in acquiring general information, so that before his death he was not only recognized as a very able, but also as a very learned man. He married Sarah Payne, in May, 1809, before he attained the age of 21 years. In 1811 he removed to Windham, Green county, New York, where he became a member of the Baptist church. In 1813 he was ordained a Baptist minister at Catskill, and held the pastorship of several congregations in that locality. When, in 1816, he first learned that the establishment of a Baptist mission in the Missouri territory was contemplated, he became an applicant for this missionary work. In order to better qualify himself, he spent some time at a theological seminary in Philadelphia, where he studied Latin, Greek, and obtained a little knowledge of Hebrew. With wise forethought, he also attended lectures at the Medical college in order to be better able to protect his health in what then was generally considered a malarious and unhealthy country. In August, 1817, he left Philadelphia for the West, accompanied by his family and the Rev. James E. Welch, as his associate in the work. On October 6, 1817, they arrived at Shawneetown, where he says "the glad tidings of salvation were but seldom heard." From Shawneetown he journeyed by keel-boat down the Ohio and then up the Mississippi to St. Louis, arriving there December 1st, 1817. He came slowly up the Mississippi river, and, arriving at what is now known as Gray's Point, but then as Ross' Point, they landed for the night. Here he met Mr. Ross, a Baptist, and "was agreeably surprised to learn that there were seven churches associated in this part of the territory of Missouri." He reflectively notes: "Here is a vast field for labor and the work already commenced."

REV. JOHN M. PECK

JAMES E. WELCH

Learning that a Mr. Edwards would preach the next day at a Baptist church about fifteen miles above (at Bethel) he exclaims, "Oh, that I were there to aid him in declaring the name of Jesus."

Much of our knowledge of the early religious history of the state we owe to Peck. He was a zealous, sincere, earnest, deeply religious and able man, public spirited and ever ready to promote the cause of education, fearless too and ready to denounce evil in every form. As a minister, he was earnest and laborious. He had the eye of a keen observer and was careful in recording his observations, so that he gives us a vivid picture of things spiritual, as well as material, in the early days of Missouri. It is indeed fortunate for the history of pioneer days in the state, that Peck was sent out as a missionary into this then spiritually "desolate region" as he frequently calls it. Although greatly absorbed in his religious work he gave much time to literary and historical studies. He published many articles and lectures on various subjects, wrote a life of Daniel Boone, with whom he was personally acquainted, edited the "Western Annals," a work of merit and a complete compendium of Western history, and also was the author of an "Emigrant's Guide," a work at that time of great public use. During his long and busy life he kept a daily journal filling, in all, 53 volumes, "some small and portable for his convenience in traveling," but most of them large, either folios or quartos of some hundred pages each, in which were recorded the facts and incidents his inquisitive and ubiquitous spirit had brought under his observation.[20] He died March 15, 1855, aged 68 years, at Rock Spring near Belleville, Illinois, but was buried at Bellefontaine cemetery, St. Louis. His biographer says, "In that central position of the wide field which he had watched over and labored so long and well to cultivate, his remains repose."

When Peck arrived at St. Louis in 1817 he was sick with the intermittent fever. The keel-boat upon which he made the voyage landed at the foot of Elm street. His associate, Rev. Mr. Welch and wife,

[20] See Preface to Life of Peck, p. 5. These priceless volumes containing so much relating to the pioneer history of Missouri, as well as the many letters he received, all well arranged, with the substance of his replies, came in possession of the St. Louis Mercantile Library. From this "abundant and reliable material" his biographer, Rev. Rufus Babcock, has preserved for us a few extracts relating to the early history of Missouri, just enough to show the value of these journals. This material Dr. Peck no doubt designed for "a more full and extended memoir of his life and times." But if he indeed had this hope, it will never be realized. When inquiry was made during the preparation of this history, for these journals and manuscripts in the St. Louis Mercantile Library, in 1899, it was found that all this invaluable historic material — journals, letters and

with Peck's brother-in-law, Payne, arrived one week earlier by land with the horses, and had secured as a residence a single room on the corner of Main and Myrtle streets, the only place that could be secured in the village. The room had been just vacated as a place of business by Mathew Kerr and Mr. Bell. Here Peck was sick for two months, being attended and at last restored to health by two of the early physicians of St. Louis, Drs. Farrar and Walker. Truly a discouraging beginning in a new country and an unpromising missionary field. But Peck and Welch were not easily discouraged. They secured in the rear of the storehouse of Joseph Robidoux, a room 14 by 16 feet, for school purposes, at a rental of $14 a month. Here they established a school and began to teach, and in the same room preached every Sunday and Wednesday evening.

Just seven members constituted the first Baptist congregation of St. Louis, but after awhile this number was increased to thirteen, and in February, 1818, a regular church was organized. It also deserves to be recorded that Peck preached the first missionary sermon west of the Mississippi river in the Legislative Hall at St. Louis, and collected the sum of $26.25 on that occasion for this cause. In the following fall several candidates were baptized in the Mississippi river, and soon subscriptions were obtained for the erection of a Baptist church. In June of the same year a lot was purchased on the corner of Myrtle and Third streets and there the construction of a church was begun by laying the corner stone of the edifice with appropriate ceremonies. The school also flourished and all those unable to pay tuition were admitted free. In addition Peck commenced a course of lectures in order to arouse interest in popular education. Afterward he opened a Sunday school for the instruction of colored children and adults. Over 100 names were enrolled, and some of the colored people also became members of the Baptist denomination. It ought to be noted that these colored people were slaves, and only

MSS.— had been destroyed, *burned up as worthless*, because, so it was said, the library had no room for keeping such material — considered, no doubt, as "literary junk." It is strange that by fire in 1852 when his Rock Spring Seminary burnt his great collection of papers, periodicals and other pamphlets amounting to several thousand volumes, all gathered in a laborious life and carefully filed should have been destroyed and which he had "intended for some public institution to be preserved for generations to come" — and which he laments "can never be replaced." Then with resignation he says: "Well it seems to me to be providential. I have done all I could, and failed! I am afraid my materials are so destroyed that I cannot obtain means to prepare my projected work on the Moral Progress of the Great Central Valley of the Western World. I can only say, the will of the Lord be done."— Life of Peck, p. 346.

such as were permitted by their masters, attended this Sunday school. Peck says, "When the religious influence began to manifest itself among them, the sons of Belial began to sound out the notes of remonstrance and alarm."

Peck complains that the other Protestant denominations were hostile, although he says that he and his assistant "sedulously endeavored" to unite the Protestant denominations through organized and monthly missionary concerts; they also alternately held a monthly meeting at Mr. Giddings' school room, which was also his preaching place. To show his liberality he tells us that the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Methodists, who had no place of religious worship in St. Louis, were allowed to use the Baptist place of worship. At that time Peck and Welch[21] frequently rode out in the country and preached in "destitute settlements" quite a distance from St. Louis.

The most prominent member of the Baptist congregation of St. Louis in 1817 was John Jacoby, who at that time carried on the business of a saddle and harness maker. Jacoby was born in Virginia in 1781, and with his parents moved to Kentucky at an early date. In Kentucky he was bound out to learn the saddlery and harness making trade, and after serving a faithful apprenticeship, started out for himself. In 1806 he married Miss Jane Starks. In 1810 he became a member of the Baptist church. In 1816 he moved to St. Louis and there became a constituent member of the First Baptist church. He was in every respect a leading and prominent member of the congregation, holding the office of deacon, and taking a lively interest in everything appertaining to its welfare. In 1820 he moved to St. Charles, where he died in November, 1823. Peck, who knew him well and admired his character, preached his funeral sermon in Legislative Hall at St. Charles on November 12, 1823. Thornton Grimsley, so long and favorably known in St. Louis as a prominent and leading business man and citizen, was reared by Jacoby, and to him he transferred his business when he removed from St. Louis.

[21] Rev. James E. Welch, intimately associated with Peck in his early religious work in Missouri, was born in Lexington, Kentucky, February 28, 1789, and became a member of the Baptist church in October, 1810; entered the ministry in 1815; studied theology in the year following at Philadelphia; then acted as minister at Burlington, New Jersey; in 1817 tendered his services to the Board of Missions and was sent to the Missouri territory with Peck; he remained for three years then returned to Burlington; then returned to Missouri and lived for a number of years in Warren county; in 1875 moved to Warrensburg, and died while on an excursion to the seashore with a party of Baptists in 1876. His son, Aikman Welch, born in 1827, Warren county, was Attorney-General of Missouri from 1861 to the time of his death in 1864 at Jefferson City.

FeeFee Baptist church, located on FeeFee creek, St. Louis county, is said to have been organized as early as 1807 by Elder Thomas R. Musick. Among the first members of this church were Abraham Musick and wife, John Sullens and wife, Adam Martin and wife and Mary Martin, Richard, Jane and Susan Sullens, John Howdershell and wife, Hilderbrand and others, all pioneers and settlers in that neighborhood during the Spanish dominion. No minutes of this church exist prior to 1820, but no doubt occasional meetings were held by the Baptists. Thomas R. Musick, said to have organized this church, was a son of Ephraim Musick, and came to the upper Louisiana territory in 1801. He was born in Spottsylvania county, Virginia, in 1756.[22] The family were Episcopalians, and although his father violently opposed the step, his son became a Baptist. From Virginia the latter removed to North Carolina where he married Miss Mary Neville. He removed to the Spanish possessions in 1801, his father having settled in this territory in 1798. However, it is not likely that Thomas R. Musick, at the time of his emigration into upper Louisiana, was a preacher, for as such the Spanish Commandants certainly would have denied him the privilege of settlement. He may have been influenced by Clark and other Protestants to embrace the religious avocation. No mention is made by Peck of FeeFee as an early Baptist preaching station, and the only time he seems to have made an appointment to preach there was in 1822; even then he records that he found no hearers.[23] But Musick preached in Illinois with Peck in 1822.

In 1818 only five Baptist churches were to be found north of the Missouri river, and the members of all the churches in that country did not exceed one hundred. In that year these five churches united to form the "Mount Pleasant Baptist association," the churches belonging to the association being named Concord, Mount Zion, Mount Pleasant, Salem, and Bethel; the last ought to be called Bethel No. 2. In 1820 these churches reported seven ministers and two hundred and thirteen communicants. To these churches north of the river soon were joined Providence, Mount Ararat, Little Bonne Femme and Chariton. Chariton church was situated near

[22] Mrs. Elizabeth Sullens Musick says that he died in Central township, St. Louis county, Mo., in November, 1842; was buried near FeeFee church; that he was in the Revolutionary war.— Draper's Notes, vol. 6, p. 312. His wife died six years before him. "A loud and stormy preacher, not talented, but useful."— Draper's Notes, vol. 24, pp. 157, 204.

[23] Life of Peck, p. 175.

the old town of Chariton, and the names of Ebenezer Rogers and John Bowles appear on the minutes as preachers.[24] Rev. Thomas Fristoe, as early as 1818, was a Baptist preacher in this region, so also was Rev. Parker Williams. Rev. William Turnage preached as early as 1817 in the Buffalo settlement, in what is now Pike county, and in 1821 at Bluffton in the present county of Ray.

In 1819–20 Mount Pisgah church was organized, with thirty members, south of the river, in what is now Cooper county. This church was about twenty-five miles south of Boonville, and reported three ministers, Elders John B. Logan, Jacob Chism and Lewis Shelton. In addition, the rapidly increasing immigrants organized the Petite Osage Bottom churches, called "Teetsaw," Mount Nebo, Double Springs, and Big Bottom churches, in which Patton Nowlin, William Jennings and Peter Woods were elders, all having recently immigrated into the country. Big Bottom church was organized with twelve members only a short time before the visit of Rev. John Mason Peck in that section.

At a gathering of the association held in North Missouri in 1820, seven new churches were received, and also four new Baptist ministers. At that time there was general complaint that but few Baptist ministers emigrated to Missouri. Peck records in 1819 that since he arrived in 1817 only one came to the country within 100 miles of St. Louis. And concerning this one he adds, "We heartily wish him back again," although the region is "deplorably destitute of ministers." Another venerable Baptist of North Missouri, who mourned "the low state of Zion," was Father Stephen Hancock, eighty years of age when Peck met him. Hancock came with Daniel Boone to the Spanish possessions about twenty-five years before that time, and was now a regular attendant at a prosperous little Baptist church at Point Labadie.

Immediately after the Mount Pleasant association was organized, it sent its ministers to the Bethel association, and Elder Edward Turner, already mentioned, and William Thorpe were the delegates selected. The Bethel association met that year at the house of Mr. Duval (or DuVol) in the "Barrens," in what is now Perry county, and thither came Peck then on his first missionary trip to southeast Missouri. He tells us that he preached, although excessively fatigued from his long ride on horseback, from Isaiah xlix, 20; but does not seem to have very much edified his associates, because "a set of

[24] Life of Peck, p. 148.

crude and erroneous notions had been stereotyped into their minds in Kentucky, about gospel doctrine and moral obligations, and they were fixedly resolved to learn nothing else."[25] From Duval's, Peck rode to Jackson and preached at the house of Judge Richard S. Thomas where he "was kindly and hospitably entertained," Mrs. Thomas and her daughters being members of Bethel church. He next visited St. Michaels[26] where he says he met a venerable minister by the name of George Guthrie, formerly from Ohio, and then residing near the mouth of the Saline. At St. Michaels Peck "tarried at" brother James James' cabin. At this time Bethel Baptist association was composed of Bethel church, on Hubbell creek, in what is now Cape Girardeau county, Tywappity church now in Scott county, Providence church near Fredericktown, now in Madison county, Barrens church now in Perry county[27] St. Francois church now in Wayne county, Bellevue near Caledonia, now Washington county[28] Dry creek church in Wayne, and Salem church now in the state of Arkansas, on Fourche-à-Thomas. Two ministers, Benjamin Clark and Jesse James, and twelve members were in attendance. James subsequently disappeared from the minutes, perhaps by death, but Clark lived and labored in that desolate region for many years with great self-denial, zeal and success.[29]

Bethel Association then held correspondence with the Little river Association of Kentucky. The messenger in that year from that Association was Josiah Horne, who seems to have been a good preacher, and on that occasion is said to have preached an excellent sermon on the Sabbath. It was during this meeting that Peck organized the first society ever formed west of the Mississippi for philanthropic and missionary purposes. It was a society for "spreading the gospel" and for "promoting common schools in the western part of America both for the whites and the Indians." All "persons of good moral character, by paying five dollars annually," were eligible, but in order to be equipped as a missionary of the society, it

[25] Life of Peck, p. 167.

[26] "That village then was a very wicked place," says Peck. A man named John Faroe, who had been a dancing master, was a leading Baptist here. He lived in the "Caldwell Settlement." Life of Thompson, p. 213.

[27] This church was organized at the house of Brother Evans, and Elder Thomas Donnahue "lived and labored" with his church until he died.

[28] Elder Felix Reading, of Kentucky, was the first pastor of this church. He afterward became a resident of Madison county, Missouri.

[29] Life of Peck, p. 107. The first meeting of Bethel Association took place the year before, in 1816, and the following messengers from churches were

was requisite that the applicant "be in full standing in the Baptist churches, and give satisfactory evidence of genuine piety, good talents and fervent zeal in the Redeemer's cause." It was also expressly provided that no person of immoral habits should be employed as school teacher. This clause seems especially to have been aimed at drunkenness, and we are told that "in three years, by so simple and cheap an agency, more than fifty good schools were established in Missouri and Illinois where common nuisances with drunken teachers had before existed."[30] But the attempt to establish a school among a band of Indians residing in a village near Pilot Knob failed, and no further effort was made in that direction.[31]

Another prominent member present on that occasion was Rev. Thomas Parish Green, of Cape Girardeau, for many years one of the leading Baptist preachers of Missouri, a man of learning, ability, and great piety. Green was born in Chatham, North Carolina, on June 3d, 1790, and in 1807 removed with his father's family to Maury county, Tennessee, where under the instruction of Elder John Record he was converted and baptized into fellowship with the Lebanon Baptist church in 1812. He was licensed to preach and ordained sometime between 1814 and 1816. In 1817 he came to Missouri, settling in Cape Girardeau county, and there he resided until his death. To him we owe the preservation of the early minutes of the Bethel Baptist church. Missionary work and Sunday school work greatly appealed to him, and the resolutions of the Bethel Association on these subjects were penned by him. In 1829–30 he published a Baptist paper, "The Western Pioneer," at Rock Springs, Illinois. He was agent for the American Sunday School Union Mission in Southeast Missouri many years. In 1835 he was pastor of the Second Baptist church of St. Louis. He died in 1843 in the city of

enrolled: Bethel, Thomas Wolf, John Shepard, Elder Benjamin Thompson and Robert English; Tywappity, Henry Cockersham, John Baldwin, William Ross; Providence, William Savage, Elder Thomas Donnahue and John Duval (Or DuVol); St. Francois, Elder William Street and Jonathan Hubbell; Turkey creek, William Johnson, E. Revelle, and E. Baker; at the time Elders H. Cockersham, John Farrar, Thomas Donnahue and James P. Edwards were appointed to preach, and organize churches in different parts of the territory.— Tong's Baptists S. E. Missouri, p. 22. It was at John DuVol's in "the Barrens," where Peck stopped on his missionary journeys into southeast Missouri. James P. Edwards came to Cape Girardeau from Kentucky in 1811; he had studied law, but in 1812 was ordained to the ministry, and in 1818 removed to Illinois. Wingate Jackson, another early member of the association came from Virginia, settled in the New Tennessee settlement and died there in 1835.

[30] Life of Peck, p. 106.

[31] Life of Peck, p. 108.

Cape Girardeau. It is greatly to be regretted that the personal journal which he carefully kept for many years was accidentally destroyed by fire. The "Baptist Repository" of 1844 says that "in his death the Baptist cause has lost a bold and able defender, and the pulpit one of its brightest ornaments." [32]

But this Missionary Association, and of which Green was appointed corresponding secretary, aroused great antagonism among some of the good Baptists of those early days. For instance, Peck tells us that Turner and Thorpe knew "not a single fact about missions, nor anything correctly of the Kingdom of Christ on earth or its destiny," and that although not openly hostile they "shook their heads doubtfully." Afterward, however, they took "a bolder and more decided stand against all organized efforts to publish the glad tidings to a sin-ruined world." They maintained that "missions, Sunday schools, Bible societies and such like facilities were all man's contrivances to take God's work out of his own hands."

At first considerable success attended the missionary cause, but afterward it seems to have inspired many of these Baptist elders with the fear that if the missionary preacher and idea should become popular with the people, they would demand abler and more intelligent local preachers, and so they would be superseded. When Peck first preached at Bethel church he received a liberal missionary contribution, amounting to $31.37, being the second collection to the missionary cause ever made in Missouri; the first collection of $12.25 having been made at a meeting of the Missouri Association in the October previous. Certainly, these were large sums for those times. But he mournfully records that afterward "Bethel church, the oldest in Missouri, had Ichabod written on her doors," and had become "a selfish, lifeless anti-mission body." [33]

St. Francois church, already mentioned, near the present town of Greenville, was organized in 1816 by Rev. John Farrar, of St. Michaels (as the settlement where Fredericktown is now located was then known), and Elder James P. Edwards. Elder Street, who came to the country during the Spanish government, was an old settler there. He was one of the first white settlers in what is now Wayne county. Although not a regularly ordained Baptist preacher, he nevertheless exhorted the people in a "private way." Another early member of this church and pioneer of that locality was Ithamar

[32] Baptist Repository, 1844, p. 78.

[33] Life of Peck, p. 114.

Hubbell, a native of New York and a Revolutionary soldier, who at one time resided on Hubbell creek in the Cape Girardeau district, this creek being named for the family. He seems to have moved to the St. François river from there. Peck preached at this church in 1818, but tells us that the people took no interest in the missionary cause, and that "they knew not the name of a single missionary on earth, and could not comprehend the reasons why money should be raised for the expenses, or why ministers should leave their own neighborhood to preach the gospel to the destitute." [34]

The mischief done by the perverse course of the anti-missionary ministers at that time gave the missionary preachers no end of trouble, and for a time it appeared as if there would be a division of the Baptist church on this question, because of the opposition "of ignorant and selfish preachers" who were continually endeavoring to thwart the good work." [35]

Another common idea prevalent among all the members of the Protestant denominations of the time, which must have made the work of the early preachers unusually laborious, vexatious, and sometimes humiliating, was the opinion that ministers ought to preach without hope or promise of compensation from their hearers or congregations. Many of the early pioneers then thought that the gospel ought to be preached literally "without money and without price," and that they were entitled to take the time and talents of the minister for their own use and "rob him of the support due to his family." Under such circumstances the prospects of the "worldly success" of a Protestant minister in the Missouri territory then were not bright. Flint says, "No minister of the Protestant denomination, to my knowledge, has ever received a sufficient living two years in succession," or enough "to pay his ferriage across the rivers in his tours," [36]

[34] Life of Peck, p. 122. Elder James Street died in Wayne county in 1843 or 1844, at a very advanced age, probably 90. Peck says he had intelligence, kindness of heart and a courageous spirit, but "a hard field to cultivate." It is remarkable how these early characteristics seem to follow a community, not only in a religious sense, but otherwise. Wayne county to this day is still a "hard field." Here is the way the early settlers are described; "They manifested the same apathy in their business, a small crop and a truck patch was the height of their ambition. Venison, bear meat and hog meat dressed and cooked in the most slovenly and filthy manner, with corn bread baked in the form of a pone, and when cold, hard as a brick-bat, constituted their provisions. Coffee and tea were prohibited articles in this class, for had they possessed the articles, not one woman in ten knew how to cook them. Not a school had existed. A kind of half savage life appeared to be their choice."—Life of Peck, p. 122.

[35] Life of Peck, p. 206.

[36] Flint's Recollections, p. 115.

and adds, that "the people think in general, that attendance upon preaching sufficiently compensates the minister." To some extent this idea was fostered by the antagonism of the uneducated pioneer preachers who looked with jealousy and envy upon the new and more cultured preachers who came to the country to spread the gospel. For many years the older men had preached the doctrine of a "free salvation," hence they had little tolerance for educated ministers, who expected some compensation, and who in many places began to supersede them. It was perhaps expecting too much from preachers who at their own expense had traversed the wilderness on foot and on horseback, camped at night under trees or in the open air, forded creeks and crossed swollen rivers, not without peril and danger, in order to spread the gospel and establish churches, that they should meekly and without a struggle give way to more educated and learned men, just as devout and zealous as they, but more refined and intellectual, expecting, if not demanding, for their spiritual labors, at least enough salary to eke out a precarious subsistence.

One of the conspicuous ministers who thus sacrificed himself and his family by preaching the gospel without reward or compensation, was Elder Luke Williams, of the Mount Pleasant Association on the Missouri, whose name first appears as a licentiate on the minutes of that association in 1820. He traveled in the western part of the territory and state at his own expense, receiving nothing for his spiritual work. No one aided him, but he gave away many hundreds of dollars. He died in poverty in 1824, leaving a destitute family, and then an abortive attempt was made to raise some money to pay for the land upon which he had settled. But even after his death the promises and pledges of the early Baptists did not materialize. From circumstances such as these Flint does not wish us to draw the inference that the country was peculiarly bad, or "indisposed to religion," or that the people were "a degenerate race," but rather that the evil must be found in human nature placed in such circumstances. In the Cook settlement, now St. Francois county, on one occasion $150 was subscribed to pay a regular salary to Elder Farrar. The anti-missionary folks, however, burned the subscription list. The elder bore this with meekness and patience, but we are told, and it seems to have been the only consolation the missionary ministers had, that "the church never prospered."[37]

[37] This Elder Farrar died in 1829.

Returning now to north Missouri we find that on the border of Coats' prairie at the house of William Coats, the first settler of that region, a small Baptist congregation gathered in June, 1818. Peck also was the first Baptist preacher that visited this locality on a spiritual errand. Coats and one member, Thomas Smith by name, kept up this congregation by prayer meetings. Coats came from Tennessee in 1817 and was ordained a Baptist preacher in later years. Smith was an active, intelligent man with a strong mind. He was the son-in-law of David Darst, one of the first settlers on the Femme Osage during the Spanish dominion.

Rev. James E. Welch preached at Franklin, Oct. 8, 1820, and at Boonville on the evening of the same day. Rev. William Turnage was an early Baptist minister in the Buffalo creek settlement, in 1817, and in 1821 he preached at Bluffton in Ray county. He was perhaps the first Baptist minister in that vicinity. In 1817 a Baptist church was organized about 20 miles east of Old Franklin, by Elders William Thorpe and David McLain, the latter being the McLain who so narrowly escaped the Indians in Illinois. Another Baptist minister in north Missouri was David Doyle of North Carolina, who settled near Two Mile Prairie.

Occasionally too, a "wolf in sheep's clothing," a clerical swindler, would come into the country pretending to be a Baptist. Thus in 1820 Rev. James E. Welch, Baptist minister, warns against one Sam Clark who travels through the country "pretending to be a Baptist preacher."

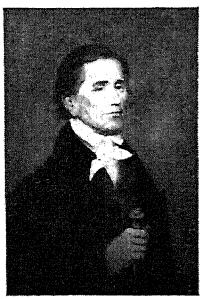
Women's Mite Societies, to aid in spreading the gospel, were organized in north Missouri in 1819. One of the earliest of these societies was formed in Howard county. Mrs. Lucretia M. Duff was president; Mrs. Henrietta C. D. Findlay secretary; Mrs. Mary Ann Campbell and Miss Ann Green assistant directresses. Another such Mite society was formed at Coats' Prairie. But in the previous year of 1818 a similar society had been formed at Jackson in Cape Girardeau county, of which Jason Chamberlain was president; so also one in the town of Cape Girardeau, and one at Ross' Point. Of the Cape Girardeau Mite Society, which met at the Bethel church in 1819 and 1820, Hiram C. Davis was president.

The first Sabbath school west of St. Louis and north of the Missouri river was organized at Chariton by the Baptists as an auxiliary of the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union. In 1820 there were three religious societies in Chariton; the Baptist, with Rev.

John B. Logan and Rev. William Thorpe; the Presbyterian, with Rev. Ed. B. Hollister; the Methodist, which had thirty members with Rev. Joseph Piggott.

Schultz, who visited St. Louis in 1807, says that the few Protestant American families that had settled in the town, not able to erect a church of their own, made arrangements with the priest of the village "to give them a little lecture in the chapel every Sunday afternoon."[38] According to Peck, to the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, a Presbyterian minister, belongs the honor of preaching the "first gospel sermon in the town of St. Louis." Blackburn made this visit "to this remote village," in the summer of 1813. A large and "respectable audience attended the services, and listened to the sermon."[39] Robert M. Stephenson, from Bellevue, writes Hempstead that Blackburn "is indeed a burning and shining light." But he was not popular, and seems to have come into friction with other clergymen.

In 1812 Rev. John T. Schermerhorn was appointed, with Rev. Samuel J. Mills, by the Missionary Society of New England, "to ascertain the religious state of the western country, the places most destitute of religious instruction, with a view to enter into some plan for the regular supply of such places with missionary labor." They intended to go to St. Louis, but abandoned the plan because advised that the route from Vincennes to St. Louis was not safe, and concluded to go to New Orleans, but from Fort Massac wrote Mr. Stephen Hempstead a letter making particular inquiries as to "the state of religion" in upper Louisiana, desiring particular information as to the number of clergymen in the territory, and where settled, the prospect of establishing societies and forming churches of the "Congregational or Presbyterian order," also requesting information whether infidelity prevailed much, whether the Sabbath was "religiously observed," whether error abounded much, whether it was practicable to "found a Bible or religious tract society." In case the latter was advisable, they would engage to send 200 or 300



STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD

[38] Schultz's Travels, vol. 2, p. 40.

[39] Life of Peck, p. 89. This story is related as to his eloquence as a preacher. It is said that a French lady who listened to him wept very freely, and that a few

Bibles (some in French if desired) and a box of tracts for distribution "among the poor, destitute and thoughtless." This naturally greatly interested Mr. Hempstead, and in reply he wrote that he rejoiced "that the Lord of the harvest is about opening a way to send laborers to this part of His vineyards which appears to me are now ripe and ready for the harvest." He then proceeds to give a pen picture of the religious conditions prevailing in St. Louis and the territory. "St. Louis," he says, "is populating very fast with American citizens; there are forty families containing three hundred persons, and no stated religious worship of any kind in the place," that there is "an old Roman Catholic church where they have services at times, having no priest steadily, that the people desire to have a Presbyterian clergyman if one of good moral character and professional ability and talents could be obtained," that some of the Presbyterians have joined the Methodists "which itinerate through the territory," that these have six preachers "men of very little education and small talents," who preach "at the Courthouse once a month." He also says that "there are some Baptists in this territory, the number not so many as the Methodists," that they have ten churches and 276 members, and adds that "the preachers that I know are not of that repute with the inhabitants they should be to be useful," and finally concludes his report with the statement that he knows no place in the United States that needs Presbyterian missionary labor more "than this territory," to plant "churches in these deserts, that shall bud and bloom like the rose," so that "all this great wilderness may become a fruitful field." As to a Bible society he observes "that but very few know anything" about such societies, and that among the people a diversity of opinion exists as to the usefulness of such a society, but he thinks a few Bibles and tracts might be of great service. Accordingly, in September, 1814, Mr. Mills sent Mr. Hempstead from Marietta, Ohio, a box of Bibles, a part of a donation of 600 Bibles committed to his care for distribution by the Massachusetts Bible Society. The expense of the transportation, however, had to be defrayed by Mills. The cost of the freight on these Bibles weighing 500 pounds, from Philadelphia to Marietta he says was $5 and he adds, "this sum I have paid; I know not how I shall be remunerated unless you can remit to me, or rather

days after the priest met her and said, "Ah, Madam, I hear that you have been to hear the heretic priest, and that you cry whenever you hear him; why is it that you never cry when I preach?" Her answer was, "If you will preach like Mr. Blackburn, I will cry all the time."— 10 Presbyterian Quarterly, p. 97.

to Robert Ralston, Esq., Philadelphia, the five dollars." He then writes that he has once been "through the western and south country in company with Mr. Schermerhorn," and that he has in view on his present tour "to visit St. Louis" if practicable, accompanied by "a missionary brother, the Rev. Daniel Smith." In this year, according to promise, Rev. Samuel J. Mills and Rev. Daniel Smith visited St. Louis, in the words of Peck "as evangelical explorers." They only remained, however, a short time. But they traveled extensively in the Mississippi Valley, distributing the Scriptures and endeavoring to ascertain the spiritual wants of the new settlers. Their visit gave "much satisfaction" to the inhabitants of St. Louis, says Mr. Hempstead, but more so to the "professed friends of Zion." Their sermons were listened to by crowded audiences, and many people would gladly have retained Mr. Smith especially. A Bible society was organized by them, and three hundred dollars subscribed.[40]

Mills was a native of Connecticut, and subsequently became a pioneer of the Colonization Society in founding Liberia in Africa. Smith finally settled at Natchez, Mississippi. In 1815 he wrote Hempstead that he had sent him a box of fifty French Bibles for distribution. He speaks of going down the river in a keel-boat and, coming ashore in skiffs to give away Bibles, and says that he found this "a very pleasing employment." He reports that he found the people on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi "extremely destitute of Bibles, and a few very grateful for the gift." At New Madrid he left 65 French Testaments to be distributed at that place, and he also distributed some Bibles at Point Pleasant, ten miles below New Madrid.[41]

After the visit of these ministers Mr. Hempstead continued to agitate the organization in the territory of a "church of Christ of the Presbyterian order." In a letter to Rev. William Channing of Boston, dated June 25, 1815, he suggests that two missionaries be sent, one to reside constantly in St. Louis, who would "lay the foundation for an academy, by teaching a school" and "preaching the gospel," and the other to itinerate and to be there occasionally. He greatly laments the fact that a territory having 25,000 inhabitants should not have within its borders a single Presbyterian minister or society, and mentions that there was a "revival of religion in one settlement up the Missouri seventy miles from this place" that

[40] So stated on authority of the Presbyterian Quarterly, vol. 10, p. 96.

[41] Hempstead Papers, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

"some Baptist and Methodist preachers appear to have been made the instrument of the work," and concludes by saying, "the time appears most favorable to begin the work."

In May, 1816, the notable Rev. Timothy Flint arrived in St. Louis. When he came he found the place without a single Protestant church or preacher, and says there never had been, as far as he could learn, the celebration of a Protestant communion in St. Louis, and that he administered this ordinance there for the first time. "Many affecting circumstances accompanied this communion, the narration of which," he says, "more properly belongs to a work more exclusively of religious intelligence. One circumstance took from its pleasantness and comfort, and rendered the duty perplexing. The members that communed, were from different states and countries. Each professor seemed pertinaciously to exact, that the peculiar usages of his church should be adopted on this occasion, and seemed not a little shocked that in order to meet the feelings of others, equally attached to their peculiar modes, something of medium and compromise must be observed."[42] The worshipers differed on trivial circumstances, and the more trivial the more pertinaciously they clung to them. Where at first all was harmony, soon everything was discord. It is charged by Flint that the Baptists were just as exclusive as in the older region of the United States, and he records that even among his own Presbyterian brethren there was a rivalry between the pupils, doctors and schools of Andover and Princeton. "People," Flint reflectively remarks, "are apt everywhere to regard the form more than the substance of religion." He seems to have come west on his own initiative without being specially appointed for the territory. He wrote Mr. Hempstead in October, 1815, advising him of his contemplated visit, and in March, 1816, in another letter says that his commission allows him to choose "the ground" of his labors "according to circumstances," and then referring to the fact that Mr. Giddings had been appointed missionary for the Missouri territory says that "there will be enough range for both Mr. Giddings and myself," that he was so firmly determined to visit the territory that he had refused "a proposal for a settlement in the comparatively polished region of Kentucky."

The Rev. Salmon Giddings,[43] mentioned by Flint, arrived in St.

[42] Flint's Recollections, pp. 111, 112.

[43] Salmon Giddings was born at Hartford, Conn., March 2, 1782; educated at Williams College and Andover Seminary; ordained at Hartford, December

Louis in August, 1816. He was the real pioneer Presbyterian missionary of St. Louis. This Rev. Giddings was one of "the most quiet, patient, plodding, self-denying and faithful missionaries the Presbyterians or Congregationalists ever sent to this country."[44] His labors were for some time wholly itinerant. He visited the villages and settlements along the Mississippi searching for persons who had been members of the Presbyterian church, "as wandering sheep, to gather them into the fold." Thus he collected and organized on August 12, 1816, the first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi river, in Bellevue valley, ten miles south of Potosi. Here as early as 1807, there were settled four Presbyterian elders belonging to some church in North Carolina, "that did not, as many others have done, hide their light under a bushel, but bore it with them to their new home." Their practice was to meet every Sabbath and hold a prayer meeting and read a sermon, generally one of President Davis', and thus they continued until the Methodists came, when they worshiped with them until the arrival of Dr. Giddings. Robert M. Stevenson, one of the leading members of the congregation, writes Mr. Hempstead that the people were very much pleased with the preaching of Mr. Giddings, but that they would have some difficulty to organize a church so "as to give no offence to Jew or Gentile nor the church of God." "My dear friend," he says, "I can not express the gratitude I feel to the great head of the church for sending the blessed gospel among us in this wilderness * * * less than fifteen years ago the haunt of savage beasts or more savage men."[45] On September 7,

20, 1814, and arrived at St. Louis 1816; on his journey west on horseback, he preached every Sabbath; when he arrived in St. Louis he took up casually a newspaper and found that it contained a caution against him as having been sent from Hartford on a political errand. On the 21st July, 1816, he administered the Lord's Supper to a little group of four persons, that is to say, Mr. Hempstead, Mrs. Lisa and Mr. Thomas Osborne. He died February 12, 1828, universally lamented, and from 1200 to 1500 persons attended his funeral.

[44] Life of Peck, p. 89.

[45] The names of the members of this first Presbyterian church formed west of the Mississippi, male and female, old and young, as preserved by Robert M. Stevenson, were: Jason Frizzel, Miles Goforth and wife, Mary McCreary, William Henderson and wife, Robert Sloan and wife, James Robinson, wife and mother, Elisha Baker, William Campbell and wife, Joseph McCarty, Robert M. Stevenson and wife, John Baird and mother, John Pettigrew and wife, Anthony Sharpe and wife, John McClintock and wife, William Sloan and wife, Nicholas Hays and wife, John Walker and wife, Thomas Jordan, Josiah Bell, John Gibbins and wife, Samuel Gibbins, Thomas Baker and wife, John R. Broker, Ananias McCoy, John and Luke Davis, Samuel Henderson, Daniel Gallagher, John Blair, Daniel Phelps, John P. Alexander and wife, French Strother and wife, Samuel Sloan and wife, James Johnson, Abraham Beckman, Joseph Gibbins and wife, John T. Webb and wife, John Clarkson

1817, the Rev. Thomas Donnel took charge of Bellevue church and remained there for more than 25 years, being installed as pastor in 1818 by the Rev. Giddings. Donnel was from North Carolina, a man of respectable ability as a preacher and "as a Christian had no superior."[46]

Flint and Peck both lament that ministers were poorly paid at that time, but, although somewhat reluctant to compensate ministers for their spiritual work, we are told that they were everywhere entertained by the people hospitably. Near the Maramec Peck tells us that he tarried with a Mr. Moore, who furnished him with a buffalo skin, on which he "lodged for the night very comfortably," and he adds that "a puncheon floor with a buffalo skin for a bed and a saddle-tree for a pillow furnished no mean lodging in those frontier times."[47] So at Horine's, not far from Van Zant's mill, located at what is now Sulphur Springs, he tells us that although the family kept a house of entertainment as a means of support they declined to make any charge; he says that seldom was a charge made anywhere when it was ascertained that the guest was a minister of the gospel. Flint praises the unvarying courtesy with which ministers were received by the people. Even Nicholas Kuntz, an old German keeping tavern on the old Boonslick trace, though "rough and wicked," hospitably entertained the preachers.

When in 1816 Flint first came to St. Charles, he found not a single professor of the Presbyterian faith, but within six years the Presbyterian congregation consisted of 240 members, with "a small but neat house of worship built out of brick." In addition, he claims

and wife, John McCormick, William Davis and wife, Patrick Estes and wife, Andrew Goforth, Timothy Phelps, William Sloan and wife, James McCormick, William O. Stevenson, Thomas Blair and wife, Fergus Sloan, John Robinson, Elijah Baker, James Gibbons and wife, Robert Gibbons and wife, William Webb, Elizabeth Hewitt, Moses Scott and wife, John Hughes, Levi A. Sloan, Solomon Davis and wife, Lot Davis and wife, John Johnson and wife, Zack Goforth, William McCarty, George Ashbrook, John Anderson, Robert Alexander, Thomas Sloan, Hewett Bail and wife, A. T. Alexander and wife, Cynthia Alexander, William S. Sloan, John Sloan, James Sloan, Amos Sloan and William McLaughlin. The first meeting took place Wednesday, July 31, 1816, and another meeting on the following Friday. William Sloan, Robert Sloan, Joseph McCormack and Alexander Boyd were installed as elders, and Dr. Giddings says that "the sacrament was administered the Sabbath after," and he says that it "was a solemn and a delightful season to many," and that a very large audience attended and "behaved with decency." From Bellevue Dr. Giddings says he went to "the Cape" and from there to Ste. Genevieve.—Hempstead Letters in Missouri Historical Society Archives.

[46] 10 Presbyterian Quarterly, p. 101. He had two brothers, James and Eli Donnel, who settled on Plattin creek in Jefferson county.

[47] Life of Peck, p. 117.

he organized a number of Presbyterian churches served by Presbyterian ministers, formed three Bible societies and founded Sunday schools. But according to Peck, Rev. Charles S. Robinson, a Presbyterian missionary from an eastern state, who is not at all mentioned by Flint (although he at one time refers to an associate from Connecticut) built the meeting house at St. Charles in 1819. He also says that in this work Robinson received occasional aid from another missionary Rev. T., undoubtedly referring to Rev. Timothy Flint. Peck in this wise gives us his idea of Flint as a preacher, viz., "I heard Mr. T. preach several times. His sermons were good, sometimes eloquent; but, as the laborer said to the prophet (2 Kings vi), 'Alas! Master, it is borrowed.' One from Luke xiv, 18, was from Burder's Village Sermons. At the monthly concert for prayer in St. Louis he gave us a lecture from Daniel ix,1–3. This discourse was chiefly made up from one then recently preached before the first East Tennessee Bible Society; a portion I recognized as having been preached and published in the Eastern states."[48]

Rev. Charles S. Robinson was a native of Massachusetts, born in Granville; a graduate of Williams and Andover, who came to St. Charles December 7, 1818. He led a life of privation and hardship; and was a man of piety and great zeal. In one of his reports to the Home Missionary Society he gives us this pen picture of the religious condition and his labors at St. Charles: "Last month five who were the heads of families were admitted to the church on profession of their faith. Some of them were from a family that had resided in this state before it was ceded to the American government. Not having been favored with a common school education before they came here, and there being no school at that period, the oldest children were not taught to read. But in consequence of their becoming pious several who were between 35 and 40 years of age commenced learning and appear to be exceedingly happy that they can now read the Word of God. A few years since this whole family connection knew not the Sabbath but to profane it; the voice of prayer was not heard in their dwelling; now the mother and ten children, including sons and daughters-in-law, are, I trust, singing the songs of redeeming love."[49] In September, 1819, Rev. Robinson organized the Dardenne church with seven members.

In 1818 a young gentleman who had been trained to the ministry

[48] Life of Peck, p. 160.

[49] 10 Presbyterian Quarterly, p. 103.

under the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, was inducted into the ministry at a presbytery at Potosi, the Rev. Timothy Flint and Rev. Mathews performing the ordination and preaching the sermon on that occasion. Rev. Mathews was from Erie, Pennsylvania, an Irishman by birth, and "a gentleman of great strictness of principle and character." He organized the Presbyterian church on Buffalo creek, with 14 members, in 1817, and taught the first school in Pike county. In order to reach Potosi on that occasion Mathews and Flint made a journey of eighty miles on horseback from St. Louis through the "high hills and flint knobs and valleys of the Maramec, cutting short the way with anecdotes." But on the second day they missed their way and wandered around lost in the woods until midnight, when, finally by the barking of dogs, they were directed to a cabin where they were received and entertained "most hospitably."

In his letters Flint says he has "a very pleasing recollection of the inhabitants of this remote region." He seems to have known the value of recording his observations and impressions as well as Peck. He was a laborious and earnest man, but his ministerial path appears to have been hard and thorny, and far from strewn with roses. He was more of a wanderer than Peck and did not become attached to any particular locality or state. For a time we find him preaching at St. Charles, then at Jackson, then at New Madrid, then at Arkansas Post; and finally at Alexandria in Louisiana at the head of an academy. From there he returned to Massachusetts. He had the benefit of a better and more thorough education than Peck. He was born at Reading in Massachusetts in 1780; graduated at Harvard college; died at Salem in 1840. He was the author of "A Life of Daniel Boone", of a "History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley" in two volumes; and published in 1826 his "Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley," a series of letters which give us many sketches of the social, moral and religious life in the Missouri territory. This work is a distinct and valuable contribution to our early history, with its vivid pen pictures, not perhaps always reliable, and glimpses of things past, now almost faded into oblivion. He, however, was personally not without faults, and Hempstead writes in 1818 that it is regretted that he "is not more acceptable," and that he should have given occasion "for the people to speak reproachfully of him."[50]

After leaving St. Charles, Flint spent the winter of 1819 at New

[50] Hempstead's Letters, in Missouri Historical Society Archives.

Madrid and preached to a congregation while there. He was delighted to find a few well informed families in that town, and that they attended "divine services on the Sabbath day with perseverance and attention." Mrs. Gray, who had been a resident of New Madrid for a long time, coming to the place from Kaskaskia with her husband during the Spanish government, was a devout member of his congregation and he resided with his family in a part of her house. The Gray family originally came from Massachusetts. Gray was an interpreter for the Spanish government. Mrs. Gray obtained a divorce from him and afterward married George M. Ragan, the largest slave owner of the New Madrid district, but she seems also to have separated from him, and reassumed the name of her first husband. When Flint was at New Madrid she kept a house of entertainment.

The presbytery of Missouri was formed by the synod of Tennessee in 1817, and held its first meeting at St. Louis, December 18, 1817. It consisted of Salmon Giddings, Timothy Flint and Thomas Donnel, and churches Bellevue, Bonhomme and St. Louis. Rev. C. S. Robinson and Rev. David Tenny joined the presbytery in 1819. Mr. Tenny died in that year. Rev. Edward Hollister united with it in 1821, but left the country the next year. Following Rev. Timothy Flint he came to Jackson June 25, 1820, and called a meeting at the house of Joseph Frizell to arrange to support a Presbyterian church. Flint claims that in the previous year he organized a Bible society here, which he says was to his knowledge the first Bible society west of the Mississippi between there and the Gulf of Mexico. He also claims that he organized a Sunday school. On June 3, 1820, the Jackson "Herald" announced that Rev. Timothy Flint, a Presbyterian minister, would preach at the Courthouse, Sunday, June 4, 1820. The files of the same paper also show that in the previous year, 1819, Jason Chamberlain was President of the Columbian Bible Society at Jackson, Christopher G. Houts, Treasurer and A. Hayne, Secretary. Evidently Flint is taking too much credit to himself in his letters.[51]

Rev. Nicholas Patterson was the first Presbyterian minister who visited the Boonslick country and western Missouri, arriving in 1818–19. He was much charmed with the "frank, free hospitality"

[51] Of an Auxiliary Bible Society organized at Jackson in 1824 by Rev. Thomas Horrell, an Episcopal minister, Isaac Sheperd, Captain Ebenezer Flinn, James Russell, T. P. Greene, Secretary, David Armour, William Williams, Daniel Honser, Samuel B. McKnight, Daniel F. Steinback, Robert A McBride and John Horrell were members.

with which he was received at Franklin and other early settlements on the Missouri, but was greatly concerned at the "frank exhibition of the native malignity of the carnal heart against God and the gospel." He says that he was plainly told by some men with whom he staid, "who had been drinking," he adds in parenthesis, that "when we had no doctors then we had no sickness, and when we had no preachers then there was no persecution for conscience' sake," a saying, he adds, which seemed to carry with it some force and authority. He states that while he was in this part of the territory, the Tebo Benevolent Society was organized and ten dollars collected and transmitted to Philadelphia for tracts and Sabbath school books, and that afterward another band of ladies collected an additional sum for the same purpose. From him we also learn that Rev. J. M. Peck made an unsuccessful attempt at missionary work in the Teetsaw settlement, and that this "worthy, zealous young brother has been branded with the appellation of impostor, by poor ignorant creatures" whom the mantle of charity was too small to cover. But Patterson himself did not remain, or organize a congregation.[52]

Rev. McFarland formed a church of 23 members at Franklin and this afterward grew into the Boonville church. He accomplished but little, the chronicler mournfully says, "except to show the extent of the field and point to the wide wastes they were unable to possess."[53]

On October 24, 1819, the Rev. John Ward,[54] of Lexington, Kentucky, an Episcopal clergyman, held the first Episcopal services in the Missouri territory, in St. Louis, in a one story frame house on the corner of Second and Walnut streets. In November of the same year the sum of $1,714 was subscribed for the support of an Episcopal church for one year, the list being headed by Thomas F. Riddick with a subscription of $100. Certainly a subscription of $1,714 at that time for the support of the church was most liberal, and points to the fact that the Episcopalians, at that early day, were among the most substantial citizens of the state. As

[52] Rev. Nicholas Patterson was a graduate of Princeton, N. J.; in 1818 was sent as an itinerant missionary from Philadelphia to the Missouri territory by the Board of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, He was "a man of medium talents as a preacher, but possessed an amiable disposition, great simplicity of character, and was habitually devotional," says Peck, who traveled with him in the frontier settlements, "visiting every log cabin" they could find, and getting together the people to preach to them.— Life of Rev. J. M. Peck, p. 144.

[53] 10 Presbyterian Quarterly, p. 102.

[54] Rev. Mr. John Ward married Miss Sarah Clifford at Lexington, Ky.

a result of this liberal subscription, Christ Church was organized and thus the Episcopal church became the third Protestant organization of St. Louis, the Baptists and Presbyterians, as we have seen, having organized their churches only shortly before this period. Rev. John Ward remained rector of this church for about eighteen months, at a salary of $1,000 a year, and in the spring of 1821 returned to Lexington. After his departure and for several years the church seemed to lie dormant, the members all being discour-

McKENDREE CHAPEL — OLDEST PROTESTANT CHURCH WEST OF MISSISSIPPI

aged, but some time in 1825 the Rev. Thomas Horrell,[55] came to St. Louis and awakened and restored the greatly dispirited congregation.[56]

The first Methodist church west of the Mississippi river was organized, in about 1806, at McKendree, about three miles from the present town of Jackson, in Cape Girardeau county. Among the first members were William Williams and wife, John Randall and wife, Thomas Blair, Simeon and Isaiah Poe, Charnel Glascock, and the Seeleys. Soon afterward a house of worship, McKendree chapel, was built out of great hewn poplar logs, and this with some alter-

[55] Born in Calvert county, Maryland, September 17, 1789; educated at Charlotte Hall; came to Jackson, Missouri, in 1818.

[56] The following persons were the subscribers for the establishment of an Episcopal church in St. Louis, November 1, 1819: Thomas F. Riddick, S. Hammond, John Hall, A. Nelson, D. B. Hoffman, J. Clemens, Jr., F. Dent, Edward March, J. Baber, R. Wash, Wilson P. Hunt, William Rector, Henry Von Phul,

ations is still occupied by a Methodist congregation. A never failing spring is located on the church lot embracing several acres and covered with grand old oaks, and so it came that here, too, the early Methodists held their camp-meetings and hence the name "the Old Camp-ground" by which this ancient religious locality is still known.

It appears that in 1806 Rev. John Travis was appointed preacher for the "Missouri circuit" at Ebenezer Meeting House in Greene county, Tennessee, by the Western conference which then embraced an indefinite territory north of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi.[57] But when he came to upper Louisiana he found two churches organized, known as Cape Girardeau and Maramec circuits, though who organized these circuits can not now be ascertained. We may, however, conjecture that Jesse Walker, who was stationed in 1804 on the Livingston circuit at the mouth of the Cumberland, may have come to the American settlements in the Cape Girardeau district and on the Maramec, and organized this McKendree church and the church on the Maramec.

At the same conference which appointed Travis, Rev. Jesse Walker was appointed preacher for Illinois, but it is certain that Walker did not confine himself to Illinois, but crossed into upper Louisiana, now Missouri, in his missionary labors. In 1807 he was sent to the Missouri. At the conference held at Chillicothe, Ohio, in that year, Travis reported that the two circuits — Cape Girardeau and Maramec — of this territory had 106 members.[58] Travis organized a Methodist society at Cold Water in 1807, in the St. Louis district. It is recorded that Presiding Elder William McKendree, who came to Illinois from Kentucky in the summer of that year, accompanied by Walker, crossed the Mississippi river, and held the first quarterly meeting, with Travis, on the Maramec at the place where Lewis' chapel is now located.[59] It is also claimed that McKendree, after he was elected Bishop, together with James Ward,

William Stokes, J. V. Garnier, William Christy, M. Wherry, Risdon H. Price, Theodore Hunt, A. Rutgers, S. C. Boss, William Carr Lane, Abijah Hull, William S. Hamilton, Jonah Bright, J. W. Hoyt, Peter Ferguson, Rufus Pettibone, James Kennerly, John Nicholson, William H. Ashley, A. McNair, Thomas H. Benton, J. G. Lindell, A. V. Vaughn, H. L. Hoffman, Nathaniel Sanborn, James Loper, Joseph M. Yard, I. Eckstein, Theodore L. McGill, D. V. Walker, William Clark, B. F. Farrar, John O'Fallon, Elias Rector and Peter Haldiman.

[57] Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, p. 71.

[58] At this conference, held in September, 1807, a Rev. John Traverse (evidently Travis) was assigned to Bayou Sarah in lower Louisiana.

[59] This is highly probable, for according to the Rev. James Gwin, McKen-

from Virginia, Presiding Elder of the Cumberland district, which then included Missouri, held a camp-meeting at the Zumwalt house in St. Charles county, and that thence they came to Cold Water and held a camp-meeting; but this statement is unsupported by any evidence. But we do know that Bishop McKendree was in Missouri in 1819, and attended conference at McKendree chapel in Cape Girardeau county. We also have the authority of Peck that he paid a passing visit to St. Louis in 1818, and preached at the Court-house there. In this year the Western conference was divided into the Ohio and Tennessee conferences and Missouri made a part of the latter. In 1808 the Western conference appointed, as preachers, Rev. Jesse Walker [60] for Cape Girardeau circuit, and Rev. Edmund Wilcox for Maramec. In 1809 Rev. Jesse Walker was re-appointed for the Cape Girardeau, and Rev. David Young [61] and Rev. Thomas

dree met Walker at Scott's at Turkey Hill in St. Clair county, Ills., about 12 or 15 miles from the Mississippi river on an air line, and together they set out from there for this camp-meeting. When they crossed the Mississippi, unable to get their horses across, they sent them back to Scott's. Crossing probably in a canoe, then on foot with their baggage on their shoulders, they went to the camp-ground.— Methodism in Tennessee, vol. i, p. 453. McTyeire says that they walked about forty miles in getting to this meeting, and on the way met Rev. John Travis. At this camp-meeting forty persons were converted.— History of Methodism, p. 499.

[60] "Rev. Jesse Walker," says Bishop McTyeire, "was a church extension society within himself."— History of Methodism, p. 496. He was to the Methodist church "what Daniel Boone was to the early settlers,—always first always ahead of everybody else, preceding all others long enough to be the pilot of the wilderness." His natural vigor was almost superhuman; he seemed to require no food or rest like other men; no day's journey was too long for him, or long enough to tire him; no fare too poor, no roads too bad; if his horse could not carry him he would walk; and passing nights alone in the wilderness was with him no uncommon thing; looking up frontier settlements and settlers was his chief delight. He was the advance guard of the Methodist church in the West, and every time he was heard of he was still farther on.— A. L. P. Green's Biographical Sketches. Walker was admitted to the Western conference on trial in 1802, a member of the Red river circuit; in 1806 in Illinois; in 1807 sent to the Missouri circuit; in 1808 in the Illinois circuit; in 1809 to Cape Girardeau; in 1811 in Illinois; in 1816 in the Missouri conference; in 1821 missionary to St. Louis; in 1823 was particularly directed to look after the Indians in this conference; then went to northern Illinois and labored in that section in 1832 in the Chicago district; died October 5, 1835, in Clark county, Illinois. "His name will live as long as the history of Methodism shall live," says McFerrin in his "History of Methodism in Tennessee," vol. 1, p. 429. Also see Reynolds' History of Illinois, p. 221. Matson says that Walker "was a short, heavy-set man, very dark skin, walked erect, with an independent pompous bearing, and possessed great energy and force of character. He was a bold undaunted missionary, bearing the standard of the cross triumphantly into the wilds of the west among the red men as well as the white." Matson's French and Indians of the Illinois River, p. 235. A strenuous laborer in the vineyard of the Lord, this Rev. Jesse Walker.

[61] A delegate to the general conference which convened in New York, May, 1812, from the Western conference.— Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, p. 171.

Wright for the Maramec circuit. In 1810 Rev. Jesse Walker accompanied by John Scripps went to New Madrid and organized the New Madrid circuit. This church was composed of 30 members at the end of the first year.

Rev. Samuel Parker was Presiding Elder in 1809,[62] and in that year visited the town of Cape Girardeau and preached the first sermon ever heard there, at the house of William Scripps, whom he had known in Virginia. Scripps was an Englishman, a tanner by trade, who came to America in 1791 and to Cape Girardeau in 1808.[63] He had two sons, John and George H. John Scripps early manifested a deep interest in religious matters, and was admitted by the New Chapel conference in 1814 as a preacher on trial; at this conference Bishops Asbury and McKendree were both present. In 1815 he was at the Patoka conference.[64] In 1819 he was a merchant at Jackson, greatly opposed to the introduction of slavery into Missouri; afterward he emigrated to Illinois, where he became a prominent preacher.[65] In 1809 Rev. John Crane was stationed "in the fork of the Missouri and Mississippi, where he had the honor of doing the work of an apostle, in some sense, in planting the gospel and raising a church in the wilderness." In 1810 he rode Cold Water and Missouri circuits, and had "frequently to swim his horse across the Missouri river."[66] In 1819 Rev. E. McAllister stationed at St. Charles preached there and elsewhere in North Missouri.

To show the wonderful energy and enthusiasm of these early Methodist preachers it should be remembered that the Western conference then embraced the whole Mississippi Valley, and that a preacher, who in one year would travel in the mountains of East Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, the next year might travel in

[62] In 1818 Presiding Elder of the Amite circuit in Louisiana; was admitted on trial by the Western conference October, 1803; says Bishop McTyeire a "sweet singer in Israel, and a fine specimen of 'nature's nobleman' improved by Divine grace."— History of Methodism, p. 496. He died in Mississippi.

[63] Where he died in 1825, and Rev. Thomas Wright delivered the funeral discourse at the house of David Hiler.

[64] Beggs Southern and Northwest History, p. 81.

[65] One of his nephews became the founder of the "Chicago Tribune."

[66] Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, pp. 121, 276. An interesting character was Rev. John Crane; born 1787 at Eaton's Station two miles below Nashville; died in 1813 at Old Goshen, Tennessee. When after death his pocketbook was examined "it contained twenty-five cents, and his parchment of ordination from Bishop Asbury." At the age of 12 years he frequently exhorted the people; admitted on trial at the age of 20 years, and in 1809 admitted into full connection and ordained deacon and stationed in what was then upper Louisiana.

what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, or even in the territory west of the Mississippi. Such a case occurred in the conference of 1809 when Rev. Isaac Lindsey, who in 1808 was appointed to preach in the French Broad circuit in the Holston district, was sent the next year to the Cold Water circuit in the Missouri district, succeeding Crane in this year.[67]

On Good Friday in 1810 the first Methodist camp-meeting was held at the "Old Camp-ground" at McKendree chapel. Walker and Wright and the Presiding Elder Samuel Parker were present on that occasion. In that year Rev. John McFarland was assigned to the Maramec circuit, Jesse Walker re-assigned to the Cape Girardeau circuit, and Rev. George A. Colbert to Coldwater. In 1811 McFarland was placed in charge of the Cape Girardeau and New Madrid circuit, Thomas Wright[68] of the Maramec circuit, and Rev. Daniel Fraley of Coldwater.

Shortly after the earthquake of 1812 a camp-meeting was held in what is now Madison county, then in the Ste. Genevieve district. At the conference in that year, Rev. Benjamin Edge was assigned to the Cape Girardeau circuit, Rev. William Hart to the New Madrid circuit, Rev. Jesse Haile to Coldwater, and Rev. John McFarland to the Maramec circuit. Of Edge it is said that he was a very able man of great executive ability, but that he had extremely ugly features.[69] In 1813 Rev. Thomas Wright was in charge of the Cape Girardeau circuit, which then had 123 members. Rev. Thomas Nixon was appointed to the New Madrid circuit, numbering 136 members. In this year the Coldwater and Maramec circuits were united and Rev. Jno. McFarland and Rev. Richard Conn appointed for the circuit.

In 1814, by the New Chapel conference, John C. Harbison was received as a preacher on trial.[70] Harbison, who came to the Cape Girardeau district in 1798, was of Scotch-Irish parentage, and taught school at Mount Tabor near Cape Girardeau. After the acquisition of the upper Louisiana territory he practised law for a time; he was long addicted to gambling and drunkenness, but

[67] Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, p. 132.

[68] Is this the same Thomas Wright who was expelled from Bethel church for holding Arminian views?

[69] By the Western conference which met at Chillicothe, Ohio, in Sept., 1807, Rev. Benjamin Edge was assigned to the French Broad circuit in Tennessee.— Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, p. 97.

[70] Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, p. 329.

finally reformed and became one of the ablest pioneer preachers of Methodism in the Missouri territory. It is said of him that after his conversion, while on the circuit, he met some of his old companions who challenged him to play a game of poker, to which he agreed provided they would after the game attend church and listen to his sermon. The game was played and then all attended church, and so powerful was the sermon Harbison preached on that occasion that it caused those who had sought to belittle his conversion to abandon their wicked course of life. Harbison died in 1826 in Cape Girardeau county. Rev. John Scripps was also admitted at this conference.

Thomas Wright was again assigned to the Cape Girardeau circuit in 1814, and the New Madrid circuit was placed in charge of Nace Overall.[71] In this year a new circuit, the "Saline," including all the country between the Maramec and Apple creek was formed. This included the Murphy settlement, the oldest and strongest Methodist community of the territory, where Oglesby, in 1804, preached the first Methodist sermon west of the Mississippi river. It also embraced the "New Tennessee settlement," now in the western part of Ste. Genevieve county, the Cook settlement in St. Francois county, and the Callaway settlement now in Madison county. All these settlements then were regular Methodist preaching stations, and they reported 115 members. Among the early Methodist preachers of this time laboring in Missouri — possibly in this locality — Rev. Jacob Whiteside should also be mentioned,[72] although it is not stated where he was stationed.

The conference in 1815 appointed Philip Davis for the New Madrid circuit, Jesse Haile for the Cape Girardeau circuit, Thomas Wright for the Saline circuit, William Stevenson for Bellevue, Ben. Proctor for Coldwater, and Jacob Whitesides for the Boonslick country. In 1816 the Missouri conference was first organized at Shiloh Meeting House near Belleville, Illinois. This conference consisted of Saline circuit, the Cape Girardeau circuit, the New Madrid circuit, and the St. Francois circuit. Truly a small beginning. Bishop Roberts presided and Jno. Scripps acted as secretary. Samuel H. Thompson who had traveled in Missouri in the previous year was appointed the Presiding Elder. He was a native of West-

[71] McFerrin says he "belongs to a preaching family."— History of Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, p. 335.

[72] History of Methodism in Tennessee, vol. 2, p. 339.

moreland county, Pennsylvania; joined the Methodist church in Kentucky in 1807; became a preacher in 1809; married February, 1816; and after his marriage settled near Lebanon, Illinois.[73] For the New Madrid circuit, Rev. Rucker Tanner was appointed by this conference. He was a native of New Madrid and in early youth was noted as a reckless character. His complexion was dark and swarthy, and it is related of him that while he and his brother, not more religious than himself, were in New Orleans without money, he allowed his brother to sell him as a slave. After obtaining the money his brother left him to his fate. With a great deal of difficulty he secured his freedom, and, penniless, started to walk home. On his way he stopped at the house of a local Methodist preacher, with whom he lived for some time. While there he experienced the change of heart that caused him to enter the ministry. At this conference John C. Harbison and Josiah Patterson were received in full fellowship. Jos. Piggott was appointed for the Boonslick circuit, John Schrader for Coldwater, John Scripps for Saline, Jno. Harbison for Cape Girardeau, and Thos. Wright for New Madrid. In 1817 Rev. Thomas Wright was appointed to serve the Saline circuit; and for the new St. Francois circuit, Rev. Joseph Piggott and the Rev. Rucker Tanner were appointed. It is to be noted that St. Louis then had no Methodist church and it is said that two young Irishmen, W. and J. Finney by name were the only Methodists residing there. But Sparks writes in 1812, that although St. Louis had "no place of worship" except the Catholic church, that the "Methodists once in a while" held services, so that likely the Finneys were not the only Methodists there. In 1818 Bishop McKendree preached a Methodist sermon in the town. Rev. Thomas Wright in 1818 again filled the Saline circuit, John Scripps was appointed for the Cape Girardeau circuit, and John McFarland the St. Francois circuit. The activity of these early Methodist preachers must have been very great, because according to Peck, the only preaching heard in the scattered settlements in the hills of Jefferson and Washington counties was by Methodists.[74]

BISHOP MC KENDREE

The first conference west of the Mississippi it seems was held in

[73] Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 223.

[74] Life of Peck, p. 100.

1818 at Mt. Zion church in the Murphy settlement. Bishop McKendree was present at this conference, and probably either in going or returning from this conference he stopped at St. Louis and preached there. John Scripps acted as secretary at the conference, and Rev. Jesse Walker was appointed Presiding Elder. The Methodist circuits now covered a large part of the present state.

BISHOP GEORGE

The second conference of the Methodist church west of the Mississippi met at McKendree chapel in 1819. According to Mr. Cunningham four conferences were held at McKendree chapel, one by Bishop George, two by Bishop Roberts and one by Bishop Soule. At this conference John McFarland was appointed to fill the Saline circuit, and Joseph Piggott the Bellevue circuit, which had been newly organized, but Rev. Piggott also seems to have preached in St. Louis in that year.[75] Philip Davis was appointed to the St. Francois circuit; Samuel Glaize the Cape Girardeau circuit, and William Townsend the New Madrid circuit.

In 1820 Rev. Thomas Wright was appointed Presiding Elder and John Harris filled the Saline and Bellevue circuits, Samuel Bassett the St. Francois circuit; Isaac Brookfield, Spring river, a new circuit; W. W. Redman, White river, a new circuit; Philip Davis, Cape Girardeau, and Jesse Haile, New Madrid.

In 1817 the first Methodist religious service was held in Boonville in Cooper county, and in the following year Justinian Williams organized a church there.[76] In 1818 Rev. W. R. Jones was preacher and Jesse Walker Presiding Elder of that locality. In 1819 Jesse Haile was Presiding Elder. According to the Rev. J. H. Ledbetter the new circuit of Methodist church north of the Missouri river, called the Boonslick circuit was formed in 1815, and he says Rev. Joseph Piggott was appointed pastor of the Methodist church of "Howard county," although this could not well be so because Howard

[75] It is said that he was present when Charless was assaulted by McHenry and was unable to prevent the rencontre. Peck records of him that while traveling on one of his missionary tours through the Barrens of Perry county he came near freezing to death on an extremely cold night, without food for himself or his horse.

[76] History of Howard and Cooper counties, p. 818.

county was not organized until the following year. Among others, Parker Williams and John Scripps preached throughout the Boonslick country at an early date.

In 1821, at the time Missouri was admitted into the Union, Thomas Wright was again Presiding Elder and Rev. Thomas Davis was appointed for the Cape Girardeau circuit, Philip Davis for the Saline circuit, John Cord for the St. Francois circuit, Abram Epler for Spring river circuit, and Washington Orr for the New Madrid circuit.

I have thus shown, in barest outline, the history of the organization and work of the Protestant churches in Missouri, prior to the organization of the state government. It is a mere outline, because the beneficent and moral influences these Protestant church organizations exercised, and their devout ministers, I can only conjecture. Their work, great as it was, and infinite in its effect, has almost perished from the recollection of men. It was unchronicled and unheralded at the time. The good and zealous men who labored and toiled in that wild, rough, uncultivated, benighted, dispiriting and disheartening spiritual vineyard have never, will never, receive the meed of praise they deserve, but the seed they freely scattered in the wilderness did not fall on sterile ground. And although many fell in the struggle unnoticed, their names unrecorded, unknown heroes on the divine field of battle, their work has not perished; it is their enduring monument. In this work, the Methodist system of circuit preaching, Peck well says was the "most economical and successful mode of supplying the destitute and strengthening and building up the feeble churches that has ever been tried. It is truly the apostolic mode; and if the finger of Divine Providence ever pointed out a method adapted to the circumstances of new and sparsely-settled districts, it is itinerating or circuit missions." [77]

[77] Life of Peck, p. 124.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Rapid Growth of Population — Memorial to erect Territory into State — Proposed Boundaries — Memorial Presented to Congress — Referred to a Select Committee — The Slavery Question — Parties Divide on Sectional Lines for the first Time in Congress — The Tallmadge Amendment Adopted by the House — Fails in the Senate — Fifteenth Congress adjourns without Admitting Missouri — Sixteenth Congress meets — The Admission of Missouri Coupled with that of Maine — The Missouri Compromise — Excitement Produced by the Congressional Debates — Passage of the Enabling Act creates Great Joy — Members of the Constitutional Convention Elected — A Pro-Slavery Body — Constitutional Convention Meets at St. Louis — Constitution Adopted after a Short Session — Political Preaching Abhorred at the Time — Some Provisions of the Constitution — Biographical Sketches of some of the Members of the Convention — McNair Elected First Governor — William H. Ashley Elected First Lieutenant-Governor — State Officers Appointed by McNair — Barton and Benton Elected United States Senators — Struggle of Benton to be Elected — Arms of the State — Meaning of the Arms of the State Explained — Opposition to the Admission Renewed by the Anti-Slavery Party — Clay's Compromise — The State adopts the Declaratory Law Required by Congress — Proclamation of Monroe admitting Missouri dated August 10, 1821 — The Grand Destiny of the State.

After the close of the war of 1812 the flood of emigration into the territory rose higher and higher. As if by magic the wilderness became tenanted. In every locality the rude log cabins of the pioneers were reared, farms opened, new settlements founded, the germs of future cities laid. Where a few years before only wandering savages had lived in barbarous fashion, a civilized society and civilized order were established, educational institutions planted and enlightened and revealed religion cemented the social fabric. With this rapid growth of population the desire of the people for a separate and independent state government became almost universal. This feeling found expression in a memorial to Congress which was circulated in the territory in 1817 and in which the petitioners pray that the territory within certain limits be erected into a state. In January, 1818, this memorial was presented to Congress by Hon. John Scott, the delegate from the territory. In this memorial the petitioners set forth why the new state should be organized as follows:

"Memorial of the Citizens of Missouri Territory.— To the Honorable, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:— The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri respectfully

showeth: That your petitioners live within that part of the Territory of Missouri which lies between the latitudes of 36 degrees and 30 minutes and 40 degrees north, and between the Mississippi river to the east and the Osage boundary to the west. They pray that they may be admitted into the Union of the states within these limits.

"They conceive that their numbers entitle them to the benefits and to the rank of a state government. Taking the progressive increase during former years as the basis of the calculation they estimate their present numbers at 40,000 souls. Tennessee, Ohio and the Mississippi state were admitted with smaller numbers, and the treaty of cession guarantees this great privilege to your petitioners as soon as it can be granted under the principles of the Federal Constitution. They have passed eight years in the first grade of territorial government, five in the second; they have evinced their attachment to the honor and integrity of the Union during the late war and they with deference urge their right to become a member of the great republic. They forbear to dilate upon the evils of the territorial government but will barely name among the grievances of this condition:

"1. That they have no vote in your honorable body and yet are subject to the indirect taxation imposed by you.

"2. That the veto of the territorial executive is absolute upon the acts of the territorial legislature.

"3. That the Superior Court is constructed on principles unheard of in any other system of jurisprudence, having primary cognizance of almost every controversy, civil and criminal, and subject to correction by no other tribunal.

"4. That the powers of the territorial legislature are limited to the passage of laws of a local nature owing to the paramount authority of Congress to legislate upon the same subject."

And after describing the boundaries of the proposed new state the memorialists say that the boundaries as solicited will include all the country to the north and west to which the Indian title has been extinguished, also the body of the population, that the Missouri river will run through the center of the state, that the boundaries are adapted to the country, that "the woodland districts are found towards the great rivers; the interior is composed of vast ridges and naked and sterile plains stretching to the Shining mountains." And that the country north and south of the Missouri is necessary to each other, the former possessing a rich soil destitute of minerals, the latter abounding in mines of lead and iron and thinly sprinkled with

spots of ground fit for cultivation. In conclusion the memoralists say that they "hope that their voice may have some weight in the division of their country and in the formation of their state boundaries; and that statesmen ignorant of its localities may not undertake to cut out their territory with fanciful divisions which may look handsome on paper but must be ruinous in effect."

This petition was signed by Jacob Pettit, Isaac W. Jameson, Sam S. Williams, Robt. C. Bruffey, Justinian Williams, William Paul, W. Brown, William H. Ashley, Hyder A. Ball, Israel M'Gready, Thomas Turner, Lewis Morrison, John Jordans, Terrence High, Ben Anthony, Samuel P. Browne, George M'Gehan, A. E. Partenay, Samuel Windes, Joseph Pain, Gabriel Barrow, Th. H. Ficklin, Jn. Fouquier VanPreters, W. N. Wilkinson, Absalom Eaton, James Bruffey, David Adkins, John McCormick, Andrew Henry, Louis Robert, Felix Redding, H. Lane, Pascal Mallart, Stephen Dugan, William Johnson, Benjn. Horine, John Wall, Louis Vallé, Benoit Vallé, John Vallé, Jr., B. D. Bowmer, John Rice Jones, John Davis, Charles Davis, Alex. Craighead, Robt. T. Browne, Bernard Coleman, John Polite, Jno. H. Weber, Thos. M. Daugherty, Jeremiah Key, Wm. B. Wafford, Louis Lasource, William Bradshaw, James Hopkins, A. Scott, J. Chadbourne, Th. Bequette, Sml. C. Harkins, William Brown, John Portell, Samuel Swearingen, James Donnell, William Henderson, Jason Frizzel, Anthony Sharp, Francois Genereau. Nearly all at the time citizens of Washington county.[1]

This memorial was referred to a select committee composed of the delegate from the territory, John Scott; Mr. Robertson, of Kentucky; Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi; Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana; Mr. Livermore, of New Hampshire; Mr. Mills, of Massachusetts and Mr. Baldwin, of Pennsylvania. But no report was made by this committee during this session of Congress. In December, 1818, the territorial legislature of Missouri, however, took up this subject and also adopted a memorial praying for the establishment of a state government, supplementing the original petition, but asking for more extended boundaries than those set out in the petition presented. On February 13th, 1819, as chairman of the committee on the

[1] It is certain that other similar petitions were signed by residents of the other counties of the territory, and that all these petitions so signed constituted the memorial which Delegate Scott presented. But these petitions from the other counties have either been lost or are misplaced. Only a few years ago Representative Bartholdt accidently discovered this petition in the basement of the Capitol at Washington, and had it sent to the MSS. division of the Library of Congress, where it has been framed and thus is permanently preserved.

"Memorial from Missouri" Scott reported a bill to "authorize the people in that (Missouri) territory to form a constitution and state government on an equal footing with the other states." To this bill Mr. Tallmadge (of New York) offered an amendment making it a condition precedent to the admission "that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude shall be prohibited, except for the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted; and that all children born within the state after the admission thereof, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." This amendment was extremely objectionable to the people of Missouri. It gave rise to a great debate, Clay, Pinckney, Randolph, Lowndes, Holmes of Massachusetts and others opposing the proposition, and Rufus King of New York, Otis of Massachusetts, Dana of Connecticut and Sergeant and Hemphill of Pennsylvania favoring restriction. "Ostensibly, it was a protest in the interest of morality against the evil of slavery, and an effort to legislate it out of a territory where it lawfully existed, but in reality it was as Rufus King admitted, a struggle for political power, and it did not differ from that which had taken place in 1803, when the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana was under consideration, except in being aligned upon a different issue." [2] For the first time in the history of the Union parties divided on geographical lines. Words threatening a dissolution of the Union, and civil war, were uttered in Congress in this debate. The discussion continued with unremitting violence, north to south, during the winter, with increasing bitterness, but finally the bill with Tallmadge's amendment passed the House by a vote of 97 to 56, and was sent to the Senate for concurrence. The Senate struck out the Tallmadge amendment, restricting slavery and providing for gradual emancipation; and the House, refusing to concur with the action of the Senate, the bill providing for the admission of Missouri as a state was of course lost. This debate created intense excitement throughout the country, and after the adjournment of the Fifteenth Congress became an inflammatory subject of controversy and seemed to shake the Union to its center.

When the Sixteenth Congress met in December, 1819, the question came up again. But Maine now also asked for admission into the Union, and although the House showed plainly that it was not prepared to recede from its position in favor of abolishing slavery in Missouri, the Senate was enabled to exercise a pressure upon the

[2] Carr's Missouri, p. 138.

House by resorting to the device of coupling with the admission of Maine also the admission of Missouri, and insisting that the two new states must come in together, that Missouri must be admitted without condition as to slavery or Maine would not be admitted. After a heated and acrimonious debate in both houses the result was a deadlock, and the appointment of a committee of conference. Finally a series of measures usually called the "Missouri Compromise" were adopted, by which the provisions of the ordinance of 1786 were extended to "all that tract of country ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, and which lies north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, except only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the state contemplated by the Act."[3] By the terms of this agreement "which it may be well to observe was understood and not expressed, the clause prohibiting slavery" was stricken from the Act authorizing the people of Missouri to form a state government. The Act as passed just before adjournment of the Sixteenth Congress, March 3, 1820, left the people of Missouri nominally free to organize the state with or without slavery, but without any express guarantee as to admission into the Union.

This enabling Act provided that each county should be represented in the constitutional convention according to the number of its inhabitants, the convention to consist in the aggregate of forty-one members. But now it was discovered that the attempt made by the northern representatives to regulate the domestic affairs of the territory had most injuriously affected the cause of the anti-slavery party, and alienated not a few of those who agreed, in principle, with the northern anti-slavery men. The debates of Congress had been followed by the people of the territory with intense interest, and lines were sharply drawn between those favoring slavery and the comparatively small number favoring the restriction of slavery in the new state. The attempt to deprive the people of the new state of the right to determine the question for themselves, says Carr, "was looked upon as a high-handed effort at usurpation, and such was the opposition it provoked within the state that owing to this and to other causes no one whose views upon the slavery question were in the least doubtful stood any chance of election."[4] "The question" said Mr. Charless, the editor of the "Missouri Gazette," "was not whether slavery shall or shall not be prohibited * * * but whether we shall

[3] 16th Cong., 1st Session, vol. 1, p. 428.

[4] Carr's History of Missouri, p. 151.

meanly abandon our rights and suffer any earthly power to dictate the terms of our constitution," and Charless was a pronounced anti-slavery man and candidate for the convention pledged to restrict slavery.

The excitement these congressional debates produced in the territory was intense. This was evidenced in various ways. Thus the Grand Jury of St. Charles county resolved that the attempts "to restrict us in the free exercise of rights in the formation of the constitution and form of state government for ourselves is an unconstitutional and unwarrantable usurpation of power over our inalienable rights and privileges as a free people." This report was by Judge Tucker transmitted to President Monroe, "as the constitutional organ through which it may best reach those to whom the redress of grievances therein complained of properly belongs." The Grand Jury of Jefferson county expressed the same views. So great was the feeling in the territory on this subject while the debate was in progress in Congress that Mr. Scott received a remonstrance from a religious assembly — the Baptist Association of Mt. Zion, Howard county — to present to Congress their protest against the interference of Congress with the contemplated constitution and against any restriction on the rights of property. In Franklin, Humphrey Smith was mobbed because he asked the suggestive question how a member of the Methodist church could hold negroes in slavery, and in addition was afterward indicted by a Howard county Grand Jury for provoking a mob.

When the first news reached St. Louis that the enabling Act for the admission of Missouri without restriction had become a law the town was illuminated in honor of the event. The first news of the passage of the Act was brought to Jackson by Thomas Hempstead, who passed through the town on his way to St. Louis on March 21st. In Franklin, in honor of the event, a splendid dinner was given on April 10th, at the hotel of Captain Means, to celebrate "our late triumph over eastern policy and eastern artifice."

At this time the total population of Missouri was 70,618, of which 11,234 were slaves, the largest slave-owning county being St. Louis with 1,603, Howard with 1,409 and Cape Girardeau with 1,082 slaves.

In the election for delegates to the constitutional convention the lines were sharply drawn between the restrictionists of slavery and pro-slavery men. Political preaching then was not received with favor or indulgence, and Rev. John Mason Peck having been charged with referring to the slavery question in his sermons, vehemently denied

it as "a willful and malignant falsehood," and in a letter says, "whatever my private sentiments on the subject of slavery itself or the policy or expediency of its limitation, I have too much regard for the cause of religion, the interests of the country, and my own public and private character, to preach on slavery or on any other subject of party politics."

The election for members of the constitutional convention was held on the first Monday and two succeeding days of May, 1820, and both parties selected their most influential members to form a ticket to be presented to the people, but the restrictionists were in a hopeless minority and only strong pro-slavery men were elected. The delegates selected to the constitutional convention from Cape Girardeau county were Stephen Byrd, James Evans, Richard S. Thomas, Alexander Buckner and Joseph McFerron; from Cooper county, Robert P. Clark, Robert Wallace and William Lillard; from Franklin county, Joseph G. Heath; from Howard county, Nicholas S. Burckhart, Duff Green, John Ray, Jonathan S. Findlay and Benjamin H. Reeves; from Jefferson county, Samuel Hammond; from Lincoln county, Malcolm Henry; from Montgomery county, Jonathan Ramsay and James Talbott; from Madison county, Nathaniel Cook; from New Madrid county, Robert D. Dawson and Christopher G. Houts; from Pike county, Stephen Cleaver; from St. Charles county, Hiram H. Baber, Benjamin Emmons and Nathan Boone; from Ste. Genevieve county, R. F. Brown, H. Dodge, John D. Cook and John Scott; from St. Louis county, David Barton, Edward Bates, Alexander McNair, William Rector, John C. Sullivan, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Bernard Pratte and Thomas F. Riddick; from Washington county, John Rice Jones, Samuel Perry and John Hutchings, and from Wayne county, Elijah Bettis. All the delegates were natives of slave-holding states except McNair and Perry who were natives of Pennsylvania, Emmons, a native of New York, McFerron who was an Irishman, and Jones a native of Wales.

The delegates met in convention in St. Louis in June, 1820, at what was then known as the "Mansion House," corner of Third and Vine streets. David Barton was elected president, and William G. Pettus [5] secretary of the convention. On the 19th day of July

[5] William Grymes Pettus was born in Mecklenburg county, Virginia, December 31, 1794; he received a good education; in the war of 1812, he served as a volunteer and after the war was deputy clerk of Lunenburg county; in 1818 came to St. Louis, and was employed by McNair in the land office as clerk; when the constitutional convention met he was elected clerk and so well did he

following, after a session of a little over a month, and an expenditure for stationery, etc., of a total of $26.25, the work of the convention was finished by the adoption of a constitution for the new state. The constitution adopted, which was principally the work of Barton, was not submitted to a vote of the people for ratification, but went into effect of its own motion, superseding the territorial government, and provided for the election of a governor and a lieutenant-governor, members of the first general assembly, a representative to Congress, and the election of United States senators.

WILLIAM G. PETTUS

The constitution thus adopted without unnecessary delay and without that extraordinary display of legal and constitutional lore which it now seems all constitution-makers deem it necessary to display, remained in force for many years and has been well said was "a marvel of moderation and political sagacity," framed as it was in a period of great political excitement. From time to time a few unimportant changes were made in this organic law in the simple and inexpensive way provided in it. As was to be expected, slavery was sanctioned, but at the time it was thought that if no attempt had been made by congressional action to prohibit slavery, and the matter quietly left to the people, that slavery would have been excluded from the new state. The St. Louis Enquirer, at any rate, claimed that the act sanctioning it was adopted because of the "inter-meddling of outsiders." A number of provisions incorporated in this constitution also show that while the rights of the slaveholder were protected, it was not intended that slaves should be clandestinely

perform the duties of his office that a complimentary resolution was passed by the convention acknowledging his valuable services; in 1821 he was appointed clerk of the Supreme court and after the election of McNair as Governor he appointed him secretary of state, and this office he held until the end of McNair's administration; in 1824 he was elected secretary of the State Senate; then appointed Probate Judge of St. Louis county; in 1826 he married a daughter of Col. James Morrison of St. Charles and entered into the mercantile business there; in 1832 he was elected a member of the State Senate from the St. Charles district; from 1834 to 1842 he was in the mercantile business in St. Louis; then he became secretary of the Floating Dock Insurance company and also secretary of another insurance company. He died December 25, 1867, leaving four daughters and two sons. He was a most painstaking man in all his work as is evidenced by the fact that in the enrolled copy he made of the constitution it is said not a "t" was uncrossed nor an "i" undotted. That he was a man of education, culture, and intelligence his long public service makes evident. To the end of his life he enjoyed the confidence and respect of all who knew him.

and wrongfully introduced into the state or certain natural rights of the slave wantonly disregarded. Thus power was denied the General Assembly to emancipate slaves without the consent of the owners, without making full compensation, and the right of emigrants coming to Missouri in good faith with their slaves was guaranteed. Power was given to enact laws to prevent slaves from being brought into the state "for the purpose of speculation," or which had been imported "into the United States contrary to law." The General Assembly was also authorized to enact laws "to oblige owners of slaves to treat them with humanity and abstain from all injuries to them extending to life and limb," and in criminal cases slaves were secured "an impartial trial by jury." Any person who maliciously deprived a slave of life or dismembered his body, it was provided in this constitution should suffer the same punishment as if the "offense were committed on a free white person."

Perhaps because political preaching was then held in great abhorrence, but which is now so fashionable, a provision was incorporated in the constitution providing that "no bishop, priest, clergyman, or teacher of any religious persuasion, denomination, society or sect" should be eligible to either house of the General Assembly, or appointed to any office of profit, "except the office of justice of the peace."

The constitution expressly provided that "schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged in this state" and that in each township schools should be established as soon as practicable and necessary "and where the poor shall be taught gratis." And the first legislature passed an act to prevent the waste of the school fund. In 1830 Dr. J. J. Lowry of Franklin, Philip Cole of Potosi and Joseph Hertick of Ste. Genevieve, were appointed a commission to formulate and prepare a plan for a common school system for Missouri. Nor was the experience the people gained by the failure of the two territorial banks established at St. Louis allowed to pass without making provision to prevent a similar event. It was expressly provided in the new organic law of the state, that the General Assembly should incorporate not more than "one banking company," but the legislature was authorized to establish not more than five branches, "not more than one branch to be established at any one session of the General Assembly," thus preventing a combination of various interests in various sections of the new state to secure useless and speculative branch banks. The capital stock of this bank was fixed

at $5,000,000 and of this stock at least one-half was to be "reserved for the use of the state." Although authorized to establish a bank, the people so generally distrusted banks, that it was not until 1837 that the General Assembly chartered the Bank of Missouri.

All state offices, except the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor, were made appointive. The state treasurer, however, was elected by both branches of the General Assembly biennially.

The judicial power of the state was vested in a Supreme court, in a Chancellor, whose jurisdiction was coextensive with the state, in Circuit courts and such inferior tribunals as might be from time to time established. The judges of these courts, also all appointed by the governor, held their offices during good behavior, but no person under 30 years could be appointed a judge by the governor, nor hold his office after attaining the age of 60 years. It is evident, that the framers of this constitution of Missouri did not think that the judicial offices of the new state should become the plaything of political factions, or that it would add to the dignity, or independence of a judicial office if secured by low artifices and cunning schemes, certainly a poor preliminary training for an upright and impartial judge. No doubt it was then thought, low be it spoken, that the possibility of paying political debts by corrupt, partial, specious, and fallacious decisions was not an imaginary but a real menace to the purity of the judiciary, and that therefore it was wise to remove it as far as possible from the realm of such influences. Such ideas at present, however, do not disturb the constitution-makers, and generally it is considered that when a judicial candidate has successfully pulled through the mire of politics, the judicial ermine covers all the dirt. This too may be said, that the growing and rising importance of the Federal judiciary, and which when the Federal government was organized was deemed of very little consequence, especially in all matters involving the property rights of the individuals, must be found in the fact that the judges hold their offices for life, during good behavior, and therefore are not dependent on the popular whims and caprices of the hour, or the clamor of the press.

Some of the leading members of this constitutional convention have already been mentioned and their services detailed, so that it is not necessary to say more. Their names are household words in Missouri. A few members of this convention became widely known on the ample theater of national politics or achieved eminence at the bar

of the United States Supreme court. But this work would be incomplete if it failed to give at least some details as to other members, not so widely known, and whose very names have almost been forgotten in the counties they represented in this memorable convention. At any rate, it has been a matter of no small difficulty to secure reliable facts as to some of these worthies of other days, and in a few instances no details whatever could be found, so completely have their lives and very existence faded from the recollection of the present generation.

Among the members of the convention not already mentioned, Alexander McNair, delegate from St. Louis county, is the most conspicuous. At the first election for governor he was elected to that office, defeating William Clark, who had been territorial governor since 1812. McNair was born in Terry township, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, in 1774. In 1794 he was lieutenant of the Dauphin militia and during the whiskey insurrection in 1799 was appointed lieutenant of Infantry in the United States army, but mustered out of service in 1800; in 1804 he came to St. Louis; in 1805 he was appointed one of the judges of the court of Common Pleas of St. Louis district; in 1808 he was one of the first trustees of St. Louis; he then was United States commissary for several years; in 1813 he was appointed Inspector-General of the territorial militia of Missouri; at the close of the war devoted himself to mercantile pursuits; in 1816 he was appointed register of the land office at St. Louis. After his term of office as governor expired he secured a position in the Indian department. In 1805 he married a daughter of Antoine Reihle, and thus became connected with some of the leading French families of the territory. He died at St. Louis, March 8, 1826. McNair was always active in politics. In 1814 was a candidate for territorial delegate to Congress, but defeated by Easton. He was a man of very pleasant manners, and made many friends. Billon says that he was "very popular with the whole community."[6]

GOVERNOR ALEXANDER MCNAIR

Another member of the convention from St. Louis county was

[6] Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 2, p. 208. But Lucas, who was not very friendly to him, says that in Pennsylvania before he came to Missouri he

Bernard Pratte, a name well and favorably known in Missouri. The Pratte family originally came from Fort de Chartres to Ste. Genevieve, where General Bernard Pratte was born. His father was a merchant there during the Spanish dominion. From Ste. Genevieve his son went to St. Louis, and lived there when the country was transferred to the United States, engaged in the fur trade, a "negociant," or trader. Pratte was a member of the first grand jury empanelled in St. Louis in 1804; in 1807 a member of the court of Common Pleas; in 1808 one of the first trustees of the town of St. Louis; he built the first business house on the levee there; in 1813 became a member of the American Fur company, then monopolizing all the trade on the upper Missouri; he was one of the incorporators of the first bank of St. Louis; in the war of 1812 was with an expedition to Fort Madison and otherwise rendered signal services; he was appointed by President Monroe receiver of the public money at St. Louis. He was a man of great enterprise, one of the first merchants of St. Louis and known as a man of unimpeachable integrity. He died in 1837.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr., another member to the convention from St. Louis, was the second son of Pierre Chouteau, born at St. Louis, January 19, 1789. From early life he was engaged in the fur trade. He was one of the principal owners of the American Fur company, associated with Pratte, Cabanne, Sarpy and others famous in that trade. His business operations during his whole life were extensive. In 1849, he, John Harrison and Felix Vallé organized the American Iron Mountain company to work the Iron Mountain deposits in St. Francois county. In 1851 he organized the firm of Chouteau, Harrison and Vallé to operate a rolling mill in North St. Louis, and for many years this establishment was one of the principal industries of St. Louis. He was one of the original incorporators of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in 1849 and also one of the incorporators of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad in 1851. In 1822 after serving in the constitutional convention he was appointed one of the com-

PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR.

was a Federalist, and "that he was notoriously a bully on the side of the Federalists," that he was a man of "little information, but possessed of the manners and address suitable to gain popularity on a frontier, and nowhere else." Letters of Lucas, p. 109.

missioners to locate the St. Louis jail. He was a man of affairs and indefatigable in his enterprises. In 1813 he married Miss Emilie Gratiot. He died in October, 1865.

John C. Sullivan, another delegate from St. Louis, was a son of Captain James Sullivan of Kentucky. In 1814 he was United States revenue collector for the Missouri territory. He first surveyed as an Indian boundary line, the present northern boundary of Missouri in 1816 and in 1819 surveyed the Indian boundary line in northern Illinois, which afterward was claimed as its southern boundary by Wisconsin. He died near Florissant.

William Rector was born in Farquier county, Virginia. He was the oldest of nine sons and four daughters.[7] The family first settled at Kaskaskia in 1806, but from there removed to St. Louis. In St. Louis his brother, Col. Elias Rector, was appointed postmaster in 1819, holding the office until 1822. In 1812 William Rector participated in the war against the Indians at the head of Peoria lake, says Governor Reynolds. In 1817 he was appointed surveyor-general of Illinois and Missouri. In 1818 laid out a town near the mouth of the Osage river. He made a map, no doubt at the instance of the authorities, of the western part of the United States, showing the courses of the rivers emptying into the Pacific, relying greatly on information obtained from Robidoux, and which was filed in Washington. The duel in which Joshua Barton was killed originated out of a criticism made by him in a newspaper of his conduct as surveyor-general. When Thomas Rector first challenged Barton he refused to accept the challenge, unless Rector admitted the truth of the matters alleged in the article against his brother. Rector did this, but said the article was offensive and therefore demanded satisfaction.[8] The duel took place opposite the Big Mound, and the Rectors were on top of the mound to witness the affair, and when they found that Barton had been slain raised a victorious shout, says Darby.[9] The intensity of their hatred may be gathered from the fact that they agreed among themselves, that if Thomas Rector should fall another member of the family should take his place, thus showing that they were determined to kill Barton at all hazards. Barton was buried by his friend Edward Bates at St. Charles not far from the old stone tower. When the first

[7] Reynolds' History of Illinois, p. 300.

[8] Darby's Recollections, p. 24.

[9] Scharff's History of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 96.

Protestant Episcopal church was organized in St. Louis, William Rector was one of the vestrymen. In 1823 it is said that he lived in old Franklin.[10] He died in Illinois, June 6, 1826.

One of the most conspicuous members of the convention was John Rice Jones, delegate from Washington county. Jones was a native of Merionethshire, Wales; born February 10, 1759. He emigrated to the United States during the Revolutionary war; was with George Rogers Clark when he captured Vincennes, and resided in Missouri twenty years before his death, which occurred February 18, 1824.

[10] It is said that Barton charged Gen. Rector was guilty of nepotism in making his appointments by giving his relatives positions as deputy surveyors. Gen. Rector was a man of great enterprise and energy, and much interested in promoting the growth of St. Louis. In 1816 he built a large house on the corner of Third and Vine streets, for a residence and office. This building in 1819 he enlarged for Bennett, who opened a hotel in it, and which became known as "Bennett's Mansion House Hotel." In the dining-room of this house the convention met in 1820, which framed the first constitution of Missouri. The Rector family became well known in the west and southwest. The Rectors of Missouri and Arkansas were descendants of John Rector, born in 1717, and Catharine his wife, and who lived in Germantown in Virginia. I should judge from the name that this John Rector was either a German or of German descent, the name evidently being the anglicized German name "Richter." The name Rector is not among the English surnames as found in Bardsley. One of the sons of this John Rector, named Frederick Rector, born on July 16, 1750, in Farquier county, married Elizabeth (Wharton?) in Norfolk, and from this marriage resulted thirteen children, the sons (except the names of two I could not ascertain) named respectively, William, Elias, Nelson, Samuel, Wharton, Thomas and Stephen, and four daughters, Mollie, Sallie, Elizabeth and Nancy. Of these, Elizabeth married a Mr. Barton, and whose descendants live in Kansas City; Sallie married a Mr. Beale, of Louisville, Kentucky; whom Mollie married I could not ascertain, but Nancy married Thomas Conway in Tennessee, and had seven sons, all of whom became distinguished men. Thomas Conway with his wife, came to St. Louis in 1816 and from there, under appointment of Gen. Rector, went upon a surveying expedition to Arkansas in 1820. In 1823 he removed to the Arkansas territory, settling on Red river, on a farm, "Walnut Hills," in what is now Lafayette county. His son, Henry Wharton Conway, was elected the first delegate to Congress from the Arkansas territory and was killed in a duel with Robert Crittenden in 1827. His second son, James Sevier Conway, was elected governor in 1836 and died in 1855, and still another son named Elias Nelson Conway was elected governor in 1852. Before Henry Wharton Conway moved away from St. Louis to Arkansas, he was captain of the St. Louis Guards in 1816, and in 1818 was engaged in merchandizing there. His uncle Stephen Rector was corporal in this company. Stephen Rector was lieutenant in the United States Rangers in the war of 1812 and was wounded at Rock Island, where he exposed himself with great bravery to the fire of the Indians. Col. Elias Rector, the postmaster of St. Louis, and who died in 1822, was the father of Major Elias Rector of Fort Smith, and who settled there at an early day and died there. He was the original of Albert Pike's poem, "The Fine Arkansas Gentleman," a parody on "The Old English Gentleman." Another son, Hon. Elias Massie Rector, born in St. Louis, was the sixth governor of Arkansas, succeeding his cousin, Gov. Elias Nelson Conway. In 1825, Gen. Stephen Trigg of Howard County, married Miss Francis B. Rector, and Robert W. Wells, 1820, married Miss Amanda Rector, both ladies then residents of St. Louis and members of this Rector family.

For a time he lived at Vincennes in the Northwest territory prior to emigrating to Missouri, and was also a resident of Kaskaskia. In 1804 he came to Ste. Genevieve where he established his home, but continued the practice of law both at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. From Ste. Genevieve he moved to Potosi, and after the organization of the state government was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme court. He was married twice. His son by his first wife, Rice Jones, born in Wales, was assassinated in Kaskaskia, December 7, 1808. Gen. Augustus Jones and Hon. George W. Jones, at one time United States senator from the state of Iowa, were also his sons. Judge Jones died at the age of 65, and it is said that he was "a man of indefatigable industry, extensive experience and tact for business, in private life a friend of the indigent, the ignorant and distressed, who found in him a benefactor; he had an active mind, constantly engaged; was a living chronicle of passing events, and a student until the day of his death; a correct judge of passing events and knew much of men and things." [11]

JOHN RICE JONES

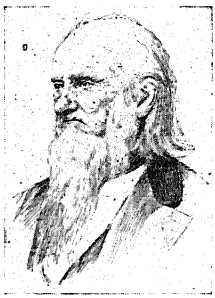
Samuel Perry, another delegate from Washington county, was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, in 1783, and came to the district of Louisiana in 1806, settling at Mine à Breton, by which name Potosi was then known. In 1817 he married Mrs. Anne M. Cross, a native of Northumberland county, Pennsylvania. Perry was a prominent business man, engaged in the lead mining business at Potosi for many years. His only daughter married Edward Bredell.

Of Christopher G. Houts, delegate from New Madrid, all that is known is that he was a merchant for a number of years at Winchester, then the county seat of New Madrid county. For a time he was in partnership with Mark H. Stalcup, another early settler of New Madrid. Dr. Robert D. Dawson, also a delegate from that county, was a native of Maryland, active in politics, and repeatedly represented New Madrid county in the General Assembly. He was for many years the leading physician of New Madrid and very popular.

Duff Green, who perhaps became more widely known than any member of this convention, was a delegate from Howard county. He

[11] Missouri "Enquirer," 1824.

was born in Woodford county, Kentucky, August 15, 1791. His father, William Duff, was a soldier of the Revolutionary war, and his mother was a cousin of George Washington and also related to Humphrey Marshall. At the age of twenty-one he enlisted in the war of 1812; afterward taught school; was a country merchant, and emigrating to Missouri Territory was elected colonel of the territorial militia. He was the first postmaster of Chariton; then entered into a contract with the United States to carry the mail between St. Charles, Franklin and Chariton; established the first mail stage-line west of the Mississippi. In 1823 he removed to St. Louis and became editor and owner of the St. Louis "Enquirer." In 1825 moved to Washington where he purchased the United States "Telegraph" printing office and advocated the election of Jackson to the Presidency. He became a powerful factor in national affairs, visited Europe on important business, conferred with statesmen and crowned heads, and in 1843 was sent by President Tyler to Mexico to negotiate for the acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, and California. After the close of the Mexican war he went to Mexico to pay our indemnity, and instead of paying it in cash, paid it in exchange and thus saved the United States $50,000. During the time of his greatest success he made $50,000 a year as government printer, but afterwards lost his position on account of his opposition to Jackson. In 1860 was sent by Buchanan to Lincoln on a confidential mission. After the close of the civil war had a contract to construct the great Tennessee railroad from Dalton to Knoxville, and was the founder of the town of Dalton, Georgia. In appearance he was a tall and stately man, walked in his old age with a long staff, with long, flowing hair, and beard, — a picturesque figure; died June 10, 1875, at Dalton, Georgia.[12]



From Nat. Cyclo. Am. Biog. White & Co., N. Y.

Benjamin H. Reeves, a member of the convention from Howard county, long was one of the leading men of North Missouri. He was a native of Kentucky, and came to the territory about 1816. He represented Howard county in the territorial Assembly. After the adoption of the constitution, he was elected senator

[12] National Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 1, p. 237. White & Co., New York.

from his county of the first General Assembly. In 1824 he was elected lieutenant-governor. He was appointed by President Adams one of the commissioners to locate the Santa Fe road in 1830, but being opposed to General Jackson, politically fell into disfavor with the people. He returned to Kentucky and died there.

Jonathan Smith Findlay, also a delegate from Howard county, came to Missouri from Georgetown in the District of Columbia, where he had published a Federalist newspaper, so it was charged by his enemies. After the admission of Missouri into the Union he was appointed register of the Lexington land-office — and from which office he was removed in 1830, Finis Ewing being appointed his successor. Findlay died November 1, 1832, at Lexington.

B. H. REEVES

Henry Dodge, a delegate from Ste. Genevieve county, was born at Vincennes, October 12, 1782; died at Burlington, Iowa, June 19, 1867; was a son of Israel Dodge and his wife Nancy Hunter. He came to Ste. Genevieve with his father's family prior to 1800; manufactured salt on the Saline during the Spanish domination. After the purchase, was appointed sheriff of Ste. Genevieve county; was a general of the territorial militia; participated actively in the border wars incident to the war of 1812. In 1827 removed to Wisconsin and was in command of a mounted force during the Winnebago Indian war, and in 1832 defeated Black Hawk and the Indians overwhelmingly; in 1834 he was colonel of the First United States Dragoons, and in command of the forces against the Indians on the southern frontier. In 1835 he lead an expedition to the Rocky mountains; in 1836 he resigned his commission and was appointed governor of Wisconsin Territory and superintendent of Indian Affairs; elected a territorial delegate from Wisconsin in 1841, and again appointed governor of Wisconsin Territory by Polk, and on the admission of Wisconsin into the Union twice elected to the United States senate from that state. His son, Augustus C. Dodge, represented Iowa as United States senator during a part of this time, — from 1848 to 1855.

Joseph M'Ferron, a delegate from Cape Girardeau county, was a native of Ireland; came to upper Louisiana before the purchase;

was a highly educated man and taught school at Mt. Tabor school house in the American settlement west of the Cape Girardeau post. After the purchase he was appointed first clerk of the court of Common Pleas of the Cape Girardeau district. He died on the 5th of February, 1821, aged forty-one years, near Jackson, Missouri; and at the time of his death was clerk of the Circuit court of Cape Girardeau, and of the Supreme court of the 4th judicial district, having been clerk of the several courts of the county from the time of the Louisiana purchase up to the time of his death. By the unsolicited votes of the people, he was elected a member of the constitutional convention and of the first General Assembly; he was "a man of tried integrity, sound judgment, extensive knowledge, independence of mind, sparing of empty professions, and abounding in kindly deeds, and in public affairs anxious of meriting by his exertions commendation."[13]

Stephen Byrd was a farmer who emigrated to upper Louisiana with his father from the Wautauga settlement in Tennessee in about 1800; one of the pioneer settlers in what was then known as the "Byrd settlement" not far from the present Jackson. He was prominent in all public affairs of the county and district; a judge of the court of Common Pleas for the Cape Girardeau district; one of the delegates of the Cape Girardeau district that met at St. Louis in 1804 to remonstrate against the Act attaching upper Louisiana to Indiana Territory, and from time to time member of the territorial assembly. After the organization of the state government he repeatedly represented Cape Girardeau county in the General Assembly of the state. He was a brother of Abraham Byrd, also a leading man of the country at that time.

Robert P. Clark, a delegate to the convention from Cooper county, was born in Clark county, Kentucky; came to Missouri Territory in 1817; he first settled in Howard county, but in the following year moved to Cooper county. Before he moved from Kentucky to Missouri Territory he was prominent in the affairs of his native county and state. Shortly after he settled in Cooper county he was appointed first circuit clerk of the county by Judge David Todd, and this position he held until elected to the convention in 1820, as well as after the organization of the state government consecutively for twenty-three years until his death in 1841. His wife, a daughter of Stephen Trigg, died in 1828.

[13] Independent Patriot, February, 1821.

Nicholas S. Burckhart, one of the delegates to the convention from Howard county, born in Maryland, June 16, 1782, was the son of Christopher Burckhart, a German who was brought by his parents to America as an infant, and served in the Revolutionary war, married Elizabeth Hobbs and afterward moved to Kentucky. Nicholas S. Burckhart settled in what is now Howard county in 1811, and began the manufacture of salt at "Burckhart's Lick" in Franklin township, and when Howard county was organized was appointed first sheriff by Governor Clark, and after the admission of the state into the Union was re-elected sheriff and then elected to the legislature several times, as well as to the state senate. On November 22, 1818, he married Miss Sallie Rose; he died June 14, 1834.

John G. Heath, delegate from Franklin county to the constitutional convention, was the first white man, together with William Christy, to establish salt works within the present limits of Cooper county. In 1808, ascended the Missouri river to the salt springs, on what was then called Heath's creek, in what is now Blackwater township in that county, and engaged in the business of making salt. In the same year he was admitted to the bar at St. Charles by Judge Schrader. In 1816 was circuit attorney of Howard county.

Elijah Bettis was a delegate from Wayne county; lived near where the present town of Greenville is now situated, which was known as Bettis's Ford; he was a physician and merchant; and repeatedly represented Wayne county in the General Assembly. With John Logan, was appointed a commission to lay out the town of Greenville.

William Lillard, a member of the convention from Cooper county, was born in Virginia and lived near Abingdon, Washington county, in that state. He was a colonel in the Revolutionary war in command of Virginia troops, and served under Washington and La Fayette, and was also an officer of the Tennessee militia in the war of 1812; he was a slave-owner and a man of considerable wealth. He first moved from Virginia to Jefferson county, Tennessee, about 1797 and represented that county in the lower house of the Tennessee legislature, and subsequently represented Cocke county for eighteen years. He settled in the Missouri territory in what was then Cooper (now Saline) county in 1817, and was elected to the constitutional convention. He certainly was a man of magnetic influence, because Lillard (now La Fayette) county was named for him by those who knew him personally. In 1820 he was elected representative of Cooper county to the first legislature, and in that year Lillard (now

La Fayette) county was organized. He returned to Tennessee to live, probably about 1824 on account of ill-health due to malaria, and died there about 1832.[14]

Malcolm Henry, representing Lincoln county in the convention, was of Scotch parentage and born in York district, South Carolina, about 1750, and died at his home in Lincoln county, Missouri, in 1840, at the advanced age of ninety years. At an early age he was married to Miss Elizabeth Donnelly, a native of the same state. He had four brothers, many of whose descendants came to Missouri and settled in Pike, Lincoln and Marion counties. He was a soldier of the Revolutionary war, and towards the close of the war had the rank of colonel, and commanded a battalion under General Sumpter in the battles of Guilford Court House, King's Mountain, and other skirmishes and engagements just prior and leading up to the surrender of the British army under Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1777. His brother, William Henry, was also an officer and participated with him in the same battles. He was elected two or three times to the legislature of South Carolina and held some county offices in the York district. About 1810 he moved to Buncombe county, North Carolina, near the present city of Asheville, where he resided on a farm until the year 1817, when he moved to Missouri settling on Big creek, in St. Charles county, six miles southeast of the town of Troy. On December 14, 1818, the counties of Lincoln and Pike were established and Colonel Henry was thus made a resident and citizen of Lincoln county. He was a man of wealth and owned about thirty slaves.[15]

General Jonathan Ramsay, delegate from Montgomery county, was born at the head of the Holston river, Tennessee, November 23, 1775, and the son of Josiah Ramsay, who was a native of Culpepper county, Va.; captured by Indians as a youth, and was engaged in

[14] His wife's name was Rachel McCoy, and he appears to have had three sons, Austin, John, and Jeremiah, and one daughter, Nancy, who married Joseph Allen, all of whom died in Tennessee, but a daughter of the latter married Joseph H. Goodin, who settled near Springfield, Greene county, Missouri, and most of whose descendants yet live there. — (Information from J. W. Blankenship, now residing at No. 52 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass., furnished Missouri Historical Society.)

[15] Colonel Henry was the father of twelve children, four sons and eight daughters, all of whom lived to be married and most of them raised large families of children. They and their descendants have settled in northeast Missouri, in the counties of Marion, Ralls, Pike and Lincoln. He had more than sixty grandchildren. His youngest daughter, Sophia, was born the 6th of August, 1806, was married the 1st of August, 1827, to the Rev. James W. Campbell, late of Pike county. She was the mother of ten children, only three of whom sur-

many of the Indian wars in Tennessee and Georgia; was in the battle of Pt. Pleasant, 1755; at the Long Island battle of Holston in 1776; participated in Christian's campaign and in the fall of 1781 removed to Eaton's station, two miles from Nashville; was major of the Tennessee militia and received a pension for his services during the Revolutionary war; died about 1834 at the home of his son General Jonathan Ramsay, in Callaway county. When General Ramsay was a boy and lived at Eaton station his mother taught him his letters and simple spelling; he was sent to school to Thomas Moseley for three months, and these were all the educational advantages he ever had; he married early; served as a spy in the Indian wars of that period, was in the Nickajack campaign; in 1795 moved to Kentucky and settled near Henderson, then known as Red Banks, and in 1797 went to Livingston county. When he left Red Banks, knowing that the progress down the river would be slow, he entered a store and inquired if they had some amusing book which would serve to pass away the tediousness of the trip down the river; the merchant answered in the affirmative and showed him the second volume of the three volume edition of "The Fool of Quality," this being the only volume he had, and assured him that it was an exceedingly fine and interesting work; at this time Ramsay knew nothing about odd volumes, and hence took his book, went to his boat and after the boat got under way began to read, or rather as he often said, spell through the volume, but little did he gather from it because he could not comprehend the purport of what he read, so slow and tedious was his process of reading. Subsequently Harry Toulmin, at one time secretary of state of Kentucky, and United States district judge, finding this solitary volume in Ramsay's cabin inquired for the other volumes of the work; Ramsay then told him that this was the only volume he knew anything about, when Toulmin for the first time explained to him about the other two volumes; Ramsay then told him that he could not understand what he read as there were so many words whose meaning he did not know

JONATHAN RAMSAY

vive, former lieutenant-governor R. A. Campbell, of Bowling Green, Mo., John Tyler Campbell, of Santa Rosa, Cal., who was U. S. Consul at Aukland, New Zealand, and also to Foo Chow, China, under appointment by President Grover Cleveland; and Benjamin M. Campbell, of Louisiana, Mo.

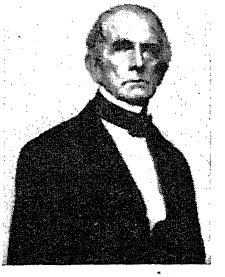
and showed him several words he had marked of this character. Judge Toulmin advised him to secure a copy of Eutick's Dictionary, the dictionary then generally used. This was the first time that Ramsay learned that there was such a book as a dictionary defining the meaning of words, and he sent to Russellville and procured a copy, and again went through his odd volume of "The Fool of Quality." He now read all the books he could get or borrow, and when Mathew Lyon moved into that part of Kentucky Ramsay sold him a horse for books and pamphlets; he killed deer and with their lard made candles. In the meantime he qualified himself as a surveyor, and surveyed by day and much of every night was spent in reading. He was elected justice of the peace in Livingston county; was a member of the Kentucky legislature; brigadier-general of the militia, and served as such in Hopkins' campaign of 1812; in the fall of 1817 he moved to Missouri and settled in what is now Callaway county, about twelve miles south of Jefferson City; was elected brigadier-general of the territorial militia. He served in the Missouri legislature a number of years; was a man of imposing and impressive physique, six feet two inches high, large and heavy, florid complexion, kind, generous and of open-hearted disposition and unassuming in his conduct and deportment, — a notable and picturesque character of early Missouri. Draper visited him on the 21st of October, 1851, and to him we are indebted for many incidents of his life.

Benjamin Emmons, delegate to the convention from St. Charles county, was a native of New York and settled in upper Louisiana on Dardenne prairie near the present town of Cottleville, but subsequently moved to St. Charles where he opened a hotel; he was first elected justice of the peace, and then a member of the convention. He afterward served in both houses of the legislature for several terms.

Nathan Boone, the youngest son of Daniel Boone, from St. Charles county, was born in Kentucky in 1780 and came to Missouri with the family during the Spanish domination; in 1807 he and his brother Daniel Morgan first worked the Salt licks in what became known as the Boonslick country; afterward sold salt made there to the Coopers and described the country which led to their attempt of settling in that district in 1810; he took part in the war of 1812-15, and as captain of a company of rangers scouted in the country between the Mississippi, and attacked by the Indians outnumbering him three to one, extricated himself without loss. He attained the rank of major

in the militia in this war, and after he was mustered out retired to his farm in St. Charles county. He built the first stone house north of the Missouri and his father died there. He was in the Black Hawk war in 1832 and entered the regular army as captain in the 1st United States Dragoons, a regiment commanded by Col. Henry Dodge. He saw much service on the plains and met Gregg and other early traders and explorers. In 1847 was made major in the army; in 1853 attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1853 he resigned and retired to his home in Greene county, Missouri, where he died in 1857.

Hiram N. Baber, another delegate from St. Charles county, was a native of Kentucky; married a daughter of Jesse Boone; served as sheriff of St. Charles county after the formation of the state government; was appointed secretary of state and removed from St. Charles to Jefferson City. A man liberal, popular, and of great political influence.



COL. HIRAM N BABER

Dr. James Talbott, a delegate from Montgomery county; for many years was a leading physician in that county; subsequently he represented the county in the state legislature. He married Jane Talbott, daughter of Colonel Mathew Talbott of Loutre Island, and was a brother-in-law of Judge Mathias McGirk, who married Elizabeth Talbott.

The election under the constitution adopted by the convention took place on the 28th of August following. In addition to the officers heretofore named the only county officers elected were sheriffs and coroners, all other minor and local county officers also being appointive under the constitution. At this election Alexander McNair received 6,575 votes for governor, and William Clark received only 2,556 votes. William H. Ashley [16] was elected lieutenant-governor, receiving 3,907 votes as against 3,212 votes cast for Nathaniel Cook, and 931 votes cast for Henry Elliott. John Scott was elected first representative to Congress without opposition.

On September 19, 1820, the first General Assembly of Missouri

[16] William H. Ashley was born in Powhatan county, Virginia, enjoyed the benefits of an education, came to the Missouri Territory in about 1805 and first lived in the Cape Girardeau district where he married a daughter of Ezekiel Able, at the time a large land owner and influential man; while living in this district he became owner of the grant of land where the city of Jackson is now located; he next removed to Potosi and it is said that there he engaged in the manufacture of gunpowder, no unimportant industry at that time; he next

met at the "Missouri Hotel," corner of Main and Morgan streets, in St. Louis. James Caldwell, of Ste. Genevieve, was elected speaker of the house, and John McArthur, clerk; Silas Bent was elected president pro tem. of the senate. Although the state was not as yet admitted into the Union, a state government was fully and completely organized and set in motion. When the General Assembly met, Governor McNair appointed as secretary of state, Joshua Barton; as state treasurer, Pierre Didier; as attorney-general, Edward Bates, and as auditor of public accounts, William Christy, but strange to say, all these officials resigned in the following year. As judges of the Supreme court, to hold office during good behavior until they attained respectively the age of sixty years, he appointed Mathias McGirk of Montgomery county, who resigned in 1841, John D. Cook, of Cape Girardeau county, who resigned in 1823, John Rice Jones, of Washington county, who died in 1824. William Harper was

JOHN D. COOK

removed to St. Louis; he was always more or less engaged in real estate speculations and while in St. Louis as agent for William Stokes, a wealthy Englishman, invested for him 60,000 dollars in real estate near that city; in 1814 he was one of the promoters of the old Bank of St. Louis; he participated in the war of 1812, was colonel of a regiment in 1819 and in 1822 general of the Missouri militia, whence his title "General" Ashley by which he was ever after known; he was active in politics and elected first lieutenant-governor of Missouri over Major Nathaniel Cook, one of the most popular men of the territory; in 1822 he first became interested in the fur trade, supported in this enterprise by "Wahrendorf & Tracy" then wealthy merchants of St. Louis; with him in this enterprise was interested Andrew Henry of Washington county, a famous Indian trader; he organized several expeditions to the headwaters of the Missouri and Rocky mountains and at first his ventures resulted disastrously, but by persistence he fairly conquered success; he organized the Rocky Mountain Fur company, and had the first cannon hauled to the Rocky mountains by ox-team, a distance of 1,200 miles and mounted in one of his forts; it is supposed that he received an annual subsidy from the American Fur company not to invade its territory on the upper Missouri; with him were associated Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson, the Sublettes, Robert Campbell, James Bridges, James P. Beckwourth, Etienne Provost and many others, and who all afterwards became famous in the fur trade and carried the name of Missouri in every direction in the Rocky mountains and hewed out paths to the Pacific. In 1824 Ashley became a candidate for governor, but was defeated by Frederick Bates, but in 1831 was elected to Congress to fill the unexpired term of Spencer Pettis, who fell in a duel with Major Thomas Biddle, and was twice re-elected. In 1837 his health began to fail and he died March 26, 1838, at St. Louis. After the death of his first wife he married Elizabeth Christy, October 26, 1825, and who died five years thereafter. In 1833 he married Mrs. Wilcox, widow of Dr. Wilcox, a daughter of Dr. James W. Moss. After his death she married John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky. When Ashley died he was one of the most popular men of Missouri. His exploits in the mountains surrounded his name with an air of romance.

appointed chancellor.[17] In a message he felicitated the General Assembly and the people on the happy change of political conditions that had taken place, and expressed the sanguine hope that the state would be fully admitted into the Federal Union without further delay or resistance. He also reminded the General Assembly of the necessity, in view of the Presidential election, to make provision for a representative of the state in the electoral college.

During this session David Barton and Thomas H. Benton were elected as the first United States senators of the state. Barton was elected without opposition, but Benton was elected only after a bitter and exciting contest, J. B. C. Lucas, Henry Elliott, John Rice Jones and Nathaniel Cook all being candidates opposed to him, and finally owed his election principally to the good offices of Barton, and the further fact that Lucas, who was his principal opponent, was supposed to be unalterably opposed to the confirmation of many of the Spanish grants and in which many of the early residents of the territory were interested, and which, as a member of the board of commissioners, he had invariably voted to reject. Although Barton's influence was very great and actively exerted in favor of Benton, so great was his unpopularity that only one half of the members of the legislature could be induced to support him by their votes. It was then that Auguste Chouteau, Pratte, Cabanne, Labadie and other large claimants of Spanish grants induced Marie Philip Leduc, himself a large land claimant and former secretary of DeLassus, to declare himself for the election of Benton. But on the day of election one of Benton's

J. B. C. LUCAS

Keel-boats and steamboats were named in his honor, and "Ashley beaver" signified an extra-fine brand of that fur in the vernacular of the trade. He was a man of great public spirit. The first appropriation for improving the channel of the Mississippi at St. Louis was made through his effort. He was buried on an Indian mound overlooking the Missouri, about one mile from the mouth of the Lamine river and where he had an estate of 20,000 acres. He left no descendants to perpetuate his name.

[17] Can find no other reference to him, but suppose that he is the same as Chancellor Harper of South Carolina, intermarried with the Coulter family of St. Charles. Probably after the office of Chancellor was abolished in Missouri, he returned to South Carolina; at any rate in November, 1827, Hamilton R. Gamble of St. Louis, married Miss Caroline J. Coulter at Columbia, South Carolina, presumably at the residence of Chancellor Harper or Senator Preston, who also married a Coulter.

friends, Senator Ralls,[18] was so weak that he had to be brought into the house from his bed of sickness to vote, and after having voted was carried back immediately and shortly after died. It was out of such a struggle that Benton emerged victoriously, and reached the senate, where he served for thirty years, and became one of the most distinguished characters of that august body. He was elected as a pro-southern and pro-slavery man, and as an advocate of state rights in the broadest sense, because that principle was attacked in the attempt to restrict slavery in the new state. Once in the senate Benton by espousing the cause of General Jackson, then the idol of the common people, became the most popular man in Missouri for a time. Although he was dictatorial and arbitrary, and his home was practically in Washington, he could not be defeated.[19] Barton after his second term fell into disfavor because opposed to Jackson, and Benton and his friends politically dominated the state.

THOMAS H. BENTON AT THE AGE OF 34

By this first General Assembly the seat of the state government was established at St. Charles until October, 1826, and thereafter was permanently fixed at Jefferson City. Acts were also passed providing for the organization of the counties of Boone, Callaway, Chariton, Cole, Gasconade, Lillard (now La Fayette), Perry, Ralls, Ray and Saline. The new state was then divided into four judicial circuits, as follows: Cole, Cooper, Saline, Lillard, Ray, Chariton, Howard and Boone Counties, constituting the first circuit; Gasconade, Ralls, Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles, Montgomery and Calloway the second circuit; Franklin, Washington, Jefferson and St. Louis the third circuit, and Perry, Ste. Genevieve, Madison, Wayne, New Madrid and Cape Girardeau the fourth Circuit. Of these circuits, David Todd was appointed Judge of the first circuit, Rufus Pettibone, Judge of the second circuit; Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, Judge of the third

[18] Daniel Ralls was born in Virginia and came to the Missouri territory in 1817, lived one year in St. Louis; then moved to a farm which he opened near the present city of New London, and where he resided when elected to the state senate; he was buried near St. Louis where he died in 1820. Ralls county was so named in his honor.

[19] "In point of fact never afterward lived in Missouri," says Charles Gibson, "nor was he domestic to the state." Missouri Hist. Collection for Jan., 1900.

circuit and Richard S. Thomas, Judge of the fourth circuit. Under the law the Supreme Court was required to hold sessions in each of these circuits, namely, at Fayette, St. Charles, St. Louis and Jackson, twice a year.

The constitution provided that the emblems and devices of the new state seal should be fixed by law and accordingly the General Assembly adopted the present "Great Seal of the State of Missouri" as the arms of the state, and which at the time in heraldic vernacular was described as follows:

SEAL OF MISSOURI

"*Arms*: Parted per pale on the dexter side; *gules*, the white or grizzly bear of Missouri, passant, guardant, proper on a chief engrailed; *azure*, a crescent argent; on the sinister side the arms of the United States, the whole within a band inscribed with the words 'United we stand, divided we fall.'

"*For the crest*: Over a helmet full faced, grated with six bars, *or*, a cloud proper, from which ascends a star, *argent*, and above it a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars, argent, on an azure field, surrounded by a *cloud* proper.

"*Supporters*: On each side, a white or grizzly bear of Missouri, rampant, guardant, standing on a scroll inscribed with the words, 'Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto,' and under the scrolls in numerical letters MDCCCXX."[19]

[19] So that the reader may better understand this heraldic language, the definition of the technical terms are here given:

Arms: The ensigns armorial consisting of figures and colors borne in shields, banners, etc., as marks of dignity and distinction.

Pale: One of the great ordinaries, being a broad perpendicular stripe in an escutcheon equally distant from the two edges.

Dexter: Right.

Sinister: Left.

Gules: Red, to denote courage; represented on printed shields by straight perpendicular lines closely drawn together.

Passant: Walking; a term applied to any animal on a shield which appears to walk leisurely; passing.

Guardant: Having the face turned toward the spectator; regarding; looking.

Proper: Represented in its natural color.

Chief: The upper one-third of the escutcheon.

Engrailed: To indent with curved lines as a line of division or an ordinary.

Azure: Blue.

Crescent: A bearing in the form of the new moon.

The meaning of the arms of the state is not now generally understood, and by many considered simply a fancy picture. Yet the arms of Missouri possess a deep and profound significance and in beautiful and appropriate heraldic language expressed the situation of the new state, as the following explanation which was published at the time shows:

"The arms of the state of Missouri and of the United States empaled together, yet separated by a pale, denote the connection existing between the two governments, and show that, although connected by a compact, yet we are independent as to internal concerns; the words surrounding the shield denote the necessity of the Union. Quadrupeds are the most honorable bearing. The great grizzly bear being almost peculiar to the Missouri river and its tributaries, and remarkable for his prodigious size, strength, and courage, is borne as the principal charge of our shield. The color of the shield is red and denotes hardiness and valor. The chief is most honorable of all ordinaries. The color blue signifies vigilance, perseverance, and justice. The *crescent*, in heraldry is borne on the shield by the second son, and on our shield denotes that we are the second state (Louisiana being the first) formed out of territory not within the original territorial limits of the United States and admitted into the Union. The crescent also denotes the growing situation of this state as to its inhabitants, wealth, power, etc. The color white signifies purity and innocence. The hemlet indicates enterprise and hardihood. The one blazoned on this coat of arms is that assigned to sovereigns only. The star ascending from a cloud to join the constellation shows Missouri surmounting her difficulties and taking her rank among the other states of the Union. The supporters, the same powerful animals, borne on the shield, which support the shield, on which are emblazoned the arms of the state and of the United States, denote, that while we support ourselves by our own internal strength we are also in support of the general government. The motto shows that the good of the people is the supreme law of this state. The numerals under the scroll show the date of the constitution."[20]

Argent: Silver; white.

Crest: An appendage to the shield placed over it and usually borne upon a wreath. It is generally some portion of the coat armor or a device commemorative of some incident in apposite history.

Or: Gold.

Cloud proper: A cloud in natural color.

Rampant: Standing upright on his hind legs.

[20] It is not now known who suggested these arms for Missouri. If allowed

When the sixteenth Congress met in second session, on November 13th, 1820, Mr. Scott submitted to the House the manuscript copy of the constitution of the state, and it was referred to a select committee composed of Lowndes of South Carolina, Sargeant of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Smith of Maryland. On the 23d of November, 1820, this committee made a report, that the constitution presented was "republican and in conformity with the provisions of the Act of March, 1820." But the anti-slavery party in Congress then seized upon the clause contained in the constitution which made it obligatory on the legislature to enact a law " to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming and settling in the state, under any pretext whatever," as an excuse to renew the contest, and the flame of excitement which had been partially allayed was kindled anew. The whole country was again thrown into commotion upon the question of admitting Missouri. It was argued that free negroes were recognized as citizens in some of the old states, and that as all citizens had the privilege to emigrate, that therefore this provision was contrary to the provision of the Federal constitution which guaranteed to the "citizens of each state the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several states." On the other hand it was maintained that the African race, whether bond or free, was not a party to our political institutions, and that therefore negroes and mulattoes were not citizens within the meaning of the constitution of the United States. In some shape or other the question came up almost daily in Congress, interfering with legislation. On motion of Clay the question was finally referred to a committee of thirteen, a number suggested by that of the original states of the Union, and on the report of this committee it was resolved that the new state should be admitted, providing that the state should never pass any law "preventing any description of persons from coming into and settling in said state who now or hereafter may become citizens of this Union." The Act of admission further provided that when the legislature made this declaration, and a copy was furnished the President, that he should "by proclamation declare the state to be admitted." The Act required by Congress was passed at a special session of the legislature in June, 1821, which was convened for that purpose by the governor in the

to conjecture I would attribute the ideas they convey to Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, who we know was at that time one of the most learned and accomplished residents of Missouri and perhaps wrote this explanation of the heraldric meaning. He was, too, a pronounced advocate of the rights of the states, an idea that seems to pervade the entire Armorial bearings of Missouri.

town of St. Charles. Although some objection was made, a compliance with the condition was deemed the lesser evil, because it would "place this state above the fear or favor of any party." A certified copy of the Act was transmitted to President Monroe, and on August 10, 1821, he issued his proclamation declaring the state admitted into the Union, and thus Missouri became the twenty-fourth state in the federation.

The people were greatly elated that this long and bitter controversy had been finally brought to an end, and looked hopefully to the future. The grand destiny of Missouri was foreseen, and well prophesied was it then, that to the new state would belong "the exalted privilege of disseminating the principles of the Federal constitution over the vast regions west of the Mississippi," and that "from her bosom will issue colonies of freemen to carry the stars and stripes of the Union to the provinces of Spain and the Pacific ocean and the frozen realms of the north."

INDEX

INDEX

No attempt has been made in this work to correct or modify the spelling of the names as found in the records. Nor has any effort been made in this index to particularly identify and classify the various persons of the same name found in these records. All the facts I have been able to ascertain as to the various settlers, French and American, are given in the notes and thus any one interested can trace out the individual relations. It has not been deemed necessary to make reference to every page on which a particular name is found. Some names, too, have been entirely omitted.

The Roman numerals refer to the different volumes of this work.

A

Abar, Pierre or Francois, **i,** 381
Abeemo, Lorenzo, **ii,** 166
Abernathy, Clara, **iii,** 206
Abernathy, John, **ii,** 189; **ii,** 384
Abernethie, Washington, **ii,** 191
Able, Barton, **iii,** 130
Able, Daniel, **iii,** 130
Able, Ezekiel, **iii,** 168
Able, John, **iii,** 131
Able, William or Wilson, sergeant, **iii,** 111
Able, Wilson, Lieutenant, **iii,** 129
Abraham, Aquilla, **iii,** 136
Abundance of game on Mississippi, **i,** 38
Academy established at Potosi, **iii,** 7
Account of the Callaway fight, **iii,** 124
Act of Congress of 1804, **ii,** 377
Act of Congress of 1804 in regard to Spanish claims, **ii,** 377
Act of 1805, detaching Louisiana from Indiana territory, **ii,** 400; provisions of the Act, 402; **iii,** 39
Act of 1807, provisions of, **iii,** 40
Act of 1812, granting outlots to villages, **iii,** 51
Act of 1813, **iii,** 51
Act of 1814, **iii,** 51
Act of 1832, **iii,** 53
Adams, Calvin, **ii,** 383, 405; appointed ministerial officer of commission, **iii,** 44; keeps tavern, **iii,** 60
Adams, George, **iii,** 157
Adams, James, **ii,** 150
Adams, Jesse, **iii,** 157
Adams, John, **iii,** 8
Adams, John Quincy, **ii,** 352; on effects of Louisiana purchase, **ii,** 354
Adams, Robert, **i,** 375
Adams, Sallie, **i,** 374
Adams, Spencer, **i,** 386; **ii,** 164
Address, to people of upper Louisiana, **ii,** 370
Adelmar, **ii,** 297
Adkins, David, **iii,** 245
Administration of law, **ii,** 200
Adventurers, flock into country, **iii,** 55
African Race, claimed not a part of our political institutions in 1820, **iii,** 271
Age-limit of Judges, **iii,** 252
Agnet, Guillaume, **ii,** 17; dit Sans Quartier, **ii,** 244
Agriculture, **ii,** 234; of the mound-builders, **i,** 44; among the Osages, 182; of the Saukees and Foxes, **i,** 205; of the first settlers of St. Louis, **ii,** 24; principal occupation of first settlers, **ii,** 231; development at St. Charles, **iii,** 154
Agricultural Implements, of prehistoric origin, **i,** 42; **ii,** 235
Agricultural Products, price of on the Missouri in 1809, **iii,** 154
Agypousetchy, a Talapousa chief, **i,** 222
Aidenger, Christopher, **ii,** 189
Aidenger, John P., **ii,** 189
Aime, Charles, **i,** 356; **ii,** 153
Aime, Jean Baptiste, **ii,** 153; **i,** 356
Aime, Pelagie, **i,** 382
Aioas, English intrigues among them, **i,** 308
Akansa, known as Capahas or Kapahas, **i,** 169
Akansas, **i,** 107
Alares, Misset or Minet, **ii,** 68
Albright, Amos, **iii,** 137
Albright, Jesse, **iii,** 137
Albright, Otto, **iii,** 137
Alcorez, Jacob, **ii,** 150
Alcorn, James, **iii,** 7; **iii,** 137
Alcudia, Duke of, **i,** 316
Aler, Baptiste, **ii,** 68
Aler, Louis, **ii,** 68
Alexandria, **iii,** 186, 231
Alexander, A. T., **iii,** 229
Alexander, Cynthia, **iii,** 229

Alexander, Jas., iii, 106
Alexander, John P., iii, 229
Alexander, Joseph, iii, 115
Alexander, Robert, iii, 229
Alexander, Walter B., a proprietor of the Enquirer, iii, 66
Algonquin Indians, i, 168; i, 169
Alkaline Springs, i, 18
Allegiance, oath of to Spain required, iii, 202
Allein, David, ii, 153
Allen, Benjamin, iii, 131
Allen, Beverly, iii, 13; teaches Latin school at Jackson in 1820, iii, 70
Allen, David, iii, 84
Allen, D. C., of Liberty, i, 13
Allen, John, ii, 77; ii, 185
Allen, John E., ii, 55; iii, 103, 105
Allen, John F., ii, 77
Allen, Joseph, ii, 383
Allen, Capt. O., first recruiting officer in territory, iii, 106
Allen, William, iii, 116
Alley, John, i, 374
Alley, Thomas, i, 387
Alley, William, i, 374
Alley's Mines, i, 373; i, 387
Allison, Alexander, iii, 158
Allison, a saltmaker on Black water, iii, 146
Allouez, Father, mentions abundance of fish, i, 35; mentions Mississippi by its present name, i, 156; describes the country of Mascoutins, i, 156; finds Saukees and Foxes, 202; visits west bank of Mississippi, ii, 288
Alluvial Bottoms, i, 32
Alluvial District of Missouri, extent of, i, 23
Alton Ferry, iii, 61
Alvarado, Hernando de, Captain in Coronado's army, i, 121; finds the "Turk," i, 123
Alvarez, Don Eugenio, ii, 21; ii, 365
Alvarez, Joachim, ii, 21
Alvarez, Manuel, ii, 21
Alvord, C. W., ii, 278
Alymer, Capt., ii, 256
Amelin, or Hamelin, Laurent, ii, 150
Ambroise, Louis, ii, 56
Amended Act of 1816, iii, 2
American and Spanish treatment of Indians compared, ii, 214
American Boatmen, lawlessness, coarseness and vulgarity of, ii, 233
American Company, in Spanish service, ii, 184
American Fur Company, ii, 91; iii, 254
American Iron Mountain Company, iii, 254
American Settlers, near New Madrid, ii, 132
American Settlement, on Cuivre river, ii, 95
American Settlement, largest near Cape Girardeau, iii, 159-60
Americans, exclusive settlement of at Cape Girardeau, ii, 182
Americans fear Spanish officials, i, 374
Americans, first considerable immigration of, ii, 283
Americans, seek location for mills, ii, 257
Americans, seize a boat, i, 344
Americans, suspected by Spanish officials to have no religion, iii, 202
Ames, Fisher, ii, 353; his fears of the effect of the Louisiana Purchase, ii, 353
Amiot, or Amyot, August, ii, 65
Amos, Mordecai, iii, 158
Amount of land granted by Spain in upper Louisiana, ii, 216
Amoureaux, Joseph, ii, 150
Amoureaux, Michel, ii, 153; ii, 384
Amouroux, Joseph, iii, 103, 106
Anawashqueth, ii, 399
Anderson, Catharine, iii, 206
Anderson, James, iii, 115
Anderson, John, i, 376; iii, 230
Anderson, Robert, iii, 157
Anderson, William, iii, 70; iii, 115
Andre, dit LeCompte, ii, 60
Andreville, Andre, ii, 60; ii, 383
Andrews, Alexander, ii, 98
Andrews, Alexander, senior, ii, 185
Andrews, Alexander, junior, ii, 191
Andrews, David, ii, 185
Andrews, John, i, 368; i, 373; i, 376
Andrews, Joseph, iii, 104, 107
Andrews, Robert, iii, 103
Anduze, Rev. Aristide, ii, 328; professor of St. Louis College, iii, 71
Ange, Augustine, ii, 79
Ange, Francois, ii, 79
Angelique, Mary, a Pawnee woman, wife of Blanchette, ii, 80
Angulo, Don Ramiro de Lopez y, Intendant-General, ii, 58; his letter refusing to sell land, ii, 223
Animal life, i, 33
Année du Grand Coup, ii, 38
Année du Grand Hiver, ii, 63
Année des Galeres, ii, 62
Année de la Picotte, ii, 62
Anowart, or the one who speaks, ii, 399

Antayat, Indian name of the Pelletier family, i, 365
Antaya, Pierre (Pelletier) ii, 79
Antanya, or Antaya, Michael, i, 365; ii, 79
Anthony, Benjamin, sergeant, iii, 120
Anthony, Christopher, i, 376
Antiquity of Missouri Limestone, i, 22
Arnois, or Arnoux, Joseph, ii, 92
Antonio, Don, a galley slave, experienced in mining, sent to upper Louisiana, i, 280
Apathy, of French inhabitants, ii, 375
Apothecary shop in St. Louis in 1812, iii, 83
Appeals, when granted, ii, 198
Appearance of St. Louis in 1804, iii, 162
Appian Way, the Virginia warrior path an, i, 226
Apple Creek, i, 17; ii, 191; Shawnee village on, i, 387; Indian village on, iii, 121
Applegate, Daniel, iii, 86
Applegate, James, i, 356
Applegate, Richard, i, 356
Applegate, Thomas, i, 356
Appropriation for the Expedition to the Pacific, iii, 140
Aquamsi Front, ii, 178
Aquaosa, ii, 399
Arache, may be identical with Akensea, or Arkansas, i, 135
Aranda, his opinion of the Federal republic, i, 303; letter of Tardiveau to, ii, 145
Archambeau, Pierre, ii, 146
Archambeau on conduct of Capt. Craig at Sinkhole battle, iii, 135
Archery, skill of Osages in, i, 195
Archer, Dorcas, ii, 158
Archer, Miss Nancy, ii, 159
Archer, Capt. Sampson, i, 384; ii, 158; ii, 159
Archer, Singleton, ii, 158
Archer, Thompson, ii, 158
Archer, William, ii, 158
Archaeology of Missouri, i, 42
Arcourt, Francois, i, 37
Ardent Spirits, sale of to Indians prohibited by St. Ange, ii, 26
Area of Missouri, i, 15
Arizabel, Bonar, ii, 149
Arkansas, or Akansea, habitat of, i, 107; i, 169
Arkansas District organized, ii, 412
Arkansas Indians, found by Joliet and Marquette, i, 162
Arkansas, Osages hunted on, i, 181
Arkansas, the Chouteaus cause Osages to move to the, ii, 51
Arkansas Post, Father Gibault at, ii, 306
Armisto, Lopez, Secretary of Louisiana, ii, 304
Armour, partner of Juden, iii, 196
Armstrong, Abraham, i, 387
Armstrong, works at Laferny's mill, ii, 156
Asbury, Bishop, iii, 237
Arman, Thomas, iii, 85
Armstrong Diggings, i, 387
Armstrong, Solomon, ii, 158
Armstrong, William, iii, 83
Arnold, John, iii, 116; iii, 137
Arnold, Price, tavern keeper at Franklin, iii, 61; iii, 115; iii, 137
Arpent, extent of in English measure, ii, 233; quantitive and linear measure, ii, 233
Arrell, or Earls, James, ii, 190; ii, 192
Arrow Rock, iii, 119; ferry at, iii, 156, 158
Artisans, admitted as settlers, iii, 201
Arthur, John, iii, 193
Ash, Isaac, iii, 157
Ashbrook, George, iii, 230
Ashbrook, William, i, 372, 373
Ashcraft, Amos, iii, 84
Ashcraft, Jesse, iii, 115
Ashcraft, Otto, iii, 115
Ashe's Travels, i, 2
Ashbran's Furnace, iii, 187
Asherbraner, or Asherbramer, Daniel, ii, 189
Asherbraner, David, ii, 191
Asherbraner, Urban, ii, 189
Ashley, Gen. William H., iii, 69; a partner with Andrew Henry, 96, 104, 107; Jackson laid out on his land, 168, 235, 245; elected first Lieutenant-Governor, 265; biographical sketch of, 266
Assembly, General, first, second, third and fourth, iii, 6
Atchison, Senator David R., biographical sketch of, i, 12
Atentonta, or Otoes, i, 169; meaning of name, 174
Atkins, John, i, 379
Atkinson, James, iii, 131
Atkinson, John, wounded with Callaway, iii, 124
Attack, on Cox's fort, iii, 119
Attack, contemplated on Ste. Genevieve, i, 346
Attack, on St. Louis, i, 346
Attorney-General, office abolished, iii, 7

Atwater, on mounds, i, 43
Aubert, Father Francois Jean Baptiste, sketch of, ii, 291
Aubry, Captain, ii, 1
Aubuchon, August, i, 354
Aubuchon, Augustine August, i, 355
Aubuchon, Baptiste, i, 354
Aubuchon, Antonio, i, 339, 354
Aubuchon, or Aubouchon, Joseph, iii, 103, 105
Aubuchon, Pierre Francois, dit Morel, Morelly or Morelles, i, 355
Aubuchon, Francois, dit Morelles, ii, 244
Aubuchon, Gabriel, i, 354, ii, 68
Aubuchon, Louis, dit Yoche, i, 354; ii, 10
Aubuchon, Joseph, i, 354; ii, 88
Aubuchon, Joseph, dit Yoche, ii, 67, 244
Aubuchon, or Aubouchon, Pierre, ii, 297
Aubuchon, Pierre or Pedro, i, 340, 355
Audilier, Michael, ii, 21
Audrain, Pedro, or Pierre, secures contract for mills, i, 333, 363; ii, 136, 144, 147, 258
Audrain, Col. James, ii, 136
Audrain, James H., opens a tavern in St. Louis in 1819, iii, 60; has a farm near Fort Osage in 1811, iii, 147; biographical sketch of, iii, 147
Audrain county, first settlers in, iii, 157
Audubon, reports New Madrid earthquake, iii, 174; sketch of his trip with Rozier to Ste. Genevieve, iii, 194
Auger, Francois, i, 356
August, John, i, 376
Ault, Michael, iii, 111
Austin, Emily M., i, 371
Austin, Harris, ii, 191
Austin, Horace, tavern keeper, iii, 60, 193
Austin, James, iii, 69
Austin, James Horace, ii, 189
Austin, Moses, as to settlement on the Des Peres, i, 243, meets Madame De Luziere, 365, 367; granted a league square, 368, 370; biographical sketch of, 368; opens mines at Mine à Breton, 371; builds Durham Hall, 370; his family, 371; his grant in Texas, 371; his death, 371; gives number of houses in St. Louis, ii, 63, 206; his land grant, 217, 355, 383; refuses to deliver cannon to De-Lassus, 366; iii, 60, 69; cuts out a road to the Boonslick country from Potosi, 155; names Herculaneum, 186; names Potosi, 181, 183
Austin, name of a pioneer of Boonslick, dodges an Indian shot, iii, 119
Austin, Stephen Fuller, i, 371; iii, 6, 7, 103, 107, 183
Auteman, Don Frederico, i, 323
Autry, John, or Ottery, i, 373
Aux Vases, i, 17; settlement on, 385
Averit, Cornelius, or Everrett, ii, 191
Axes and hammers, found in a saltpeter cave on Gasconade, i, 85
Ayauwais, at Côte sans Dessein, iii, 145
Ayers, Ebenezer, ii, 91; iii, 104, 106
Ayers, or Arey, George, ii, 93
Ayot, ii, 17
Ayrl, George, ii, 99
Ayudante Mayor, of St. Louis, ii, 42, 58
Azor, Francois, dit Breton, discovers mine, i, 367; biographical sketch of, 385; ii, 228

B

Baber, Hiram H., member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249; notes of, iii, 265
Baber, J., iii, 234
Babinge, or Babing, Legrand, ii, 148
Baby, Louis, teacher in New Madrid, son of Col. Louis Baby, ii, 153, 276
Baby, Jacques, ii, 153
Baccaria, Father, Superior of the Order of Congregation of Missions, ii, 325
Bad weather, ii, 366
Badeau, Joseph, ii, 162
Badgly, partner of, Stubblefield, iii, 187
Badgley, settlement, iii, 206
Badley, Henry, ii, 148
Bagley, or Bacley, Henry, ii, 148, 149
Bailey, a saltmaker on Black water, iii, 146
Bailey, William, ii, 164
Bailey, Raisin, ii, 189
Baillet, Joseph Theodore, ii, 148
Bainbridge, road from to Golconda, iii, 61
Bainbridge, proprietors of the town, iii, 185
Baird, James, goes to Santa Fe, iii, 155; iii, 188
Baird, John, iii, 229
Baker, Aaron, i, 373, 374

Baker, Abraham, i, 373, 374
Baker, Andrew, i, 374
Baker, Elijah, settles on Clear water creek, i, 372; iii, 227
Baker, Elisha, i, 372; ii, 76; iii, 229
Baker, E., iii, 217
Baker, Jean Paul, i, 367
Baker, Jessie, i, 374
Baker, John, i, 374; iii, 106, 107
Baker, John, junior, i, 374
Baker, Joseph, ii, 189
Baker, Rueben, i, 372
Baker, Sylvester, junior, iii, 83
Baker, Thomas, i, 372; iii, 229
Balafre, a Little Osage chief, i, 179
Baldridge, Daniel, ii, 102
Baldridge, James, ii, 94
Baldridge, Malachi, ii, 93
Baldridge, Micajah, ii, 99
Baldridge, Robert, ii, 72, 93
Baldwin, John, on connection of mound-builders with old Tlapalan, i, 44
Baldwin, John, iii, 219
Baldwin, Madame, probably Mary Baldwin, i, 368
Ball, Hewitt, iii, 229
Ball, Hyder A., iii, 245
Ball, John, ii, 76
Ballew, Mrs. Agnes, first person baptized in Cape Girardeau district, iii, 204, 206
Ballew, Peter, ii, 187
Ballew, Thomas, ii, 384
Ballew, Timothy, ii, 78
Ballie, John, ii, 154
Balls, at Ste. Genevieve, iii, 57
Baltimore, goods hauled to Jackson from, iii, 196
Bancroft, on Nahua origin of mound-builders, i, 43
Bandelier, A., his "Gilded Man" cited, i, 121; verifies Casteneda's description of Cicuye, 124; thinks that Coronado was lost in the plains, 128
Bank of Georgetown, notes receivable at land offices, iii, 183
Bank of Missouri, iii, 191; chartered, iii, 7; legislature authorized to establish branches, 247
Bank of St. Louis, iii, 5, 191
Banks and banking business in the Missouri territory, iii, 191
Banks, branches of the state bank, not more than five may be established, iii, 250
Banks, provisions for under constitution of 1820, iii, 251
Bankson, Holmon, ii, 165
Baptist Association, protests against the interference of Congress in matter of slavery, iii, 248
Baptist church, early settlers belong to, iii, 211
Baptist church of St. Louis, number of members of at first, iii, 214
Baptist churches north of the Missouri, iii, 216
Baptist preachers, few emigrate to the Missouri territory, iii, 217
"Baptist Repository," on death of Rev. T. P. Green, iii, 219
Baptists, organize first Protestant church west of Mississippi, iii, 206
Barada, dit Bardo, Antonio, ii, 87, 245
Barada, Antonio, junior, ii, 22
Barada, dit Breda, senior, Louis, ii, 22
Barber and Company, iii, 188
Barbers, iii, 190
Barbeau, Jane, i, 350
Barbier, Jose, ii, 166
Barbeau, Rene Julia, i, 354
Barbier, Joseph, ii, 150
Barclay, Robert, ii, 78; iii, 137
Bardstown, ii, 321, 324
Barelas, or Varelas, Joseph, cadet engineer, ii, 19
Bargas, Dominique, ii, 22
Bargeron, Pierre, ii, 69
Barges, take troops up the Missouri quicker than steamboats, iii, 199
Baribault, Francois, ii, 52
Barks, or Bergs, Handel, ii, 189
Barlow, James, iii, 188
Barn Street, now Third Street, ii, 24
Barnes, Abraham, iii, 116
Barnes, Amos, iii, 116
Barnes, corporal, James, iii, 115, 117, 137, 184
Barnes, John, ii, 96; iii, 116, 137
Barnes, Shadrach, has a ferry on the Missouri, iii, 62, 137
Barnhart, Christopher, i, 381
Baroes, Jean, ii, 150
Barois, Louis, ii, 56
Barois, or Barion, Theresa, ii, 55
Baron, Cecile, i, 339
Barr, Dr., teaches school at Jackson, iii, 70
Barrada, Louis, assists in survey of St. Charles, ii, 83
Barras, Don Francisco, i, 323
Barras, Vincent, ii, 141
Barre, Etienne, ii, 56
Barribeau, Francois, iii, 131

Barribeau, Pierre, ii, 55; iii, 131
Barrois, Jean Baptiste Bertlor, i, 340, 372
Barrois, Marie Ann, ii, 18
Barrens, Baptist church of, iii, 216
Barron, Joseph, ii, 395
Barrouselle, Francois, ii, 56
Barrow, Gabriel, ii, 241
Barry, John, ii, 151
Barsaloux, widow, ii, 148
Barsaloux, Girard, i, 381
Barsaloux, Jean Baptiste, i, 381
Barsaloux, John Baptiste, i, 381; ii, 141, 157
Barsaloux, Nicholas, i, 381; ii, 21
Bartelet, Don Juan, ii, 148
Bartholdt, Richard, iii, 245
Bartlett, Edmund, iii, 85
Bartolet, Louis, i, 87
Barton, Daniel, ii, 157
Barton, David, iii, 8; elected first United States Senator from Missouri, 265; Judge of the Northern Circuit, 10, 17; with Dodge on the Missouri, 121; member of the constitutional convention, 249; constitution of 1820 work of, 250
Barton, David, Mrs. Sarah Murphy, his sister, i, 375
Barton, Isaac, iii, 17; elected librarian of the first public library, iii, 73
Barton, Joab, died near Jefferson City, i, 21; came with the Shawnees, 211
Barton, Joshua, iii, 17; second of Lucas in Benton duel, 77; duel with Rector, 79, 255; appointed first secretary of state, 266
Basco, John, iii, 85
Bastrop, Baron de, i, 371
Bateman, William M., iii, 189
Bates, Edward, biographical sketch of, iii, 18; member of the constitutional convention, 249; first attorney-general, 266
Bates, Elias, i, 371
Bates, Elijah, i, 182; iii, 183
Bates, Frederick, appointed secretary of territory, ii, 413; appointed commissioner, iii, 49; appointed recorder of land titles, and his report, iii, 53; biographical sketch of, 50; elected second governor of Missouri, 50
Bates, a partner of Simon, iii, 189
Bates, William, i, 372
Battery, constructed at Sinkhole fight, iii, 133
Battle, between Cherokees and Saukees and Foxes, i, 221
Battu, Henry, iii, 105
Bay de Charles, ii, 99
Bay, Robert, ii, 72
Bayou, of St. Thomas, ii, 157
Bayou, Pemiscot, ii, 160
Bayse, or Basey or Beasy, John, ii, 71; iii, 157
Baxter, Green, iii, 105
Baxter, William, iii, 115, 157
Beall, James T., iii, 182
Bealle, Walter, ii, 165
Bean, Lewis M., i, 41, 49
Bear, John, i, 372; ii, 71
Bear, Joseph, i, 380
Bear meat, i, 36; trade in, ii, 255
Bears, at Gray's Point, numerous on river, i, 35
Bear, Thomas, i, 372, 380
Beardin, Francois, ii, 163
Beasley, Ephraim, iii, 157
Beatty and Armstrong, keep tavern at Franklin, iii, 61
Beatty, James, ii, 95; iii, 103
Beauchamp, Baptiste, i, 357
Beauchamp, Joseph, dit Bochant, ii, 10, 98
Beauchemain, Joseph, ii, 86
Beaufils, Jean, ii, 55
Beaugeneau, Elizabeth, ii, 52
Beaugeneau, Marie Josephe, ii, 9
Beaugeneau, or Beaugenoux, Nicolas, ii, 9
Beaugeneau, Veuve, ii, 52
Beaugenou, dit Fifi, Nicholas, ii, 245
Beaugie, Francois, ii, 298
Beaujeu, or Bogy, ii, 22
Beausoliel, nickname of Pourée, ii, 43
Beauvais, ii, 17, 297
Beauvais, Barthelemi, i, 355
Beauvais, Family, i, 352
Beauvais, dit St. Jemme or St. James, i, 352, 353
Bauvais, Jean Baptiste, dit St. Jemme, i, 352, 353; ii, 245
Bauvais, Jean Baptiste, junior, i, 363, 355
Beauvais, M., his dress, ii, 269
Beauvais, Marie Louise, marries Francois Duquette, ii, 85
Beauvais, St. Jem or St. James, i, 352, 382; ii, 69, 100; iii, 67
Beauvais, J. S. J., ii, 391
Beauvais, Vital, i, 353, 382; ii, 85
Beavers, i, 36; skins standard of value, ii, 259; number taken in one season at Blue water, iii, 191
Beck, Abraham, iii, 23
Beck, Dr. Lewis C., a physician in St. Louis in 1819, iii, 81
Becket, John, ii, 164

Beckman, Abraham, iii, 229
Becknell, William, the founder of the Santa Fe trade, iii, 156
Beck's Gazetter, cited, i, 45
Beckwith, Thomas, his methods of exploring mounds, finds pottery balls near mounds, i, 45; his work in Mississippi county mounds, 62
Becquette, Elizabeth, ii, 10
Becquette, or Bequette, Jean, B., ii, 10
Bedford, Thomas P., i, 376
Beene, or Bean, John, i, 376
Beer, iii, 190, 192
Beggs, Joseph, iii, 116
Belan, Ignace, ii, 152
Belan, or Bellan or Bolon, dit Laviolette, Joseph, ii, 152
Belcom, Joseph, i, 384
Belcour, Baptiste, ii, 56
Belestre, Henry, ii, 55
Bellestre, Picote de, thanked especially by Galvez, i, 307
Belfast, iii, 185
Belkemier, ii, 53
Bell, John, ii, 72
Bell, Josiah, iii, 229
Bell, Mordecai, ii, 56
Bell, William, ii, 77
Belland, Jean Baptiste, ii, 54, 72
Belland's Creek, ii, 96
Belle, Catherine, ii, 155, 156
Bellefontaine, original location of cantonment washed away, iii, 153
Bellemar, or Bellemair, Louis, i, 356
Belle Point, i, 378
Belleville, Pelagie, ii, 69
Bellevue Baptist church, iii, 209, 218
Bellevue, first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi organized there, iii, 228
Bellevue Valley, first settlement there, i, 372
Bellew, William, ii, 75
Bellew, William, ii, 284
Bellisme, Alexander, tavern keeper, ii, 55; iii, 60
Bells, iii, 188
Bellsa, William, ii, 56
Belon, Ignace, ii, 162
Belon, Marie Louise, i, 356; ii, 153
Belon, William, ii, 78
Belon, dit Laviolette, Joseph, i, 356; ii, 152, 153
Belonge, Francois, ii, 101
Belote, Pierre, i, 355
Belsha, Elisha or Elijah, i, 382
Belsha, George, i, 382
Belsome, Mathias, ii, 153
Benito, Julia, ii, 159
Benito, Julien Papin, i, 56
Bennett, Aaron, i, 344
Bennett, Joel, ii, 157
Bennett, Marie, ii, 55
Bonnet's Mills, iii, 159
Benoist de St. Clair, captain of Marines, i, 338
Benoist, or Benoit Francois, M., i, 381; ii, 60, 62, 383
Benoist, John, or Benoit, ii, 162
Benoist, Toussaint, a baker in St. Louis, iii, 60
Benoit, Toussaint, dit Seraphim, i, 356
Bent, Silas, biographical note, iii, 17; first president pro tem. of the Senate, 264
Benton, Dr. Jesse, i, 375
Benton, Elijah, i, 375
Benton, Thomas Hart, i, 12, 375, 377; iii, 17, 53; editor of the "Enquirer," 66; one of the first St. Louis school trustees, 72; duel with Lucas, 77, 184, 235; a proslavery man when elected to Senate, and his struggle to secure election as United States Senator, 267
Beor, or Bour or Boure, Louis, ii, 21
Bequette, Baptiste, i, 353
Bequette, Charles, i, 368
Bequette, Jacques, i, 379
Bequette, Jean, B., ii, 10
Bequette, Jean B., ii, 232
Bequette, Joseph, i, 386
Bequette, Margaret, ii, 9
Bequette, or Bequet, Pierre, ii, 56, 87
Bequette, Th., iii, 244
Bergand, Charles, dit Jean Louis, ii, 164, 245
Berger, Pierre, Rougeau, ii, 21
Bergier, Father, a Seminarian priest, his controversy with Jesuits, ii, 289
Berje, Pierre, ii, 87
Bermet, Antonio, ii, 138
Bernard, Antoine, ii, 50
Bernard de Limpach, Father, ii, 308, 314
Bernard, Etienne, ii, 98, 99
Bernard, dit L'European, Francois, ii, 68, 245
Bernard, killed on the Dardenne, iii, 128
Bernard, Mr., ii, 69
Bernardo, Jose, ii, 138
Berney, William, iii, 107
Bernier, Francois, i, 355, 357
Berard, Antoine, ii, 22
Berry, Francois, iii, 157
Berry, James, i, 383

Berry, John, iii, 105, 115, 157
Berry, William, iii, 85, 157
Berry, Taylor, biographical sketch of, iii, 29; duel with Leonard, 79
Berthiaume, Francois, ii, 147, 232
Berthiaume, gunsmith among the Shawnees, ii, 367
Berthiaume, Hyacinthe, ii, 151, 165
Berthiaume, Joseph, ii, 165
Berthiaume, Marie Louise, marries Lorimier, ii, 179
Berthiaume, Noel, ii, 148, 150
Berthiaume, Toussaint, iii, 131
Berthold, Barthèlemi, ii, 10; iii, 108, 190
Berton, dit St. Martin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 150, 164, 245
Bertran, ii, 87
Bertrand, dit Beaulieu, Pierre, i, 357
Besnard, Anna Gabriel, ii, 149
Besnard, Pedro Maltruvin, ii, 138
Bessie, or Beffie, Jean, i, 358
Best, Isaac, iii, 159
Bethel Association, meets in the "Barrens," iii, 217; first meeting in 1816, 217; held correspondence with Little River Association of Kentucky, 217
Bethel church, building described by Judge Ranney, iii, 207; members allowed to shout, 207; organized by Rev. Daniel Green in 1805, 206; opposed to Missionary Associations, 220
Bethel No. 2, north of Missouri, iii, 216
Bettis, Elijah, iii, 186; member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249; notes of, 261
Bettis' Ford, iii, 186
Biancour, Joseph, ii, 54
Biancour, Louis, ii, 54
Bibb, Captain, ii, 409
Bible society, iii, 225; at Jackson, 233
Bibles, freight on, iii, 225
Brickey, John S., iii, 182
Biddle, duel with Pettus, iii, 79
Bidet, dit Langoumois, Jean B., ii, 21
Biedma, i, 100
Bienvenue, Etienne, ii, 91
Bienville, ii, 20
Bienville, Antoine, i, 357
Bienville, dit De Lisle, Francois, ii, 245
Bienville, dit De Lisle, Jean Baptiste, i, 357
Bienville, dit De Lisle, Louis, ii, 245
Bienville, report as to the Spanish expedition, i, 254
Big Blue, i, 17
Big Bonne Femme, i, 17
Big Bottom Baptist church, iii, 217
Big Common Field of Ste. Genevieve, i, 337, 338; iii, 152
Big Creek, ii, 95
Big Mound of Pemiscot, i, 55
Big Ozark Spring, largest cold water spring in the world, i, 18
Big Portage, ii, 161
Big Prairie of New Madrid, described by Brackenridge, i, 27
Big Prairie, Indian village in, ii, 106
Big River, settlement on, i, 373, 379
Big Spring, at head of Maramec, i, 18
Big Swamp, ii, 190
Biggs, Jean, ii, 154
Biggs, Samuel, ii, 154
Billeron, dit Lafatigue, Jacques, i, 358
Billeron, Leonard, i, 350
Billeron, Marianne, i, 350
Billia, or Billieu, Baptiste, ii, 68
Billon's Annals, i, 341
Billon, Charles, iii, 188
Billon, or Billot, Jean Baptiste, ii, 68
Billon, John B., ii, 383
Billot, Joseph Baptiste, ii, 96
Bingham, Henry V., keeps tavern at Franklin, iii, 60
Bingham, William, iii, 187
Bingston, Daniel, ii, 158
Bingston, Henry, ii, 158
Bingston, Holman, ii, 158
Bingston, James, ii, 158
Binkston, James, ii, 165
Binneteau, Father, says game plentiful, i, 35
Bird, Abraham, ii, 164; iii, 185
Bird, Gustavus A., his difficulty with Judge Thomas, iii, 24
Bird, Thompson, iii, 185
Bird's Point, Gayoso builds a fort at, ii, 134, 164, 345; iii, 185
Birin, F., ii, 166
Birmingham, a town on Apple creek, i, 161
Birot, ii, 78
Bish, Albert, iii, 187
Bishop, John, ii, 78
Bishop of Salamanca, iii, 202
Bissell, Captain Daniel, ii, 364
Bissell, Daniel, ii, 363; New Madrid surrendered to him, 363
Bissell, Francis B., iii, 103
Bissette, dit Mimi l'Ardoise, Antoine, ii, 52

Bissette, Charles, dit Creole l'Ardoise, ii, 52
Bissette, Guillaume, killed in attack on St. Louis, ii, 39, 52
Bissette, Isabella, ii, 52
Bissette, Jean Baptiste, ii, 147
Bissette, Louis, ii, 52
Bissonnet, Ambroise, ii, 152
Bissonette, Francois, ii, 12
Bissonette, Jean Marie, ii, 87
Bissonette, Joseph, ii, 101
Bissonette, Louis, ii, 12
Bissonette, Pierre, ii, 87
Bits, how made, ii, 258
Bittick, Francois, ii, 75
Biyas (Buyat), ii, 297
Bizet, Bisette, Antoine, ii, 100
Bizet, or Bissette, Charles, ii, 21
Bizet, or Bissette, Guillaume, ii, 21
Black, Big and Little, i, 17
Black Hawk, i, 201; his version of treaty, ii, 396; at battle of Sinkhole, iii, 129; his report, 130
Black, Mary Ann, ii, 65
Black Partridge, i, 8
Black river, i, 5
Black, Samuel, ii, 148
Blackborn, or Blackburn, Joseph, ii, 148
Blackburn, Rev. Gideon, preached the first Protestant sermon at St. Louis, iii, 224; trains a young man for ministry, iii, 230
Blackwell, Jesse, iii, 107
Blackwell, Robert, iii, 86
Blanks, Jesse, ii, 162
Blacksmiths, ii, 231; iii, 187
Blacksnake Hills, Robidoux has a post near, ii, 253
Blair, John, iii, 229
Blair, Thomas, iii, 229, 234
Blakeley, Thomas, i, 368
Blanc, Chevaux, ii, 270
Blanc, Marie, i, 349
Blanca, Count Florida, ii, 340
Blanchette, ii, 80
Blanchette, first Commandant of St. Charles, ii, 80
Blanchette, le Chasseur, ii, 80
Blanchette, Don Louis, ii, 56, 80, 81, 86
Blanchette, or Blanchett, Pierre, testimony as to necessity of common fields of St. Charles, ii, 84, 92
Blay, Joseph, i, 379
Blanco, Diego, ii, 205
Blanco, Manuel, i, 381
Bledsoe, Anthony, ii, 159
Block, Eleazer, first Hebrew lawyer of St. Louis, iii, 23
Block, Henry, ii, 155
Block, John, ii, 165
Block, Marie, ii, 149, 153
Block, Simon, iii, 196
Blondeau, i, 341
Blondeau, Andrew, or Andre, ii, 96, 97, 100
Blondeau, Barthélemi, ii, 21
Blondeau, Jean Baptiste, ii, 96, 97
Blondeau, Maurice, ii, 398
Blondeau, also spelled Blondain, Thomas, ii, 20
Bloody Island, duel of Benton and Lucas on, iii, 77
Bloody Saline, ii, 90, 256
Bloom, Peter, i, 355; ii, 223, 232
Bloomfield, Shawnee village located there, i, 217
Blount, William, ii, 335
Blouin, Daniel, merchant of Kaskaskia, i, 342; i, 343
Blows, out of earth, caused by New Madrid earthquake, iii, 178
Bluffton, iii, 185
Blumenau, Dr., in Cape Girardeau in 1820, iii, 82
Boaley, John, i, 155
Boatmen, obtain supplies from Shawnees, i, 215; complaints of, against Gratiot, ii, 34
Bob's creek, iii, 132
Bobe des Closieux, dit Bobbe des Clozieau, i, 341
Bockett, Reuben L., ii, 146
Bodion, Jean, ii, 72
Bodoin, Joseph, dit L'Habitant, ii, 72, 245
Bodwell, Enoch, ii, 166
Bogan, Jacob, ii, 166
Bogard, Jacob, or Beaugard, ii, 150
Bogard, Joseph, ii, 166
Bogliolo, a merchant of New Madrid, iii, 196
Bogliolo, Etienne, ii, 146
Bogliolo, Matteo, ii, 146
Bogliolo & Michel, partnership litigation, iii, 196
Boggs, David, iii, 116, 117, 137
Boggs, Joseph, iii, 137
Boggs, Liburn W., biographical sketch of, iii, 193
Bogy, John, i, 309
Bogy, Joseph, iii, 7
Bogy, Lewis Vital, i, 309; iii, 68
Bohrer, David, i, 374
Boilvin, Nicholas, i, 357, 379
Bois Brule, settlement of, i, 381
Boisbriant, Commandant of Fort de Chartres, i, 273

Boisrondet, Francois de, i, 166
Boisse, Louis, ii, 96
Bolan, Campbell, iii, 137
Bolan, Delaney, iii, 137
Bolaye, Sophia, ii, 76
Bolduc, Etienne, i, 355
Bolduc House, at Ste. Genevieve, i, 356
Bolduc, Louis, i, 340, 344, 346, 354, 355; ii, 52
Bolduc, Louis, junior, ii, 52
Bolduc, Stephen, ii, 52
Boleman, Bernhard, iii, 241
Bolen, or Bolin, Delaney, iii, 115, 147
Bolen, William, iii, 116
Boli, John, ii, 75
Boli, William, ii, 75
Bollinger, family of, ii, 188
Bollinger, Daniel, senior, ii, 192
Bollinger, Daniel, ii, 189, 192; a German preaching place, iii, 205
Bollinger, Davalt or Dewalt, ii, 189, 192
Bollinger, Frederick, ii, 391
Bollinger, George Frederick, his mill on White water, ii, 182, 188, 192; iii, 3, 6, 7, 8, 181; brings Weyberg to the German settlements on White water, 104, 205
Bollinger, Henry, ii, 189, 192; iii, 104, 106
Bollinger, John, ii, 192; a preaching place of Weyberg, iii, 104, 205
Bollinger, John, senior, ii, 189
Bollinger, or Mathias, ii, 189, 192
Bollinger, Philip, ii, 192
Bollinger, William, ii, 189, 192
Bollon, Amable, ii, 213
Bollon, Elizabeth, ii, 155
Bolon, Gabriel, killed by the Indians, i, 222; ii, 213
Bolon, or Boulon, Hypolite, i, 367, 382; ii, 101, 151
Bolot, Charles Nicolas, ii, 147
Bolon, ii, 406
Bolon, Hypolite, ii, 151, 395
Bolsi, Antoine, ii, 165
Bon, Jacques, i, 379
Bond, Edward F., ii, 186, 403; lives in Cape Girardeau district, ii, 403; writes Jefferson, ii, 404
Bonelick, iii, 99
Bonhomme, iii, 142
Bonilla, Francisco Leiva, his filibustero expedition, i, 136
Bonin, Braconia, Jean, ii, 68
Bonneau, Antoine, ii, 162
Bonneau, Charles, ii, 146, 148
Bonneau, Francaise, ii, 151
Bonneau, Jean Baptiste, with Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268; ii, 152
Bonneau, Miss Jose, ii, 106, 146
Bonneau, Michael, ii, 162
Bonne Femme Creek, beauty of hills there, i, 29
Bonnemain, Antoine, ii, 56
Bonner, or Boner, William, ii, 183, 192, 384
Bonsfield, Richard, iii, 197
Bonvarlet, Lambert, ii, 17
Books, not many in the country, iii, 73; first printed in Missouri, iii, 66
Bookstore, none in territory, iii, 73; one opened in 1820, iii, 73
Boone, dissatisfied with cession, ii, 387
Boone, Colonel, ii, 93
Boone county, organized by first General Assembly, iii, 268
Boone, Daniel, his love of the wilderness, i, 184; dies near La Charette, ii, 91; settles on the Femme Osage, 93, 94, 95, 100, 334; presents his claim, which is rejected, iii, 46; confirmed by Act of Congress, 47; gives it to old creditors in Kentucky, 47; at La Charette in 1804, 142; traps beaver at the age of 80, 142; dies in 1820, 141; attends Baptist service, 210; Hancock came to upper Louisiana with, 216
Boone, Daniel M., iii, 103, 106, 120; first in Boonslick country, 146
Boone, Nathan, ii, 93, 94, 101; in service, iii, 102; attacked by Indians, iii, 112; Major under Dodge, 120; aids Dodge to protect Miamis, 123, 130; first in Boonslick country, 146; member of the constitutional convention, 249; biographical notes, 263
Boone, Squire, ii, 96
Boonesborough, ii, 172
Boone's fort, iii, 137
Boonslick, trace to, i, 228; iii, 157; settlers of pursue Indians, iii, 116; company threatens the Miamis, 123; country, why so called, 146; last settlement on the Missouri in 1811, 146; circuit, 242
Boonville, iii, 146; location of, 156, 184
Booth, Harrison, iii, 157
Boots and Shoes, iii, 187
Bordeleau, Antoine, i, 353; ii, 147
Bordeleaux, Catherine, ii, 148
Boren, William, iii, 85
Borgna, Father Philip, ii, 325, 326
Boss, S. C., iii, 235
Bosseron, Charles, ii, 56; iii, 60

Bossu, Count Chevalier, Travels cited, i, 38; i, 250, 254; biographical sketch of, ii, 261, 262
Bossieur, or Bossueur, John B., iii, 103, 106
Botecourt county, ii, 330
Botelar, ii, 54
Bouchard, Joseph, ii, 22
Bouche, ii, 297
Boucher, i, 357
Boudean, Francois, ii, 150
Bouder, Louis, ii, 56
Bouding, Jesse, ii, 163
Boudoin, Jean Thp., dit l'Habitant, ii, 68, 76
Bougainville, Charlotte Pemanpieh, wife of Lorimier, ii, 170
Bougy, Charles, iii, 104, 107
Bouilleau, Etienne, ii, 165
Bouillette, Guillaume, ii, 150, 156
Bouillette, Modeste, ii, 156
Bouillette, Theresa, ii, 150
Bouillier, Reverend John, ii, 326
Bouis, Antoine Vincent, dit Antoine Vincent, ii, 2, 54, 62, 77, 86, 381
Bouis, Pascal Vincent, ii, 381
Bouju, Joseph, iii, 103, 188
Boulan, Susan, ii, 151
Boulanger, Francois, ii, 69
Boulanger, Rouette, ii, 152
Boundaries of Missouri, various suggestions, i, 3; on the north, 9; between Iowa and Missouri, 14; of St. Louis district, ii, 66; between New Madrid and Cape Girardeau districts, 154; of Cape Girardeau district, 167; of the St. Charles district, 384
Bounties for killing certain wild animals, iii, 7
Bourasses, Francois, ii, 76
Bourbonois, Jean, i, 357
Bourdon, Jean, i, 166
Bouré, Joseph, ii, 12, 383
Bouré, Louis, dit Grand Loui, ii, 20, 99
Bourette, Jean Baptiste, ii, 99
Bourg, Pierre, ii, 56
Bourgeouis, Marie Theresa, Madame Chouteau, ii, 4
Bourgmont, Sieur de, i, 2; describes the country on Missouri, 31; finds Mahas on Missouri, 173; his route in western Missouri, 223; biographical sketch of, 258, 273
Bouté, Father, president of St. Mary's College, ii, 321
Bouthellier, Francois, ii, 100
Bouvet, M., biographical sketch of, ii, 100
Bouvet, or Beauvet or Beauvais, Jean Baptiste, ii, 65
Bouvet, Maturin, ii, 77, 99; makes salt on Salt river, 99, 100, 256
Boveau, Etienne, ii, 162
Bowie, Colonel James, ii, 163
Bowie, David, ii, 190
Bowie, Elsie, ii, 162
Bowie, James, ii, 163
Bowie, Reazin, syndic of Tywappity settlement, ii, 163; biographical sketch of, 163, 198, 199
Bowles, Ambrose, ii, 73
Bowl's Band, story of, i, 221
Bowles, John, iii, 159, 217
Bowles, killed and scalped, iii, 128
Bowles, William, ii, 142
Bowman, Colonel John, ii, 161; iii, 34, 85
Bowman, Elizabeth, ii, 161
Bowmer, B. D., iii, 245
Bowpart, or Poupast, Louis, ii, 22
Box, Mike, iii, 116, 147
Boyce, or Boisse, Jacob, i, 384
Boyce, Joseph, i, 367
Boyce, Thomas, iii, 131
Boyce, or Boise, William, i, 383
Boyd, David, ii, 96
Boyd, James, ii, 186, 384
Boyd, John, ii, 185
Boyd, Robert, iii, 104, 107
Boyd, Rowland, i, 384
Boyd, Thomas, iii, 83
Boydston, William, i, 372
Boyer, Antoine, i, 356
Boyer, Charles, dit Laffond, or Laffont, i, 355, 367; ii, 148, 245
Boyer, Claude, ii, 87
Boyer, Francois, ii, 165
Boyer, Jacques, i, 352
Boyer, John, i, 368
Boyer, Joseph, i, 367
Boyer, J. H., iii, 189
Boyer, Louis, i, 379
Boyer, Marie Ann, ii, 152, 158
Boyer, Nicholas, i, 339, 354; ii, 87, dit Cola, 245
Boyer, Peter, i, 367
Boyer, Pierre Baptiste, i, 379
Boyle, Conel, ii, 150
Boyle, David, ii, 77
Boyle, Philip, ii, 166
Boyles, David, i, 379
Boyne, Adam, ii, 152
Boynton, Adam, ii, 156
Brackenridge, H. H., sends his son to Ste. Genevieve, ii, 262
Brackenridge, H. M., describes country in 1810, i, 27; on attraction of savage state, 183; gives the size of Ste.

Genevieve, 361; as a boy visits New Madrid, ii, 134; describes farming of settlers of Ste. Genevieve, 234; describes Cole, iii, 101; notes farm of Braxton Cooper on Missouri, 146; biographical sketch of, iii, 15
Bradburn, Frankie, ii, 162
Bradburn, James, ii, 162
Bradbury, describes wood pigeons, i, 39; on size of Osages, 179; ii, 250, 267; his account of the dispatch of the post from St. Louis to Louisville in 1809, iii, 64, 142; meets Long in St. Louis, 153; describes New Madrid, 172; was on river one day after New Madrid earthquake began, 175
Braddock's defeat, Osages at, i, 180
Bradley, Charles, ii, 184, 192
Bradley, Edward, ii, 56
Bradley, Leonard, iii, 85
Bradley, Samuel, ii, 192, 384
Brads, iii, 188
Bradshaw, i, 387
Bradshaw, William, iii, 245
Brady, Jacob, ii, 56
Brady, James, iii, 104, 106
Brady, Thomas, iii, 192
Brady, William, ii, 78
Brant, Daniel, ii, 165, 189, 192
Brant, David, iii, 106
Brant, Joseph B., ii, 156, 165
Brandy, not allowed under orders of Ulloa on voyage of Rui's corps, i, 289
Brassas, Antoine, i, 166
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Abbe, on identity of mound-builders, i, 43
Bravier, dit Ciril, Jean Baptiste, ii, 100
Brawls and quarrels among the miners, iii, 74
Brazeau, ii, 234
Brazeau, Antonio, ii, 101
Brazeau, Francoise, ii, 55
Brazeau, Jos., ii, 62, 101, 383
Brazeau, Joseph, junior, ii, 53
Brazeau, Joseph, senior, ii, 53
Brazeau, dit Caioua, Louis, ii, 53
Brazeau, Marie, ii, 54
Brazeau, settlement on, i, 385
Breaker, Rev. M. J., iii, 209
Breckenridge, Hon. John, ii, 347
Breckenridge, John, Sen., ii, 352
Breckenridge, Smith B., iii, 182
Breville, Chevalier Brear de, ii, 140
Brian, Rene, ii, 56
Briant, David, iii, 103
Briant, Theresa, ii, 147
Briart, Louis, i, 358
Brichinelle, Fransisco, ii, 56
Brickey, John, iii, 182
Brickey, John S., iii, 29, 182
Brickey, Jonathan, iii, 131
Brickey, S., iii, 158
Brick house, first of St. Louis, iii, 166
Bricklayers, iii, 190
Bricot, or Bricant, dit Lamarche, Antoine, ii, 86, 244
Bricot, Antoine, junior, ii, 86
Bridge, or Bridges, Samuel, i, 367, 381; ii, 384; iii, 190
Bridger, Anthony, iii, 104
Bridges, James, an old creditor of Boone, secures his land grant, iii, 47
Bridgeton, ii, 77
Bridle trail, from Herculaneum to Ste. Genevieve in 1819, iii, 153
Briers and grape vines in creek valleys of prairies, i, 26
Briesbach, Nicholas, ii, 52
Bright, Jonah, iii, 193; iii, 235
Brindley, John, ii, 76
Bringier, Louis, i, 17; on territorial claim of Osages and Quapawas, 172; hospitality of the Osages, 187; his report of the New Madrid earthquake, iii, 175; biographical sketch of, 175
Brinker, Abraham, i, 368; iii, 69, 182
Briscot, Philip, ii, 148
Brissot, de Warville, ii, 283
British Agents, visit Indians between 1809 and 1810, iii, 98
British Highlanders, occupy Fort de Chartres, ii, 12
Broadhead, i, 42
Brock, Joshua, iii, 106
Brock, Uriah, iii, 84
Broker, John R., iii, 229
Brookfield, Rev. Isaac, iii, 241
Brooks, John, ii, 158
Brooks, Mark, iii, 103, 106
Brooks, Thomas, ii, 155
Brouillet, Joseph, ii, 146
Brouillet, Louis, ii, 150
Brouillet, Louis, junior, ii, 147
Brouillet, Louis, senior, ii, 146
Brouillet, Pierre, ii, 150
Brousteu, or Broaster or Brewster, Robert, i, 382
Brown, Senator John, ii, 338, 344
Brown, B. G., ii, 69
Brown, Catherine, ii, 151
Brown county, Kansas, i, 5
Brown, David, ii, 69; iii, 189

Brown, Isham, iii, 86
Brown, J. C., surveys Iowa line, i, 14
Brown, James, i, 372; iii, 131
Brown, John, ii, 69, 151; iii, 131
Brown, Joseph, iii, 85
Brown, Joseph C., makes first survey of St. Louis, iii, 166
Brown, Llewellyn, iii, 158
Brown, Mrs. Joseph, ii, 185
Brown, on extent of timber on western border of Missouri, i, 30
Brown, Perry, ii, 98
Brown, R. F., member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249
Brown, Robert J., ii, 384
Brown, Robert L., iii, 107
Brown, Robert T., i, 350; iii, 245
Brown, Samuel, iii, 8; his negro killed by Indians, 118
Brown, Sarshall, iii, 99
Brown, Townsend, iii, 116, 136
Brown, William, conducts the General Jackson Tavern at Jackson, iii, 61, 116, 157, 245
Browne, Lionel, iii, 8, 69; duel with T. Smith, 79
Browne, Joseph, appointed secretary of Louisiana, ii, 401
Browne, Samuel P., iii, 245
Bruce, or Cruce, Thomas, ii, 163
Brucks, Ann, ii, 154
Brucks, Thomas, ii, 154, 155
Bruff, Major, inquires as to delay of departure of Spanish troops, ii, 365, 408
Bruffey, James, iii, 245
Bruffey, Robt. C., iii, 245
Bruire, Charles, ii, 101
Bruisseau, Joseph D'Inglebert des, i, 341; biography of, ii, 18
Brummit, Renna, ii, 186
Brunet, Jacques, ii, 66
Brunet, Noel, ii, 67
Brushy Prairie, ii, 158
Brusier, Baptiste, ii, 83
Bryan, David, ii, 93
Bryan, James, i, 371
Bryan, or Bryant, James, ii, 93
Bryan, Jonathan, ii, 94
Bryan, Nancy, ii, 94
Bryant, Christopher, ii, 155
Bryant, Mrs., describes New Madrid earthquake, iii, 177
Bryant, of Lost Creek, ii, 100
Bryant, William, iii, 83
Bryce, Captain John, ii, 154
Bryson, John, iii, 157
Buat, Andrew, ii, 383
Buat, Ayme, or Agnice, ii, 87
Buat, or Buatte, Louis, i, 355
Buchanan, George, ii, 93, 100
Buchanan, Robert, ii, 72
Buckhart, Josh. H., iii, 104
Buckner, Alexander, i, 7; United States Senator, biographical sketch of, iii, 23; dies, 54; member of constitutional convention, 249
Buckner, Robert, Lieutenant, iii, 120
Buette, Alexis, i, 357
Buffalo fort, iii, 136
Buffalo, in 1772 in the Illinois country never fled, i, 40
Buffalo Lick, iii, 108
Buffalo River, ii, 95
Buffalo robes, price of, ii, 259; received at St. Louis in one season, iii, 191
Buissoniere, Alphonse de, i, 341
Bull, Thomas, ii, 187, 192; iii, 84; elected writing clerk of Bethel church, 207; first Baptist church organized at his house in 1805, 206
Bullit, George, iii, 3; speaker, 6 13, 18, 67
Bulner, dit Burton, Alexander, ii, 245
Bunch, Charles, ii, 190
Burbridge, Ben, iii, 157
Burch, dit Burts, William, ii, 78, 245
Burch, Zachariah, iii, 85
Burchfield, Michael, iii, 85
Burckhart, Christopher, iii, 137
Burckhart, Nicholas, escapes into the woods, iii, 119, 187
Burckhart, Nicholas S., iii, 137, 187, 249, 260
Burckhart's Lick, iii, 118
Burgalow, William, his wife wounded by Indians, iii, 110
Burget, or Burchard, John, i, 358
Burgsuebb, Alain, ii, 156
Burk, Jean, i, 356
Burk, or Birke, Jean, senior, i, 356 376
Burk, John, junior, i, 356
Burk, Stephen, ii, 166
Burke, Noel, ii, 160
Burkelow, Eli, iii, 158
Burks, Isham, iii, 83
Burley, Henry, i, 376
Burned clay, found in Mississippi county mounds, i, 62
Burnes, Ben, i, 367
Burnes, Jacques, i, 367
Burnet, John, ii, 93
Burnet, Moses, ii, 162, 163, 198
Burnett, David G., ii, 198
Burnett, Hugh, ii, 155
Burney, Guillaume, i, 367
Burnham, John, iii, 106

Burns, Andrew, ii, 158
Burns, Arthur, ii, 95
Burns, Barnabas, or Barney, i, 381
Burns, Benjamin, i, 381
Burns, Calvin, iii, 189
Burns, David, iii, 115
Burns, or Burnes, James, i, 381; ii, 54, 155; iii, 157
Burnes, Jacque, i, 367
Burnes, Michael, or Michaeli, i, 361, 381
Burns, Mrs. Jane, killed, i, 232
Burns, Peter, senior, i, 376
Burns, Robert, ii, 96
Burns, William, i, 381
Burns, or Buron, Auguste, ii, 68
Burns, or Buron, Jean Baptiste, ii, 78
Burr, visits St. Louis, ii, 402; ridicules the idea that he intended to dismember the U. S., 403
Burrill, Nathan, iii, 159
Burrill of Rhode Island, speech on boundary, i, 5
Burris, David, iii, 137, 147
Burris, Henry, iii, 137
Burris, Walter, iii, 147
Burrows, John, ii, 192
Burrows, Walter, ii, 187
Burrows, Waters, ii, 186
Burrus, Robert, i, 376
Burton, William, iii, 84
Busby, John, ii, 93
Busby, John, corporal, killed, iii, 115
Bush, William B., iii, 131
Bust, peculiar, found in mound in Southeast Missouri, i, 51
Bustards, i, 35, 36
Butand, Jean B., ii, 270
Butand, Louis, ii, 22
Butand, dit Brindamour, Jean Batiste, ii, 20
Butcher, Barthelemi, i, 355
Butcher, Bartholomew, ii, 223
Butcher, Michael, i, 355
Butcher, Sebastian or Bastian or Boston, i, 355; ii, 223
Butler, Edward, ii, 76
Butler, Jean, ii, 146
Butler, John, ii, 152
Butler, Mann, a teacher at the Ste. Genevieve Academy in 1808, iii, 67
Butler, Rebecca, ii, 145
Butler, Upton C., ii, 158
Butler, William, iii, 85
Butter, or Butler, Jean, ii, 152
Buyette, Antoine, i, 356
Buys, Jonathan, ii, 192
Buzenet, I., ii, 166
Bybee, Neilly, iii, 85
Bynum, Gray or Grey, first teacher in Howard county, iii, 70, 115
Byrd, Abraham, ii, 185, 186; iii, 106
Byrd, Abraham, junior, ii, 192
Byrd, Amos, ii, 184, 185
Byrd, Amos, junior, ii, 185
Byrd, Amos, senior, ii, 186
Byrd, Clarissa, ii, 185
Byrd, Colonel, ii, 72
Byrd, Eliza, ii, 185
Byrd, Emily, ii, 185
Byrd, Ingabo, ii, 185
Byrd, James, ii, 185
Byrd, Jean or John, ii, 165, 384
Byrd, or Bird, Moses, ii, 185, 192
Byrd, Mary, ii, 185
Byrd, Moses, ii, 185 192
Byrd, Nancy, ii, 185
Byrd, Sabina, ii, 185
Byrd, Sallie, ii, 185
Byrd, Settlement of, ii, 185
Byrd, Stephen, ii, 185, 192, 391, 392; iii, 3, 5, 104, 106, 130; member of the constitutional convention, 244; notes as to, 260
Byrd, William Gillespie, ii, 185
Byrd's Creek, mounds in Cape Girardeau county, i, 67; mill on, ii, 182, 184
Byrd's Fort, ii, 184
Byrne, Andrew, iii, 106
Byrne, Michael, ii, 164
Byrne, Dr. Thomas, settles in Cape Girardeau in 1812, iii, 82

C

Caballo, Governor Jose, ii, 393
Cabanage de Renaudiere, i, 281
Cabanne, John P., ii, 56; iii, 72
Cabaziere, Louis, first notary of Ste. Genevieve, i, 341, 343
Cabildo, met every Friday, ii, 193
Cabinet makers, ii, 231
Cache river, i, 101
Cacasotte, a negro, rescues Purée's boat, ii, 45
Cadien, Joseph, ii, 68
Cadillac, visits upper Louisiana, i, 279
Cadot, Alexis, ii, 68
Cahagotonga, Osage chief, i, 192
Cahos, Jean, i, 356
Cailhol, Francois, ii, 53, 63
Caillot, Antoine, dit La Chance, i, 366, 378
Caillot, Benjamin, dit La Chance, i, 366
Caillot, Francois, dit La Chance, i, 366

Caillot, Gabriel, dit La Chance, i, 366; ii, 245
Caillot, Joseph, dit La Chance, i, 366, 378
Caillot, Michael, dit La Chance, i, 366, 378
Caillot, Nicolas, dit La Chance, furnished supplies to Gen. Clark, i, 366, 378
Caillot, Junior, dit La Chance, i, 366
Caillou, or Cailloux, Pedro, ii, 21
Cailloux, dit La Chance, has a ferry between Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve, ii, 237
Cailloux, Eustache, ii, 21
Cailloux, Francois, dit Cayon, ii, 21
Cailloux, Louis, ii, 21
Cain, Jesse, ii, 101, 186
Calas, Michael, ii, 207
Calais, Joseph, ii, 55
Caldwell, James, iii, 85
Caligoa, north of Quigate, i, 115
Calise, a negro killed by Indians at Mine la Motte, i, 378
Caldwell, Kincaid, ii, 69; iii, 6
Caldwell, James, iii, 5, 6; first speaker of the House, 266
Caldwell, John, ii, 76; iii, 157
Caldwell, Oliver, ii, 72
Caldwell, Robert, ii, 156
Caldwell, Samuel K., iii, 186
Callahan, driven away from the Gasconade by Indians, iii, 159
Callaway, Captain, ii, 97
Callaway, Flanders, ii, 93; grandson of Daniel Boone, iii, 113; Peck preaches at his house, 211
Callaway, James, with Nathan Boone, iii, 113; killed in 1814, iii, 84, 124
Callaway, John, i, 378; iii, 106
Callaway, Joseph, iii, 104, 157
Callaway county, organized by first General Assembly, iii, 268; named in honor of James Callaway, iii, 124
Callaway Fort, iii, 137
Callefan, Jean, i, 367
Calvé, charged with treachery, ii, 3, 35; failure of attack on St. Louis attributed to, 40, 56, 65
Calvé, Antoine Pierre, ii, 3
Calvé, Francois, ii, 3
Calvé, Joseph, junior, ii, 3; killed in attack on St. Louis, 39, 53
Calvé, Joseph, clerk of Datchurut, and Viviat, ii, 2
Calvé, Joseph, senior, ii, 3
Calvé, Josette, ii, 3
Calvé, Marie Theresa, ii, 3
Calvé, Victoria, ii, 3
Calvin, James, ii, 77
Cambas, Jean, ii, 20; completes first church of St. Louis, 31, 308
Cameron, Thomas, iii, 131
Camp, Rev. Ichabod, sketch of, ii, 284
Camp, Mrs. ii, 285
Campagnot, Catherine, ii, 165
Campbell, Charles, ii, 151, 166
Campbell, Isaac, iii, 61
Campbell, Jean Baptiste, ii, 101
Campbell, James, i, 376; ii, 187
Campbell, Lieut. John, in command of Fort Mason, iii, 102; in command of expedition up the river, iii, 127
Campbell, John, ii, 101
Campbell, Mrs. John, ii, 185
Campbell, Lucretia Grant, ii, 151
Campbell, Mrs. Mary Ann, iii, 223
Campbell, Thomas, ii, 151
Campbell, Uriah, ii, 69
Campbell, William, ii, 78; iii, 84, 229
Campbell, the potter killed by Indians, iii, 120
Campbell's Gazetteer, i, 13
Campeau, Jean Baptiste, i, 357
Campeau, Julia, ii, 149, 152
Campeaux, Hypolite, ii, 147
Camp-meeting at Zumwalt House, iii, 236
Camp-meeting at McKendree Chapel, iii, 238
Campster, Archibald, i, 382
Camus, Jean, ii, 141
Campo de la Esperanza, ii, 369
Canada, Mark Constantino, ii, 297
Canadians, first settlers in the Mississippi valley, i, 237, 243; poor, i, 304; on the Missouri, i, 244; not to be depended on, ii, 44
Canaway, Jeremiah, ii, 150
Canaway, James, ii, 160
Canaway, William, ii, 160
Cane, iii, 145
Cane Creek, i, 18; ii, 184
Cannon, Dr. Franklin, settles in Jackson in 1819, elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1836, iii, 82
Cannon, James, iii, 85
Cannoyer, or Conoyer, Louis, ii, 86
Canoyer, Pierre, ii, 87
Canole, Charles, iii, 137; a blacksmith, 146
Canole, William, iii, 137; a blacksmith in Boonslick, 146
Canon, Henry, ii, 163
Canonier, Beaugard, ii, 166
Canoyer, Paul, ii, 86
Cantara, Jean Baptiste, ii, 86

Cantley, Samuel, iii, 103, 106
Canton, mound on public square, i, 89
Cantonment Bellefontaine, iii, 141
Canyseau, or Campeau, Hypolite, ii, 148
Cap au Gris, iii, 109, 112
Capahas, war with Casquins, i, 108; De Soto marches against, 109; route of march, 109; the Big Swamp, 110; attacks them entrenched on an island, 111; makes peace with them, 112; number of, 112; marches south, 114; habitat of, 109; change of habitat, 170, 171
Cape Girardeau, i, 8; region the habitat of the Capahas, 110; established a post by Spaniards during the Genet agitation, 318; boundary of the district, ii, 154, 167; probable origin of name, 168; variously spelled, 169; map of environs by Warin, 177; not regularly laid out during Spanish dominion, 180; people hostile to Spaniards, 366; commissioner Bates takes testimony as to Spanish grants at, iii, 48; post route from Shawneetown to, 62; company of in Boonslick country, 120; population at time of cession, 140; largest American settlement in upper Louisiana near, 160; in 1819, 151; no village at time of cession in district of, 167; seat of justice established by Harrison there, 168; effect of New Madrid earthquake there, 179, 188; merchants of, 196; third largest slave-owning county in 1820, 248; Methodist circuit, 236
Cape la Cruz or La Croix, i, 245; ii, 151
Cape la Cruz creek, ii, 191
Caperon, Francois, ii, 166
Capital of upper Louisiana, iii, 161
Capital stock of the Missouri Fur company, iii, 191
Capron, Henry, keeps a tavern in St. Louis, iii, 60; makes an effort to organize a Public Library in St. Louis, 73
Cape St. Cosme, i, 242, 247
Caps, made out of Raccoon skins, ii, 232
Carafe, bottle shape peculiar to Southeast Missouri mounds, i, 49; described by Hilder, 50
Carboniferous strata, extent of in Missouri, i, 23
Carboniferous limestone, i, 22
Carbonneaux, or Charboneau, Francois, ii, 87
Cardenas, Bishop of Louisiana, ii, 312
Cardinal, Charles, ii, 86; iii, 131
Cardinal, Jean Baptiste, ii, 11, 34, 38, 165
Cardinal, Jean Marie, ii, 8, 38, 52, 93
Cardinal, Pullet, ii, 92
Carl, Jonas, ii, 156
Carlin, Thomas, i, 380
Carlos Tercero el Rey, Fort of, on Missouri, i, 293
Carnavan, James, i, 376
Carnes, Elizabeth, i, 382
Carondelet, his difficult position, i, 323; recommends as engineer to fortify St. Louis, Vandenbenden, 325; fears upper Louisiana may be attacked by the English, 326; relies greatly on Don Pedro Chouteau and Louis Lorimier and Indians under their control, 329; outlines his plan of defense to Asansa, 328; favors Spanish Commercial company, 330; petition against this company presented, 333; Andrew Todd favored by him, 330; favors building up an independent milling industry in upper Louisiana, 331; ii, 4, 21; appoints Lorimier agent to induce Indians to settle in the Spanish territory, 55, 83, 96, 99; gives authority to Lorimier to make a settlement at Cape Girardeau, 170, 176; his ordinances, 196; on Osage outrages, 210; favors American emigrants, 225, 344; meets De-Luziere, Tardiveau, and Audrain, 363, 364
Carondelet, village of, named in his honor, ii, 64; common field of, 64, 233; how divided, 233, 363
Carpenter, Christopher, ii, 75
Carpenter, Conrad, ii, 48, 156, 165; iii, 85
Carpenter, Ephraim, i, 384
Carpenter, John, ii, 70
Carr, George, iii, 84
Carr, Lucien, his opinion as to the works of mound-builders, i, 44
Carr, Francis, iii, 22
Carr, Mrs. Francis, teaches in St. Louis in 1820, iii, 69
Carr, William C., appointed to superintend lottery, ii, 418; elected speaker, iii, 3, 5; biographical sketch of, 14; agent of the United States, 43; his letter to Gallatin,

43; marries a daughter of Dr. Elliott, 83; aids to establish the Western Journal, 65; one of the first trustees of the St. Louis schools, 72
Carretti, Father, ii, 321, 324
Carrico, Vincent, ii, 78
Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, ii, 304, 309, 313
Carroll, Charles, killed in duel with Gentry, iii, 79, 183
Carroll county, Martin Palmer trapped in, iii, 157
Carrolton, first settlers there, iii, 157
Carron, Jean Baptiste, ii, 165
Carron, Louis, i, 356, 374, 386
Carron, Marie Reine, ii, 160
Carrot of tobacco, value of, ii, 260
Carson, Andrew, iii, 137
Carson, "Kit," iii, 137, 146
Carson, Lindsay, iii, 115; father of "Kit," 116; killed accidentally by falling timber, 118, 137
Carson, Moses, iii, 137
Cartabona, Don Silvia Francesco de, i, 346; in command of St. Louis, ii, 42; retires to the hills on account of overflow of Ste. Genevieve, 51; succeeds De Leyba at St. Louis, i, 307
Carter, Ely or Elias, ii, 152
Carter, Zimri, iii, 157
Caruthers, James, (Carothers) ii, 165, 187
Caruthersville, i, 4, 104, 224
Casa Calvo, Marquis de, ii, 355, 392; letter to DeLassus, 357, 364, 365
Cases, quickly tried by Spanish officials, ii, 199
Casquins, or Kaskaskias, i, 166, 168
Cass, Lewis, opinion as to works of mound-builders, i, 44
Cassio, William, iii, 103, 106
Castes, did not separate Canadian settlers, ii, 272
Castaneda, Pedro, i, 122; biographical sketch of, 122; writes an account of the expedition of Coronado, 123, 124, 127, 129, 130, 132, 134, 135
Cassidy, Henry, i, 4; iii, 6
Cassidy, Patrick, ii, 156
Castello, Michael, ii, 68
Castilo's fort, iii, 137
Castly, Burrel, iii, 131
Castner, George, iii, 188
Castruget, Charles, ii, 152
Castor river, ii, 189
Catalan's Prairie, ii, 64
Catchemackesc, the Big Eagle, ii, 398
Cates, Isaac, iii, 107
Cathey, George, iii, 84
Catholic church, i, 339; of Ste. Genevieve, 339; noted by Flint, iii, 152; none at Cape Girardeau, ii, 182
Catholics, French Canadians exemplary, ii, 276
Catlin, on number of Osages, i, 182
Catron, Judge, decides Wolf Island case, i, 16
Cattle, small, ii, 236; numerous, 237
Cauchois, i, 166
Caulk, Richard, ii, 71, 72, 78; syndic at Bon Homme, 199, 383, 391, 392; iii, 3, 5, 104, 107
Caulk, Thomas, ii, 100, 156; iii, 104, 108
Caulk, Thomas, junior, ii, 156
Cause, of duel between Lucas and Benton, iii, 77, 78
Cavender, George, ii, 186, 192
Cavender, Joseph, appointed member of the territorial council, iii, 3
Cavender, Stephen, ii, 191
Cayole, Francois, ii, 101, 166
Cazeau, captured by the Indians, i, 341, 342
Cecil, or Cissell, Bernard, i, 384
Cedar creek, i, 17
Cedar of Lebanon, cypress described as, i, 36
Cellar, dug at St. Louis by Indians, ii, 11
Cellini, Father Francois, ii, 325, 326
Census of 1813, iii, 5
Cernin, or Chemin, Giles, ii, 20
Cerré, Antoine, senior, ii, 147
Cerré, Gabriel, ii, 4, 35; as to Clark's troops at St. Louis, 40; removal from Kaskaskia to St. Louis, 40; appointed by Clark Judge, 47, 74, 79, 90, 96, 105, 148; makes claim for land at Cape Girardeau, 178, 234, 262, 356; iii, 162
Cerré, Leon Pascal, ii, 75
Cerré, Marie Theresa, ii, 4
Cerré, Pascal, ii, 70
Certificates, issued to land claimants iii, 46
Cession, of Louisiana to Spain when proclaimed, ii, 7
Cession of Louisiana, to United States, when perfected, ii, 361
Chabot, Peter, i, 368
Chadbourne, Joseph, i, 368; iii, 245
Chagosort, the blue's son, ii, 398
Chain of Rocks, noted by Long, iii, 151

Chair factories, iii, 188
Chakolekoy, ii, 165
Chalfal, or Chaffin, Thomas, i, 384
Chalifour, Pierre, ii, 56
Challefoux, Jean Baptiste, ii, 100
Challefous, or Challefoux, Joseph, ii, 91
Chalybeate Springs, i, 18
Chamard, Louis, i, 351, ii, 52
Chambers, A. B., proprietor of "Republican," iii, 65
Chambers, Benjamin, iii, 86
Chambers, Bradshaw, ii, 147
Chambers, James, Gen., iii, 197
Chambers, Jacob, i, 376
Chambers, John, ii, 78
Chambers, John, iii, 85
Chambers, Samuel, goes to Santa Fe, iii, 155
Chambers, Col. Talbot, iii, 199
Chambers, Thomas, ii, 147
Chambers, William, ii, 150
Chamberlain, Jason, iii, 24; president of the Jackson Mite society, 222; of the Columbian Bible society of Jackson in 1819, 231
Champagne, or Compagnotte, Francois, ii, 147
Champain, Louis, i, 356
Champlain, Baptiste, ii, 96
Chancellier, ii, 53
Chancellier, his negro killed in attack on St. Louis, ii, 39
Chancellier, Joseph, ii, 10
Chancellier, Louis, ii, 10
Chandellier, Jean Baptiste, ii, 147
Chandler, Edmond, ii, 99
Chandler, John, ii, 72, 78; iii, 188
Chandler, Thomas, iii, 115
Chandonair, Joseph, ii, 55
Change, in land values, iii, 35
Channing, Rev. William, letter to from Hempstead, iii, 225
Chanter, of St. Charles church, ii, 86
Chapart, Elizabeth, ii, 161
Chapart, Toussaint, junior, ii, 161
Chapman, Edmund, iii, 85
Chappell, Abner, iii, 84
Charan, Auguste, ii, 91
Charboneau, iii, 144
Charboneau, Louis, ii, 96, 101
Charetier, or Chartier, Jean Baptiste, ii, 149
Chariton, founded in 1818, iii, 156, 187
Charitons, i, 17
Chariton Baptist church, iii, 216
Chariton county, organized by first General Assembly, iii, 268
Chariton river, Still killed on, iii, 118
Charisson, Marie Agnes, ii, 151
Charless, Joseph, takes boarders in St. Louis in 1809, iii, 60,; establishes the "Missouri Gazette," 65; married the widow McCloud, 66; assaulted by McHenry, 66
Charless, Edward, becomes the proprietor of the "Gazette," iii, 65; founds the "Missouri Republican," now "Republic," 65
Charleville, i, 311
Charleville, Baptiste, ii, 55
Charleville, Charles, i, 342
Charleville, Francois, ii, 165; iii, 86
Charleville, Jean Baptiste, i, 342
Charleville, Louis, ii, 100
Charleville, Marquis de, i, 342
Charlevoix, his travels, i, 2; names the Kappas, 107; mentions desolation of Arkansas village on account of small pox, 107, 168; his account of the Spanish caravan, 253
Charnay, finds a bust resembling the Venus of Milo, at Teotihuacan, i, 51
Charpentier, Henri, i, 205, 339, 342
Charpentier, Joseph, royal interpreter, ii, 140, 152, 297, 365
Charpentier, Marie, i, 350
Charpentier, Pelagie, i, 350
Charrion, dit Jean Rion, Carlos, ii, 54, 245
Chartrand, or Chartran, Amable, ii, 55, 66; of Cahokia, 92
Chartrand, Amable, junior, ii, 55
Chartrand, Andrew, ii, 96
Chartrand, Joseph, syndic of La Charette, ii, 22, 54, 55, 199
Chartran, Joseph, junior, ii, 92
Chartres, Carlos, ii, 152; teacher in New Madrid, 276
Chartier, Jean Baptiste, ii, 101, 152
Chase, Robert, iii, 84
Chatal, Auguste, i, 340; killed by the Indians, i, 378
Chateauneuf, Henri de, with Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268
Chatigny, Ignace, ii, 147
Chattilon, Jean Baptiste, ii, 63, 162
Chatillon, dit Godin, Francois, ii, 56
Chattingney, James Francois, ii, 166
Chauvin, Francois, dit Charleville, i, 342
Chauvin, Francois, dit Joyeuse, i, 342
Chauvin, Gilles, ii, 20
Chauvin, Jacques, ii, 20, 252
Chauvin, Jean Baptiste, dit Charleville, ii, 22, 53
Chauvin, Jeanne, ii, 141
Chauvin, Joseph, dit Charleville, i, 342; ii, 20, 245

Chauvin, Louis, i, 342
Chauvin, Pierre, i, 342, 357
Chauvin, Don Sebastian, ii, 62
Chaviron, Benjamin, ii, 160
Cheat River, ferry there owned by Ramsay, ii, 392
Chene, Anne, ii, 146
Cheek, Jesse, iii, 185
Chenie, Antoine, ii, 55
Cheney, Lemuel, ii, 191, 192
Chepoosa, or Chepousa, River, St. John's Bayou, i, 105, 170; Morgan party camped on, ii, 112
Chekequa, he that stands by the tree, ii, 398
Cherokees, first cross the Mississippi, i, 220; Bowl's Band, 221; hunt on the St. Francois, 221; battle with the Saukees and Foxes on the Maramec, 222; Gayoso refuses permission to them to settle in the Spanish possessions, 222; Osages object to their settlement west of them, 196; war with, 197; ii, 75
Chester, iii, 185
Chetoka, or Whetsone, Indian chief, i, 180
Chevalier, Andrew, i, 384; ii, 169
Chevalier, Francois, ii, 34
Chevalier, Joseph, ii, 191
Chevalier, Don Louis, i, 356; lieutenant of a St. Louis company, ii, 42, 44; receives a gratification for services, ii, 43
Chevalier, Pierre, i, 159, 356, 367, 378, 385
Chevelier, Joseph, ii, 169
Chichimecs, a Nahuatl race, use pottery balls, i, 46
Chickasaw Bluffs, i, 100
Chifler, or Schiffler, Phillip, ii, 149
Chilard, Francois Michel, ii, 150
Chiltons, on Current river, iii, 160
Chilwat, John, iii, 84
Chisholm, Dr. Hugh McDonald, ii, 146
Chism, Jacob, iii, 217
Chittwood, Isabella, ii, 77
Chittwood, Richard, iii, 103, 105
Chittwood, Richard, ii, 77
Chittwood, Seth, ii, 77
Choachican, ii, 166
Chodian, Jean Baptiste, ii, 151
Choret, Nicolas, ii, 22
Choret, Pierre, ii, 54
Chouquette, Henry, ii, 65
Chouquette, Julian, ii, 65, 66
Chouquette, Pierre du, ii, 259
Chouquet, Sophia, ii, 63
Chouriac, ii, 30
Chouteau, rivalry for trade of Osages, i, 181; have trade of Osages, ii, 250; trade of Osages, 298
Chouteau, delegate to convention, ii, 393; trading post of the Chouteau on the Osage, iii, 145; claim of, at the mouth of the Osage, 154
Chouteau, Auguste, iii, 106
Chouteau, Auguste, takes English flags to New Orleans, i, 308; ii, 4; accompanies Laclede, biographical sketch, 4; on situation of Laclede's post, 6; lands with boat at the future St. Louis, 7, 9, 13, 20, 21, 24; operates a mill, 29, 30; mentions no troops of Clark at the attack on St. Louis, 40; Captain of a St. Louis Spanish company, 42; suit with Pourée, 46; controls the Osage trade, 51; goes with a boat across the American bottom during the great overflow, 51; mentions the severe winter of 1800, 62, 66, 81; surveys the village of St. Charles, 83; receives a grant to build a mill at St. Charles, 85, 200; takes a delegation of Osages to New Orleans, 210; contracts to build a fort among the Osages, 211, 234, 252, 258, 364; agrees to build boats to transport Spanish troops and effects, 364, 382, 391, 395, 398; appointed colonel of infantry, 410; appointed to superintend lottery, 418; one of the first school trustees of St. Louis, iii, 72; his library, 72, 162; influence exercised by him to secure election of Benton to Senate, 267
Chouteau, Auguste, junior, ii, 410, appointed to West Point, 381
Chouteau, Auguste Aristides, ii, 100
Chouteau, Auguste P., iii, 103
Chouteau, Cerré, ii, 96
Chouteau, Chauvin, ii, 234
Chouteau, Gregoire, ii, 10
Chouteau, Jule, ii, 10
Chouteau, Madam, biographical sketch, ii, 4; arrives at St. Louis from Cahokia, 8, 12, 145
Chouteau, Marly, ii, 9
Chouteau, Margaret, ii, 10
Chouteau, Morin, ii, 9
Chouteau, Paul, ii, 10
Chouteau, Paul L., ensign, iii, 105
Chouteau, Pelagie, ii, 98
Chouteau, Pierre, his influence among the Osages, i, 194, 196; ii, 2, 4, 8; biographical sketch of 8; studies surveying under Duralde, 24, 50,

53, 62; starts to build a mill at St. Charles, 85, 87, 89, 96, 156, 254, 284, 395, 398; commands a troop of horse, 409; iii, 103, 162, 193
Chouteau, A. Pierre, engages in the Santa Fe trade, iii, 155
Chouteau, Pierre, junior, a member of the constitutional convention of 1820, iii, 249; biographical sketch of, 157
Chouteau, Rene, dit Renaud, ii, 10
Chouteau's Mill Pond, location of the St. Louis railroad yards, ii, 15
Christien, Pierre, ii, 165
Christy, Wm., iii, 105
Chritianero, Juan, or Johann Christian Gerold, ii, 149
Christy, Rhoda, i, 376
Christy, William, appointed clerk of the Commissioners, iii, 48; hires out horses, 60; keeps tavern in 1806, 60; aids to found the Western Journal, 65; makes salt on Black water, 146; pursues Indians in Illinois, 113; first Auditor of Public Accounts of Missouri, 266
Churches, donation to various by Morgan, ii, 119
Church property, ceded to the parishes by the United States, ii, 311
Church of New Madrid, ii, 310; description of, 310
Church of St. Ferdinand, ii, 310
Church of St. Louis, first, 231; as described by Moses Austin, 307; bell of church of, 207
Cibola, the seven cities of, i, 121
Cicuyue, i, 121; a town of Cibola, in valley of Rio Grande, 124
Cincinnati, Mansfield notices New Madrid earthquake there, iii, 175
Cinque Hommes, i, 17, 362
Circuits, Judicial, organized, iii, 6
Circulating medium, inadequate, ii, 31
Cissell, Frs. R., iii, 106
Claiborne, Gov. William, ii, 356; letter to Captain Stoddard, 312, 358; letter to Stoddard, 373
Claibourne, William C. C., ii, 372
Claims of miners, iii, 44
Claire Point, ii, 298
Clairmont, a British agent, ii, 49
Clairnet, Jean, ii, 297
Clamorgan, Jacques, ii, 54, 55; director of the Spanish Commercial company, biographical sketch of, 60, 73, 75; claims 500,000 arpens of land in Missouri, 99, 149, 251, 383
Clandestine trade, with English in upper Louisiana, i, 302
Clark, Alexander, ii, 69, 78, 91
Clark, Benjamin, Rev., iii, 218
Clark, Christopher, ii, 96; iii, 8
Clark, Daniel, ii, 337
Clark, David, i, 367, 381
Clark, or Clarek, Francois, senior, i, 367, 382; ii, 384
Clark, Francois, junior, i, 382
Clark, Gen. George Rogers, i, 316; corresponds with De Leyba, ii, 42, 28, 34, 35; intimate with De Leyba, 41; sends troops to relieve St. Louis, 40-41; corresponds with De Leyba, 42, 53, 144, 213, 231, 234, 374; iii, 86
Clark, Isaac, iii, 137
Clark, or Clauck, Jesse, ii, 162
Clark, Rev. John, first Protestant preacher in upper Louisiana, iii, 203
Clark, Robert P., first Postmaster of Boonville, iii, 63; member of the constitutional convention of 1820, 248; biographical sketch of, 260
Clark, Samuel, a pretended Baptist preacher, iii, 223
Clark, Thomas, ii, 163
Clark, William, makes a treaty for Platte country, i, 12; as to Sullivan, 14; ii, 398; biography of, iii, 3; one of the first trustees of the St. Louis schools, 72, 104; writes Sibley in 1813 that the Indians are secretly hostile, 110; a member of the Missouri Fur company, 191, 235
Clarkland, Daniel, ii, 101
Clark's Fort, iii, 110, 137
Clarkson, John, iii, 227
Clarksville, iii, 158
Clay, Henry, iii, 246, 271
Clay Compromise, so-called, iii, 271
Clay, James, ii, 101
Clay, Jeremiah, ii, 94
Clay, Samuel, ii, 94, 95
Clay, Santiago, ii, 94
Clay county, i, 10; iii, 157
Claywel, Jesse, ii, 152
Clays, of Missouri, i, 22
Clearmont, Pierre, ii, 87
Cleaver, Stephen, member of the constitutional convention of 1820, iii, 249
Clem, Thomas, i, 386
Clemens, James, ii, 160; iii, 193
Clemens, James, junior, iii, 234
Clemens, or Clement, John, i, 376; ii, 162
Clemings, or Clemons, John, ii, 162
Clermont, Louise, ii, 150

Clemson, Colonel, second of Lucas in Benton duel, iii, 7
Clermont, Osage chief, town builder, i, 179, 193; proper name Iron Bird, 194
Clermont, Michel, ii, 150
Clermont, Benjamin, ii, 150
Cleveland, John T., one of the proprietors of the "Missouri Intelligencer," iii, 66
Cline, Peter, ii, 158
Clingensmith, Daniel, ii, 192
Clouet, Guillaume, i, 357
Clouds of Turtle doves, i, 38
Coats, James, iii, 157
Coats, Joseph, iii, 157
Coats, William, iii, 157, 221
Coat's Prairie, iii, 222; Mite society, 222
Cobb, Gabriel, ii, 77
Cobb, Samuel, iii, 85
Cobalt, i, 22
Coburn, John, appointed judge of Louisiana, ii, 401; biographical sketch of, 401
Cochran, Jesse, iii, 131
Cochran, Thomas, i, 382
Cochran, James W., ii, 101
Cockran, John, iii, 84
Cockran, Mrs. George, ii, 185
Coalter family, iii, 18
Cockersham, Henry, ii, 163; iii, 219
Cockrell, James, iii, 137
Cockrel, Francois, ii, 149
Cockrill, James, iii, 115
Coder, or Godair, Toussaint, or Santos, ii, 147, 149
Coen, Elias, i, 382; ii, 257
Coen, Jacque, i, 367
Cogle, Roger, ii, 77
Cohen, or Cowen, William, ii, 149
Cohun, a Delaware chief, i, 210
Coignard, Charles Napoleon, ii, 159
Coignard, Louis, organizes a society of Sansculottes in St. Louis, i, 320; ii, 56, 62, 159
Coil, Andrew, i, 344
Cois, Jean B., ii, 52
Colbert, i, 163
Colbert, A. George, iii, 238
Coldwater Creek, ii, 66
Coldwater, Methodist meeting at, iii, 238
Cole, biographical sketch of family, iii, 100
Cole, David, ii, 70, 95
Cole, Hannah, location of her fort, iii, 120, 138, 146
Cole, James, iii, 114; explains what became of Coursault's whiskey, 116; gives an account to Draper of the Indian wars in the Boonslick country, 117
Cole, Samuel, his account of McLean's escape, iii, 209
Cole, Stephen, iii, 99, 116, 146; killed by the Indians, 100
Cole county, organized by the first General Assembly, iii, 268
Cole's Fort, iii, 115; on Missouri, 120
Colgin, John, ii, 70
Collard Elijah, iii, 103
Collard, Elisha, iii, 106
Collard, Francois, ii, 55
College Library, iii, 73
Collel, Baptiste, ii, 165
Collel, Bonaventure, ii, 22, 155
Collel, Francois, ii, 22, 155
Collier, George, ii, 87
Collier, Michael, keeps tavern at Franklin, iii, 61
Colliers, of St. Charles, iii, 197
Collin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 55, 141
Collin, Francois Langlois, ii, 142
Collin, Louis, ii, 68
Collins, Jacob, ii, 76; iii, 103, 105
Collins, Capt. Joseph, ii, 150, 256
Collins, Juan, ii, 166
Collot, Gen. Victor, visits St. Louis, i, 320; his plan to fortify St. Louis, 321; on the inhabitants of St. Charles, ii, 86; visits New Madrid, 139; at Cape Girardeau, 174; in his opinion the attack on St. Louis has been exaggerated, ii, 41, 155
Coleman family on Current river, iii, 157
Coleman, John, ii, 75
Colman, Alexander, i, 379
Colman, Bernard, i, 379
Colman, Charles P., i, 379
Colman, Edward, ii, 326
Colman, Francois, i, 357, 386
Colman, Veuve Theresa, i, 379
Cologne, ii, 151
Coltier, George, iii, 157
Columbia, on the Missouri, iii, 184
Columbia, iii, 157
Colvin, Aaron, ii, 78
Colvin, Benjamin, iii, 83
Comb, Jean, ii, 151
Come, ii, 86
Come, Pierre, dit La Jeunesse, ii, 245
Comegys, Jean P., ii, 56
Comegys, John G., ii, 405
Commandants, extent of their jurisdiction under the Spanish law, ii, 197
Commandants of Ste. Genevieve, extent of jurisdiction, i, 362; of St. Louis, sub-delegate, ii, 217

Commercial activity of country, ii, 255
Commissioners to adjust land-titles under the act of 1805, iii, 40; of the second board, 54
Common field, i, 337; of New Bourbon, 365; of St. Louis, boundary of, ii, 24; extent of under decree of Cruzat, 25; of Carondelet, 64; of Marais des Liards, 78; of St. Charles, 84; of extent of the St. Charles common fields, 84; no common field established at New Madrid, ii, 125; of Ste. Genevieve, extent of, iii, 233
Common law, act introducing, iii, 12
Company of St. Philippe, i, 283
Company of the West, i, 271; charter of, 272; merged with the Royal company of the Indies, 273
Comparios, Jean, i, 374; dit La Pierre, ii, 17, 245
Complaints, of Shawnees and Delawares, i, 219; speech of Wahepelathy, complaining of robberies, 219
Comster, Archibald, i, 382
Comstock, Thomas, i, 280
Conac, dit Marquis, Louis, i, 357
Conant, describes mounds of New Madrid, i, 58; of Bayou St. John, 58
Concealed weapons, practice to carry, iii, 73
Concessions of St. Ange, the form of, ii, 20
Concord Baptist church, iii, 216
Concrete vessels, of Nahua origin found on the Saline, i, 47
Conde, Dr. Auguste, ii, 12, 18, 25, 53
Conde, Constance, ii, 22
Conferences held at McKendree Chapel, iii, 241
Congregations of the Missions, ii, 319; first members of in America, 320, 326
Congress, attaches Platte country to Missouri, i, 12; authorizes purchase of Orleans, ii, 347; makes provision to equip an army, 348; extra session of in 1803, 356; objects to the State constitution of 1820, iii, 271
Congwell, James, ii, 166
Conn, Rev. Richard, iii, 238
Connand, Dr. Joseph, sketch of, ii, 27
Connavan, James, i, 382
Connelly, Hugh, ii, 186, 192
Connelly, John, iii, 83
Connelly, Timothy, ii, 192
Connor, Benjamin, ii, 149
Connor, Ephraim, ii, 148
Connor, Frederick, i, 376
Connor, Hugh, ii, 56
Connor, Jacob, ii, 76
Connor, John, i, 379
Connor, Patrick, ii, 155
Conquest of the Northwest for Virginia, ii, 331
Conrad, David, ii, 97
Conrad, D. H., iii, 23
Constable, office created, ii, 381
Constant, Catharine, ii, 65
Constant, Gabriel, senior, dit Laramie, ii, 65
Constant, Gabriel, junior, 65
Constant, Joseph, ii, 65, 245
Constant, Julien, 65
Constant, Leon, ii, 63
Constant, Louis, ii, 65
"Constitution," steamboat, iii, 200
Constitutional convention of Missouri of 1820, iii, 249; the constitution went into effect of its own motion, 250; submitted to Congress, 271
Contract with Spanish Government for supply of flour, ii, 258
Constructive insults, cause of duels, iii, 75, 76
Continental Congress, ii, 144
Convention, first west of the Mississippi, ii, 388
Converse, Daniel, ii, 398
Conway, Father J. J., ii, 294, 299
Conway, Frederick R., member of the second board of land commissioners, iii, 54
Conway, Henry W., iii, 184
Conway, Jeremiah, ii, 192
Conway, Capt. Joseph, 72, 73; iii, 85, 86, 107
Conway, Morris, ii, 337
Cook, Daniel P., 377
Cook, David, ii, 151
Cook family, i, 377
Cook, Harry, ii, 102
Cook, Gen. John, i, 377
Cook, John, owns a mill at St. Charles, ii, 85, 102
Cook, John Dillard, i, 377
Cook, John D., i, 377; iii, 10; Judge of the Supreme Court, 10; member of the constitutional convention, 249; appointed Judge, 366
Cook, Nathaniel, i, 376, 377; Major in the war of 1812, 377; prominent political character, 377; iii, 7, 103, 106; in the Boonslick campaign, 120; member of the convention,

249; candidate for the United States Senate, 167
Cook Settlement, i, 376; iii, 183, 239
Cooking, of the French Canadians, ii, 277
Cooley, Charles, iii, 84
Cooley, James, iii, 115, 137
Cooley, John, iii, 117
Cooley, Joseph, iii, 115, 137
Cooley, Perrin, iii, 137
Coons, John, iii, 7
Coons, Martin, ii, 155
Coontz, Jacob, ii, 71
Coontz, John, owns a mill at St. Charles, ii, 85
Coontz, Martin, ii, 165
Coontz, Nicolas C., or Kountz, ii, 86
Cooper county organized, iii, 8; named in honor of Sarshall Cooper, iii, 116
Cooper family, account of, iii, 121
Cooper's Fort, iii, 116, 118, 137, 138
Cooper, Ben. A., iii, 86
Cooper, Benjamin, iii, 7, 84, 106, 108; captures boat of Coursault, 113; captain of Boonslick company, 118; appointed Major, 120; first settled in Boonslick country, 146
Cooper, Benjamin, junior, iii, 115, 118, 120
Cooper, Braxton, iii, 115; his farm on the Missouri in 1811, 146
Cooper, Braxton, junior, killed by the Indians in 1814, iii, 118
Cooper, Catherine, ii, 152
Cooper, Capt., account of an Indian massacre in Boonslick country, iii, 116
Cooper, David, iii, 115
Cooper, Dr., in Cooper county, iii, 83
Cooper, George, iii, 159
Cooper, Francis, iii, 115
Cooper, James, ii, 185, 192
Cooper, John, i, 372; iii, 115, 131
Cooper, Joseph, iii, 115
Cooper, Robert, iii, 115; first marriage in Boonslick to Elizabeth Carson, iii, 146
Cooper, Samuel, iii, 104, 107
Cooper, Sarshall, killed, iii, 115
Cooper, Stephen, iii, 115
Cooper, William, iii, 115
Copper, i, 22
Copper awl found in Mississippi county mound, i, 62
Copper hatchet found in Boone county mound, i, 95
Copper, J. N., iii, 185
Costero, George, ii, 165
Coshow, William, ii, 94
Cord, Rev. John, iii, 240
Cordell, Hiram, iii, 104
Cordell, Jean, ii, 72
Cordelle, means a small rope, ii, 263
Corder, John, i, 372
Cormeck, Mathew, ii, 165
Corneau, or dit Martigny, Francois, ii, 245
Cornelius, Jeptha, ii, 186, 192
Cornice Rock, i, 20
Corno, Baptiste, ii, 56
Coroner, ii, 381
Coroner's jury, first in St. Louis, ii, 405; members of the jury, 405
Coronado, Francesco de, biographical sketch of, i, 120; commands expedition to conquer the seven cities of Cibola, 121; route of expedition, 121; camps at Tiquex, 121; begins march to Quivira, 123; reaches the great plains, 125; distance marched, 128; orders army to return, and goes forward with an escort, 130; thinks he has found Quivira, 130; describes the country, 133; mentions the head dress of the Osages, 133; the Hayas and Cayas mentioned by Garcillasso, 134; Quivira probably on the lower Missouri or Mississippi, 135; his letter to the king, 133
Cottard, Francis, ii, 391
Cottle, Dr. Warren, ii, 391, 392
Coudaire, or Coudere, Pierre, ii, 56
Couder, Joseph, or Coudaire, ii, 68, 91
Couder, Renez, ii, 147
Coullard, Rina, or Depray, ii, 245
Counties of the Missouri territory, first, iii, 2
Country, aspect of, iii, 158
County Courts established, iii, 6
County of Illinois, ii, 331
Coupin, Clodie Antone Gabriel, ii, 150
Coupneau, Joseph, or Coussineau, ii, 161
Corruption, of Spanish officials, i, 359
Corvasier, Francois Barthélemi, ii, 152, 153
Coursault, Capt., boat of captured, iii, 113; attempts to evade settlers, 114; his whiskey, 116; killed at attack of Côte sans Dessein, 106, 126
Courts of the territory of Louisiana, terms of and where held, ii, 413
Courtois, J. M., iii, 103, 105
Courtois, Louis, iii, 101, 105

Cous, Elliott, i, 2
Cousin, Barthélemi, deputy surveyor of Cape Girardeau, ii, 25; secretary of Lorimier, 180; his place of residence at Cape Girardeau, 181; his grant on Whitewater, 188; offers to purchase land from the Spanish government and refusal to sell, 223
Coussot, Simon, ii, 54, 65
Couteley, Francisco, dit Marche a Terre, ii, 151
Coutoure, Joseph, i, 357
Coutre, Portell, ii, 151
Coutu, or Cottu, or Coutue dit Chatoyer, Jacque, ii, 147, 245
Coutue, Etienne, ii, 147
Coutume de Paris, ii, 195
Courtesy of French Canadian settlers, ii, 272
Courts of Common Pleas, established in upper Louisiana, ii, 380; at what places, iii, 161
Courts of Quarter Sessions, ii, 211
Courthouse of Jackson, iii, 168
Courthouse of Potosi, iii, 183
Courtmanche, Barthélemi, ii, 56, 86
Cortney, Alexander, has a ferry near Femme Osage in 1811, iii, 62
Courtnay, Jean Marie, ii, 69
Courtois, Jacques, i, 356
Courtois, Louis, i, 366; ii, 66, 74
Courtois, Louis, junior, ii, 76
Cotard, Francois, ii, 54
Coté, or Cotte, Baptiste, ii, 87
Coté, Jean, ii, 9
Coté, Joseph, ii, 88
Côte sans Dessein, mounds near, i, 94; residence of Capt. Coursault, iii, 113; Indians attack, 125; powder magazine explodes, 126, 143
Cottee, Jacques, ii, 150
Cothner, Jacob, ii, 188
Cothner, John, ii, 188, 189
Cotté, Alexis, ii, 9
Cotté, Marie Louise, ii, 10
Cottle, Almond, ii, 97
Cottle, Andrew, ii, 96
Cottle, Jonathan, ii, 96
Cottle, Joseph, ii, 96
Cottle, Ira, 97, 98; iii, 8
Cottle, Isaac, ii, 96
Cottle, Lorenzo, ii, 98
Cottle, Marshall, ii, 98
Cottle, Stephen, ii, 98
Cottle, Sylvanus, ii, 96
Cottle, Warren, ii, 98
Cotton gins, ii, 185
Cotton picked by the children, ii, 232
Cottu, Alexander, iii, 131
Cottu, Baptiste, iii, 110
Covington, Strother, iii, 104
Cowan, James, i, 382; ii, 73
Cowan, James, iii, 131
Cowan, William, i, 383
Cox, Amos, ii, 166
Cox, Andrew, i, 367, 382
Cox, Benjamin, i, 367, 382, 383
Cox, Benjamin, junior, i, 383
Cox, Caleb, iii, 182
Cox, James, senior, ii, 190; iii, 157
Cox, James, junior, ii, 190
Cox, Jesse, iii, 115, 119
Cox, Solomon, iii, 115
Cox, William, ii, 155; iii, sergeant, 119
Cox, Zachariah, i, 383
Cox's Fort, iii, 119
Coxe's Carolina, i, 2
Coyteaux, Louis, i, 356, 367
Cozzens, discovers a brick made at Paris for Renault, i, 282
Cozzens, Horatio, murdered by French Strother, iii, 22
Crabbin, Charles, ii, 152
Crafford, or Crawford, William, ii 162
Craig, Elisha, ii, 153
Craig, Hiram, iii, 156
Craig, James, ii, 75
Craig, Capt. Peter, ii, 183; iii, 104, 111; killed at the battle of the Sinkhole, 130, 132
Craig, Philip, ii, 153
Craig, William, ii, 96; iii, 85
Craighead, Alexander, iii, 245
Cramer, a celebrated manufacturer of pistols, iii, 74
Crane, Aaron, iii, 158
Crane, Rev. John, iii, 238
Cranes, fill the sand bars, i, 35
Crawford county, iii, 187
Crawford, George, early teacher of Cooper county, iii, 70
Crawford, James, i, 376
Crawford, Thompson, ii, 162
Crawford, William, ii, 162
Crawford, W. H., iii, 183
Creason, Peter, iii, 115
Creason, William, iii, 115
Creath, William, one of the founders of the "Independent Patriot" at Jackson, iii, 66
Credit certificates of Spain not acceptable, ii, 364
Creeks, ii, 75
Creeley, Jean Baptiste, ii, 67
Creliz, Jean Baptiste, i, 354; ii, 68
Creliz, Francois, ii, 68

Creliz, Michel, ii, 68
Crely, Theresa, ii, 101
Crepo, Joseph, ii, 54
Crepeau, Louis, ii, 53
Cresswell, Michael, i, 366
Creve Coeur, ii, 72
Criddle, Mrs. Edward, teaches primary school at Jackson, iii, 70
Crider, James, iii, 157
Criminal cases, how tried by Spanish officials, ii, 197, 200
Criminal offenses almost unknown among French Canadian settlers, ii, 272
Criminal offenses, various as defined by Indiana Judges, ii, 380
Crips, David, i, 382
Crispin, Thomas, ii, 165
Crittenden, J. J., ii, 337
Crittenden, T. T., i, 350; iii, 13; duel with Dr. Fenwick, 75
Croche Marias, ii, 86, 98
Crocodiles, mentioned by La Hontan, i, 25
Cropper, Thomas, ii, 72
Crops of 1772-74, ii, 238
Crops, of Cape Girardeau, ii, 238; Little Prairie, 238; New Madrid, 238
Crosby, Hezekiah, ii, 69, 91
Crosby, Elisha, i, 382
Crosby, Isaac, ii, 69
Cross erected in what is now Perry county, ii, 290; by Father St. Cosme, i, 241
Cross, Jacob, or Croisse, ii, 151
Cross, Zacharia, iii, 85
Crow, Benjamin, i, 372-3
Crow, Godfrey, or Kroh, ii, 96
Crow, Henry, ii, 96
Crow, Jacob, i, 381; ii, 155
Crow, John, ii, 156
Crow, Michael, ii, 96
Crow, Polly, i, 373
Crow, Walter, i, 372
Crowley's Ridge, i, 101, 232
Crozat, Antoine, biographical sketch of, i, 269; charter of, 270; commercial scheme of, 271; failure of, 271
Crumb, George, or Crump, ii, 77, 101
Crump, Robert, ii, 384
Crump, William, iii, 131
Crutchlow, Joseph, ii, 185, 186
Cruzat, Don Francesco, succeeds Piernas, i, 30; ordered to encourage the cultivation of flax and hemp, 305; displeases Galvez, 305; ii, 13, 20, 30, 44; promulgates ordinances in St. Louis, 49, 53; grants land to Tayon, 81, 195; reappointed Lieutenant-Governor, i, 307; makes trip to St. Louis from New Orleans in 59 days, 308; brings powder to Vallé, 308; sends Auguste Chouteau to New Orleans with English flags, 308; reports English preparations to attack upper Louisiana, in 1781, 308; apprehensive of the Americans, 310; makes peace with 150 Indian tribes, 311; receives a visit from Gen. Harmar, 311; makes plan to fortify St. Louis, ii, 42, 312
Crytz, Peter, ii, 192
Cuningham, James, iii, 85
Cuningham, John, iii, 85
Currin, Lemuel, iii, 107
Cuivre river, i, 17; ii, 95; iii, 186
Cuivre Settlement, ii, 95
Culberson, Jean, ii, 160
Culbertson, James, iii, 157
Cul de Sac, location of, ii, 14
Culinary utensils, of Osages, i, 191
Cumberland Presbyterians, iii, 215
Cuming, Fortescue, visits Morgan, ii, 128; describes New Madrid, iii, 172; a scene on the Mississippi near Point Pleasant, 181
Cummings, James C., acquires the "Gazette," iii, 65
Cummings, John, ii, 75, 160; iii, 7
Cumins, Robert, ii, 160
Cumins, Steward, ii, 161
Cummins, Wilson, or Cummings, ii, 160
Cunningham, George, i, 375
Cunningham, James, i, 374
Cunningham, Thomas, iii, 157
Cuny, James, ii, 164
Cuny, Nicolas, ii, 164
Cupples, Samuel, in partnership with Thomas Mann at Jackson, iii, 196
Curott, Charles, or Curote, ii, 150
Current river, i, 17
Currin, James, ii, 384
Currins, or Curry, James, ii, 163
Curry, Guillaume, i, 367
Custeau, John, ii, 165
Cuture, Joseph, i, 367

D

Dabbyan, David, ii, 154.
Dagneau, Phillip, i, 357
Dagobert, Pierre, ii, 21, 204
Dahmen, Francois Xavier, ii, 321, 326
Daly, James, teaches school in Franklin, iii, 70
Dana, of Connecticut, iii, 242

Dances and balls among the French Canadian settlers, ii, 273
Dandiere, or Dondle, Alexander, i, 382
Dany, John, ii, 162
Daperon, or Dapron, Nicolas, ii, 155
Dapron, Guillaume, ii, 150
Daperon, William, ii, 152
Dapron, Marie Louise, ii, 150
Darbres, with Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268
Dardenne, i, 17; Presbyterian church organized, iii, 230
Dardenne, Touissant, ii, 97
Dardenne, origin of name, ii, 97
Darnes case, iii, 22
Darnielle, Isaac, biographical sketch of, iii, 12
Darst, David, ii, 94
Darst, Abraham, ii, 92
Darst's Bottom, ii, 95
Darwin's Journal, i, 39
Datchurut and Viviat, contest Laclede's claim, ii, 2
Datchurut, Elizabeth, ii, 56, 165
Datchurut, owns salt works, ii, 26
Datchurut, Jean, i, 339, 341, 342, 346
Datchurut, Jean Baptiste, i, 385
Datchurut, Joseph, ii, 2
Daugherty, Capt. of the Cape Girardeau company, iii, 120
Daugherty, John, biographical sketch of, i, 10
Daugherty, Ralph, iii, 196
Daugherty, Thomas M., iii, 245
Dauphin Island, i, 271
Dauphin, or Dolphin or Dofine, Jean Baptiste, ii, 65
Davenport, E. D., iii, 105
David, Father, Seminarian Missionary, Bishop of Mauricastro in partibus, ii, 322
Davidson, John, i, 4; iii, 6, 8
Davion, Father, on Mississippi, i, 240, 245
Davis, Benjamin, ii, 147
Davis, Elias, iii, 13
Davis, Garah, ii, 178
Davis, Greer W., iii, 24; last territorial lawyer, iii, 32
Davis, H. C., keeps tavern in Jackson in 1816, iii, 61; president of the Cape Girardeau Mite society, 223
Davis, Jacque, i, 367
Davis, James, i, 382; ii, 76; iii, 85
Davis, John, ii, 149; iii, 224; iii, 245
Davis, Jonathan, iii, 138
Davis, Judge Thomas Terry, ii, 378
Davis, Lot, iii, 227
Davis, Ludwell, iii, 131
Davis, Luke, iii, 227
Davis, Rev. Philip, iii, 239, 242
Davis, Ralph, ii, 56
Davis, Salomon, iii, 227
Davis, Samuel, ii, 147
Davis, dit David Johnson, Thomas, ii, 149
Davis, Timothy, iii, 23
Davis, William, i, 372; iii, 229
Davy, Gregoire, ii, 286
Dawson, discusses Morgan's New Madrid plan, ii, 115
Dawson, Dr. Robert A., i, 3; brother-in-law of Walker, 7; iii, 6, 7, 8; settled at New Madrid in early days, iii, 82, 107, 249
Day, Aaron, ii, 147
Day, Hezekiah, ii, 160
Deakins, William, ii, 164
Dearborn, General, ii, 408
Debate in Congress in relation to admission of Missouri, iii, 246; relative to the Constitution of 1820, 271
Debois, Louise, or Lisette, ii, 149
Decatur, town laid out by Risher, ii, 181
Decelle, Alexander, i, 372, 379
Decelle, Joseph, syndic of Mine à Breton, i, 372, 373, 379
Dechamp, dit Hunot, Toussaint, ii, 22, 245
Dechamps, Jean Baptiste, ii, 21
Decker, Moses, ii, 149
Deer skins used as currency, ii, 259
Deganne, Joseph, ii, 147
Degieure, or Deguire, Louis, ii, 65
Deherte, Hyacinthe, iii, 103, 105
Deherte, Louis, iii, 106
Dejarlais, Charles, ii, 69. See DeJarlais
Dejarlais, Eloy, ii, 160
Dejarlais, Paul, ii, 68
Delachenaie, with Bourgmont, i, 268
Delap, John, iii, 188
Delapland, Joshua, i, 384
Delaplane, Benjamin, i, 384
Delarebondiere, Auguste, ii, 156
Delas, ii, 69
Delauny, or Delaunay, David, ii, 76, 383, 395
Delaware town, road from there to Daugherty's, iii, 168
Delawares and Shawnees, meet Clark prior to war of 1812, iii, 101
Delawares, settled in upper Louisiana, with Shawnees, i, 214
Delin, Francois, dit Francois Delain, ii, 10, 30, 232
Deline, Stephen, i, 374, 379
Delisle, Joseph, ii, 54. See DeLisle
Delisle, dit Bienvenue, Louis, ii, 54

Delisle, Marie Francois, ii, 53
Delor de Treget, Joseph, i, 357
Delor, Don Clemento, ii, 81
Delorier, L'Abbe, or Delaurier, ii, 69
Delorior, Helen, ii, 56
Delor's Village, ii, 64
Demaillaiz, Frances, establishes a college in 1820, iii, 69
Demaiseuire, ii, 166
Demands, presented in memorial, ii, 390
De Master, James, iii, 84
Demers, ii, 53
Demint, Benjamin, ii, 157
Demint, Jesse, ii, 152, 155
Demint, Joseph, ii, 158
Demon, at Grand Tower, i, 161
Demos, Charles, ii, 162, 187, 192
Demun, or Demers, i, 368
Denaux, Eugene Dorys, or Dorsieres, ii, 56
Denis, Jacques, ii, 20, 52
Denis, Michel, i, 357
Denney, or Dennys, Charles, ii, 99
Dennir, Jean, or Jeanne, ii, 148
Dennir, Marie Louise, ii, 142
Dennis, Charles, iii, 106
Dennis, Christian, ii, 99
Denny, Boyd, ii, 383
Denoyer, Louise, ii, 150
Denoyon, Antoine, ii, 151
Denoyon, Louis Toussaint, ii, 147
Dent, F., iii, 232
Dentists, iii, 83
Denys, or Dennis, Jean, ii, 147
Depaw, or Depauw, Carlos, ii, 150
Depuis, or Dupois, Paul, ii, 55
Deputy, Joseph, ii, 101
Depyster, a partner of Demun, i, 368
Derbigny, Don Pedro, ii, 101, 140; moves to New Orleans, 141; married a sister of DeLassus and elected fifth governor of Louisiana, iii, 59
Derlac, Bernard, ii, 151
Derlac, Girard, ii, 151
Derlac, Jean, ii, 160
Derland, Jean, ii, 147
Dernige, ii, 53
Deroche, dit Canadian, Baptiste, ii, 245
Deroche, Pierre, ii, 147, 148
Derocher or Deroche, Antoine, ii, 87
Derocher, Barthélemi, i, 356
Derosia, dit Canadian (De Soca) Baptiste, ii, 68
Derosier, Marie Ann, ii, 149. See De Rosier
Derouin, Nicholas, i, 357
Derouse, dit St. Pierre, Francois, ii, 245. See De Rouse
Derousser, or des Rousses dit St. Pierre, Francois, ii, 147
Deroy, Michael, ii, 87
Derry, Boone's negro boy, ii, 93
Desalle, dit Cayolle, Francois, ii, 245
Descary, Gabriel, ii, 11
Descary, Joseph, ii, 56
Deschamps, Marie Louise, ii, 10
Deschamps, Jean B., ii, 294
Deschamps, Mary, ii, 294
Deselle, or Duclos, Alexander, i, 339, 372
Desfonds, Louis, ii, 21
Deshetre, Antoine, ii, 67. See Des-Hetre
Desmoulin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 55
Desnoyers, Bazil, ii, 75. See Des-Noyers
Desperentreioux, Lucas, ii, 166
Detailly, Denau, ii, 270
Detandebratz, M., iii, 193
Detchemendy, Pascal, i, 355, 385; ii, 358, 364, 384, 391, 392
Deveaux, Pierre, ii, 67
Devil's Tea Table, ii, 191
Devore, David, ii, 155
Devore, Jacob, ii, 165
Devore, James, iii, 25
Devore, Luke, ii, 155
Devore, Uriah J., keeps tavern at St. Charles, iii, 60; postmaster of St. Charles, 63
Dey, or Day, John, ii, 72
Deys, Father Leo, ii, 328; professor of the St. Louis college, iii, 71
Diaz, Manuel, ii, 151
Diacre, Marie Ursule, ii, 18
Dickson, Druscilla, ii, 187
Dickson, Ezekiel, ii, 192
Dickson, Frederick, ii, 100
Dickson, Hezekiah, ii, 187
Dickson, Josiah, a biographical sketch of, iii, 147
Dickson, Lewis, i, 381; ii, 187
Dickson, Obidiah, iii, 158
Dickson, Robert, a British agent, biographical sketch of, iii, 102
Dickens, William, ii, 186
Didier, Father Pierre Joseph, ii, 62, 68, 86, 309
Didier, Pierre, first State Treasurer, iii, 266
Diehle, ii, 297
Diel, Henry, iii, 67
Dielle, Antoine, i, 385
Dielle, Henry, i, 355
Dielle, Joseph, i, 356
Dietramble, Baptiste, ii, 166

Diez, Thomas, ii, 151
Dilatre, Medard, ii, 321
Dillard, Captain, Thorn, in his company, ii, 181
Dillon, James Francois, i, 384
Dillon, William, i, 376; iii, 106
Dinn, Samuel, iii, 106
Dion, Francois, ii, 54
Dion, Nicholas T., ii, 22
Directions in which Coronado marched, i, 127, 129, 130, 132
Dirks carried by many people, iii, 74
Dissatisfaction because territory was attached to Indiana territory, ii, 385
Dissolution of the Union threatened, iii, 248
Distance of Fort Osage from St. Louis, iii, 148
Distance marched by Coronado ascertained by a soldier's counting steps, i, 129
Distances, immense travelled by Methodist ministers, iii, 237
Distilleries, iii, 189
Distillery, first in Maries county, iii, 159
District, of Louisiana, ii, 377; attached to Indiana territory, 377
Districts of upper Louisiana, iii, 161
Ditch, Jonathan, ii, 183, 190
Dobson, Jacque, i, 367
Dodge accompanied by Shawnees in his campaign on the Missouri, iii, 121
Dodge, Augustus C., Senator of Iowa, son of Henry Dodge, iii, 68, 259
Dodge, Catherine, ii, 56
Dodge, Henry, General, iii, 67, 104, 120; second of Fenwick in Crittendon duel, 77, 120; in the Boonslick country, 119; member of the constitutional convention, 249; biographical sketch of, 259
Dodge, how he crossed the Missouri, iii, 122
Dodge, Israel, farms on the Saline, i, 365, 367; ii, 257; raises U. S. flag at Ste. Genevieve, 364, 383
Dodge, James, i, 382
Dodge, John, i, 356; settles on the Saline, 365; ii, 112, 284
Dodge, Major John, iii, 86
Dodge, pursues Indians, iii, 109
Dodge, Rev. Josiah, baptizes persons at Fountain Creek, iii, 204; preaches in Ste. Genevieve district, 203
Dodge, Thomas, i, 384, 385
Dodier, Auguste Gabriel, junior, ii 9
Dodier, Elizabeth, ii, 9
Dodier, Gabriel, junior, ii, 9
Dodier, Pierre, ii, 76, 383
Dodier, Rene, ii, 9, 85
Dodier, Sebastian, ii, 9
Dodier, Susanne, ii, 10
Dodje, or Dodge, Jean, ii, 149
Dodson, Joshua, i, 95, 382; iii, 104, 107
Doe, or Dow, Jean Baptiste, ii, 87
Doely, Jonathan, ii, 257
Dofine, Jean Baptiste, ii, 91
Doggett, George, ii, 56
Doggett, Jacob, i, 374, 376
Doggett's mines, i, 376
Doghead, Isaac, i, 375; ii, 78
Doghead, John, i, 375; ii, 78
Dolan, Michael, iii, 187
Domestic animals distributed among the settlers, i, 292
Domestic institutions of the Osages, i, 191
Domine, Jean Baptiste, ii, 53, 100
Dominiquez, Diego, ii, 138
Donahue, Jean, i, 367
Donahue, Joseph, i, 367
Donahue, Thomas, i, 367; ii, 384
Donaldson, James L., appointed commissioner, iii, 40; biography of, 41; attacked by Easton while commissioners in session, 47, 70; resigns, 49; gives account of killing Indian by Hammond, ii, 407
Doniphan county, Kansas, i, 5
Donnahue, Thomas Elder, iii, 219
Donne, LeJeune, ii, 291
Donnel, Rev. Thomas, in charge of Bellevue church in 1818, iii, 229
Donnell, James, iii, 244
Donner, Jacob, i, 379; ii, 75
Donner, John, i, 380
Donner, Thomas, ii, 75
Donohoe, Joseph, i, 381
Donohoe, Thomas, i, 382
Donohue, John, iii, 103, 106
Donoughoe, Anna, i, 383
Donoughoe, David, i, 383
Dons, ii, 35
Doors of Fort de Chartres, i, 355
Dorion, Francois, junior, ii, 56
Dorion, Joseph, ii, 165
Dorion, Pierre, ii, 53
Dorlac, Auguste, ii, 87
Dorlac, Baptiste, ii, 87
Dorlac, Francois, ii, 54, 83
Dorsey, Dr. Samuel, ii, 141, 146, 274, 365, 368
Doroty, Zachariah, ii, 186
Dorsey, names Kwapas or Quapaws, i, 169

Dorsey, Nathan, ii, 146
Dorwain, Etienne, ii, 87
Dosley, Jonathan, i, 376
Doss, William, ii, 162, 190
Dotson, or Dodson, James, i, 376
Dotson, John, iii, 130
Dotson, Josiah, ii, 95
Douay, Father Anasthasius, ii, 187
Double Springs Baptist church, iii, 217
Doublewye, dit Deblois, Joseph, ii, 245
Douchouquette, Francois, ii, 263
Douchouquette, dit Lami, Jean Baptiste, ii, 245
Dougherty, Abraham, iii, 106
Dougherty, Elijah, or Elisha, ii, 186, 192; iii, 104, 106
Dougherty, John, ii, 186, 192
Doyle, William, iii, 104
Duchassin, Joseph, iii, 107
Dufore, iii, 86
Durand, Jean Baptiste, ii, 12
Durcy, Francois, ii, 22
Durky, Roswell, iii, 103, 106
Dougherty, William, ii, 183, 186, 192; iii, 168
Douglas, Benjamin, ii, 157
Douglas, or Douglass, James, ii, 158; iii, 115, 136
Douglas, Alexander, ii, 165
Douin, M., ii, 261
Douval, dit Degrosillier, Jean Baptiste, ii, 245
Dowlin, Hugh, iii, 131
Dowling, John, iii, 188
Downard, David, ii, 191, 192
Dowty, James, ii, 186, 190, 192
Doyle, David, iii, 223
Doyle, William, ii, 162
Doza, Joseph, i, 357
Draper, John, a well-digger, ii, 98
Draper, Lyman C., i, 8
Drayton, feared Louisiana Purchase might tend to dismemberment of the Union, ii, 354
Drennon, or Drenning, William, ii, 76
Dress, of the Osages, i, 186; of females, ii, 268; of French Canadians, 269
Drive hunt, of Saukees and Renards in 1812, ii, 248
Drouen, Joseph, ii, 102
Drouin, Etienne, ii, 165
Drouin, Jean, ii, 55
Drouillard, George, killed by the Blackfeet, iii, 96
Droullard, Peter, ii, 166
Droulliez, Jean Baptiste, ii, 150
Drucis, Francois, ii, 69
Drug stores, iii, 83
Drunkenness, not prevalent, ii, 279
Drybeard, Anthony, ii, 165
Drybeard, John, ii, 186
Dry Creek Baptist church, iii, 218
Dubay, or Dube, Augustine, ii, 65
Dubay, Jean Baptiste, ii, 56
Dube, Marianna, ii, 152
Dubez, or Dube or Dubee, Joseph, ii, 20, 149, 165
Dubez, Marie Anne, or Marianne, ii, 148
Dubois, ii, 55
Dubois, Louis, ii, 55, 162
Dubois Creek, ii, 73
Dubois, Jean Baptiste, ii, 162
Dubois, Joseph, ii, 87
Dubois, Pierre, ii, 87
Dubord, Joseph, ii, 21
Dubourg, Dr., Bishop, ii, 314; consecrated bishop of Louisiana, 315; establishes his residence in upper Louisiana, 316, 317, 325, 328; establishes a college at St. Louis, iii, 71
Dubreuil, Antoine, i, 354, 356; ii, 68
Dubreuil, Eulalia, ii, 3
Dubreuil, Francois, ii, 68
Dubreuil, Jean Antoine, i, 354
Dubreuil, Louis Chauvet, i, 343; ii, 12, 53, 54
Dubreuil, Marie Louise, i, 354
Dubreuil, Pascal, ii, 68
Dubreuil, Veuve Susannah, ii, 101
Dubue, Jean B., ii, 298
Dubuque, Iowa, ii, 79
Dubuque, Julien, ii, 79
Ducharme, Dominique, illegal trader on Missouri, ii, 35; connection with attack on St. Louis, ii, 40
Ducharme, island of, ii, 35
Ducharme, Jean Marie, ii, 35
Duchassin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 151
Duchemin, Francois, ii, 53, 54
Duchene, or Duchesne, Philipine, ii, 69
Douchouquette, Baptiste, dit "Baptiste Lamie," ii, 2, 101; in Lisa's employ on Osage, iii, 145
Duchouquette, Francois, i, 351; ii, 20, 82
Douchouquette, Henry, dit Lafleur, ii, 54
Duchouquette, Jean Baptiste, dit Lami, ii, 54
Duclos, Alexander Decelle or Deselle, i, 372, 379
Duclos, commissary ordonnateur, i, 271
Duclos, Joseph Decelle, syndic of Mine a Breton, i, 372

Duden, description of wood land on Missouri, i, 29; gives picture of bird life, i, 34; ii, 243
Due, Elizabeth, ii, 97
Duels, favored by lawyers, iii, 12, 74
Dufaut, dit Benoni, Jean Baptiste, ii, 54
Duff, John, killed, iii, 111
Duff, Mrs. Lucretia, iii, 223
Duffle, Maire, ii, 155
Duflon, or Dufloc, dit Parisien, Claude, ii, 54
Dufour, Parfait, i, 368; ii, 52
Dufraine, or Dufresne, Romain, ii, 68, 86
Dufraine, Charles, ii, 68
Dufresne, Louis, ii, 22
Dufure, i, 370
Dugan, Mathew, iii, 190
Dugan, Stephen, iii, 245
Dugan, or Duggan, dit Count de Monnangel, Daniel, ii, 190
Duke, James, iii, 188
Duke of Saxe-Weimar, ii, 40
Dulignon, Jean, i, 166
Dulud, Elizabeth, ii, 146
Dumais, Francois, ii, 147
Dumas, Ambroise, ii, 156
Dumas, Chenne, dit Stephen, ii, 153
Dumay, Ambroise, ii, 107
Dumay, Antoine, ii, 155
Dumay, Etienne, ii, 155
Dumay, Francois, ii, 107
Dumay, Joseph, ii, 162
Dumay, Pierre Riche, ii, 151, 191
Dumond, Abraham, ii, 91
Dumont, satirical account of Bourgmont, i, 259
Dumont, or Dumond, Louis, ii, 55
Dunand, Rev. Marie Joseph, ii, 69, 314, 323, 328
Dunbar, Ephraim, ii, 153
Duncan, Amos, ii, 69
Duncan, Prior, iii, 137
Duncan, Dr. John C., in Cape Girardeau in 1820, iii, 82
Duncan, Pierre, ii, 166
Duncan, Robert, ii, 56
Duncan, Samuel, ii, 69
Duncan, William, ii, 69
Duncaster, Charles, i, 386
Duncomb, Philip, teacher at New Madrid, ii, 150, 276
Dunegant, dit Beaurosier, Francois, ii, 67, 80, 245, 363
Dunkin, James, ii, 156
Dunkin, William, or Duncan, ii, 155
Dunkins, Madame, ii, 155
Dunklin county, mounds located in, i, 64. Copper plates of, see Appendix i
Dunmore, Earl, i, 351
Dunn, Elizabeth, ii, 183
Dunn, James, ii, 164
Dunn, John, iii, 7
Dunn, Juan, ii, 150
Dunn, William, i, 383; ii, 95
Dupah, or Dupit, Francois, ii, 156
Dupay, ii, 21
Dupin, Isidore, ii, 153
Dupin, Riche, captain of militia, ii, 140
Dupin, Xavier, ii, 153
Dupine, Francois, ii, 152
Dupine, or Dupin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 152
Duplacey or Placet, ii, 21
Duplesis or Duplacy, ii, 87
Dupois, Claude, ii, 52, 56
Dupont, i, 368; a Frenchman killed by Indians, 378
Dupree, Louis, ii, 101
Dupuis, or Dupois, Francois, ii, 56
Dupuy, Isadore, ii, 166
Dupuys, Jean Baptiste, ii, 159
Duquette, Francois, had a wind-mill at St. Charles, ii, 85, 86, 257
Duralde, M. Martin, probably one of the Frenchmen who came up with Rui, i, 289; surveyor, ii, 24, 50, 205
Durand, John, ii, 34
Durant, Francois, i, 356
Duration, of the New Madrid earthquake, iii, 178
Durbin, Daniel, iii, 115
Durcy, Francois, ii, 22
Durcy, Pierre, ii, 22
Durget, John, ii, 384
Durham Hall, ii, 370; iii, 183
Durignon, director of Crozat's stores, i, 271
Durkee, Dwight, killed, iii, 128
Durkee, little boys of, saved by Black Hawk, iii, 130
Durlin, John, i, 380
Dutaillie, Joseph, or Duatailler, ii, 147
Dutemple, Adele, ii, 151
Dutillet, M., ii, 22
Dutton, Jonas, i, 382
Duval, dit Degroisiellier, Ambroise, ii, 55
Duval, Jean, i, 367
Duval, John, i, 383; iii, 214
Duval, Simon, i, 383
Dwelling place of Missouries, i, 7
Dyal or Dial, Terence, ii, 190

D'Abbadie, Director-General ad interim, **i,** 287; **ii,** 1, 2
D'Ablon, Father, describes animal life, **i,** 34; on game on the Mississippi River, 38; describes the Foxes, 202; hopes through the Mississippi to find the Japan Sea, 156
D'Amours, Benjamin Mathieu, **ii,** 171
D'Amours, Charlotte, **ii,** 74
D'Amours, Madaline, **ii,** 171
D'Aneau de Muid, Madame Marguerite Philipe, **ii,** 22
D'Arges, Pierre Wower, **ii,** 340
D'Artaguitte, **i,** 341
D'Auberville, dit "Dauberville," Ordonnateurs, **i,** 341
D'Aubin, with Lorimier, when Boone was captured, **ii,** 172
D'Aunis, dit St. Vincent, Jean A., **ii,** 12
D'Autrey, **i,** 166
D'Avignon, **ii,** 53
D'Hibercourt, or D'Hebercourt, Francois, **ii,** 152
D'Iberville, **ii,** 290
D'Lashmutt, E. N., postmaster of Jackson, **iii,** 63, 194
D'Lashmutt, Lindsay, **ii,** 183; **iii,** 193
De Andreis, Father Felix, **ii,** 316; induced by Dubourg to emigrate to upper Louisiana, 317; biographical sketch of, 318; his journey across the Alps, 320; embarks on Brig "Ranger," 320, 321; his Life of St. Thomas, 322, 323; Vicar-General of Bishop Dubourg, 324; establishes St. Mary's Seminary in 1818, 324; dies in St. Louis, 325
De Balme, Louis, Moltin, a French officer, his expedition, **i,** 309
De Beaufort, Domittille Dumont, **i,** 365
De Bellestre, Joseph, Picote, **ii,** 21
De Bellestre, Picote, **ii,** 17
De Bellerive, Captain St. Ange, **ii,** 5, 12, 16, 19, 23, 24, 27
De Bergueville, Francois, **ii,** 17
De Bertel, or Berthel, Chevalier, **i,** 372
De Blois, Joseph, **i,** 357
De Bonteville, Father, finds Le Sueur in distress, **i,** 247
De Bougainville, Louis, **ii,** 170
De Bourgmont, **ii,** 12 (See Bourgmont)
De Breville, A. Breard Briand, **ii,** 140, 166
De Carondelet, **ii,** 342 (See Carondelet)
De Carriere, Marie, **ii,** 58
De Clouet, Lieutenant, **i,** 340
De Conagne, Louise, **ii,** 153
De Conaque, Francois, **i,** 357
De Camp, Dr. S. G. J., a physician of St. Louis in 1819, **iii,** 81
De Dillon, Lady Diana Francoise Elizabeth, **i,** 340
De Gagne, Antoine, **ii,** 22
De Galvez, Governor Don Bernardo, **i,** 305, 306, 307, 331; **ii,** 1, 3, 142
De Gamache, Rene, **ii,** 65
De Girardeau, Mons. Jean Pierre, **ii,** 169
De Goust, Michael, sentenced to death by St. Ange, **ii,** 26
De Grimaldi, Marquis, **ii,** 215
De Grossiers, Pierre, junior, **i,** 357
De Guirau, Mary Gyol, **ii,** 56
De Guire, Andre or Andres or Andrew, dit La Rose, **i,** 339, 354, 355, 378; **ii,** 169, 245, 297
DeGuire, Jean Baptiste, **i,** 339, 355, 378
DeGuire, Louis, **i,** 367
DeGuire, Marie, **ii,** 169
DeGuire, Paul, **i,** 354, 367, 378
De Guire, Pierre, **i,** 354
De Guyenne, Father Alex F. X., at Fort de Chartres, **ii,** 292
De Jarlais, Cecile, **ii,** 3
De Lage, Jean, **ii,** 12, 17
De Lassize, Nicolas, **ii,** 58
DeLassus, Don Carlos De Hault, describes the Mashcoux, **i,** 222; organizes expedition against Indians, 335, 343, 364, 382, 383; biographical sketch of, **ii,** 135; Lieutenant-Governor, 1799, 62, 63, 75, 76, 78; grants land to Tayon, 82; grants land to Saucier, 90, 93, 99; appointed governor of upper Louisiana, 137, 184; his testimony as to rules and regulations of Morales, 221, 252, 254, 356; address to the Louisiana regiment, 359; letter to Stoddard, 360; proclamation to inhabitants of Louisiana, 361; address on transfer of territory to Captain Stoddard, 362; letter to the Syndices, 363, 364, 365, 366; hostility shown him at Cape Girardeau, 367, 368, 369; provides for his family, **iii,** 34, 82
DeLassus, Camille, son of De Luziere, **i,** 363, 364; **ii,** 384
DeLassus de Luziere, visits Carondelet, **i,** 331, 364
De Lauriere, Charles Augustin, a notary of Ste. Genevieve, **i,** 343; has a cannon to resist Indians, **ii,** 90

De Lauriere, Charles Fremon, ii, 2, 90
De Lauriere, dit Normandeau, Francois, ii, 101; ii, 245
De Lebeaume, Louis Augustine Tarteron, ii, 151
De Lemos, Gayoso, ii, 74 (See Gayosa)
De Leyba, Don Fernando, succeeds Cruzat, ii, 32; intimate with General George Rogers Clark, i, 304; appointed Lieutenant-Governor, 306; his recommendation to erect fort on the upper rivers, 306; English attack St. Louis, 307; promoted, 307; in command at St. Louis, at time of attack, ii, 40; death of, 32, 41, 42
De Liboa, M., ii, 32
De Liette, Mons., ii, 168
De Lisa, Christoval, ii, 21
De Lisa, Manuel, ii, 62 (See Lisa)
De Lisle, Catharine, ii, 91
De Lisle, Eustache, ii, 162
De Lisle, Francois, ii, 161
De Lisle, Jean Baptiste, ii, 68, 96
De Lisle, Louis, ii, 101
De Lisle, Louis, junior, ii, 78, 101
De Lorimier, Francois Thomas, ii, 171
De Lorimier, Guillaume, ii, 171
De Lui, Francois, ii, 52
De Luziere, i, 364, 376, 386; ii, 136, 223, 363
De Luziere, Madame, maiden name De Beaufort, i, 365
De Marquet, Don Louis Francois, ii, 140
De Marquet, Louis Scipion Benoist, ii, 140
De Moustier, Count, ii, 340
De Mun, Auguste, i, 366
De Mun, Augustine, iii, 6
De Mun, Julius, engages in Santa Fe trade, iii, 155, 189
De Mun, Jacques, i, 366
De Neckere, Father Leo R., ii, 325
De Ora, Antonio, X. Joseph, i, 347
De Peyster, report of the capture of Fort St. Joseph, ii, 43
De Placie, Joseph, ii, 53
De Portneuf, Baron, Commandant on the Missouri in 1752; ii, 250
De Portneuf, Fecilite Robineau, ii, 22
De Portneuf, Louis Nicolas Robineau, ii, 22
De Quindre, Lieutenant Dagreux, in British service, ii, 43
De Quirigoust, ii, 20
De Rastel, Joseph, i, 340
De Roche, Antoine, ii, 69
De Rocheblave, Piernas reports as to him, i, 301
De Rocher, Francois Alexis, ii, 134
De Rocher, Pierre, captain of company, ii, 134
De Rocher, Laurent, ii, 99
De Rousse, Marie, ii, 153
De Rozier, Marianna, ii, 152, 165
De Sabrevois, Marguerite, ii, 171
De Salle, dit Cayolle, Francois, ii, 65, 101
De Sautelle, Joseph, ii, 54
De Sedella, Antonio, ii, 312
De Soto, Hernando, biographical sketch of, i, 98; crosses the Mississippi, 99; at Crowley's Ridge, 101; marches along the Mississippi, 103; finds the Casquins, 104; at New Madrid, 104; the Capahas, 107; sends soldiers north of Capaha, 113; goes south through what is now probably Dunklin county, 115; marches thence north to Caligoa and reaches the Ozark plateau, 115; searches for gold in a southwest direction, 116, 166; marches up the river on an aboriginal path, 224, 225. See Paths.
De St. Marie, Moreau, ii, 195
De St. Pierre, Father, ii, 303, 304
De St. Vrain, De Hault, Don Santiago, i, 364; ii, 2, 232, 368
De Tailly, or De Taille, Denau, ii, 52
De Tailly, Joseph, ii, 12
De Treget, Clement Delor, ii, 63
De Treget, Don Pedro, ii, 74, 363
De Treget, Madelaine, ii, 63
De Treget, Jos. Delor, ii, 63
De Treget, Pierre Delor, ii, 63
De Unzaga, Don Louis, ii, 215, 297
De Urrustia, Don Manuel, makes an abridgment of Spanish law, ii, 195
De Vaudreuil, M., ii, 18
De Villars, Don Louis, ii, 205
De Villars, Don Louis Dubreuil, i, 350, 354
De Villars, Felicite, ii, 344
De Villiers, ii, 12
De Villiers, Chevalier Pierre Joseph de Neyon, i, 340; ii, 5
De Villiers, Francois Coulon, ii, 12
De Villiers, Joachi, ii, 17
De Volsay, or De Volsey, Captain Francois, ii, 13, 17
De Volsay, Gaston Leopold, i, 357; ii, 13
De Warville, Brissot, ii, 283
De la Balme, i, 354 (See De Balme)
De La Buxiere, Charles Leonard, i, 341

De La Buxiere, Jos., i, 341
De La Claire, Gabriel, ii, 56
De La Croix, Father Charles, ii, 324, 328
De La Ferne, Marie Anna Bardet, ii, 27
De La Ferne, Pierre Ignac Bardet, ii, 18
De La Loire Flancour, i, 372
De La Lucerne, French Minister, ii, 332
De La Morinie, Father Jean Baptiste, ii, 293
De La Rondes, ii, 65
De La Salle, Nicholas, i, 166
De La Valiniere, Rev. Huet, ii, 302, 304
De La Vega, biographical sketch of, i, 100
Des Bruisseau, Joseph Lefebvre d'Inglebert, granted exclusive trade on Missouri in 1744, i, 286; ii, 17, 18; biographical sketch of, 18; has trading privilege on the Missouri, 249
Des Closiaux, Bobé, i, 341
Des Hetres, Antoine, ii, 10
Des Hetres, Gregory Kiercereau, ii, 10
Des Hetres, Hyacinth, ii, 67
Des Hetre, Jean Baptiste, ii, 67
Des Hetre, Joseph, ii, 67
Des Hetre, Louis, ii, 11, 67
Des Jarlais, Joseph, ii, 162
Des Jardins, ii, 17
Des Lorier, or De Loire or De Lauriere, dit Normandeau, Francois, ii, 53
Des Moines, i, 5, 17, 169
Des Moulins, Pierre, i, 357
Des Moulin, Theresa, ii, 55
Des Loriers, Merlet, ii, 20
Des Noyer, Francois, ii, 65
Des Noyers, Kierq Marcheteau, ii, 22
Des Noyers, Louis, iii, 157
Des Peres, first settlement on, i, 242, 243
Des Rosiers, De Guire, ii, 65
Des Rousse or Des Roussel, Francois, i, 357; ii, 151, 152
Des Rousse, Marie Reine, ii, 152
Du Bois, a sergeant in Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268
Du Bourg, Bishop Louis William Valentine, ii, 317 (see Dubourg)
Du Breuil, i, 341 (see Dubreuil)
Du Breuil, Louis Chauvet, ii, 20
Du Breuil, Madame, iii, 6, 7
Du Pratz, hunts on the St. Francois, i, 36; describes mineral region on upper St. Francois, i, 275
Du Rastel, Raimond, i, 340
Du Terrage, ii, 2
Du Tisne, Charles Claude, reaches the Osage villages, i, 230; note of, 255; goes into the interior of Missouri, 256; takes metal to Mobile, 279
Du Rien, i, 341
Du Vaud, dit Beausoliel, Pierre, ii, 45

E

Eads, Abraham, i, 374
Eads, or Ears, John, i, 374
Eads, William, i, 374
Eagen, or Egers, George, i, 382
Eagens, Rachel, i, 382
Eagle's Fork, ii, 95
Earles, James, ii, 384
Early settlers, isolation of, ii, 261
Early merchants of Ste. Genevieve, i, 341
Earthquake of New Madrid, iii, 172; earth in constant tremor, iii, 178
Easton, Jean, ii, 147
Eastep, or Estes, William, ii, 76
Eastes, Anne, i, 374
Easton, Mary, marries George C. Sibley, iii, 149
Easton, Robert M., iii, 156
Easton, Rufus, Attorney-General, ii, 384, 393, 405; elected delegate to Congress, iii, 9; biographical sketch, 15; on fraudulent land grants of Spanish officials, 36; on change of land values, 34; assaults Donaldson, 48; comments on feeling in East to prevent settlements west of the river, 53; advises people of the establishment of new post routes, 63; first postmaster of St. Louis, 63
Eastus, Joseph, ii, 152
Eastwood, Jacob, ii, 101
Easum, William, iii, 181
Eaton, Absalom, iii, 244
Eber, Charles, ii, 91
Eckhart, iii, 196
Eckstein, I., iii, 235
Economy, characteristic of French settlers, ii, 279
Edgar, John, i, 365
Edge, Rev. Benjamin, iii, 238
Edmondson, James, ferry keeper, iii, 62
Edmonson, Jerusha, ii, 102
Education, loss of, by French families, ii, 65; provision made by Morgan for, 120; not neglected during Spanish dominion, 275; provision for, under act of 1812, iii, 2; lec-

tures by Peck on, 214; favored by convention of 1805, ii, 391; provision for, under constitution of 1820, iii, 251
Edwards, Andrew, ii, 97; iii, 158
Edward, Cyrus, iii, 29
Edwards, David, ii, 97
Edwards, Governor Ninian, i, 377; ii, 398
Edwards, Mrs. Hannah, allowed to wear earrings by Bethel church, iii, 207
Edwards, Rev. James P., a Baptist preacher, iii, 209, 219, 220
Effect of debate in Congress on people of upper Louisiana, iii, 248
Effect of military operations of Virginia, northwest of the Ohio, ii, 333
Egliz, or Eglise, Jacques, ii, 20, 101
Egliz, Jacinto, ii, 60, 383
Elaire, Joseph, i, 382
Election, first contested, in St. Louis, iii, 166; for members of the constitutional convention, 249; of state officers in 1820, 265
Eleturno, ii, 44
Eleven Point river, i, 17
El Camino Real, King's Highway, location of, ii, 150
El Principe de Austurias, Senor Don Carlos, Fort, plan of, erected on south side of the Missouri, i, 293; first Spanish fort built, 294
Ellicott, ii, 305
Elliott, iii, 183
Elliott, Dr. Aaron, i, 356; iii, 67, 82
Elliott, Benjamin, iii, 69
Elliott, Elias Austin, i, 375
Elliott, John, ii, 155, 166; iii, 116, 136
Elliott, Rev. John, apostle of the Indians, iii, 82
Elliott, Leroy, i, 383
Elliott, Miss Mary L., teaches school in St. Louis, iii, 69
Elliott's Notes, referred to, i, 13
Ellis, keeps tavern at Cape Girardeau in 1811, iii, 61
Ellis, Dr., settles in Cape Girardeau in 1808, iii, 82
Ellis, Charles A., iii, 9, 193
Ellis, Elisha, iii, 62
Ellis, Erasmus, iii, 8
Ellis, John, ii, 69
Ellis, Peter, ii, 69
Elvas, The Gentleman of, i, 100
Eloy, Francois, ii, 12
Emdic, Philip, i, 384
Emigration of priests of St. Vincent de Paul, ii, 317
Emigration to Missouri, after the war of 1812, iii, 150; crowds of, unexampled, 184, 243
Emissourittes, i, 2
Emmons, Benjamin, iii, 3, 7, 8; member of the constitutional convention, 249; notes as to, 264
Emmons, James, keeps tavern at St. Charles, iii, 60
Emmons, Francis Doyon, ii, 56
Emmons, Seth, iii, 6
Engagés, ii, 233; employed by village traders, 247
Engle, John Windle, i, 386
English, James, ii, 69
English, Jane, iii, 206
English, Robert, iii, 6, 7, 8, 218
English, Thomas, iii, 206
English, country to be protected against attack of, i, 293, 307
English-speaking settlers gradually spread West, ii, 329
"Enquirer," St. Louis, on boundary of the state, i, 3
Epler, Rev. Abram, iii, 242
Episcopal church, organized in St. Louis, iii, 233
Epitaph of wife of Lorimier, ii, 179
Equipment of forest traders, ii, 50
Erebour, Jean Baptiste, dit Maturin, ii, 56
Ervine, John, conducts Green Tree tavern at Jackson in 1820, iii, 61
Eshborough, David, ii, 90
Esdien, Nicholas, ii, 166
Essex, Thomas, opens a book store in St. Louis in 1820, iii, 73
Establishment Creek, settlement on, i, 386
Estep, Priscilla, i, 374
Estes, Ezekiel, dit Eastrige, i, 374
Estes, Patrick, i, 376; iii, 229
Estes, Robert, i, 376
Etienne, Joseph, junior, ii, 155
Etre, Joseph, ii, 152
Ethnology, Bureau of, cited, i, 42
Eugene, Dominique, ii, 65
Eustin, Joseph, i, 367
Evans, Jesse, i, 366
Evans, Gen. James, i, 7; Sullivan, his brother-in-law, 14; iii, 23; member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249
Evans, Enoch, ii, 184
Everitt, Elijah, ii, 185
Everett, Zachariah, iii, 157
Ewing, William, ii, 94, 100
Exclusive trade on the Missouri, ii, 2
"Excursion in the Slave States," cited, i, 39

Expedition of the Spaniards against Fort St. Joseph, ii, 42
Expedition against Indians, organized by DeLassus, i, 335
Expense, of Land Commission, iii, 44
Expenditure, for stationery of constitutional convention, iii, 250
Exploration up the Missouri, Trudeau interested in ii, 58
Exports, of upper Louisiana in 1799, ii, 238; from Cape Girardeau to New Orleans, ii, 255; of Ste. Genevieve, iii, 152; to New Orleans from the Missouri, 160; of the Cape Girardeau district, iii, 168; principal articles of, at the time of cession, 190
Extent of area, territorial of Missouri, i, 16; of timber belt on Missouri, 30; of prairies, 24; of Ozark uplift, 19
Extent of district of pre-historic activity in Missouri, i, 47
Extent of jurisdiction of Spanish Commandants, i, 162, 364
Extent of land grants, ii, 216; to settlers, 215; of common fields, 233, 234

F

Fabius, i, 17
Fagot, i, 341
Falconer, Francisco, ii, 156
Falconer & Comeys, iii, 192
Fallenash, Charles, ii, 186
Fallin, Alexander August, ii, 156
Fallis, George, ii, 68, 69
Fallis, Isaac, ii, 100
Fardon, John, ii, 66
Fardome, or Vardome, Thomas, ii, 150
Farmers, only admitted as settlers, ii, 215; iii, 34
Farmer, Barney, his account on Côte sans Dessein attack, iii, 126
Farmer, Jesse, iii, 126
Farming implements, made of wood, ii, 235
Farmington, located in the Murphy settlement, i, 375; iii, 18
Farnham, Russell, a biographical sketch, iii, 87
Farnsworth, or Farrisworth, William, ii, 96
Farrar, Dr. Bernard G., iii, 3; duel with Graham, 75; surgeon in Benton-Lucas duel, 77, 79, 80; in the Indian war, 108; physician of Dr. Peck, 214, 235
Farrar and Walker, Drs., contribute to found the "Journal," iii, 65
Farrar, Elder John, iii, 209, 219, 222
Farrell, Jacque, i, 367
Farris, James, ii, 155
Farris, Robert P., iii, 22
Farrot, Jean, ii, 68
Farrow, Ebenezer, ii, 78
Farrow, John S., ii, 73
Farrow, Leonard, ii, 70, 73, 100
Farrow, Sam, ii, 78
Fat, often suffocated wild animals and game, i, 35
Fast riding forbidden in St. Louis by Cruzat, ii, 49
Faustin, Francois, dit Parent, ii, 52, 54
Faustin, Jacques, ii, 54
Fay, Nicolas, ii, 87
Fayet, Joseph, ii, 56
Faux, Levi, iii, 187
Feasts among the Osages, i, 187, 188
Featherstonhaugh, G. W., opinion of origin of St. Francois lead region, i, 23; his canoe voyage cited, i, 1; describes a fire in the timber, i, 33; wood pigeons, 38; on mounds, 43; mentions the Nachitoches path, 227; iii, 186
Federal Constitution, adoption of, ii, 339
Feefee Creek, ii, 77
Feefee Baptist church, members of, iii, 216; Peck does not mention, 216
Feils, Stephen, iii, 116
Fellows, Mr., iii, 189
Felteau, Auguste, ii, 86
Felter, Robt. R., iii, 85
Femme Osage, ii, 93; settlers there in 1804, iii, 130
Fence of common fields, ii, 25, 233; of St. Charles, 84
Fender, Christian, i, 382
Fenn, Dr. Zeno, a physician of St. Louis, iii, 81
Fenton, mounds near, i, 78
Fenwick, Edward, i, 387
Fenwick, Ezekiel, ii, 183; charged with murder, iii, 9; keeps house of entertainment at what is now Wittenberg, 61, 76
Fenwick, Thomas, i, 367, 387
Fenwick, Walter, i, 350, 355, 367, 381; duel with Crittenden, killed in, iii, 76; secures body of a person hung at Ste. Genevieve for dissection by order of court, 81
Fenwick, widow, ii, 317
Ferguson, George W., iii, 190
Ferguson, John, ii, 101

Ferguson, Nancy, ii, 165
Ferguson, Peter, iii, 235
Ferland, dit Deloriers, Jean, ii, 245
Ferland, Joseph, ii, 161
Fernandez, Joseph, ii, 147
Ferrari, Rev. Andres, ii, 321, 328; professor at St. Louis College, iii, 71
Ferrell, David, ii, 187
Ferrell, James, i, 384
Ferrell, John, ii, 187
Ferres, Humphrey, ii, 153
Ferres, or Ferrer, James, ii, 153
Ferres, Jean, ii, 153
Ferret, with Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268
Ferries, iii, 61
Ferrill, Henry, iii, 115
Ferrot, Jean B., ii, 56
Ferrusola, Juan Barno y, greffier of New Madrid, ii, 134, 176
Ferry, James, ii, 156
Ferry, or Terry, John, deputy surveyor, killed by Indians, ii, 84
Ferry, first over Maramec, ii, 74; between Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve, ii, 237; at St. Charles, 383; at Arrow Rock, below Grand river, iii, 158; at St. Louis, 158
Fetir, Bernard, ii, 68
Ficklin, Rev. John, agent to secure Indian children to educate, i, 210
Ficklin, Thomas H., iii, 245
Field, John, i, 137
Field, Stephen, iii, 137
Field's Trace, i, 229
Figh, Terrence, iii, 245
Fight the fire, meaning of, i, 33
Filteau, or Felteaux, Jean, ii, 83
Final report of first commission to adjust Spanish claims, iii, 50
Fine, Philip, ii, 75, 284
Findley, Charles, has a ferry at Tywappity, iii, 61
Findlay, Jonathan Smith, notes as to, iii, 259; member of the constitutional convention, 249
Findlay, Mrs. Henrietta C. D., iii, 223
Finley, Charles, ii, 164
Finney, J., iii, 240
Finney, W., iii, 240
Fire companies of St. Louis, iii, 165
Fire engines, first in St. Louis, iii, 165
Fire in the prairies, i, 32
Fire in the timber, i, 35
First land grants, made by St. Ange, at St. Louis, ii, 20
First house at Jefferson City, iii, 185
First Methodist Conference in Missouri, held at Mt. Zion, iii, 236
First settlement in the Mississippi Valley on the Des Peres, i, 242
First settlers at Fredericktown, i, 377
First territorial House of Legislature, iii, 3
Fish, number and variety of, i, 35
Fish Lake, ii, 163
Fish, Captain, a Shawnee chief, i, 211; married Rogers' daughter, 211
Fisher, John, i, 383
Fisher, Joshua, i, 382
Fite, or Fight, Joseph, ii, 186
Fitch, Walling, ii, 152
Fithial, John, i, 367
Fitzgerald, Lord, travels down the Mississippi, i, 359
Fitzgibbons, William, i, 382
Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, ii, 313, 314, 315, 317, 322
Flamant, Amable, ii, 54
Flagifont, John, ii, 321
Flanagan, Willis, corporal, iii, 111
Flanagan, Patrick, iii, 187
Flanders of America, i, 27
Flatboat, ii, 266
Flat Creek, i, 18
Flaugherty, James, ii, 101; iii, 3
Flaugherty, Ralph H., ii, 100
Flax, cultivation of, i, 305; ii, 232
"Flecha," a Spanish galliot, ii, 343
Fleitar, Dr. Domingo, ii, 151
Fleming, Patrick, i, 357, 387; iii, 97
Fletcher, Silas, ii, 163
Fleury, dit Grenier, ii, 245
Flint, Timothy, his description of the prairies of North Missouri, i, 29; comment on Ste. Genevieve, iii, 57; opens a school in St. Louis in 1816, 68; teaches school in Jackson in 1817, 69; refers to inadequate pay of Protestant ministers, 221; describes Ste. Genevieve, 152; steamboat travel, 197; his observation on the effect of the New Madrid earthquake, 177; arrives in St. Louis in 1816, 227; comments on the controversy between Andover and Princeton, which then prevailed, 227, 229, 230, 231; a biographical sketch of, 231
Flondrain, or Flandrin, Antoine, ii, 20
Flora Creek, ii, 191
Florida, iii, 158
Florida girls, to be brought to upper Louisiana, if of good character, i, 291
Florissant, ii, 66, 314
Flory, Francois, or Fleury, dit Grenier, ii, 54
Flory, Florence, ii, 54

Flory, Marie, ii, 54
Flower, I., i, 367
Fluellen, Hubert, i, 384
Flynn, William, i, 382
Flynn, William, junior, i, 382
Fogne, Marie, ii, 149
Foisy, Francois, ii, 156
Foley, Thomas, founds the "Correspondent and Record," iii, 66
Folson, or Folsom, Ebenezer, ii, 160
Foncalt, ii, 22
Fontaine de la Prairie, i, 379
Fontaine, Felix, ii, 56
Fontainebleau, treaty of, i, 287; ii, 19
Food of Osages, i, 191
Fooy, Benjamin, ii, 152
Ford, P. H., proprietor of "Enquirer," iii, 66
Forman, Gen. David, meets Foucher, ii, 130
Forman, Jonathan, ii, 187
Forman, Jonathan, junior, ii, 192
Fordney, or Fordoney, Francois, ii, 154
Fords, Eli, ii, 164
Forests, free from undergrowth i, 26; in alluvial bottoms, i, 32
Forest traders, rules for, ii, 50
Forsythe, a Delaware village located where now is, i, 218
Forsyth, Robert, ii, 56; iii, 94
Forsyth, Maj. Thomas, biographical sketch of, iii, 138
Fortifications, erected by mound-builders, i, 42
Fortifications of St. Louis, extended, ii, 42
Forts established for the fur trade, ii, 252
Forts ordered erected at mouth of Missouri by Ulloa, i, 292
Forts erected by settlers on Missouri, iii, 136
Fort Bellevue, iii, 102, 106; evacuated, 109
Fort Cap au Gris, iii, 135, 136
Fort aux Cedres, ii, 252
Fort Carondelet, built by the Chouteaus among the Osages, ii, 212, 252; no vestige of there when Pike visited the locality, iii, 145
Fort Celeste, DeLassus not satisfied with arrangement of batteries, i, 336; cost of, ii, 131; residence of the Spanish Commandants of New Madrid, 138
Fort Clark, at Peoria, iii, 113
Fort Clemson, iii, 137
Fort Cooper, on post route to St. Charles in 1816, iii, 63
Fort de Chartres, i, 338; sandstone of Ste. Genevieve used in, 249; windows and doors used, 355; Laclede arrives at, ii, 4; Commandant of, has jurisdiction west of the river, 16, 17
Fort El Principe de Asturias, plan of, i, 294; ii, 19, 66
Fort Hempstead, iii, 114, 137
Fort Howard, iii, 100, 130, 136
Fort Howell, iii, 136
Fort Jefferson, i, 345; Clark at, when St. Louis attacked, 40, 73, 164, 333
Fort Kinkead, iii, 114, 137
Fort Mason, iii, 113; troops at, on Mississippi, 136
Fort Osage, i, 3, 29, 181; village of Little Osages near, 186; established, iii, 147, 148
Fort Orleans, built by Bourgmont, i, 258; abandoned, 268
Fort San Carlos, ii, 252
Fort San Fernando des Barrancas, ii, 133
Fort San Juan del Misuri, ii, 91
Fort St. Joseph captured by the Spaniards, ii, 43
Fort Wood, iii, 136
Fortain, Veuve, i, 356
Fortier, Joseph, ii, 86
Fortin, Jean Baptiste, i, 355
Fortin, Julien, dit Bellefontaine, ii, 65
Fossat, Don Guido de, engineer to erect Spanish forts on Missouri, i, 290
Fossett, Salomon, trumpeter, iii, 111
Foster, Bernard, ii, 384
Foster, Jacob, ii, 187
Foster, Jacob, junior, ii, 192
Foster, James, i, 379
Foster, Samuel, iii, 130
Foster, Thomas, ii, 186
Foster, Mrs., ii, 185
Fostin, Michael, ii, 76
Fostin, dit Parent, Francois, ii, 245
Fouche, Pierre, ii, 21
Foucher, Baptiste, ii, 149
Foucher, Bonaventure, ii, 149
Foucher, Michael, ii, 56
Foucher, Pedro, in command at New Madrid, ii, 125; his signature, 126, 129-131
Foundation of St. Louis school fund, iii, 51
Fouquier, John, iii, 341
Fourche à Courtois, i, 378, 380
Fournier, Francois, ii, 65
Fovret, Jean Baptist, ii, 150
Fox, Ezra, iii, 158

Fox Indians, various names of, i, 201
France does not appreciate value of Mississippi Valley, i, 237
France takes possession of re-ceded Louisiana, ii, 356
Franchville, Joseph, ii, 21
Franklin county organized, iii, 8
Franklin, town laid out in 1817, 148; rapid growth, 149; important town in 1819, 152; unfortunate location, 154; merchants of, iii, 194; public dinner at to celebrate the passage of enabling act, 244
Franquelin's map, i, 7, 170; roads marked on, 225
Franks, Andrew, ii, 187, 190
Franks, Barton, ii, 192
Franks, Peter, ii, 192
Francisco, ii, 54
Frasseur, Louis, ii, 297
Fraudulent enterprises floated, iii, 56
Fraudulent concessions, iii, 36
Frazer, Major, ii, 13, 271
Frazier, Alexander, ii, 155
Frazier, Daniel, ii, 155
Frazier, John, ii, 156
Frazier, William, ii, 155
Frederick, Juan, ii, 154
Frederick, Joseph, i, 376
Fredericktown, first settlement there, i, 377
Free navigation of the Mississippi River, constant source of friction, ii, 335, 343
Freeman, Foster, tavern keeper at Franklin, iii, 60
Freeman, John, ii, 188
Freight, charges, ii, 267; rates from the mines to the river, iii, 188; rates to New Orleans, 188
Freiseu, or Frazier, Daniel, ii, 162
French explorations, extent of, i, 149, 250; on the Missouri in 1744, 286
French, settlers in New Madrid prefer hunting, ii, 132; remains the language of country, 196; carts, a curiosity, 235; how constructed, 236; Canadian families, 238; poor farmers, 238; trading privileges on the Missouri, grant of, 249; inhabitants, of Missouri, characteristics of, 267; language of inhabitants, 268; sell lands for a mere pittance, iii, 35
Frere, Eloy, ii, 150
Freytas, Padre, narrates Penalosa's expedition, i, 142
Friend, Aaron, ii, 153
Friend, Alexander, ii, 153
Friend, Augustine, ii, 153, 159
Friend, Captain Charles, place of residence, ii, 153
Friend, David, ii, 153
Friend, Elisha, ii, 162
Friend, Israel, ii, 153
Friend, Jacob, ii, 153
Friend, John, ii, 150, 153, 158
Friend, Jonas, ii, 153
Friend, Price, iii, 159
Friend, Robert T., ii, 100
Friend, Teene, ii, 153
Friendship Baptist church, at Charette, iii, 211
Frissell, Letitia, i, 377
Fristoe, Thomas, iii, 217
Frizzell, Joseph, postmaster of Jackson, iii, 63, 228
Frizzel, Jason, iii, 229, 245
Fry, Henry, held up on his marriage trip by Indians, i, 373
Fugate, Hiram, iii, 137
Fugate, or Fugitt, Rueben, iii, 118, 137
Fugate, Sarshall, iii, 137
Fugate, Simeon, iii, 138
Fulham, or Fulhorn, John, ii, 147
Fullerton, William, ii, 73
Fullwood, Louis Miller, ii, 163
Fulton, on the Boonslick trace, iii, 157
Fur trade, practically all settlers engaged in, ii, 243; trade destructive to fur-bearing animals, ii, 247; enormous profits of, 244, 248; monopoly of, 248; change in the manner of carrying it on, 251; loss of, caused by the English selling cheaper goods, 254; iii, 162; extent of, 191
Fur traders disregard rules and regulations, ii, 246
Furnaces in operation in 1799, i, 285
Furs, debts paid with, ii, 31

G

Gabert, Dr. Paul G., a physician of St. Louis in 1819, iii, 81
Gabourie, Laurent, i, 339
Gagne, Amable, ii, 68
Gagnier, Louis, dit Belladvance, ii, 65
Gagnon, Father, ii, 291
Gagnon, Jean, i, 357
Gagnon, Philibert, dit Laurent, ii, 17, 20, 22, 245
Gagnon, Pierre, ii, 86
Gaguier, or Geguirie, Antoine, ii, 101, 102
Gaguirie, or Giguares, Francois, ii, 101
Gaillard, Jacques, i, 357
Gallagher, Daniel, iii, 229

Gallagher, David, i, 372
Gallagher, Henry, iii, 188
Gallaher, John, ii, 159
Galland, Able, iii, 131
Gallatin, on Easton, iii, 41
Gallatin, Albert, considers mounds work of an agricultural people, i, 44; ii, 404; on General Wilkinson, 401; letter to Carr, iii, 44; to Jefferson on unfounded and fraudulent claims, 46
Galleys, Spanish at New Madrid, ii, 141
Gallipolis, plan to attract settlers from, i, 363
Galapagos Islands, i, 39
Galvez, Don Bernardo, Governor General of Louisiana, i, 305; thanks people of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve for services in defending St. Louis, 307; ii, 22, 109, 297; instructions to, 331; his conquest of Florida, 331, 336
Galvez, Don Joseph de, Marquis de Sonora, Minister of the Indies, report of attack on St. Louis made to him, ii, 39
Gamble, Archibald, iii, 22
Gamble, Hamilton Rowan, biographical note, iii, 26
Gambling, iii, 73
Game, becoming scarcer on the lower St. Francois in 1750, i, 38; abundance of, at the mouth of the Saline, 247; in the Tywappity bottom in 1819, iii, 149; getting scarcer on the Missouri in 1819, 154; not shy, i, 39
Gamache, Auguste, junior, ii, 65
Gamache, Jean Baptiste, ii, 10, 65; establishes a ferry across the Maramec, 74, 76
Gamache, Genevieve, dit Lamarre, ii, 65
Gamache, Joseph, ii, 21
Gamache, Nicolas, ii, 65
Gamelin, Antoine, captain of a New Madrid company, ii, 134; biographical sketch of, 139, 147, 162, 173
Gamelin, Elizabeth, ii, 153
Gamelin, Ignace, ii, 147
Gamelin, Louisa, ii, 152
Gamelin, Pierre, ii, 101
Gamelin, Rosalie, ii, 152
Ganion, Jean, ii, 299
Gantt, Dr. E. S., iii, 80, 82
Gaoiot, Etienne, i, 355
Garcia, Juan Jose, ii, 138
Garcilasso de la Vega, biographical sketch of, i, 100, 166
Gardens at St. Charles, ii, 85
Gardner, Benjamin, ii, 95
Gardoqui, Don Diego, Spanish minister, ii, 336; Morgan's memorial to, 340; his grant to Morgan, 110; Morgan's letter to, 126; his grant nullified by Miro, 128; declares that Spain will not permit free navigation of Mississippi, 333
Garet, Joseph, i, 356
Garments, primitive, made at home, ii, 232
Garnier, J. V., iii, 165, 235
Garrard, Governor, ii, 95
Garreau, Pierre, ii, 87, 152
Garrett, Joseph, iii, 103
Garrison at Ste. Genevieve, i, 359
Garton, John, ii, 158
Gasconade, i, 17; Osages hunt on, 181, 228-233; number of families on in 1808, iii, 143, 154; first settlers of county, 159; town of, 184
Gass, names settlement of St. John, ii, 92
Gates, Juan, ii, 56
Gates, Samuel, iii, 107
Gatty, George, ii, 87
Gauthier, or Gaultier, Antoine, ii, 10, 83; in command of Fort San Juan, 91
Gautier, Pierre, dit Sansquartier, ii, 245
Gay, Nicolas, dit Gravois or Gravier, ii, 65, 245
Gayon, Amable, ii, 160
Gayon, Hyacinth, ii, 160
Gayoso, Manuel de Lemos, Spanish Governor of Louisiana, i, 2; refuses permission to the Cherokees to settle on the west side of the Mississippi, 222; ii, 62; advises DeLassus to secure Canadian emigrants, 62; appoints Mackay Commandant of St. Andre, 70, 96; visits New Madrid, 134; his ordinances, 196, 344; biographical sketch of, 344, 345; his ordinances provide that the children of Protestants must be Catholic, iii, 201
"Gazette," gives record of laws enacted at first territorial Assembly, 5; established, iii, 65
Geard, or Giard, Basil, ii, 79
Gearan, Hiram, i, 367
Geese, i, 35, 36
Gegieure, Louis, ii, 65
Geiger, Frederick, iii, 103, 105
Geiger, John, iii, 104
Gelie, Louis, i, 357
Genet, his effort to involve the Union

in war with England, i, 315; endeavors to enlist Tardiveau, 316; ii, 157, 283
General Assembly, first territorial, iii, 3; second territorial, 5; third, 7; and fourth, 8
General Assembly, to meet bi-annually under constitution of 1820, iii, 248
General Court, of Louisiana territory, first appellate, ii, 413; to sit twice a year in St. Louis, ii, 413; iii, 161
"General Pike," a steamboat, iii, 198
Genereau, Francois, iii, 244
Genereux, Joseph, ii, 98, 160
George, Capt. Robert, i, 380
Geography of Missouri unwritten, i, 9
Geographical situation of Missouri, i, 16
George, Solomon, i, 367, 372
Georgia, claims country to the Mississippi, ii, 330
Gendron, Toussaint, ii, 96
Gentry, Richard, iii, 184; duel with Carroll, 79
Gentry, Reuben, iii, 138, 157
Gerard, or Gerrard, Jean, ii, 75
Gerard, Louis, ii, 166
Germ of St. Louis school fund, iii, 71
Germain, Lord George, letter to Haldimand to reduce Spanish posts, ii, 36
Germain, George, ii, 152
Germain, Jos., i, 357
German Coast, of lower Louisiana, ii, 188
German, grantees of Lorimier, ii, 168; early pioneers in the Mississippi Valley, 187; settlement on Whitewater in upper Louisiana, 188; iii, 59; preaching stations on Whitewater, 204; settlements extend up and down Whitewater, 205
German church, on Whitewater, in flourishing condition, iii, 205
German language, used by settlers on Whitewater, iii, 205
German preacher, Rev. Samuel Weyberg, iii, 204; biographical sketch of, 205
Gervais, ii, 20
Geyer, Henry S., iii, 8; biographical sketch of, 21; elected United States Senator to succeed Benton, 22
Ghent, treaty of, iii, 128
Giard, Antoine, ii, 90
Giard, Angelique, ii, 89
Giard, Basil, ii, 79
Giard, Catharine, ii, 79
Gibbins, John, iii, 229
Gibbins, Samuel, iii, 229
Gibbons, James, iii, 229
Gibbons, Robert, iii, 229
Gibault, Father, piloted Clark to Vincennes, i, 357; ii, 146, 166, 297, 304; priest at New Madrid, 310; his services to the United States, ii, 300; his memorial asking for a land grant, 301
Gibkins, Dr. Bernard, ii, 22, 28
Giboney, Alexander, ii, 183
Giboney, Alexander, junior, ii, 183; killed at the battle of Sinkhole, iii, 131, 132
Giboney, Andrew, ii, 183; iii, 196
Giboney, Aurelia, ii, 183
Giboney, Isabel, ii, 183
Giboney, John, ii, 169, 183, 190, 192
Giboney, Margaret, ii, 183
Giboney, Robert, ii, 183, 192
Giboney Creek, ii, 183
Gibson, Humphrey, senior, i, 380
Gibson, Humphrey, junior, i, 380
Gibson, Jacob, iii, 107
Gibson, John, iii, 157
Gibson, Samuel, iii, 103, 106
Gibson, Thomas, ii, 73, 102
Gibson, William, ii, 162
Giddings, Salmon, describes Rock house in Pike county, i, 42; opens a school in St. Louis, iii, 69; monthly religious meetings at his school room, 215; first Presbyterian minister stationed at St. Louis, 228; visits Bellevue, 229
Giguire, or DeGuire, ii, 76
Giguire, or DeGuire, Louis, i, 381
Gilbert's Lick, iii, 107
Gilbert, Mary, ii, 150
Gilbert, Samuel, iii, 107
Gilbert, Warner, ii, 99
Gilbeaugh, Cesell, ii, 161
Giles, John, sergeant, iii, 111
Gilkinson, John, ii, 165
Gill, Anna Collins, ii, 152
Gill, Charles, ii, 75
Gill, James, ii, 150, 154, 155
Gill, John, ii, 166
Gill, Mary, ii, 76
Gill, Moses, iii, 85
Gill, Mrs. Nancy, ii, 150
Gillespie, Ann, ii, 185
Gillespie, Elizabeth, ii, 185
Gillespie, Mary, ii, 185
Gillespie's Fort, ii, 184
Gillis, Angus, ii, 97
Gillmore, John, ii, 76
Gilmore, with Callaway when killed, iii, 124
Ginginbre, ii, 55

Gingras Creek, ii, 53, 77; on Petite Gingras, ii, 21
Girard, Francois, ii, 87
Girard, Jean Baptist, ii, 56
Girard, Joseph, ii, 87
Girardin, Antoine, his letter to Sinclair as to the sentiment of the people of Cahokia, ii, 49
Girardot, Sieur Jean B., ii, 168
Girouard, dit Giroux, William, i, 355, 376; ii, 245
Girrard, dit Megar, Joseph, i, 387; ii, 245
Gladu, Pierre, ii, 53
Glaize, Rev. Samuel, iii, 241
Gleason, James, with Callaway, iii, 124, 137
Gleason, John, iii, 137
Gleason, Peter, iii, 137
Gleason, William, iii, 137
Glascock, Charnel, iii, 234
Glasgow, iii, 191
Glass, William Harris, ii, 155
Glasscock, Stephen, iii, 184
Glenn, William, ii, 66
Glover, Richard, ii, 77
Gobeau, Jean Baptiste, i, 358; an interpreter, ii, 157
Godair, or Goder, or Godare, dit Tagarouche, Andre, ii, 151, 161, 245
Godair, Baptiste, ii, 184, 192
Godair, Peter, ii, 184
Godair, Toussaint, ii, 161
Godeau, or Gobeau, Marie Joseph, ii, 53
Goder, or Godair, Henry, ii, 162
Goder, Pierre, ii, 151
Godfrey, Francoise, widow of Louis Vandenbenden, ii, 143
Godfrey, Jacques, ii, 91
Godin, dit Chatouiller, Francois, ii, 245
Godino, John, ii, 100
Goforth, Andrew, iii, 229
Goforth, Miles, i, 373; iii, 107, 229
Goforth, Zack, iii, 229
Golconda, road to Bainbridge, iii, 61
Goldberry, Bennett, iii, 158
Gomez, Don Francisco (Bernado) de, Lieutenant Commandant under Rui, i, 289; ii, 19
Gonet, Claude Joseph, ii, 149
Gonet, Joseph, ii, 149
Gonzalez, Antonio, ii, 138
Gonzalez, Casto, ii, 321
Gooche, Drury, iii, 107
Gooch, Nicholas, iii, 99
Good marksmen, highly respected by pioneers, iii, 74
Goods, stock of, carried by traders, ii, 270
Goodrich, Elisha, ii, 71
Gool, Jacob, ii, 152
Gordon, George, ii, 72
Gordon, Hugh, iii, 157
Gosse, Mary Madaline, ii, 150
Goudin, William, ii, 152
Gough, John B., iii, 85
Gouier, Jean Baptiste, dit Champagne, i, 336
Government, of Osages oligarchical, i, 192
Government, during Spanish dominion, a parental despotism, ii, 199
Government House, occupied by Spanish officials in St. Louis, built by Martigny, ii, 23
Government House, in St. Louis, picture of, ii, 361
Govreau, Antoine, i, 379
Govreau, or Goverot, Etienne, i, 355
Govreau, Henry, i, 355
Govreau, Joseph, i, 355
Govreau, Louisa, married Jean B. LaCroix at Kaskaskia, i, 352
Govreau, Louis, i, 355
Govreau, Pierre, i, 356
Gow, or Goe, Joseph Louis, ii, 91
Gow, Michael, ii, 91
Goza, Joshua, ii, 187
Graham, Alexander, ii, 77
Graham, Hugh, ii, 76
Graham, James, iii, 16; duel with Dr. Farrar, 75; died of wound received, 76
Graham, John, i, 381
Graham, Samuel, ii, 76
Grand, Francois, ii, 150
Grand Marais, French for Big Swamp, ii, 190
Grand River, i, 17; Indian trail up, 229; settlement on, iii, 158
Grand Prairie, iii, 99
Grand Tower, described by Marquette, i, 161; noted by Long, iii, 152
Grande, Don Augustine, ii, 369
Grande, Jose Casa, ii, 166
Granger, Postmaster-General, ii, 406
Granites, of Missouri, i, 21
Grantees, and early settlers of St. Louis, ii, 20
Gras, or Grace, Richard, ii, 149
Grass, Henry, i, 384
Grassard, dit Griffard, i, 355; ii, 245
Gratiot, Charles, i, 323, 356; sends boat of provisions to Prairie du Chien, ii, 34, 35, 36, 37; connection with attack on St. Louis, 40; residence of in St. Louis, 48, 62, 362, 374, 383, 388, 391, 392, 395, 396;

appointed Clerk of the Land Commissioners, **iii,** 43; removed from this office, 49
Gratiot, Charles, General, appointed to West Point, **ii,** 381; biographical sketch of, 381
Gratiot, Henry, **ii,** 56
Gratiard, a partner with Dupont in an ash furnace, **i,** 368
Gravel, Louis, **i,** 356, 357
Gravelle, Catharine, **ii,** 9
Gravelin, Joseph, **ii,** 91
Gravelin, Joseph, junior, **ii,** 91
Graves, Thomas, **ii,** 162; **iii,** 85
Graveyards, where located in St. Louis, **ii,** 26
Gravier, Father, mentions the Akansea, **i,** 107; on the Mississippi in 1700, 245; observes wild animals crossing the river at what is now known as Gray's Point, 246; visits the Indians on the west bank of the river, **ii,** 288; Riviére des Peres, first settlement in valley, 288
Gravier, Joseph, **ii,** 153
Gray, Alexander, **ii,** 142; **iii,** 22
Gray, Ben, **iii,** 158
Gray, Drakeford, Lieutenant, **iii,** 111; his report of the Sinkhole fight, 135
Gray, David, Spanish interpreter at New Madrid, **ii,** 142, 148
Gray, James, **ii,** 75; **iii,** 107
Gray, John, sergeant, **iii,** 111
Gray, Robert, **iii,** 106
Gray's Point, bears cross the river at, **i,** 35; noted by Long, **iii,** 151
Grazer, John B., **ii,** 86
Great North Fork, of White river, **i,** 17
Great Osages, village of, **i,** 181
Great Trail, Nemacolin's path, **i,** 228
Grebour, or Erebour, dit Maturin, Baptiste, **ii,** 245
Green, Miss Ann, **iii,** 223
Green, Benjamin, **ii,** 158
Green, Rev. Daniel, a Baptist preacher in Tywappity bottom in 1805, **iii,** 206
Green, David, **ii,** 192
Green, Duff, first postmaster of Charlton, **iii,** 63; first mail contractor to carry mail between St. Louis and Franklin, 64; proprietor of the "Enquirer," 66, a member of the constitutional convention, 249; sketch of, 258
Green, James, **ii,** 72
Green, Mrs. Learma, **iii,** 206
Green, Richard, **ii,** 162
Green, or Greene, Robert, **ii,** 186, 384; **iii,** 84
Greene, Rev. Thomas Parrish, opens a school in Cape Girardeau in 1820, **iii,** 68; preserves the Bethel church records, 207; biographical sketch of, 219
Greenville, **iii,** 186
Greenville, Jean, **i,** 367, 382
Greenwell, Ignatius, **iii,** 85
Gregory, Isaac, **iii,** 131
Gregoire, Charles, **i,** 386
Gregg family, account of, **iii,** 119
Gregg, David, **iii,** 120
Gregg, Harman, **iii,** 115, 120
Gregg, John, **ii,** 164
Gregg, William, killed by Indians, **iii,** 115, 120; settled above Arrow Rock, **iii,** 119
Grenier, Louis, **i,** 368
Grider, or Crider, James, **iii,** 157
Griffar, Michael, **i,** 355
Griffard, Alexis, **i,** 355, 367
Griffen, Eleanor, **ii,** 142
Griffin, James, junior, **ii,** 101
Griffin, John, **ii,** 395
Griffin, Joseph, junior, **ii,** 78
Griffin, Judge John, **ii,** 378
Griffin, William, **ii,** 69
Griffith, Daniel, **ii,** 101
Griffith, Samuel, **ii,** 100; **iii,** 104, 106
Griffith, William, **ii,** 101
Grigg, Mary, married Rev. Wilson Thompson, **iii,** 207
Griggs, Lieutenant, escapes when Callaway was killed, **iii,** 124
Grimaldi, Marquis de, **ii,** 22
Grimar, Carlos, **ii,** 151
Grimar, J. B., **ii,** 151
Grimar, Pierre, **ii,** 151, 160
Grimard, dit Charpentier, Louis, **ii,** 53, 56, 100
Grimaux, dit Charpentier, Alexander, **ii,** 53, 245
Grimes, Joseph, **i,** 367
Grimes, Guilaume, **i,** 367
Grimsley, Thornton, reared by Jacoby, **iii,** 215
Gringa, Louis, **i,** 368
Grinder, Gov. Lewis, murdered in his house, **ii,** 411
Grinon, **i,** 355
Gristmill, first in St. Louis, **ii,** 28
Gristmills, in upper Louisiana, **ii,** 257
Griswold, Rogers, **ii,** 353; feared Louisiana Purchase would tend to dismember the Union, 351
Gritz, or Grites, Krytz, Kreutz, William, **ii,** 189
Grob, or Grubb, Allen Bird, **ii,** 156

Grojean, Jeremiah, ii, 96
Grondon, or Grondine, Francois, i, 375
Grooms, Abner, iii, 138
Grooms, John, iii, 138
Grooms, William, iii, 138
Groseilliers, Medard Chouart Sieur de, biographical sketch of, i, 150; discovers the Missouri or Forked River, 153; wanders in the West, 151; first visits the tribes of Wisconsin, 152; first hears of the Sioux, 152; discovers the Spaniards trade with the Indians of Missouri, 153; Negroes described by the Indians to him, 153
Groshong, Jacob, iii, 103, 106
Grosjean, Jacob, ii, 96
Gross, Charles, ii, 146
Gross, dit Groves, Henry, ii, 245
Groston, Robert, dit St. Ange, ii, 12
father of St. Ange de Bellerive, 12
Ground, Adam, iii, 106
Ground, John, iii, 106
Grount, Daniel, ii, 192
Grount, George, ii, 189, 192
Grount, Peter, ii, 189; a German preaching place, iii, 205
Growth, of population, after cession, iii, 140, 145, 150; of settlements from the mouth of the Ohio up the Mississippi, 153; of Franklin, 154; of Chariton, 156; in the interior, 159
Groza, Baptiste, iii, 157
Guerette, dit Dumont or Dumond, Pierre, ii, 56, 245
Guerin, Juan Simon, ii, 150, 232
Guernsey, David, iii, 157
Gueron, Louis, i, 356
Guest, Jonathan, iii, 194, 197
Guething, John, ii, 190, 192, 384
Guinault, or Guilbeaut, Cecile, ii, 106
Guibault, Charles, ii, 149, 151
Guibault, Jeanne, mother of Guillaume de Lorimier, ii, 171
Guibault, Guillaume, ii, 171
Guibourd, Jacques, i, 354, 379, 385; iii, 67
Guibourd, Jean, ii, 258
Guibourd House, in Ste. Genevieve, i, 357
Guignon, S. A. iii, 181
Guion, Amable, senior, a stone mason, ii, 26; killed in attack on St. Louis, 39
Guion, Amable, junior, ii, 26
Guion, furnished the iron work for the first St. Louis jail, ii, 30
Guion, Devance, ii, 66
Guion, John B., first child born in St. Louis, ii, 26, 285
Guinard, Joseph, ii, 91
Guinelle, Francois, ii, 56
Guinn, Michael, ii, 192
Guinolet, or Guignotely, Joseph, ii, 166
Guillory, or Guillay, Phillip, ii, 56
Guillet, Father, Urban, Abbot of the Trappist Monastery near Cahokia, ii, 314
Guitard, Etienne, ii, 100
Guitard, dit La Grandeur, Francois, ii, 53
Guitard, dit La Grandeur, Louis, ii, 245
Guitard, dit La Grandeur, Louis, junior, ii, 55
Guitard, Paul, ii, 54, 55
Guitard, Vincent, ii, 55, 101
Guitar, Pierre, ii, 165
Guittare, Joseph, ii, 52
Guliah, Louis, iii, 131
Gum tree, described, i, 36
Gunboat "Governor Clark" protects Campbell, iii, 128
Gunsmiths, ii, 231; iii, 185
Gurez, or Querez, dit LaTulipe, Pierre, ii, 148
Gurley, John Ward, ii, 165
Guthrie, Rev. George, pioneer minister at St. Michaels, iii, 218
Guyard, Capt. R. P., of the steamboat "Constitution," iii, 200
Guyol, Francis C., professor in the St. Louis college, iii, 71, 108
Guyol, Louise, dit Henoise, ii, 245
Guyon, Hubert, iii, 103, 105

H

Haas, or Hoos, Jean, ii, 165
Habb, first brewer of St. Louis, iii, 190, 192
Habitat, of Saukees and Foxes at time of cession, i, 204
Hacker, George, ii, 158
Hacker, William, ii, 163
Haffner, Valentine, iii, 190
Hagan, Aquilla, i, 383
Hagan, Joseph, i, 382
Hager, Joseph, iii, 84
Hague, John, i, 374, 382
Ha-ha-ton-ka, i, 18
Hail, Benjamin, iii, 131; wounded at the battle of the Sinkhole, 132
Hail, Thomas, iii, 131
Haile, Rev. Jesse, iii, 238, 239, 241
Haines, Joseph, ii, 94
Haldimand, General, ii, 35, 37; complains of want of secrecy, 37; Calve's complaint to, 39; report on attack of St. Louis, 41; ii, 298

Haldiman, Peter, iii, 235
Haldiman, Thomas, has a ferry on the Missouri, iii, 62
Hall, Abijah, and company, bakers in St. Louis, iii, 60
Hall, Everhard, iii, 25
Hall, merchant at Cape Girardeau, iii, 196
Hall, John, iii, 234
Hall, Lewis, iii, 103, 106
Hall, Sergeant, founds the "Western Emigrant" in 1817, iii, 65
Halley, Juan, ii, 152
Halliday, William P., iii, 157
Hamelin, Francois, ii, 150
Hamelin, or Amelin, Hyacinta, ii, 56
Hamelin, Jean B., ii, 21
Hamer, Marie, ii, 149
Hamilton, Andrew, ii, 76
Hamilton, Charles, iii, 131
Hamilton, George, ii, 326
Hamilton, George A., i, 385
Hamilton, Ninian Bell, ii, 76
Hamilton, William, ii, 71
Hamilton, William S., iii, 233
Hammelain, Jean Baptiste, marches to St. Joseph, ii, 43
Hammond, George, iii, 194
Hammond, Samuel, his farm in Jefferson county, i, 28; appointed Commandant of St. Louis, ii, 382; his nephew killed an Indian in St. Louis, 405; biographical note, 382; appointed a member of the territorial council, iii, 3, 184, 234; member of the constitutional convention, 249
Hampton, L. T., iii, 189
Hampton, Thomas, iii, 85
Hamtramck, Major, i, 358, 365; complains of the removal of people to Spanish side of the river, ii, 48; reports on the effect of Morgan's enterprise, 129; writes Gen. Harmar as to prevalent lawlessness at Kaskaskia, 309
Hancock, Abbott, iii, 115
Hancock, Forest, ii, 93, 100
Hancock, John, iii, 115
Hancock, Robert, iii, 116
Hancock, Ruth, wife of Sarshall Cooper, iii, 117
Hancock, Capt. Samuel, i, 383
Hancock, Stephen, ii, 93, 97, 101; was 80 years of age when Peck met him, iii, 217
Hancock, Stephen, junior, iii, 111
Hancock, William, ii, 93
Hand, Fanny, ii, 153
Hand, Henry, ii, 187
Hand, John, ii, 187, 192
Hand, William, ii, 187, 192
Handley, John, ii, 151
Hankins, Jean, i, 367; see John Hawkins
Hankinson, John, iii, 192
Hanks, Joseph, iii, 104, 107
Hanimer, Jean Marie, ii, 151
Hanly, Thomas, iii, 193
Hannah, James, ii, 190
Hannibal, Germ of, iii, 144, 185
Hansberg, Sarah, ii, 152
Harbison, George, G., iii, 23
Harbison, Rev. John C., iii, 238, 240
Harbor of New Madrid, iii, 170
Harden, Joseph, i, 4
Harden, Joseph, iii, 8
Hardin, Benjamin, i, 372
Hardin, John, i, 372
Hardships of early ministers, iii, 229
Hardware carefully looked after during Spanish rule, ii, 232
Hardy, Thomas, ii, 77
Hargrove, or Hartgrove, Benjamin, ii, 190
Hargrove, Lemuel, ii, 192
Harkelrode, Daniel, ii, 384
Harkins, Samuel C., iii, 244
Harmar, General, visits Cruzat at St. Louis, i, 311; visits Peyroux at Ste. Genevieve, 311; ii, 144
Harmony, a school for the education of the Osages, i, 197
Harper, Robert, ii, 189
Harper, William, ii, 187
Harpin, Julia, ii, 152
Harpoel, Joseph, iii, 158
Harrington, Barthélemi, ii, 76
Harrington, Joseph Bartholomew, iii, 84
Harrington, Samuel, i, 374
Harrington, ii, 98
Harris, Barnabas, iii, 5, 7, 8
Harris, Isham, iii, 85
Harris, Jenkins, ii, 155
Harris, Joseph, ii, 184
Harris, Micajah, ii, 190
Harris, McHindgey (may be Micajah), ii, 165
Harris, Samuel, ii, 77
Harris, Thomas, ii, 160
Harris William, ii, 77; iii, 187
Harrison, Albert G., member of the second board of land commissioners, iii, 54; biography of, 54; resigns when elected to Congress, 54
Harrison, Gen. Ben., ii, 125, 158; iii, 83
Harrison, George, ii, 125
Harrison, Col. John, iii, 83, 84

Harrison, Lawrence, ii, 125
Harrison, William, iii, 103, 104, 187
Harrison, William H., i, 233, 349; orders Austin to deliver Spanish cannon to DeLassus, ii, 366; governor of Louisiana, 377; defines the districts by proclamation, 378, 382, 384; gives letter of introduction to President Jefferson to Chouteau, as delegate, 394
Harrod, Thomas, i, 380
Hart, George G., iii, 6
Harte, or Hart, John E., ii, 141; iii, 104, 107
Hart, John B., ii, 70
Hart, Joseph, i, 376
Hart, Michael, i, 376
Hart, Thomas, i, 367
Hart, Rev. William, iii, 238
Hart, William, iii, 104, 106
Hartle, Peter, ii, 189
Hartley, Lanham, ii, 77
Hartlor, Jean, i, 367
Harvey, John, ii, 154, 165
Harvey, John W., iii, 8
Harvin, or Haervin, i, 382
Hashequashisua, an Indian chief, i, 233, or Hashequarhiqua, the Bear, ii, 395
Haten, David, ii, 163
Hathway, Abner, miller, ii, 179
Hatherly, Benj., iii, 106
Hatten, Henry, i, 382
Hatters, iii, 187
Hatton, Reuben, iii, 83
Havanna(h), dungeons of, ii, 201; criminals sent to, 201
Hawken Rifle, iii, 188
Hawken, Jacob, iii, 188
Hawkesbury, Lord, ii, 353
Hawkins, John, i, 384; ii, 383; iii, 69
Hawkins, Richard, i, 382
Hawthorne, Edward, ii, 189
Hawthorn, John, ii, 158
Hays, Col. Christopher, ii, 112; accompanied Morgan, 186, 192, settles by special permission of Casa Calvo, 217, 283, 391, 392; iii, 83
Hays, Eliza, married Van Bibber, iii, 157
Hays, George, ii, 186, 192
Hays, John, ii, 186, 191, 192; first sheriff of Cape Girardeau district, 384; operates a ferry near Apple creek, iii, 62
Hays, Nicholas, iii, 229
Hays, William, senior, ii, 93, 96
Hays, William, junior, ii, 93
Haywood, cited, i, 40
Hayden, Anthony, iii, 23
Hayden, Belemus, Dr., ii, 183
Hayden, Clement, i, 383
Hayden, Dr., a cancer doctor at Jackson in 1818, iii, 82
Hayden, Peyton R., iii, 30
Hazel, Daniel, ii, 157
Hazel, Richard, ii, 157
Head, Alfred, iii, 115, 138
Head, Anthony, iii, 103, 106
Head, James, ii, 75
Head, Moses, iii, 138
Head, William, iii, 106
Head's Fort, iii, 137
Healey, Jesse, i, 367
Heath, James, iii, 116
Heath, John, iii, 116
Heath, John G., iii, 5; makes salt on Blackwater, 146; member of the constitutional convention, 249; notes of, 261
Heaton, or Hatten, David, ii, 158
Hebert, dit LeCompte, Antoine, ii, 20
Hebert, dit Deshomet, Bazil, ii, 86, 245
Hebert, Charles, ii, 91
Hebert, dit Belhomme, Francois, ii, 10, 53
Hebert, dit LeCompte, Guillaume, ii, 20, 60
Hebert, dit Fournier, Jean Baptiste, 160, 245
Hebert, Michael, ii, 68
Hebert, dit LeCompte, Nicholas, ii, 21, 67, 245
Hebert, Peter, i, 368
Hebert, Theresa, ii, 21
Hebert, Veuve, ii, 22
Hector, Frederick, iii, 131
Hector, Gilbert, ii, 190, 192
Heen, Augustin, i, 367
Heins, or Heinz, a "Witenberger" with LaSalle, ii, 187
Helena, i, 101; Arkansas, village near, 107; near Kapaha of LaSalle, i, 166
Helderbrand, Benjamin, ii, 189, 192
Helderbrand, Daniel, ii, 189, 192
Helderbrand, or Hilderbrand, John, ii, 284
Hemp, cultivation of, i, 305
Hemphill, James, ii, 147
Hemphill, John, ii, 147
Hempstead, Edward, ii, 86, 254, 383; first Clerk of St. Charles, 384, 412; first delegate of the territory to Congress, iii, 2; biography of, 3; his service in behalf of the Public schools of St. Louis, 71; speech in favor of Spanish land claims, 52;

as to society of St. Louis, 56; captain of militia, 108
Hempstead, Stephen, ii, 254; his trip west, time consumed, 197; urges that Presbyterian missionaries be sent to Missouri, iii, 86, 224, 226
Hempstead, Stephen, junior, iii, 103, 106
Hempstead, Thomas, replies to Sibley, iii, 149; time consumed in a trip to Washington in 1827, 198; brings the news of the passage of the enabling act to Jackson, 248
Henderson, David, iii, 83
Henderson, George, ii, 191, 192; iii, 105, 196
Henderson, John, ii, 76
Henderson, Joseph, iii, 104, 108
Henderson, Samuel, iii, 229
Henderson, William, iii, 229, 245
Hendricks, Elijah, a revolutionary soldier, iii, 85, 158
Heneaux, Louis, iii, 131
Hening, Thomas, ii, 192
Henn, Miss Susan, ii, 297
Hennepin, on number of Osages, i, 181
Henrion, Charles, ii, 53
Henrion, Francois, ii, 22
Henrion, Gille, ii, 22
Henry, his "New Light of the Northwest," i, 2
Henry, Andrew, Major, i, 367; ii, 384; iii, 67; note as to, 95, 107, 245
Henry, George, joins Pike's corps, iii, 144
Henry, John, ii, 70, 71, 87
Henry, Jonah, ii, 70
Henry, Malcolm, member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249; biographical note, 260
Henry, Patrick, Governor of Virginia, orders the erection of Fort Jefferson, ii, 331
Henry, Thomas, ii, 76
Hensley, Ben, iii, 157
Hensley, David, ii, 76
Hensley, John, ii, 76
Hensley, William, ii, 76
Henthorn, John, ii, 153, 192
Henton, John A., i, 376
Herbert, Helen, ii, 9
Herbert, Ignace, ii, 21
Herbert, Noel, ii, 99
Herculaneum, a ferry operated there; i, 379; in 1819, described by Long, iii, 153, 186
Herds of buffalo and bear mentioned by Du Pratz, on the St. Francois, i, 38
Herds of deer and elk, i, 36
Herds of oxen and bear, i, 36
Herkelrode, Daniel, corporal, iii, 110
Herman, iron hauled to, by ox wagons, iii, 187
Herman, Rev., a divine of the German Reformed church, iii, 205
Hernault, Jean Baptiste, ii, 153
Herpin, John B., iii, 193
Herrington, Elisha, ii, 70, 257
Herrington, William, ii, 69
Hertich, (or Hertick), Joseph, opens a school in Ste. Genevieve in 1815, iii, 68; paymaster in war of 1812, iii, 103, 106; appointed to formulate a common school system for Missouri, 251
Hertzog, Joseph, iii, 194
Hervieux, Jean, ii, 232
Hervieux, Theresa, ii, 22
Heslep, and Taylor, iii, 188
Hesse, Capt., formerly of the Royal Americans, ii, 36; in command on attack of St. Louis, 36
Heward, Hugh, ii, 172
Hewitt, James, i, 373
Hewling, Capt., ii, 112, 115
Hibernois, dit Meloche, ii, 148
Hibler, Samuel, ii, 72
Hicklin, Absalom, ii, 160
Hickman, Francis, iii, 85
Hickman, William, ii, 384; has a ferry near Apple creek, iii, 62
Hickman, Thomas, keeps tavern at Franklin, iii, 61
Hickory, i, 32
Hidalgo, the revolution of, iii, 155
Hidalgoes, iii, 36
Higgins, Josiah, iii, 115
Higgins, Pierre, ii, 157, 158
Highsmith, Abijah, iii, 131
Hight, Henry, iii, 103, 106
Highway, oldest of Missouri, i, 225
Hilaire, Father, i, 340; his trouble with his parishioners, ii, 297
Hildebrand family, ii, 73
Hildebrand, Abraham, ii, 75
Hildebrand, Christian Ewalt, ii, 76
Hildebrand, David, ii, 75
Hildebrand, dit Albrane, John, ii, 245
Hildebrand, Jonathan, ii, 76
Hildebrand, John, iii, 86
Hildebrand, dit Acie Ellebrand, Isaac, ii, 75
Hildebrand, Peter, killed by the Osages, ii, 73; iii, 86
Hildebrant, see Hildebrand
Hill, James, ii, 165
Hill, Samuel, ii, 152, 166
Hill, Thomas, iii, 84

Hill, William, ii, 185
Hines, John, iii, 107
Hines, William, iii, 106
Hinch, Samuel, i, 386
Hinkle, Casper, iii, 85
Hinks, Samuel, senior, i, 383
Hinkston, Benjamin, ii, 125
Hinkston, John, ii, 125
Hinkston, Robert, i, 386
Hinkston, William, i, 386; ii, 153
Hitt, Francis, iii, 206
Hitt, John, iii, 206
Holson, Petten, ii, 165
Hobbs, Abner, iii, 157
Hodges, Daniel, ii, 69
Hodges, Ebenezer, senior and junior, ii, 69
Hodges, Don Edmund, ii, 69; syndic at Spanish Pond, 199, 363
Hodges, Gilbert, ii, 69
Hodges, John, iii, 131
Hodges, Samuel, senior, ii, 69
Hodges, Samuel, junior, ii, 69
Hodgens, John, ii, 159
Hoff, James, ii, 100
Hoff, or Hoss, Thomas, ii, 162
Hoffman, D. L., i, 41
Hoffman, D. B., iii, 234
Hoffman, Frederick, ii, 165
Hoffman, George, ii, 98
Hoffman, George, junior, ii, 98
Hoffman, Dr. Herman L., a physician in St. Louis in 1819, iii, 81
Hoffman, Peter, ii, 98
Hogan, Edward, ii, 191; iii, 7, 8, 107
Hogens, Charles, ii, 164
Holcomb, John, iii, 131
Holder, Capt. John, iii, 84, 85
Holliday, Benjamin, establishes the "Missouri Intelligencer" in 1819 at Franklin, iii, 66
Holliday, Joseph, iii, 157, 158
Holliday, William, iii, 158
Holloned, Thomas, iii, 84
Holmes, on pottery found in mounds of Southeast Missouri, i, 42
Holmes, Oliver, surgeon dentist first in St. Louis, iii, 83
Holmes, Samuel, ii, 97
Holmes, William, iii, 103
Homan's map, notes metallic district of upper Louisiana, i, 277
Hominy, i, 190
Honesty and punctuality of French Canadian settlers, ii, 272
Honey Creek, prehistoric works on, i, 84
Honey, John W., iii, 7, 190
Honore, Baptiste, ii, 69
Honore, Francois, ii, 68, 69, 77
Honore, dit Tesson, Louis, ii, 69, 71, 101
Honore, Michael, ii, 69
Honore, Noel, ii, 69
Hood, Robert, iii, 197
Hooper, Absalom, ii, 165
Hooper, Thomas, ii, 69
Hooper, William, ii, 77
Hopkins, James, iii, 245
Horine, Benjamin, i, 381; ii, 102; iii, 107, 245
Horine, David, i, 381
Horine, Jacob, i, 370, 380, 381
Horine, John, iii, 102, 105
Horine, Michael, i, 381
Horn, Joseph, ii, 76
Hornbeck, Noel, i, 367, 386
Horne, Josiah, Rev., a messenger of the Little Red River Association, iii, 218
Horner, John, ii, 154
Horrell, Rev. Thomas, ii, 185; iii, 233
Horrell, W. W., ii, 185
Horses, small, ii, 236
Horses, stolen by Indians, iii, 129
Horsemills, iii, 189
Horsley, Thomas Young, ii, 154
Hortiz, or Hortes, Don Joseph Alvarez, ii, 21, 62, 245
Hortes, John, ii, 166
Hospital, military, established in St. Louis in 1801, ii, 63
Hospitality, of French Canadian settlers, ii, 274
Hospitality of people, iii, 59
Hoss, John, ii, 189, 192
Hostility of Americans to late Spanish officials, iii, 56
Hostetter, Isaac, ii, 96; iii, 103, 106
Hot Springs, claimed under a New Madrid certificate, iii, 179
Hough, escapes Indian attack, iii, 119
Hough, Judge, of the Southeast Missouri circuit, resides on Wolf Island, held to be in Kentucky afterwards, i, 15
Houk, John, iii, 131
House, Adam, killed by Osages, ii, 74
House, Betsy, ii, 75
House, John, ii, 75
House, Peggy, ii, 75
Household effects, ii, 269
Houses of French settlers, ii, 280
Houses of American settlers, ii, 282
Houston, Samuel, ii, 153
Houts, Christopher G., ii, 153; iii, 196; member of the constitutional convention, 249; notes in regard to. 257

Howard, Gov. Benjamin, appointed Governor of Missouri territory, iii, 2; resigns on being appointed Brigadier General, 3; sends Kibby to protect settlers, 102, 104; expedition against Illinois Indians, 113; dies at St. Louis, 113; biographical sketch of, 113
Howard, Don Carlos, commands a military expedition up the Mississippi, i, 322; instructions to him, 322; his officers, 323; residents recommended to him by Carondelet, 323, 348, 357; arrives at St. Louis, ii, 58, 60
Howard, Henry, ii, 186
Howard, John, i, 339
Howard, Purnell, ii, 101
Howard's Bluff, iii, 185
Howard county, organized, iii, 7, 150, 248
Howdershell, John, iii, 216
Howe, John, ii, 78
Howell, Benjamin, ii, 97
Howell, Francois, ii, 97
Howell, Francois, junior, ii, 97
Howell, James F., ii, 98
Howell, John, ii, 97
Howell, Louis, ii, 98
Howell, Newton, ii, 101
Howell, Thomas, ii, 97, 98
Howell's Prairie, ii, 97
Howland, John, iii, 188
Hoyt, J. W., iii, 235
Hubbard, Asaph, iii, 137
Hubbard, Daniel, ii, 101; iii, 116, 137
Hubbard, Duritt, ii, 101
Hubbard, Felix, ii, 101
Hubbard, Elder J., iii, 210
Hubbard, Dr. Jabez, at Franklin, iii, 82
Hubbard, Seibert, iii, 116
Hubbard, Usebines, iii, 137
Hubard, or Hubardeau, Jean B., i, 356
Hubbell, Daniel, ii, 192
Hubbell, Ebenezer, ii, 192
Hubbell, Ithamar, owns a mill on Hubbell Creek, ii, 182; a soldier of the Revolution, 185, 186, 187, 284; iii, 84, 219
Hubbell, Jonathan, ii, 192; iii, 217
Hubbell, Mathew, ii, 187, 384
Hubbell Creek, Baptist church organized on waters of, iii, 206
Hubbell Creek, mill on, ii, 182
Hubert, dit LaCroix, Jean B., ii, 245
Hubert, Jerome, ii, 383
Hubert, Joseph, ii, 52, 68
Hubert, Sieur, speaks of the beauty and fertility of the country on the Missouri, i, 31
Hudson Bay company, ii, 254
Hudson, Francois, ii, 158, 232
Hudson, Hall, iii, 120
Huddleston, Archibald, i, 384; iii, 106
Huettner, Edouard, ii, 147
Huff, Nathan, iii, 159
Hughes, Gen. Andrew S., biographical sketch of, i, 11
Hughes, Lieutenant Daniel, ii, 369
Hughes, John, iii, 104, 107, 229
Hughes, Major, of Missouri regiment in Seminole war, iii, 79
Huit, John, ii, 69
Huitt, Russell, ii, 149
Hulings, Capt. ii, 283
Hull, Abijah, iii, 235
Hull, Uriah, i, 373
Hull, William, iii, 85
Humboldt's view as to antiquity of granites, i, 21
Humphries, Joshua, first clerk of New Madrid court, ii, 384
Humphries, William, i, 372
Hunaud, Antoine, i, 357; ii, 26
Hunaud, Louis, junior, ii, 26
Hunaud, Touissant, i, 338
Hunt, Ezra, biographical sketch of, iii, 32, 158
Hunt, Littleberry, iii, 84
Hunt's Minutes, iii, 51
Hunt, Seth, i, 355; appointed Commandant of Ste. Genevieve, ii, 382, 408
Hunt, Theodore, i, 238, 338; appointed to superintend a lottery, 418; recorder of land titles, iii, 51, 187, 235
Hunt, Wilson P., ii, 383; iii, 192, 234
Hunter, Charles M., iii, 193
Hunter, John Dunn, on manufacturing among Osages, i, 189
Hunter, Joseph, a resident of Wolf Island, 1, 15; ii, 164, 285; appointed member of council, iii, 3, 7; Major in New Madrid regiment in war of 1812, 104, 107
Hunter, Harris, ii, 155
Hunter, dit Polite Robar, Robert, i, 380; ii, 245
Hunter, William, ii, 155
Hunot, Barbe, ii, 151
Hunot, Gabriel, ii, 65, 147
Hunot, John, ii, 165
Hunot, Joseph, ii, 141, 151, 161
Hunot, or Human, Louis, ii, 87
Hunot, Madaline, ii, 151, 152
Hunot, Marie Victoire, ii, 161

Hunting, instructions of Ulloa as to, i, 290; all settlers engaged in, ii, 232
Hunting, main dependence of Osages, i, 182
Hunting grounds of Omahas, i, 177; of Osages, 178, 181; of Saukees and Foxes, 201; between the Des Moines and Missouri, 205
Hunting season, of Foxes and Saukees, i, 206
Hunting trails, i, 223. See Paths
Hurley, Moses, ii, 157, 187, 191
Hurley, Jonathan, ii, 158
Hurricane Island, iii, 144
Hutchins, James, i, 386
Hutchins, Thomas, on the situation of St. Louis, ii, 6; writes Miro, 124
Hutchings, John, member of the constitutional convention, iii, 248
Hutchinson, Park, iii, 124
Hyacinthe, Charlotte, ii, 26
Hynem, John, iii, 157

I

Iberville applies for a grant in what is now Missouri in 1702, i, 274
Incorporation of St. Louis, iii, 161
Ignace, Pierre Valentine, ii, 56
Illiniwek, i, 169
Illinois, or Illinoue, meaning of word, i, 169
Illinois country, ii, 153; first mentioned in Spanish ordinance of Gayoso, 215
Imprisonment for debt introduced in upper Louisiana, ii, 379
"Independence," steamboat, iii, 198
"Independent Patriot," founded in Jackson in 1820, iii, 66; complains of mail service, 63
Independent spirit among the Western people, ii, 334
Indian boundary on the north, i, 14
Indian Ford, ii, 104
Indian names, i, 217
Indian name of the St. Francois, i, 17
Indian runners, i, 179
Indian slaves, ii, 239
Indian traces on the Gasconade, i, 230; iii, 144
Indian trails, De Soto follows, i, 102
Indian title, extent of, extinguished, i, 233-6; by treaty with Saukees and Foxes, ii, 396; to Boonslick country extinguished, iii, 150
Indian trade, free to every merchant during the Spanish dominion, ii, 51
Indian, acts as guide to Caligoa, i, 115
Indians, Algonquin, i, 43
Indians, Arkansas, use salt, i, 47
Indians, Cherokees, ii, 75
Indians, Creek, ii, 75
Indians, Shawnees and Delawares, i, 202; robbed by the whites, 219
Indians, Siouan, i, 169
Indians, around Fort Osage, iii, 149
Indians, Kaskaskias, change of habitat, i, 171
Indians, consulted by Morgan, ii, 111
Indians, effort to establish a school among them at Pilot Knob, ii, 215
Indians, friendly with Rev. Weyberg's family on Whitewater, iii, 206
Indians, heard of the settlement of St. Louis and visited it, ii, 10
Indians, lived in harmony with the French, ii, 209
Indians, on Grand river, iii, 158
Indians, removed from the Platte country, i, 12; from east to west of Mississippi fills people with apprehension, ii, 388
Indians, rum and brandy introduced among them by fur traders, ii, 246
Indians, supposed to have erected mounds, i, 45; not mound-builders, 43
Indians, taken to France by Bourgmont, i, 268
Indians, treatment of, recommended by O'Reilly, i, 299
Indians, tribes on the Missouri, language of, i, 176
Indians, village near Cape Girardeau, ii, 178; near New Madrid, ii, 106; near Ste. Genevieve, i, 362
Indians, massacre at Mine la Motte, i, 378; engaged in attack on St. Louis, ii, 37; Winnebagoes, attempt to storm "Pancour," 39; troublesome at Florrisant, 67; kill three sons of McHugh, 94; attack settlers on Cuivre river, 96; wars of, did not take place during French and Spanish government, 209; occasionally would rob French settlers, 213; visited prior to the war of 1812 by British agents, iii, 97; attack the Cole party, 98; under command of British officers on the Illinois river, 108; pursued by Boonslick settlers, 115; kill Braxton Cooper, junior, 117; attack Cox's place, 118; kill Capt. Callaway, 123; attack Côte San Dessein, 124; many killed at explosion of powder magazine there, 125; flourish Linn's scalp, 127; attack Campbell's ex-

pedition, 127; steal horses, 128; pursue Elder McLane and his escape, 205; kill the Ramsay family, 129
Infidels, Peck on, iii, 58
Influences which secured the election of Benton as Senator, iii, 53, 262
Ingram, Paul, iii, 194
Ingram, William, iii, 107
Ink, William, iii, 103, 106
Innis, Judge Henry, biographical sketch of, ii, 337, 344
Insanity, unknown among the Osages, i, 180
Instinctive trails, of wild animals, i, 231
Intrenchments, of St. Louis, as described by Reed, ii, 37
Iowas, or Pan-8-tet, various names of, perhaps identical with the "Aijados" of Onate, i, 138; on the war-path prior to 1810, iii, 97
Iowa, boundary of, i, 14; south, 5
Irish priests sent from Spain to upper Louisiana, iii, 202
Iron, ii, 115
Iron Banks, Clark at, ii, 41; DeLassus at, ii, 368
Iron deposits of Missouri, extent of, i, 22
Iron hammers, prehistoric, found near the Burbeuse, i, 78
Iron Mountain, i, 21; iii, 254
Iron ore, at mouth of Apple creek, noted by Marquette, i, 161
Iron works, iii, 187
Irreligion of the people, iii, 204
Irvin, Robert, ii, 114
Irving's De Soto, or Conquest of Florida cited, i, 101
Isolation of early settlers, ii, 261; charms of, 267
Ispan, Guillaume, ii, 165
Iturbide, revolution of, iii, 155

J

Jaramillo, Juan, a captain in Coronado's army, i, 122; writes an account of the expedition, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130; describes the head-dress of the Osages, 133; describes the country, 134; says Coronado erected a cross, 135; in the 40th degree, the river in the 36th degree, 131; Quivira vaguely located, 122, 174
Jackson, town of, i, 7; laid out in 1814, iii, 168; where located, 166; described by Flint, 169; by Peck, 169; by Long, 169; merchants of, 196
Jackson, Alexander, ii, 161
Jackson, Dr. Elisha, ii, 146, 154, 158
Jackson, General Andrew, iii, 393
Jackson, of Georgia, ii, 354; feared the Louisiana Purchase would tend to dismember Union, 354
Jackson, Stephen, ii, 101; iii, 114; came from Georgia, 117
Jackson, William, ii, 186, 192
Jacob, Francois, ii, 190
Jacob, Thomas, teacher at New Madrid during the rule of Spain, ii, 276
Jacobs, Jacob, ii, 183, 190
Jacobs, Joseph, ii, 160
Jacoby, John, iii, 188; biographical note, 215
Jacquemin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 20
Jacques, Jean, ii, 56
Jail at St. Louis, iii, 8
James, Cumberland, ii, 69
James, David, iii, 157
James, James, ii, 70, 192
James, John, i, 372; ii, 149
James, John G., ii, 69
James, J. J., ii, 69
James, Joseph, i, 386
James, Morris, ii, 70
James, William, iii, 67
James' Fork, i, 17; Indian village on, 218
Jameson, Harris, iii, 116
Jameson, Isaac W., iii, 245
Jameson, James, ii, 164
Jameson, George, iii, 107
Jameson, Joseph, ii, 96
Jamison, Robert, iii, 85
Jamison, William, ii, 100
Janice, Jean B., or Janis, iii, 86
Janin, Father Pierre, ii, 309, 314
Janis, Antoine, ii, 60, 98, 100
Janis, Antoine, junior, ii, 87
Janis, Francois, i, 355; ii, 166; iii 67
Janis, Jean Baptiste, ensign in Clark's Kaskaskia company, i, 354, 355; ii. 166
Janis, Joseph, ii, 165
Janis, Nicolas, i, 353, 354, 355; ii, 87
Janis, William, ii, 165
Jannetot, or Jeannette, Louis, ii, 98
Jarbeau, Stephen, iii, 131
Jaret, Joseph, i, 357
Jarrotte, ii, 68
Jasperson, iii, 196
Jenneaux, Baptiste, iii, 131
Jeannet, Louis, i, 357
Jeanneret, Charles F., iii, 186

Jeanty, with Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268
Jefferson City, i, 8; iii, 185; made the permanent seat of state government, 268
Jefferson county organized, iii, 8
Jefferson, President Thomas, ii, 8; on importance of New Orleans, 347, 348, 350, 352; instructions to Stoddard, 376; letter to Easton, 401; removes Wilkinson, 408; instructions to Lewis, iii, 141
"Jefferson," steamboat, iii, 199
Jefferson, town of, former county seat of Saline, iii, 185
Jeffre, Jean Baptiste, ii, 99
Jeffry, Jesse, iii, 104, 106
Jeffrey, Jehoida, iii, 131
Jeffron, or Fabius, i, 17
Jenkins, Nimrod, iii, 159
Jenneaux, Baptiste, junior, iii, 131
Jennings, William Elder, iii, 216
Jeram, Jean, ii, 150
Jerney, Peter, ii, 101
Jerred, Joseph, i, 380
Jerrette, Eugenie, or Madame Therburn, dit Jerette, ii, 69
Jervais, Francois, ii, 160
Jervais, Joseph, ii, 87
Jesuits, note fertility of soil at Ste. Genevieve, ii, 235
Jewell, James, iii, 84
Jewitt, Walter, i, 379
Jewish merchants, iii, 192
Jicaye, Richard, ii, 160
Joachim, iii, 183
Joachim, bridge over, i, 379
Joachim, church dedicated, ii, 26
Joachim, parish of at Ste. Genevieve, ii, 292
Joachim, Fort, i, 339
Joachim, settlement on, i, 379
Job, Enoch, i, 84
Job, Jacob, i, 373
Johnson, Adam, i, 376
Johnson, Andrew, iii, 131
Johnson, Benjamin, i, 379; ii, 77; iii, 103
Johnson, Benjamin, teaches school on Sandy creek in 1806, iii, 67
Johnson, Claiborne, ii, 84
Johnson, Curtis, iii, 159
Johnson, Daniel, ii, 97
Johnson, David, ii, 156
Johnson, David L., i, 386
Johnson, Edward, i, 373
Johnson's Factory, iii, 115
Johnson, George, ii, 152
Johnson, Col. James, iii, 157, 158, 224
Johnson, John, ii, 77, 164, 191, 398; iii, 159, 228
Johnson, J. W., iii, 189
Johnson, Pallee, ii, 156
Johnson, Peter, convicted of murder at Ste. Genevieve in 1810, iii, 81
"Johnson," steamboat, iii, 199
Johnson, Thomas, ii, 98, 154
Johnson, Rev. Thomas, preacher in Tywappity bottom in 1805, iii, 204
Johnson, William, i, 386; ii, 77; iii, 106, 217, 245
Jokley, John, iii, 116
Joinal, Joseph, or Joutel, ii, 69
Jollin, Jean, i, 381
Jolly, Joseph, manufactures powder on the Missouri, iii, 114, 136, 145
Joliet, Louis, his map, i, 2; appointed to make a voyage of discovery, 157; by Frontenac, 158; reports to him, 158; lost his journal, 158; finds Indians dwelling in the north of the present Missouri, 160; near mouth of Des Moines, 160; his map, 169; goes as far south as the 34th degree, 162; biographical sketch of, 157; ii, 287
Jones, Col. Augustus, second of John Smith T., in duel with Browne, iii, 79, 257
Jones, Bele, or Billy, ii, 165
Jones, Benjamin, ii, 96
Jones, David, iii, 8, 84
Jones, Emsley, ii, 163
Jones, Etienne, ii, 162
Jones, Father, ii, 291
Jones, George W., iii, 68; Senator from Iowa, son of John Rice Jones, 257
Jones, John Rice, describes efforts of Spanish officials to attract immigrations, i, 358; mentions Lord Fitzgerrald, 365, 388; ii, 155, 285; iii, 6, 69, 183; iii, 244; member of the constitutional convention, 249; biographical sketch of, 256; appointed Judge of the Supreme Court, 266
Jones, Mirab, ii, 163
Jones, Peggy, ii, 76
Jones, Phoebe, ii, 163
Jones, or Jonce, Rachel, ii, 143
Jones, Richard, ii, 163
Jones, Stephen, ii, 162
Jones, Thomas, ii, 285
Jones, William, senior, i, 373
Jones, Wiliam, ii, 77; iii, 83
Jones, Rev. W. R., iii, 240
Jonka, Joseph, i, 357

Jonquere, Marquis de la, commands vessel bringing Crozat's officials, i, 271
Jordan, Andrew, iii, 157
Jordon, John M., iii, 157
Jouolt, Donna Margareta Susanne, i, 349
Jourdan, Francois, ii, 12; 87, 149
Jourdin, Jean, ii, 151
Journal of Joutel, i, 237; of Joliet, 158; of Lorimier, ii, 173
Journey, James, ii, 101
Journey, John ii, 101
Journey, Peter, iii, 5, 106
Jourrier, Francois, i, 335
Joutel's Journal, i, 2, 238
Joyal, Theresa, (L'Abbadie), ii, 56
Juden, John, junior, iii, 9, 194
Judges, appointive under the constitution of 1820, iii, 252
Judges, of the Court of Common Pleas of Cape Girardeau, ii, 384
Judges, of the Court of Common Pleas of New Madrid, ii, 384
Judges, of the Court of Common Pleas of St. Charles, ii, 384
Judges, of the Court of Common Pleas of Ste. Genevieve, ii, 384
Judges, of the Court of Common Pleas of St. Louis, ii, 383
Judges, of the Courts of Quarter Sessions, ii, 384
Judgment and execution, quickly rendered under Spanish rule, ii, 200
Judicial proceedings, conducted in French and Spanish indifferently, ii, 197
Judicial power, of Indiana Judges extended over upper Louisiana, ii, 197
Judicial sales, made on Sunday, ii, 208
Juliet, Barbe, ii, 149
Jumonville, ii, 12
Justices of the peace, appointed, ii, 381
Junnex, George, ii, 166

K

Kansa, or Cansa, i, 9; near the mouth of the Kansas, 170; hunt and travel on the plains, 174; on the Missouri, 173
Ka-pa-ha, of LaSalle, compare with the Capaha of De Soto, i, 166
Kappas, or Quapaws, i, 107, 168, 170
Karley, Margaret, ii, 145
Kaskaloua, a Talapousa chief, i, 222
Kaskaskias, identified with the Casquins of De Soto, i, 103; change of habitat, 170; lived near Ste. Genevieve, 181; on the banks of the Kaskaskia river, 166
Kaskaskia, i, 2; Father Gibault, priest at, ii, 288, 300; mail at first distributed from, iii, 62
Kataka, or Sturgeon, ii, 398
Kavanaugh, James, ii, 232
Kavenaugh, Dr. Charles, at Franklin, iii, 83
Kavenaugh, Dennis, ii, 78
Kay, Lieutenant Alexander, ii, 37
Kay, John, ii, 37
Kean, Sam, iii, 157
Keelboats, take lead of upper Louisiana to New Orleans, i, 284; how built, ii, 263; manner of navigating these vessels of the river, 265
Keely, Michael, ii, 165
Keer, William, i, 286; killed by the Indians, 286
Keithly, Abraham, ii, 96; iii, 129
Keeny, Abraham, ii, 159
Kelso, Edward, ii, 185
Keep, Frederick, iii, 104
Kely, Nicholas, ii, 165
Keesacker, John, first barber in St. Louis, iii, 190
Keller, Anthony, ii, 101
Kelly, Guillaume, i, 367
Kelley, Isaac, ii, 192
Kelley, Jacob, ii, 185
Kegans, James, iii, 159
Kelley, James, iii, 84
Kelley, Timothy, i, 382
Kelley, Moses, iii, 157
Kellerman, a deserter from Pike's corps, iii, 144
Kelp, Frederick, ensign, iii, 120
Kendall, Jeduthan, i, 355, 356, 379; ii, 258
Kendall, Jeremiah, ii, 147
Kendall, Jonathan, iii, 103, 105
Kendrick, Alexander, iii, 107
Kendrick, Archbishop, ii, 326
Kennedy, Mathew, first English merchant at Ste. Genevieve, i, 352; ii, 284
Kennedy, Patrick, i, 352
Kennedy's Fort, iii, 137
Kenner, Francois, i, 384
Kennerly, George, ii, 56
Kennerly, George H., duel with Geyer, iii, 77
Kennerly, George M., iii, 193
Kennerly, James, ii, 56; iii, 57, 193, 235
Kenney, Andrew, i, 387
Kennison, Absalom, i, 382
Kennison, John, i, 382

Kentucky, asserts title to Wolf Island, i, 15; volunteers tender service to Missouri territory in war of 1812, 104; supplies Baptist preachers, 207
Kentucky Preceptor, iii, 70
Kenyon, Samuel, ii, 163
Kenyon, Simon, ii, 190, 192
Kephart, John, i, 376
Kerkindall, James, ii, 165
Kerlerec, last French Governor of Louisiana, ii, 1, 5, 8
Kern, Marie, ii, 156
Kerr escapes the Indians, iii, 102
Kerr, James, ii, 97
Kerr, John, ii, 56; iii, 192, 212
Kerr, Siloam, i, 358
Kettles and tin ware, iii, 188
Kettletas, meets Pike, iii, 144
Key, George, iii, 83
Key, Jeremiah, iii, 245
Keyne, Terry, or Jesse, ii, 75
Keyes, Charles Rollin, State Geologist of Missouri, i, 21
Kibby, Ephraim, ii, 392
Kibby, Timothy, ii, 101, 391, 392, 402; opens Washington Hall in St. Louis, iii, 60; on scout service in the war of 1812, 102
Kibby's Spies, ii, 392
Kichelie, David, ii, 97
Kickapoos, live near Ste. Genevieve, i, 362; on Pomme de Terre, 196
Kiercereau, (de Kesignac) Gregoire, ii, 10
Kiercereau, Marie, ii, 10, 67
Kiercereau, Marie Josephine, ii, 54
Kiercereau, Paul, ii, 10
Kiercereau, Pelagie, ii, 8
Kiercereau, Rene, dit Renaud, ii, 12, 13; chanter at church of St. Louis, 26, 234, 307
Kiercereau, Rosalind, ii, 52
Kie-8e-8a-bana, i, 355
Kilpatrick, Robert, ii, 84
Kincaid, Andrew, or Kincaird, ii, 72, 93
Kincaid, David, ii, 95; iii, 137
Kincaid, James, iii, 84
Kincaid, John, iii, 103, 105, 137
Kincaid, Matthew, iii, 137
Kiner, Abraham, ii, 153
Kiney, Thomas, iii, 103, 106
Kinkead's Fort, iii, 116, 118
Kinkead, Matthew, iii, 116
King, Charles, ii, 78
King, John, ii, 91, 152
King, Rufus, ii, 353; iii, 246
King, William, iii, 131
King's Highway, ii, 150
Kimball and Ward, keep a reading room and punch house, iii, 61
Kinney, Moses, ii, 100
Kiseler, Daniel, ii, 101
Kishkalewa, a Shawnee with Dodge on the Missouri river, iii, 121; his attachment for Dodge, 123
Kitchin's Map, i, 277, 279
Kitchens, Thomas, iii, 157
Kiver, Joseph, ii, 76
Klegand, Sieur Jean Rene Guido de, i, 367
Klein, Johann, or John, ii, 150, 166
Kline, Peter, ii, 156
Knapp, Col. George, a proprietor of the "Republican," iii, 65
Knott, Clement, i, 383
Knott, Osborn, iii, 104, 106
Kountz, or Kuntz, Nicholas, a tavern keeper, iii, 59, 229
Kountz' Fort, iii, 136
Krum, John M., mayor of St. Louis, i, 13
Krytz, or Kreutz, or Crites, Abraham, iii, 104
Krytz, Daniel, ii, 188; iii, 106
Krytz, Dewald, ii, 186, 189
Krytz, John, ii, 188, 189
Krytz, Lewis, ii, 96
Krytz, Peter, ii, 186, 188, 192
Kyle, Charles, ii, 71

L

Labadie, claims part of common field, ii, 25
Labadie, Joseph, dit St. Pierre, ii, 68, 245
Labadie, Sophie, ii, 381
Labadie, Sylvestre, ii, 53, 381, 383; iii, 189, 190
Labassiere, Marie, i, 355
Labbadie, dit St. Pierre, or Labadie, Joseph, ii, 10, 55, 62, 68, 245
Labbadie, Pelagie, ii, 52
Labbadie, Sylvestre, ii, 52
Labeaume, Don Luis, ii, 62
Labeaux, Baptiste, iii, 130
Labonne, Marion, ii, 68
Labonte, Etienne, ii, 68
Labre, dit St. Vincent, Pierre, ii, 87
Lebreche, Francois, ii, 56
Labreche, Jean, i, 355
Labrosse, Joseph, ii, 10, 53
Labrosse, Louis, iii, 157
Labrosse, Theodore, ii, 10
Labruissier, or Labuxiere, ii, 162
Labusciere, Francois, ii, 19
Labusciere, dit Labuxierre and Labussiere, Joseph, Royal Attorney,

i, 340, 341; biographical sketch of, ii, 18; receives first grant in St. Louis from St. Ange, 20, 53
Labusciere, Joseph, junior, ii, 18
Labusciere, Louis, ii, 19
Laccaigne, or Lacassaigne, Michael, ii, 165
Lachaise, Charles, ii, 68
Lachall, Baptiste, ii, 69
Lachance, Antoine, i, 367
Lachance, Benjamin, iii, 103
Lachance, Jean B., ii, 3
Lachance, Joseph, i, 367
Lachance, Louis Pepin, i, 356
Lachappelle, Jean B., ii, 53
Lachappelle, Bazil, ii, 165
Lachasse, Baptiste, or Jean Baptiste, ii, 68
Laclede, services of, ii, 2; claims exclusive trade on Missouri, 2; sails up the Mississippi, 4; stores his goods at Fort de Chartres, 5; prospects the country, 5; how he endeavors to rid himself of Indians, 11; had not power to grant lands, 16, 21, 22; dies in 1778, 32, 33, 297
Laclede, dit Chouteau, Jean Pierre, ii, 4
Laclede, dit Chouteau, Marie Louise, ii, 4
Laclede, dit Chouteau, Pelagie, ii, 4
Laclede, Pierre Liguest, biographical sketch of, ii, 3
Laclede, dit Chouteau, Victoire, ii, 4
Laclede's Village, St. Louis known as, ii, 11
Lacombe, Francois, ii, 65, 76, 152
Lacoste, Angelique, ii, 148
Lacoste, dit Languedoc, Francois, ii, 147
Lacourse, Charlotte, ii, 151
Lacourse, Michel, ii, 162
Lacroix, Hebert, ii, 53
Lacroix, Isidore, ii, 87
Lacroix, Jacques, ii, 20
Lacroix, Jean Baptiste, i, 355; ii, 101
Lacroix, J. B., senior, i, 355
Lacroix, Paul, ii, 86
Lacroix, Pierre, ii, 21
Ladoucier, or Ladouceur, or Ladousier, Madame, ii, 68
Ladurantaie, Louise, ii, 22
Lafayette county, name changed from Lillard, iii, 261
Laferney, or Lafresniere, Joseph, ii, 152
Laferne, Margaret de, ii, 18
Laffelier, dit Jasmin, Louis, ii, 147, 245
Lafleur, Angelique, ii, 150
Lafleur, Baptiste, ii, 155
Lafleur, John, ii, 71
Lafleur, Joseph, ii, 147
Lafleur, Lambert, ii, 203
Lafleur, Marie, ii, 149
Laflin, Peter, ii, 163
Lafois, Vincent, i, 386
Lafond, Antoine, i, 358; ii, 153, 155, 158
Lafond, Bernard, or Bernardo, ii, 158
Lafond, Dr. Jean B., guide of Clark to Vincennes, i, 357; dies at New Madrid, 358; ii, 134, 146, 151, 157
Lafond, Elizabeth, ii, 151
Lafond, Marie, ii, 143
Lafond, Rosalie, ii, 134
Laforge, (see La Forge)
Lafrenays, Joseph, ii, 141
Lagarciniere, a merchant, ii, 56
Lagasse, or Lagasa, Auguste B., ii, 68
Lagasse, Joseph, ii, 69
Lagrain, Margaret, ii, 11
Lagrande, Jean Marie, i, 384
Lagrande, Joseph, ii, 147
Lagrande, or Veuve, Madame, ii, 147
Lagrave, Joseph, ii, 68
Lagueness, Jacques, ii, 56
Lagune, Jeanne, ii, 151
Lail, George, junior, ii, 159
Lail, George, senior, ii, 159
Lajoie, Don Pedro, ii, 363
Lajoie, Lambert, ii, 63
Lajor, dit Lajoy (e), Louis, ii, 69
Lajore, or Lajoie, Pierre, ii, 76
Lake Eulalie, ii, 158
Lake Gayoso, ii, 161
Lake Le Sieur, ii, 159
Lake Ricardo, ii, 159
Lake St. Ann, settlers on, ii, 154
Lake St. Mary, settlers on, ii, 155
Lalande, Alexis, ii, 53
Lalande, Andrew, i, 355
Lalande, Celeste, ii, 53
Lalande, Esteban, i, 339
Lalande, Henry, i, 356
Lalande, Juan Baptiste, i, 340, 355
Lalond, Jeannette, i, 342
Laloue, or Laluz, John Francois, ii, 149
Lalumandiere, dit Lafleur, Francois, i, 339, ii, 297
Lalumandiere, dit Lafleur, Louis, i, 355
Lalumundiere, Mariana, i, 354
Lalumundiere, Jean Baptiste, i, 355
Lalumundiere, Joseph, i, 355
Lalumundiere, dit Lafleur, Louis, i, 355

Lalumundiere, Veuve, i, 355
Lamalice, Louis, ii, 100
Lamarche, Antoine, ii, 87, 102
Lamarche, J. B., dit Bricot, ii, 56
Lamarche, Joseph, ii, 87
Lamb, John, ii, 156
Lambert, Jacques, Louis, ii, 269
Lambert, James, i, 379
Lambert, dit Lafleur, Jean Louis, i, 341
Lambert, Louis, dit Lafleur, i, 341; estate of, 352; ii, 21, 245
Lami, or Lamy, Michael, ii, 12
Lamirande, Joseph, ii, 69
Lamme, William, ii, 93; iii, 187
Lamotte, ii, 17
Lanaham, Josiah, ii, 102
Land, cessions of the Indians, in Missouri, i, 233
Land, assigned by Laclede to settlers, ii, 15; grants of St. Ange, confirmed by Piernas, ii, 29; not sold by the Spaniards, 214; not granted to unmarried strangers, 216; speculation in, not favored, 216; title, how perfected, 217; grants, as a reward for services, 218; titles imperfect, recognized as transferable, 220; grants to various parties, 226; value changed by cession of Louisiana, 374; grants made after treaty of San Ildefonso, declared void, 377; sales, iii, 181; claims, subject of political controversy, 53; price of on the Missouri in 1819, 152
Land offices, iii, 183
Land, William, iii, 159
Landscape, of the Ozarks, i, 21
Lane, Dr. Hardrage, iii, 6, 7, 82, 245
Lane, Jesse H., iii, 157
Lane, William Carr, first mayor of St. Louis, iii, 166, 235
Lane's Prairie, iii, 159
Lanfenes, or Lefrenay, ii, 297
Langelier, dit Langeliervoles, Francois, i, 356
Langelier, dit Langeliervoles, Richelet, ii, 245
Langevin, dit Baillette, Dame Louise, ii, 99
Langevin, Jean B., ii, 21
Langham, Angus Lewis, iii, 184
Langhorn, Henry, ii, 100
Langlade, Captain, on plains with Indians, ii, 37
Langlois, dit Rondeau, ii, 17, 52, 251
Langlois, dit Rondeau, Alexander, ii, 11, 12, 245
Langlois, Augustine, ii, 96
Langlois, Francois, ii, 87, 343
Langlois, Francois, iii, 179
Langlois, Jean Adrian, i, 366, ii, 150
Langlois, Jean Baptiste, ii, 155
Langlois, Joseph, ii, 22, 98
Langston, John, iii, 131
Language of Indian tribes on Missouri, i, 176
Languedoc, Angelique, ii, 148
Languedoc, Francois, ii, 149
Languedoc, Pedro, ii, 149
Lanham, Stephen, iii, 103
Lansford, George, ii, 149
Lansford, Moses, ii, 149
Lanzey, Levi, iii, 103
Laplante, Jacques, ii, 158
Laplante, Jean, i, 357
Lapatry, Joseph, ii, 91
Laplante, Joseph, ii, 148, 162
Laplante, dit Plante, Nicholas, ii, 245
Laporte, Veuve, Louis, i, 356
Laprise, Joseph, ii, 56
Larava, or Lavarre, Joseph, ii, 54, 87
Laramie's Encampment, ii, 172
Laramie's Station, ii, 172
Larche, or L'Arche, Francois, ii, 21
Lard, Hezekiah, assisted by Trudeau to build a mill, ii, 69
Lard, Joseph, iii, 103, 105
Lard, or Lord, John, ii, 55
Large grants, to whom made, iii, 35
Large mounds, near Fayette in Howard county, i, 95
Largeau, Louis Francois, secretary of Lorimier, i, 318; ii, 173, 190
Laroche, dit Dubreuil, Marion, ii, 245
Larivier, Judith, ii, 149
Laroche, Ignatius, ii, 21
Laroche, Juan B., i, 340
Laroche, Louis B., ii, 21, 54
Larrade, Jean B., ii, 56
Larralde, or Duralde, i, 341
Lashaway, Peter, ii, 76
Lasource, Jean Baptiste, i, 339
Lasource, Louis, iii, 245
Lasouse, or Lasource, dit Moreau, Louis, ii, 245
Latan, Lewis, ii, 186
Latham, or Lathan, John, ii, 186, 192
Latham, Lewis, ii, 192
Latham, Louis, ii, 384
Latour, Pelagie, B. Marecheal, ii, 68
Latour, Pierre, ii, 147, 164
Latrail, Gabriel, ii, 246
Latreille, or De La Treille, Gabriel, ii, 10

Latremonille, Francois, ii, 149
Latremonille, Jacques, ii, 149
Latresse, Jean Beloney, ii, 55
Laudais, ii, 356
Laugherty, Benjamin, ii, 183
Laugherty, Benjiah, ii, 192
Laurain, a voyageur on the Missouri in 1805, i, 244
Laurain, or Lorain, Jean Baptiste, junior, ii, 68
Laurain, Joseph, ii, 83, 86
Laurain, or Lorain, Louis, ii, 88
Laussat, M., ii, 355; letter to DeLassus, 356
Lausson, Pierre, ii, 162
Lauthe, Sieur Bernard, i, 358
Lauxier, Don Fransisco de, ii, 67
Lavallis, Joseph, ii, 55
Laverture, Dennis, ii, 159
Laville, dit St. Germain, Francois, ii, 21
Laviolette, Therese, ii, 158
Lavoix, Francois, ii, 147
Law, Barbe, ii, 156
Law, Benjamin, ii, 156
Law, Catherine, ii, 156
Law, Charles, ii, 165
Law, John, i, 273; brings German colonists, ii, 187
Law, Catharine, ii, 156
Law, Silas, ii, 156
Lawless, Luke E., iii, 17; biographical sketch of, 19; second of Benton in Lucas duel, 77
Lawlessness, iii, 55
Lawns, of immense extent, i, 30
Lawrence county, Arkansas, i, 4; organized, iii, 7; abolished, 8
Laws, obedience to, by French Canadian settlers, ii, 272; for the Louisiana district, 379
Lawyers, efforts to sustain fraudulent grants, iii, 37
Layowvois, Indian chief, i, 233; ii, 395
Layton, Bernard, i, 383
Layton, Ignatius, i, 383
Layton, John, junior, i, 383
Layton, John, senior, i, 383
Lead, i, 22; how transported from mines to river, 284; mines, number of in upper Louisiana, 285; number of furnaces in operation in 1799, 285; mines, litigation as to, ii, 204; exported, 255; mines, iii, 190; output of, 190; lead, peltry and salt legal tender, 191
Lebeau, Baptiste, ii, 56, 87
Lebeau, Jean Batiste, ii, 56
Leberge, Madelaine, ii, 21
Leblond, Joseph, ii, 56
Lebois, Mary Nicolle, ii, 56
Leclaire, Francois, ii, 91
Leclaire, Madame, or Madame Leclerc or Leclercq, i, 368
Leclerc, or Leclercq, Auguste, i, 366
Leclerc, Francois, i, 350
Lecompte, Nicolas, ii, 86
Lecroix, in British employ at time of attack on St. Louis, ii, 40
Lecompte, Joseph, ii, 55
Lacoy, or Leroy, Richard, ii, 160
Ledbeter, Rev. J. H., iii, 241
Ledge of rock on St. Louis levee in 1809, iii, 162
Ledon, Joseph, i, 342
Ledru, dit Jacobin, Father, ii, 309
Leduc, Cirile, ii, 150
Leduc, Joseph, ii, 65
Leduc, James, ii, 101
Leduc, Madame, ii, 156
Leduc, Marie Philip, ii, 100; secretary of DeLassus, at New Madrid, 136; first clerk and recorder of St. Louis, 383; iii, 8; appointed translater of commission, 44; induced by Chouteau to vote for Benton, 267
Lee, Charles, i, 383
Lee, Cleriat, ii, 149
Lee, Josiah, ii, 185, 190
Lee, Josiah, junior, ii, 185, 192
Lee, Lighthorse Harry, ii, 382
Lee, Patrick, ii, 54, 56, 60, 62, 383
Lee, William, iii, 157
Lefevre, Alexis, ii, 91
Lefevre, Charles, ii, 90, 91
Lefevre, Francois, ii, 165
Lefevre, John Lewis, ii, 165
Lefebre, Miquel Emile Joseph, ii, 150
Lefevre, Peter, iii, 104, 107
Legrain, ii, 10
Legrand, Charlotte, ii, 147
Legrand, Gabriel, ii, 147
Legrand, Jean Marie, ii, 147
Legrand, Louis, ii, 162
Legrand, Suzanne, ii, 150
Lehaye, or Lehai, Henry, dit Charles, i, 356
Leitensdorfer, Jean Eugene, ii, 65
Lejeuness, Pierre, ii, 76
Lelups, Michel, i, 357
Lemai, Francois, ii, 65
Lemai, or Lemay, Joseph, ii, 65
Lemeileur, R., i, 356
Lemmey, or LeMoine, Joseph, iii, 131
Lemmey, or LeMoine, killed at the Sinkhole, iii, 132
Lemmon, John, iii, 104
Lemoine, Jean, i, 368

Lemon, Robert, iii, 83
Lemond, Louis, ii, 53
Lemos, Gayoso de, ii, 75, (see Gayoso)
Lenecal, or Senacal, Antoine, ii, 69
Lenault, Major, ii, 161
Lenral, Peter, ii, 384
Lentz, Jacob, ii, 78
Leonard, Abiel, Judge of the Supreme Court, biographical sketch of, iii, 28; duel with Berry, 28, 79
Leonard, Francois, ii, 149, 150
Lepine, Catharine, i, 352
Lepire, or LaPierre, Jean B., ii, 53
Leroux, Helen, ii, 56
Lerige, Francois Laplante, ii, 56
Lerouge, or Rouge, dit Gagnon, Laurent, ii, 21, 245
Lesieur, Francois, ii, 90
Lesieur, Godfrey, his description of New Madrid earthquake, iii, 178
Lesieur, Joseph, ii, 90
Lesieur, Nicholas, ii, 150
"Lessons in Elocution," an early school book, iii, 70
Letchworth, Benjamin, iii, 85
Letter, of Wilkinson to Jefferson, ii, 405
Letters, time to reach the territory from the east by post, iii, 62
Letts, Abraham, wounded at the Sinkhole, iii, 132
Leveille, Carlos, ii, 54
Leveille, Francoise, ii, 55
Levens, Dr. B. W., in Cooper county, iii, 83
Levens, Henry, iii, 83
Leverare, Pierre Alex, i, 357
Levers, Thomas, ii, 398
Lewd and immodest conduct of Osages, i, 191
Lewis, Gov. Merriwether, ii, 93; organizes territorial militia, ii, 409, 410; biographical sketch of, ii, 411; on inhabitants of St. Charles, ii, 85; appointed governor of Louisiana, 408; private secretary of Jefferson, iii, 141
Lewis & Clark Expedition, origin of, iii, 140; organized on Dubois River, 141; return of, 143
Lewis, Colonel, a Shawnee Indian, i, 211
Lewis county, of Tenn., organized, ii, 411
Lewis, James, owns a flour mill in 1799 on Cuivre River, ii, 96; iii, 103, 106
Lewis, John, i, 372; ii, 98; iii, 157
Lewis, Joseph, ii, 157
Lewis, Matrom, ii, 97
Lewis, Milton, ii, 98
Lewis' Prairie, Indian village in, ii, 106
Lewis, Samuel H., ii, 97; iii, 63, 103
Leyba, Don Fernando, i, 344; ii, 32, death of, 346
Liberality of Spanish government in donating land, ii, 224
Liberty, i, 22
Libraries, iii, 72
Library of Congress, i, 3
Library, public effort to organize, iii, 73
Life at Fort Osage, as described by Sibley, iii, 149
Light, Captain Peter, ii, 112, 283
Liggette, Thomas, ii, 56
Liguest, Laclede, ii, 9, 203
Lillard county organized by first General Assembly, iii, 185, 261
Lillard, William, member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249; biographical sketch of, 260
Limbaugh, Frederick, German teacher, ii, 182, 189, 384
Limbaugh, Frederick, junior, ii, 189
Limbaugh, Michael, ii, 189
Limestones of Missouri, i, 22
Limoges, Father, i, 247
Lincoln county, organized, iii, 8
Linctot, Godfrey, visits St. Louis, ii, 48
Lindell, Jesse, iii, 193
Lindell, John, iii, 193
Lindell, J. G., iii, 235
Lindell, Peter, iii, 193
Lindsay, John, ii, 95
Lindsey, Rev. Isaac, iii, 238
Line, Joab, i, 376
Line, run by Sullivan, i, 14
Link, Absalom, ii, 77; iii, 104, 107
Link, John, ii, 156
Link, Solomon, ii, 78
Linn, Lewis F., Senator, biographical sketch of, i, 10, 366; appointed Senator, iii, 54; member of second Board of commissioners, 54; settles at Ste. Genevieve, 82; reports New Madrid earthquake, 174
Linn, William, killed near Fort Cap au Gris, iii, 128
Linx, William, ii, 97
Lionnois, Nicolas, i, 356
Lionval, or Lionnois, Marie Louisa, i, 342
Liquor, sale of, prohibited to Indians, ii, 380
Lirette, Louis, ii, 53, 68

Lirette, Pierre, ii, 56
Lisa, or De Lisa, Manuel, i, 196; ii, 60; builds fort on Big Horn, 253; biographical sketch of, 253-4, rents temporary barracks to DeLassus, 363; iii, 162; builds the first brick house of St. Louis, 166; iii, 191, 194; has trading post on the Osage, rivalry for trade of with Chouteaus, i, 181; iii, 108, 143
Lithia Springs, i, 18
Litten, John, ii, 77
Little Bonne Femme Baptist church, iii, 215
Little, James, iii, 86
Little, John, i, 373
Little Osages, i, 179; village near Fort Osage, 186
Little Platte, i, 17
Little Prairie, i, 4; how affected by the New Madrid earthquake, iii, 178; abandoned on account of New Madrid earthquake, 178
Little River, i, 114
Little Rock Landing, ii, 306
Little White Water Creek, ii, 188
Littleby, Robert, iii, 157
Littleton, Jacob, a ferry keeper, iii, 61
Littlejohn, John, ii, 95
Livermore, Arthur, iii, 245
Livingston, Robert R., ii, 348
Livre Terrien, or Land Book of St. Louis, ii, 20
Lloyd, John, ii, 163
Lloyd, Samuel, junior, ii, 166
Local government, demanded for upper Louisiana, ii, 390, 391
Location of the buildings at Côte sans Dessein, iii, 125
Location of Cape Girardeau, ii, 169
Location of mounds found in, Cedar and Morgan counties, i, 81; New Madrid county, 60; Mississippi county, 62; Scott county, 66; Cape Girardeau county, 67; Stoddard county, 68; Bollinger county, 70; Perry county, 72; Butler and Riplay counties, 74; Wayne county, 75; Madison and St. Francois counties, 76; Iron, Jefferson, Reynolds, Ste. Genevieve and Washington counties, 77; Franklin county, 78; Howell, Jasper, Oregon and Shannon counties, 80; Barry, Benton, Christian, Dade, Greene, Lawrence, McDonald, Miller, Newton, Polk and Taney counties, 81; Dallas, Douglass, Laclede and Webster counties, 82; Maries, Osage, Ozark, Phelps, Pulaski, and Texas counties, 83; Carter, Crawford, Dent, and Gasconade counties, 84; Barton, Cass, Cole, Cooper, Jackson, Johnson, Lafayette and Vernon counties, 85; Clark, Lewis, and Saline counties, 86; Adair, Lincoln, Macon, Marion, Monroe, Pike, Ralls, Scotland and Shelby counties, 87; Audrain, Montgomery, Putnam, Schuyler, St. Charles, Sullivan and Warren counties, 88; Knox county, 92; Callaway county, 94; Atchison, Caldwell, Carroll, Clay, Davies, and Linn counties, 95; Gentry, Grundy, Harrison, Livingston, 95; Mercer, and Worth counties, 96; Boone county, 97
Lochon, Sieur de, sent to explore the mines, i, 280
Lockhart, operates a free ferry at St. Louis in 1813, iii, 62
Lockhart, James, keeps tavern at Jackson, iii, 61
Lodges, of Osages, i, 188
Logan, Charles, i, 376; ii, 152; iii, 107
Logan, David, iii, 186
Logan, Elder John B., iii, 217, 223
Logan, Gen. Jno. A., ii, 180
Logan, Gen. Benjamin, visits Lorimier, ii, 178
Logan, Gen. John A., ii, 179
Logan, John, marries Lorimier's widow, ii, 179; erects water mill 186
Logan, Mathew, i, 376
Logan, Robert A., i, 376
Loignon, Charles, ii, 106, 161
Loignon, Mrs., ii, 106
Loillet, Francois, ii, 298
Loise, Alexis, ii, 21
Loisel, Father Regis, ii, 326
Loisel, or Loiselle, Joseph, i, 386
Loisel, Madaline, ii, 169
Loisel, Regis, junior, ii, 252
Loisel, Regis or Registre, ii, 252
Loissiere, dit Deloge, Pierre, ii, 165
Loitie, Madame, ii, 75
Long, on charm of the savage state, i, 184; account of the killing of Capt. Callaway, iii, 124; describes cantonment of Bellefontaine, 151; on the Missouri, 153; describes Jackson in 1818, 169
Long, Anderson, iii, 85
Long, Eliza May, ii, 71
Long, Emelia Anne, ii, 71
Long, Gabriel, ii, 72; iii, 103, 105

Long, George Anthony, ii, 71
Long, Isabella, Louise, ii, 71
Long, James, ii, 72
Long, James, Bennett, ii, 71
Long, Jean Julia, ii, 71
Long, John, ii, 71, 73, 101
Long, John junior, ii, 72
Long, John Zeno, ii, 71
Long, Lawrence, ii, 71, 72
Long, William L., ii, 66; iii, 84, 103, 105
Long's Expedition, iii, 151
Longstreath, or Longstreet, i, 356
Longval, or Louval, Francois, ii, 91
Looney, Joseph, iii, 104
Loper, James, iii, 235
Lorain, Jean Baptiste, ii, 52
Lorance, John, ii, 192
Lord, Gabriel, ii, 56
Lord, Mathew, ii, 75
Lord, Pierre, ii, 101
Lordenberg, Marie, ii, 151
Lorimier, Auguste Bougainville, appointed to West Point, ii, 381
Lorimier, Charlotte P. B., ii, 179
Lorimier, Don Louis, i, 8, 366; appointed Commandant of the post of Cape Girardeau, during the threatened Genet filibustering expedition, 318; reliance of Carondelet on Indians under him, 329; induces Shawnees to emigrate to upper Louisiana, ii, 54, 74; history of, 171, 212; his influence among the Shawnees and Delawares, 213; his land grant, 216, 223, 359, 363, 384, 392; extent of his privileges, ii, 168; captured Boone, 172, 173; engaged in Indian trade, 173, 176, 179; his second wife, 179; his signature, 180, 186; favors German emigrants, 188, 190; grants land to Spanish American military company, 191, 198; trade privilege with Shawnees and Delawares, 251; arrests Burnett, 367; indicted after cession, iii, 56; donates site for Courthouse at Cape Girardeau, iii, 167
Lorimier, Louis, junior, trader at Bloomfield, i, 231; appointed to West Point, ii, 381
Lorimier, Madame, ii, 171
Lorimier, William, ii, 190
Lorimier's Ferry at Cape Girardeau, iii, 61, 168
Lorimier's Store, ii, 171
Lorimier's Journal, i, 213; found in Spanish archives, ii, 173
Lorimont, ii, 169, 189
Lorr, Valentine, ii, 188, 192
Losilla, John, ii, 186, 192
Lots, description of, under grants of St. Ange, ii, 23; of common field, size of, 25
Lotteries, established, iii, 8
Lottery, authorized to purchase fire-engines, iii, 165
Lougherty, or Laferty, Benjamin, ii, 190
Louis, Francois, ii, 100
Louis, or Lewis, Joseph, ii, 55
Louis, Peter, ii, 52, 160
Louisbourg, ii, 64
Louise, Alexis, ii, 52
Loise, Jacques, ii, 54
Loise, Joseph, ii, 54
Loise, Paul, ii, 54
Louisgrand, Louis, ii, 87
Louisiana, threatened invasion of, in 1792, ii, 173; acquisition of by purchase, 329; sale of suggested by Napoleon, 348; Purchase, approved by England, 352; some thought that the Purchase would tend to dismemberment of Union, 353; very popular, 354; retroceded by Spain to France, 355; transferred Nov. 30, 1803, 356; limits of, 365; divided into districts, 378; attached to Indiana territory, 385; district, 388; merchants of, 194; Irish priests sent to, 305
Louisiana territory, iii, 161
Louisianaville, iii, 186
Louisville, on the Missouri, iii, 184
Loutre Creek, iii, 99
Loutre Island, iii, 98; number of families on in 1810, iii, 146, 154
Loutre's Lick, i, 230
Louviere, Charlotte, ii, 21
Lovel, John, ii, 154
Lovel, Pegne or Peggy, ii, 160
Lovell, John, ii, 158
Lovell, Peter, ii, 158
Low, Aquilla, i, 372
Lowndes, iii, 242
Lowry, Dr. J. J., at Franklin, iii, 82, 251
Lowry, or Laughry, William, i, 381
Luc, Father, at Fort de Chartres, ii, 291
Lucas, Alexander, iii, 104, 107
Lucas, Charles, ii, 163, 192
Lucas, Charles, duel with Benton, iii, 77, 108
Lucas, James B. C., Judge of territory, ii, 401; ii, 259; on French habitants of Louisiana, ii, 375; an

account of his trip west in 1793, iii, 41; biographical sketch of, 41; criticism of Clark, iii, 4; reply to Lawless, 19; appointed commissioner, 40; candidate for the senate, 267
Lucas, Levis, ii, 101
Lucas, Robert, iii, 104
Lucier, Baptiste, ii, 87
Ludlow, James C., iii, 197
Luise, Jos., i, 340
Lumber, hand sawed by pioneers, iii 186
Lupien, dit Baron, Pedro, ii, 52
Lupien, Pierre, dit Baron, contracts to build the first church of St. Louis, ii, 31, 245
Lurty, Jacob, ii, 77
Lusby, Thomas, ii, 91
Lusson, Father, his signature, ii, 310, 365
Lutherans, Germans on Whitewater, iii, 169-70, 204
Luzon, Jean Baptiste, ii, 92
Lynch, Henry, iii, 84
Lyon, Daniel, ii, 70
Lyonnet, on the defenses of New Madrid, i, 316
Lyons, Mathew, ii, 407
L'Amoureux, or Amouroux, Joseph, ii, 147; iii, 194
L'Andreville, Andre, ii, 54, 62, 101; tavern keeper, iii, 60
L'Année des Grandes Eaux, ii, 51
L'Anse à la Graise, i, 316; ii, 105
L'Arche, Helen, ii, 21
L'Arche, Paul, ii, 21
L'Archeveque, Jean, i, 254
L'Ardoise, Louis, ii, 164
L'Arrive, Diego, ii, 52
L'Evecque, Quebec, ii, 68
LaBastille, Jean Baptiste, ii, 204
La Bastielle, Marie, ii, 55
La Bombard, Peter, ii, 155, 246
La Bonte, Joseph, Joinal, ii, 56
La Brosse, F. J., keeps tavern in St. Louis in 1810, iii, 60
La Brosse, Paul, ii, 297
La Buissoniere, Alphonse de, i, 341
La Burdash, at Sinkhole fight, iii, 135
La Chance, Benj., iii, 106
La Chance, Gabriel, i, 367
La Chance, Nicolas, a Spanish official at Mine a Breton, i, 372
La Chapelle, Francois, ii, 20
La Chapelle, Pierre, i, 355; ii, 298
La Charette, as described by Gass, ii, 92; on the Missouri, 91; by Brackenridge, 92; in 1804, iii, 144
La Croix, Baptiste, ii, 297; iii, 131
La Croix, Francois, i, 352
La Croix, Jean B., senior, i, 352
La Croix, Jean B., junior, i, 352
La Croix, Jenot, a member of Kaskaskia company, i, 352
La Croix, Joseph, ii, 55
La Croix, Louis, i, 352, 378; ii, 55, 297
La Fitte, ii, 198
La Flame, Baptiste, ii, 87
La Fleur, Peter, ii, 34
La Fontaine de la Prairie, i, 367, 368
La Forge, with Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268
La Forge, Alex., ii, 152; iii, 104, 107
La Forge, Pierre Antoine, ii, 105; on Foucher, 129; his activity at New Madrid, 129, 141, 159; syndic of New Madrid, 199, 364; appointed civil commandant of New Madrid, 382
La Forret, Nicolas, ii, 87
La Franchaise, or Frainchise, Antoine, ii, 87
La Garrosse, ii, 10
La Gouthrie, Edward, or Guthrie, a British agent, iii, 101
La Grammant, Foubert, ii, 12
La Grande, Prairie, location of, ii, 14
La Grange, mounds near, i, 89; iii, 158
La Grange, Jean, i, 342
La Grange, Pierre, i, 357
La Hontan, mentions the prairies south of Missouri on west side of river, i, 25; on abundance of game, 34; finds Mahas on upper Missouri, 173; voyage down the Mississippi, 238; finds the Arkansas Indians on the west side of the river above the Ohio, 239; goes up the Missouri, 239; goes up the Oubache or Ohio, 240
La Harpe, Bernard, i, 2
La Jesmarais, Captain de, ii, 147
La Joie, Lambert, keeps tavern in St. Louis in 1811, iii, 60
La Lande, ii, 297; sent by Morrison to Santa Fe, never returns, iii, 155
La Lande, Jean Baptiste, i, 355
La Lumandiere, Francois, i, 344
La Mamelles, i, 28
La Marche, Antoine, ii, 90
La Marche, Francois, ii, 298
La Marche, Louis, ii, 34
La Marque, Etienne, i, 356
La Mine, i, 17
La Morinie, Father John, biographical sketch of, ii, 293

La Mothe, de Cadillac, i, 271
La Motte, Mine la, i, 342, 344
Le Noir, name of Black river, i, 17
La Noire, Lefevre, ii, 91
La Paillieur, Catherine Elizabeth, ii, 171
La Pailleur, Marie Hypolite, ii, 171
La Petite Rivière, ii, 14
La Pierre, Joseph, ii, 55, 68
La Plant, iii, 86
La Plante, Nicolas, i, 386
La Plante, Joseph, ii, 158
La Plante, Mary Ann, ii, 223
La Riviére, Francois, ii, 96, 101, 151
La Rocher à Castourneau, i, 338
La Rose, ii, 297
La Rose, Baptiste, i, 339, 341
La Rose, Jourdan, ii, 232
La Rose, Louis, i, 356
La Sabloniere, Jacob, ii, 20
La Sabloniere, Jacques Brunel, ii, 20
La Saline, Ensanglantée, ii, 90
La Salle, begins his voyage of discovery, i, 163; delayed by floating ice, 163; passes the mouth of the Missouri, 163; takes possession of the Mississippi valley under name of Louisiana, 164; at the village of Kapaha, 164; reaches the Gulf, 166; takes formal possession of the country for France, 166
La Trail, Gabriel, assists in survey of St. Charles, ii, 83
La Vallée, Don Juan, ii, 141, 363, 368
La Vallee, Charles, i, 349
La Vallee, Pierre, i, 349
La Vienne, Amour, ii, 22
La Violette, Catherine, ii, 55
La Voix, Michael, ii, 298
Le Bastile, settlement of Bouvet, ii, 99
Le Beau, Archange, i, 357
Le Beau, Baptiste, keeps tavern in St. Louis in 1809, iii, 60
Le Beaume, Louis, i, 343
Le Berge, Francois, ii, 72
Le Berge, Titus, ii, 20, 55
Le Blond, Joseph, keeps tavern at St. Louis in 1809, iii, 60
Le Boeuf, dit La Flame, Charles, ii, 87
Le Bourg, dit Boulque, Gillette, ii, 10
Le Bourg, Paul, ii, 10
Le Bourg, Pelagie, ii, 10
Le Claire, Antoine, blacksmith, biographical sketch of, ii, 90
Le Compte, Charles Auguste, i, 357
Le Croix, Gabriel, ii, 405
Le Croix, Joseph, ii, 405
Le Fabre, Jean Marie, i, 358
Le Favre, Miss, teaches in 1820 in St. Louis, iii, 69
Le Febre, Charles, ii, 89
Le Febre de Chouquette, i, 342
Le Grand Champ, i, 337
Le Guerrin, Charles, ii, 405
Le Loire des Ursins, i, 271; in upper Louisiana in 1713, 281
Le Metarie, notary, i, 166, 169
Le Mignon, Dr., a physician of St. Louis, in 1820, iii, 81
Le Page, Antoine, killed by Saukees, i, 207; ii, 90
Le Pailleur, Claude, ii, 171
Le Pailleur, Marie Louise, ii, 171
Le Pailleur, Marie Marguerite, ii, 171
Le Perch, Joseph, i, 366
Le Renaudiere, i, 267
Le Roy, Charles, ii, 10
Le Roy, Henry Francois, ii, 10
Le Roy, Julien, ii, 10, 53
Le Roy, Julien, junior, ii, 10
Le Roy, Pierre Patrick, ii, 10
Le Sacquespée, Joachim, ii, 171
Le Sage, Baptiste, ii, 87
La Sage, Michael, ii, 83
Le Sieur, arrives at Little Prairie, ii, 159
Le Sieur, Charles, ii, 106
Le Sieur, Edward, ii, 91
Le Sieur, Firman, ii, 160
Le Sieur, Francois, ii, 90, 105, 106, 159
Le Sieur, Francois V., ii, 166
Le Sieur, Godfrey, ii, 106
Le Sieur, Joseph, among first settlers of New Madrid, ii, 105, 106
Le Sieur, Napoleon, ii, 91
Le Sieur, Raphael, ii, 106
Le Sieur's account of witchcraft excitement among Shawnees, i, 220
Le Sueur, camps on Buffalo, i, 248
Le Sueur's voyage up the Mississippi in 1700, account of by Penicaut, i, 246
Le Tourneau, i, 309
Le Tourneau, dit Lafleur, Louis, ii, 245
Le Tourneau, Amable, ii, 8, 202, 203
Les Bois, Etienne Nicolle, ii, 89
Les Bois, Madame Nicolle, ii, 90
Les Bois, Nicolle Francoise, ii, 89
Les Petite Côtes, ii, 79

M

Macee, or Massey, James, ii, 157
Machett, Charles, ii, 88
Machett, Joseph C., ii, 88
Machiquawish, a noted Indian chief, ii, 36
Mack, James, ii, 165
Mack, or Mock, William, ii, 149

Mackay, goes up Missouri under order of Clamorgan, ii, 70, 71
Mackay, Don Santiago (James), Commandant of St. Andre and St. Charles, ii, 81, 363; biographical sketch of, ii, 70; makes a large claim for land on Cuivre river, 95, 101, 219; deputy surveyor of St. Andre, 225, 383; iii, 7
Mackay's Journal of trip up Missouri, ii, 70, 71
Mackey, James, killed by Indians, iii, 85, 110, 157
Mackey, John, iii, 158
Mackey, Joseph, escaped Indians, iii, 110
Macklot, John N., iii, 190
Macklot, N. C., iii, 194
Maclinden, Charles, i, 358
Madden, Francois, i, 385
Madden, Honore, i, 377
Madden, Richard, i, 385
Madden, or Maddin, Thomas, i, 367, 377; Spanish deputy surveyor, 383, 385; ii, 257, 258, 364
Madden, Thomas, junior, i, 385
Madison county, organized, iii, 8
Madison, on Spanish project at New Madrid, ii, 115
Madison, President, ii, 382
Madrid Gazette, ii, 44
Magee, Joseph, ii, 192
Magenis, A. L., iii, 23
Magness, Perry G., iii, 8
Magry, i, 2
Mail, carried by steamboat in 1819 for the first time, iii, 63; complaints of the irregular service, 63; robbers, 63; service once a week established between St. Louis and New Madrid via Jackson, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, Potosi, and Herculaneum, 63; carriers, white persons alone allowed to be, 64; routes, in Missouri territory in 1819, 64
Maine, asks for admission into the Union, iii, 245
Mainville, Charles, ii, 99
Mainville, dit Deschenes, Joseph, ii, 9, 30, 232, 234, 245
Mainville, Theresa, ii, 54
Maisonville, Francois, marries a sister of Tecumseh, i, 212
Maisonville, Joseph, ii, 147
Makarty, Chevalier, Commandant of Fort de Chartres, i, 337
Malachi, Caleb, ii, 163
Malboeuf, Jean Moise, or Moses, ii, 149, 165
Maline Creek, ii, 77
Mallart, Pascal, iii, 245
Mallet, or Millette, Antoine, ii, 148
Mallet, or Mayette, Pascal, ii, 65
Malvo, ii, 13
Mandene, Francois, ii, 69
Maniche, Francois, i, 379
Manitou, i, 17; at Grand Tower, i, 161; reported near Grand Tower, 241
Manly, John, ii, 95
Mann, John, i, 376
Manners of French Canadian settlers, ii, 271
Manning, James, i, 386
Manning, John, i, 386
Manning, Joseph, i, 385
Manning, Mark, i, 386
Mansfield, observes New Madrid earthquake, iii, 175
Mantauvert, Joseph, ii, 165
Manterot, Andre, i, 358
Manuel, Veuve, i, 355
Map of Joliet, i, 169
Map of environs of Cape Girardeau, ii, 177
Maple sugar, i, 32
Marquette accompanies Joliet, i, 162
Marais, Croche, ii, 83
Marais des Liards, ii, 68, 77
Marias des Peches, ii, 163
Marais, Grand, ii, 152
Marais le Temps Claire, ii, 83
Maraman, or Moreman, Francois, i, 84
Maramec, i, 17, 247, 248; mines on, 274; mentioned by Father Gravier in 1700, 274; oldest American settlement on, ii, 73; first settlers on, 284; increase of population after cession, iii, 183; circuit, 235
Maramec-sipi, name of the Maramec, i, 245
Marameig, name of Maramec, i, 275
Maramequi-sipi, name of Maramec, i, 274
Marat, Francois, ii, 68
Marbois, M., ii, 340; makes proposal for sale of Louisiana, 349
Marc, Jean Louis, ii, 86
Marcereau, ii, 10
March, Edward, iii, 234
Marchand, Didier, ii, 141
Marchand, Louis, ii, 97
Marchand, Marie, ii, 88
Marchant, or Marchand, Didier, ii, 150
Marche, William, ii, 165
Marcheteau, dit Des Noyers, Joseph, ii, 21

Marcheteau, dit Des Noyer, Kierq, ii, 245
Marcheteau, dit Des Noyers, Louis, ii, 10, 20
Marcheteau, Marie, ii, 12
Marco, Christoval Roque, ii, 166
Marcou, Genevieve, i, 349
Marcou, Pierre, i, 357
Marechal, ii, 17
Marechal, Antoine, ii, 54, 67
Marechal, Catherine, ii, 21
Marechal, Jacques, ii, 67
Marechal, Nicolas, ii, 3, 12, 52, 67
Marechal, Noel, ii, 68
Marechal, Theresa, ii, 3
Marest, Father Gabriel, i, 2; says plains overspread with game, 35; mentions salt springs on the Saline, 249; at mouth of Saline in 1700, 249; in charge of Kaskaskia Mission, 289
Margry, on services of Laclede, ii, 2, 3
Marie, Alexis, ii, 20, 63
Marie, Joseph, ii, 60, 87
Marie, Louis, ii, 68
Marie, Pierre A., ii, 10
Marin, Catherine, ii, 63
Marion, Baptiste, ii, 69, 101
Marion, Bonaventure, ii, 69
Mariot, Hypolite, ii, 190
Mark, Francois, i, 358
Market House of St. Louis, iii, 165
Market Street, known as Rue Bon Homme, ii, 24
Marks, David F., iii, 8
Marli, Duke, ii, 55
Marli, Jean Baptiste, ii, 55
Marli, Michael, ii, 54, 55
Marlin, Thomas, iii, 159
Marlowe, or Marlot, Gabriel, ii, 93
Marly, ii, 200
Marmillon, Francois, ii, 54
Maroas, i, 169
Marote, Hipolite, ii, 192
Marquet, Louis Scipion Benoist de, captain of company, ii, 134
Marquette, Father, meets the Illinois at La Pointe, i, 155; selected to accompany Joliet, 158; passes the mouth of the Missouri and Ohio, 160; notes the iron ores near the mouth of Apple Creek, 160, 169; ii, 287, 288
Marquette's map, i, 2
Marriage, of soldiers favored, and Florida girls from Havana, of good character to be brought to upper Louisiana, i, 291; contracts, of early settlers of St. Louis, ii, 26
Marshall, ii, 337
Marshall, Humphrey, ii, 337
Marshall, John, ii, 94
Martain, James, ii, 160
Marten, Abuces, ii, 166
Marthasville, ii, 91
Martigny, or Martingy, ii, 55; Father, 290
Martigny, or Martingy, Jean Baptiste, ii, 9; builds a stone house, 23
Martigny, or Martingy, Joseph L., ii, 9
Martin, Adam, ii, 55, 77; iii, 216
Martin, Captain, duel with Ramsay, iii, 79
Martin, Dinah, ii, 142, 148
Martin, Jean Baptiste, i, 355
Martin, John, prefect of the St. Louis College, iii, 71
Martin, John F., ii, 185
Martin, Joseph, i, 357
Martin, Judge, his account of the Spanish caravan, i, 253
Martin, Louis, i, 376; ii, 55
Martin, Mathias, ii, 142
Martin, Peter, i, 368
Martin, Stephen, iii, 104, 108
Martin, William, iii, 131
Mas, Jean, i, 166
Mascaroni, Father Angello, ii, 326
Mascho, ii, 399
Mascoutins, accompany Radisson and Groseilliers, i, 152; country of the Mascoutines, Joliet sent to, 157
Masedt, Juan, ii, 166
Mashashe, ii, 339
Mashcoux, Indians, i, 222; runaway vagabonds, 222
Mason, Dr. Richard, a physician of St. Louis in 1820, iii, 81
Mason, Edward, ii, 76
Mason, John, ii, 149
Mason, Nancy, ii, 149
Mason, Pierre, ii, 65
Mason, Thomas, ii, 76
Masonic Lodge, Reynolds expelled from Bethel Baptist church for being member of, iii, 207
Masonville, or Maisonville, Charlotte, ii, 147
Masonville, or Maisonville, Jean Baptiste, ii, 162
Masse, ii, 205
Masse, Pierre, dit Picard, ii, 204
Massendow, Elizabeth, ii, 154
Massey, partner of Ashley, merchant of Louisiana, iii, 197
Massey, Agnew, ii, 71, 163
Massey Iron Works, iii, 187
Massey, James, iii, 131

Massey, Joshua, ii, 71, 78
Massey, Lieutenant, iii, 127
Massey, William, ii, 71, 405
Masters, Abner, ii, 164
Masters, Dr. Henry, ii, 146, 159, 384
Masters, Jesse, ii, 164
Masters, John, ii, 159
Masters, Lemuel, ii, 159
Masters, Richard, ii, 156, 159
Masters, Robert, ii, 159
Masters, Samuel, ii, 159, 166
Masters, William, ii, 164
Masterson, Michael, ii, 76
Masterson, James, iii, 131
Matchequawa, ii, 399
Matenly, or Mattingly, Luke, i, 384
Mathews, Charles, ii, 164
Mathews, Edward, ii, 164; iii, 104, 107
Mathews, J. A., ii, 34
Mathews, John, a sergeant of poetical proclivities, in Andrew Ramsay's company, iii, 111
Mathews, John, a soldier in Sarshall Cooper's company, iii, 114, 137
Mathews, Joseph, ii, 164
Mathews' prairie, ii, 164
Mathews, Rev., biographical sketch of, iii, 229
Mathews, William, singing clerk of Bethel church, iii, 207
Matin, or Mattingly, Joseph, i, 384
Matis, Jerome, i, 367
Matlock, White, ii, 101
Matry, Pierre, ii, 152
Maupin, John, iii, 106
Maurice, dit Chatillon, Jean Baptiste, ii, 245
Maury, Evarist, opens the Planters House in 1817, iii, 60; founds the "Enquirer," 66
Maxent, Laclede & Co., license of, ii, 1
Maxwell, Father James, i, 352, 356; Vicar-General of upper Louisiana, ii, 165, 182, 303; his signature, 305; biographical sketch of, 305, 309; inspects St. Louis church, 309; takes deep interest in political affairs, 312, 365; appointed member of territorial council, iii, 3, 6, 67
Maxwell Spring, ii, 83
Maxwell's Hill, ii, 306
May, Amable Louis, ii, 69
May, John, ii, 185, 192
May, Patrick, ii, 185
Maybray, Elizabeth, i, 374
Mayfield, James S., appointed member of second board of commissioners, iii, 54
Mecaitch, the Eagle, ii, 398
Mechanical arts, did not flourish, ii, 231
Medard, Catherine, ii, 157
Meek, James, ii, 92
Meek, Samuel, ii, 95
Meek, William, ii, 101
Mehauses, Indian name of Swan Creek, i, 18
Meigs, Colonel Return J., appointed Commandant of St. Charles, ii, 382, 405; postmaster-general advertises to have mail carried, in Missouri territory, iii, 64
Majaget, Sieur, ii, 165
Mellon, Arthur, ii, 147
Meloche, dit Hibernois, Anthony, ii, 245
Melody, Gabriel, ii, 54
Melville, Margaret, ii, 142
Members, names of, belonging to the first Presbyterian church west of Mississippi, iii, 229; names of subscribers to the first Episcopal church of St. Louis, 235; names of, belonging to the first Methodist church west of the Mississippi, 234; of the select committee to whom Missouri memorial was referred, 244; of the constitutional convention, 248
Membre, Father Zenobe, describes animal life, i, 34, 166
Memorial, presented by first convention held in Missouri, ii, 388; of the territorial Assembly to Congress, iii, 8; copy of, presented to Congress for admission of Missouri as a state, 243
Medard, i, 366; ii, 258
Menard, Colonel Pierre, ii, 89, 144; has grant of land on Apple Creek, 191, 323
Menard, Francois, ii, 68
Menard, Jean B., ii, 65
Menard, Joseph, i, 357; ii, 65
Menard, Louis, ii, 65
Mendelle, or Mendelet, dit Bracome, Francois, ii, 68
Mendoza, Antonio de, viceroy of Mexico, i, 119
Menefee, Joseph, first postmaster of Cape Girardeau, iii, 63
Meneshosha, i, 2
Merchandise, kept in chests and under lock and key, ii, 232
Mercantile Library, of St. Louis, burns Peck's Journals, iii, 209
Merchants, kept no open shops, ii, 232; of St. Louis, iii, 191; of Ste. Genevieve, 194; of New Madrid,

196; of Cape Girardeau, 196; of Jackson, 196; of Franklin, 197; of Louisiana and St. Charles, 197
Mercier, Charles, ii, 68
Mercier, Dr. Claude, ii, 28, 54
Mercier, Joseph Marie, i, 358
Mercier, Nicolas, i, 356
Meredith, Rowland or Roland, i, 384; ii, 192
Mermet, Father, Vicar-General, ii, 290
Merrick, Roswell, owns Alton Ferry, iii, 61
Merry, Dr. Samuel, a physician of St. Louis in 1820, iii, 81
Messinger, John, author of a work on surveying, printed in St. Louis in 1821, iii, 67
Metallic money scarce in upper Louisiana, ii, 258
Metayer, Veronique, ii, 147
Methodist church, first in Missouri, organized at McKendree Chapel, iii, 234
Methodists, Peter McCormick, a member of, i, 380
Metot, Jacques, ii, 87
Metz, Elias, ii, 78
Metzinger, Don Juan, i, 327
Meurin, Father, i, 340; ii, 291; biographical sketch of, 293, 294; appointed Vicar-General, 294; leaves Spanish Illinois country, 296, 297
Meurin, Rosalie, i, 340
Mexican mines, criminals sent to, ii, 201
Mexicans i, 43
Mexico, the revolution of Hidalgo, iii, 155
Miami Company, ii, 172
Miamis, threatened by the Boonslick company, iii, 121; surrender to Dodge, 122
Miaramigona, name of the Maramec, i, 245, 274
Michau, Amand, ii, 66
Michau, Genevieve Rosalie, ii, 28
Michau, John Alexander, iii, 99
Michau, Melchior Amant, ii, 97
Michaux, Andrew, ii, 136; iii, 147
Michel, Francois, ii, 160
Michel, Jean Baptiste, ii, 151
Michel, Jean, surgeon, i, 166
Michel, Joseph, dit Taillon or Tayon, i, 358; ii, 9
Michel-Lacourse, Madame, ii, 160
Michel, Marie Josephe, dit Tayon, ii, 10
Michel, or Michau, James, ii, 101
Middle fork of Salt River, mounds on, i, 92
Middle Grove, iii, 158
Middleton, Reuben, i, 382
Middleton, William, i, 383
Migneron, Salmon, iii, 188
Migration of Saukees and Foxes, and their warlike attitude, i, 203
Milch cows, used to plow by settlers after the war of 1812, iii, 138
Milegin, or Millikin, Alexander, ii, 163
Miles, James, i, 383
Miles, Joseph, i, 383
Milhomme, or Millum, Francois, i, 379
Milhomme, dit Petit, Louis, i, 358, 379
Miliet, or Milliette, Jean Baptiste, i, 379
Military uniforms, made in New Orleans, ii, 232
Militia, how organized in St. Louis, i, 299; officers of, 300; companies participating in expedition to New Madrid, 335; of New Madrid ordered to drill regularly by DeLassus, 336; organized by Stoddard in upper Louisiana, ii, 375; of territory enrolled, iii, 103
Mill Creek, ii, 15
Milan, Florencio, ii, 152
Millard, Josiah, i, 382; iii, 104, 108
Miller, Andrew, iii, 103, 106
Miller, Benjamin, ii, 166
Miller, Geo. C., iii, 84, 104, 106
Miller, Jacob, ii, 189
Miller, James M. ii, 166
Miller, John, Col., iii, 105, 108, 184
Miller, Judge, i, 371
Miller, Phillip, ii, 95
Miller, Sarah, ii, 156
Miller, William, ii, 76
Millette, Catherine, ii, 148
Millette, Elizabeth, ii, 141
Millette, Francios, ii, 158
Millette, Jean Baptiste, ii, 141, 147, 152
Millette, Joseph, ii, 147
Millette, Rosalie, ii, 152
Millikin, Alexander, ii, 191
Mills, to grind grain, ii, 237
Mills, H. L., keeps tavern at St. Charles, iii, 60
Mills, James, ii, 186, 192
Mills, Lavina, ii, 187
Mills, Rev. Samuel J., biographical sketch of, iii, 223, 225
Millstones, iii, 189
Mine à Breton, discovery of, i, 284;

trace from mine to river, 284; rush to, 285; riot at, ii, 364; iii, 182
Mine à Joe, i, 387
Mine country militia company, in the Boonslick, iii, 120
Mine of hammers, found near the Burbeuse, i, 78
Mine la Motte, probably derives its name from La Mothe Cadillac, i, 279; granted to Renault, 281; how output shipped, 284; Schoolcraft as to name of, 279; Indian massacre at, 378; ii, 204
Mineral wealth of Missouri, i, 22; district of upper Louisiana, 274; land grants, ii, 228; claims, iii, 44
Minert, i, 166
Miners, engaged in brawls and quarrels, iii, 74
Mines, produce hauled to Ste. Genevieve, i, 367
Minnay-Shoshoh-chray, meaning of, i, 7
Minton, Mrs. John, ii, 185
Miracle, David, ii, 101
Miro, Governor, Estevan, ii, 15; report of overflow of 1785, 51, 53; inquires as to New Madrid, 107; opposes Morgan's plan, 122; objects to Morgan's circular, 123; cancels Morgan's grant, 124, 125; sends Foucher to New Madrid, 125; his instructions to Foucher, 126; objects to sale of land by Morgan, 127; authorizes Morgan to introduce settlers, 128; liberates Indian slaves, 240, 309, 336; biographical sketch of, 337, 338, 340; frustrates Morgan's plan, 341; displeased that Wilkinson should be in the service of the United States, 342
"Misere," nickname of Ste. Genevieve, i, 346; attack planned on, ii, 37
Misho-ray, i, 2
Missoury, i, 2
Misplait, Bazil, i, 356
Misplait, Noel, i, 356
Misplait, Pierre, i, 356
Missey, Jean Louis, i, 356
Mission, of the Immaculate Conception, ii, 288
Missionaries, activity of the French, ii, 287
Missionary priests, own slaves, ii, 243
Missionary society organized by Peck, iii, 218; Association, antagonism to among Baptists, 220
Mississippi, bordered by forests, i, 26; lined with bear, 38; valley, center of prehistoric activity, 47; first discovered by Jean Nicollet, 155; first named by Father Allouez, 156
Mississouri, i, 2
Missouri, origin of name, i, 1; different spelling, 7; meaning of word, 7; accepts Platte country, 12; river, 17; mound area, 41; river discovered by Radisson and Grosseilliers, 153; named Osage by Membre, 163, 169; origin of word, 177; river noted by Penicaut, 248; exclusive trade on, ii, 2; territory of, iii, 1; river trade to New Orleans in 1819, 160; circuit, first appointment for, 235; Compromise, 247; population at the time of passage of enabling act, 248; first Governor of, 253; how the state was finally admitted into the Union, 271; "Missouri Gazette," on the affect of the attempt of the anti-slavery party, iii, 249
"Missouri Gazette," iii, 65
"Missouri Herald," founded in Jackson in 1818, iii, 66, 189
"Missouri Hotel," first General Assembly meets in, iii, 266
"Missouri Intelligencer," founded in Franklin in 1819, iii, 66; on steamboat navigation, 198
"Missourian," on National road, iii, 167
Missourie, i, 2
Missouries, i, 1; habitat of, 177
Missouriopolis, iii, 185
Missouriton, iii, 182
Missourits, where located on Franquelin's map, i, 7, 226
Misty, Clement, ii, 87
Misuri, so spelled in Carvers' Travels, i, 2
Mitchell, James, ii, 69
Mitchell, John S., iii, 30
Mitchell, Robert, ii, 146
Mitchell, William, iii, 84
Mitchell, Willis, iii, 157
Mitchigamea, found by Marquette, i, 162; village at, 162; change of habitat, 171
Mite societies, iii, 223
Mittaye, Veronique, ii, 151
Mize, Thomas, iii, 197
Moccasins worn by the people, ii, 232
Mock, Randolph, ii, 149
Mocque, Joseph, i, 357
Moitier, Antoine, ii, 63
Molere, Baptiste, ii, 56

Molina, Antonio or Antoine, ii, 138, 165
Moline, Don Bernardo, ii, 142
Monbrun, Don Estaban Boucher de, i, 309
Mondion, Marie, ii, 52
Mongrain, Noel, nephew of Cheveux Blanc, ii, 85, 270, 398; claim of acquired by Chouteau, iii, 154
Monier, Jean B., ii, 60, 256
Moniteau county, first settlers of, iii, 159
Moniteau Creek, William McLane killed near, iii, 118
Monix, Baptiste, ii, 166
Monmirel, dit Durant, Joseph, i, 356
Monopoly, not permitted under Spanish rules, ii, 250
Monroe, Daniel, iii, 8, 115, 137
Monroe, President James, sent as envoy extraordinary to France, ii, 348, 382; issues proclamation admitting Missouri into Union August 10, 1821, 272
Monroe, John, iii, 114, 137
Monroe, Joseph, brother of the president, iii, 92
Monroe, William, iii, 115
Montaigne, ii, 56
Montardy, Jeanne, ii, 10
Montardy, Pedro, Lieutenant of a St. Louis company, ii, 17, 42
Montcalm, ii, 170
Montgomery, Colonel, his connection with attack on St. Louis, ii, 40
Montgomery county, organized, iii, 8
Montgomery, James, ii, 95
Montgomery, William, i, 372
Montgomery, William, keeps tavern at Jackson, iii, 61, 85
Monticello, iii, 184
Montigny, Father, on Mississippi, i, 240, 243
Montjoy, Charles, iii, 157
Montmenia, or Monmirel, John, ii, 161
Montmirel, or Monmirel, Jean, ii, 166
Montmirel, or Monmirel, Joseph, dit Durant, ii, 148, 245
Montreaux, Joseph, ii, 67
Montreuil, Amable, ii, 68
Moodey, Moses, ii, 201
Moody, Joseph, iii, 116, 138
Mooney, Daniel, iii, 104, 107, 108
Mooney, Terrence, i, 344
Moore, Bede, i, 383
Moore, Dr. William, iii, 70; in Cooper county in 1818, 83
Morgan, George, ii, 392
Moore, Guillaume, i, 367
Moore, Isadore, opens a farm near present Perryville, i, 383; iii, 6, 7, 8
Moore, James B., ii, 398
Moore, James, junior, i, 383
Moore, James, senior, i, 383; iii, 84
Moore, John, ii, 158
Moore, Rich, iii, 103
Moore, Richard, iii, 106
Moore, William, iii, 84
Moquez, Francois, ii, 91
Moquez, or Mouques, Louis, ii, 65
Morales, complains in 1802 of revenue frauds at St. Louis, ii, 63; rules and regulations, of, 219, 220; published in upper Louisiana, 222; his object was to make land grants certain, 223
Morales, Don Juan Ventura, ii, 196
Moranville, Francois, ii, 321
Moreau, dit Parent, ii, 245
Moreau, Alexis, ii, 56
Moreau, Francisco, Lieutenant, ii, 67
Moreau, Francois, ii, 21, 56
Moreau, Joseph, ii, 69
Moreau, Louis, ii, 69
Moredock, James, iii, 98; escapes Indians, 99
Morel, Francois, ii, 151
Morel, Hugh, ii, 102
Morel, John, ii, 102
Morelle, Jean Baptiste, i, 357; ii, 148
Moreman, Francois, i, 382
Mareno, Pedro, i, 113
Morgan, Archibald, i, 382
Morgan, Asa, iii, 184
Morgan, Col. George, ii, 72; letter to Galvez, 109; his memorial to Continental Congress, 109; his preparation for settling his new province, 116; his plan of surveying same, 117; lots of New Madrid distributed free, 118; protects trees on public roads, 119; landing at New Madrid, 119; lots dedicated to religious denominations, 119; white hunters not admitted, 119; recorder's offices established, 120; free importation of plough irons and farming utensils, 120; school-masters to be engaged, 120; his objection to Foucher, 126; suggests that land be sold to settlers instead of being donated, 127; appointed by Miro Commandant, 128; effect of his enterprise, emigration stimulated by it, 129; finds Delawares and Shawnees west of river, i, 208, 312; visits Perez, ii, 57; biographical sketch of, 109; extent of his grant, 110; interests

leading men in Pennsylvania in his enterprise, 111; on the Mississippi, 112; visits Lieut. Gov. Perez, 112; his letter to Miro, 124, 145, 164; iii, 83, 168
Morgan, John, Dr., ii, 112; letter to in regard to New Madrid, 113
Morgan, John, junior, i, 382
Morgan, Marie, ii, 149
Morgan, Salomon, i, 382
Morganza, ii, 128
Morin, Antoine, i, 357
Morin, Henry, ii, 55, 66
Morin, Jean Baptiste, ii, 55
Morin, or Marin, Joseph, ii, 22
Morin, Michael, ii, 55
Moro, Don Manuel Gonzales, Spanish store keeper, ii, 365
Morrin, Pelagie, ii, 55
Morris, Curtis, i, 373
Morris, Governor, ii, 346
Morris, Henry, i, 358
Morris, John, ii, 149
Morris, Lucy, ii, 149
Morris, Robert, tavern keeper at Franklin, iii, 61
Morris, Ruth, ii, 149
Morris, Samuel, ii, 165
Morrison, George Washington, ii, 72
Morrison, James, Lieut., ii, 89, 98; iii, 102, 104, 110
Morrison, Jesse, ii, 87, 88, 89
Morrison, Joshua, iii, 107
Morrison, Lewis, iii, 245
Morrison, Robert, hauls goods by wagon for Armour and Juden from Baltimore to Jackson, iii, 196
Morrison, T. J. O., ii, 146
Morrison, William, sends goods from Kaskaskia to Santa Fe, iii, 155
Morrow, George, iii, 15, 18, 187
Morrow, John, iii, 106
Morse, William, i, 382
Mortes, or Hortes, Jean Baptiste, ii, 78
Mortgage, first recorded in St. Louis, ii, 25
Moseley, Samuel, iii, 107
Moselly, Thomas, iii, 185
Moses, or Mores, S. Thomas, ii, 76
Moss, Carroll, iii, 157
Moss, William, ii, 77
Mosteller, Jacob, i, 376
Mosteller, Joseph, i, 376
Motard, (Joseph?), i, 345
Motard, Joseph, builds a wind mill, ii, 29, 50, 54
Motes, dit Mattis, Jerome, i, 366
Mothershead, Charles, iii, 196
Mothershead, Clifton, iii, 196
Motier, Francois, ii, 100
Motier, Joseph, ii, 297
Motley, Joseph, i, 384
Mouingwenas, i, 169
Mounds, i, 28, 41; located in Missouri, 42; plowed down, 42; in Big Prairie New Madrid, 58; excavated in New Madrid by Swallow, 60; covered with rock found in Reynolds county, 78; on the Mississippi south of Lagrange, 89; on the Missouri river, 92; in Callaway county near Sans Dessein, 94; on bluffs of the Missouri river, 94; in northwest Missouri examined only cursorily, 95; used as watchtowers, 105; on the Dunklin ridge, 114
Mound-builders, on the Mississippi, i, 43; on St. John's bayou, 42; brachycephalic, 43
Mount Ararat Baptist church, iii, 215
Mount Nebo Baptist church, iii, 217
Mount Pisgah Baptist church, iii, 215
Mount Pleasant Baptist church, iii, 208
Mount Pleasant Baptist Association, 215; sends delegates to Bethel Association, 216, 221
Mount Tabor, iii, 237
Mount Zion Baptist church, iii, 208, 215
Moutard, Jean Baptiste, ii, 60
Moutree, James H., iii, 107
Muca-da-puck-ee, i, 8
Mucketemachekaka, ii, 399
Muddy River, i, 2
Mullanphy, Bryan, iii, 192
Mullanphy Emigrant Home, iii, 192
Mullanphy, John, i, 364; ii, 99; iii, 192
Mullen, Mathew, ii, 206
Mulline, or Molene, Daniel, ii, 165
Mullins, Daniel, ii, 192
Mullins, Mathew, i, 367
Mullins, Thompson, iii, 138
Mundy, Norris, ii, 165
Munie, Juan, or Munier, discovers the Ponkas and secured exclusive trade with Ponkas, ii, 51, 250
Munos, Fernando, ii, 151
Murdock, Alexander, i, 382
Murdock, or Murdough, James, i, 382
Murphy, Benj., iii, 107
Murphy, David, i, 375; ii, 384
Murphy, Dubart, i, 375
Murphy, Francois, ii, 189
Murphy, Guillaume, i, 367
Murphy, Guillaume, junior, i, 367
Murphy, Hezekiah, iii, 85
Murphy, Isaac, iii, 103, 106

Murphy, James, ii, 187, 189, 192
Murphy, Jesse, iii, 7
Murphy, John, ii, 77, 405
Murphy, Joseph, i, 375
Murphy, Joseph, senior, iii, 85
Murphy, Mark, iii, 131
Murphy, Mrs. Sarah, a sister of David Barton, i, 375
Murphy, Richard, i, 375; iii, 7
Murphy settlement, i, 365; iii, 183; old Methodist community, 239
Murphy, Rev. William, i, 375; ii, 187, 192, 375, 384; iii, 17
Murphy, William, iii, 85
Murphy, William, junior., i, 375
Murray, Daniel, ii, 344
Murty, James F., iii, 105
Musick, iii, 8
Musick, Abram or Abraham, ii, 71; iii, 86, 214
Musick, Asa, ii, 71
Musick, Captain David, ii, 69, 100, 392; iii, 3; at the battle of the Sinkhole, 131; his report of Sinkhole fight, 133; goes to Fort Cap au Gris from Sinkhole, 135
Musick, David, iii, 86, 103
Musick, Edy or Ewel or Uel, ii, 77
Musick, Eli, ii, 72, 76
Musick, Ephraim, ii, 71; iii, 216
Musick, James, iii, 103, 105
Musick, Joel L., ii, 69
Musick, Noel, ii, 73
Musick, Thomas R., ii, 69; iii, 86, 215, 216
Musick, Uri, ii, 73
Muskingum, Morgan meets Indians there, ii, 111
Mussina, Zacharia, iii, 193
Muter, George, biographical sketch of, ii, 337
Myer, George, ii, 166
Myer, John, i, 356, 385
Myers, Benjamin, ii, 156; iii, 104, 107
Myers, George, iii, 156
Myers, Jacob, dit Roberson Pearson, ii, 143, 149, 155, 156, 166; license to keep a public tavern at New Madrid, 274
Myers, Jane, ii, 166
Mystic Brotherhood, the Nine Brothers, i, 213
M'Gehan, George, iii, 244
M'Gready, Dr. Israel, iii, 3, 5, 245
MacKay, or McCoy, Michael, i, 386
McAlpine, Joseph, ii, 159
McArthur, John, first clerk of the House, iii, 7, 103, 106
McArthur, William, i, 366
McCall, James, iii, 24
McCall, Samuel, iii, 103, 106
McCartney, Alexander, ii, 73
McCarty, ii, 186
McCarty, John, ii, 185
McCarty, Joseph, iii, 229
McCarty, Major, in command of Cahokia, i, 345
McCarty, Nathan, iii, 131
McCarty, William, iii, 229
McClanahan, Col., second of Browne in duel with John Smith, iii, 79
McClanahan, Dr. Finis, in Cooper county, iii, 83
McClean, Alexander, ii, 101
McClenahan, John W., i, 381
McClintock, John, iii, 229
McCloud, Robert, a step-son of Jos. Charless, iii, 66; founds "The Missourian" at St. Charles, iii, 66
McCluny, Jacob, ii, 151
McCollack, Eliza, ii, 163
McCologue, ii, 165
McColum, Ansilme, ii, 152
McConnell, John, ii, 99; iii, 103, 106
McConnell, William, ii, 87; iii, 158
McConohoe, Alexander, i, 381
McCord, Adam, ii, 92; iii, 137
McCormick, i, 380; ii, 102
McCormick, James, ii, 165; iii, 229
McCormick, John, ii, 165; iii, 229, 244
McCormick, Mathew, ii, 158
McCormick, Peter, i, 380
McCoulkin, John, ii, 157
McCourtney, Adams, ii, 73
McCourtney, Alexander, ii, 94
McCourtney, James, ii, 72
McCourtney, J. B., ii, 149
McCourtney, Joseph, ii, 151, 166
McCourtney, Maj. J. B., ii, 153
McCourtney, Mrs. Elizabeth, ii, 73
McCoy, ii, 72, 143, 149
McCoy, Alexander, i, 373
McCoy, Ananias, i, 372; iii, 229
McCoy, Francois, ii, 152
McCoy, John, ii, 96, 165
McCoy, Joseph, ii, 96; iii, 157, 158
McCoy, Captain Robert, i, 358; at New Madrid in 1786, ii, 96, 107, 141, 151, 157, 368; his signature, 143; Commandant of Tywappity Bottom, 143; iii, 157
McCrae, David, ii, 37
McCreary, Mary, iii, 229
McCue, Daniel, iii, 156
McCulloch, James, ii, 149; iii, 103, 105
McCullough, Hugh, ii, 76
McCully, Major, ii, 112

McDaniel, Baptiste, ii, 87
McDaniels, James, ii, 55
McDaniels, Johnson, iii, 159
McDermit, Charles, i, 368
McDermitt, Hugh, iii, 7, 8
McDermitt, James, with Callaway, iii, 124
McDonald, Alexander, ii, 76
McDonald, Andrew, i, 344
McDonald, Baptiste, ii, 91
McDonald, James, ii, 71
McDonald, John, iii, 103
McDonnell, John, iii, 187
McDonough, Stacy, i, 384
McDowell, Catalina, ii, 158
McDowns, William, iii, 103, 105
McDuff, Patrick, ii, 159
McElwee, James, iii, 85
McFall, George, ii, 73
McFarland, Blassingham H., iii, 104, 107, 108
McFarland, Rev. John, organizes a Presbyterian church at Franklin, iii, 233
McFarland, Wm., iii, 106
McFerron, John, i, 387
McFerron, Joseph, teacher at Mt. Taber, ii, 182, 384; appointed first Clerk of Court of Common Pleas of Cape Girardeau District, 384; duel with Ogle, iii, 75; member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249; biographical sketch of, 259
McGagne, Joel, i, 387
McGagne, Laurent, i, 387
McGary, Sam, iii, 157
McGee, i, 7
McGee, John, i, 386; ii, 186
McGee, Joseph, i, 386
McGee, Sam, iii, 157
McGeiger, John L., iii, 107
McGill, Theodore, iii, 235
McGirk, Andrew, iii, 29, 84
McGirk, Matthias, iii, 6, 17; appointed Judge of the Supreme Court in 1820, 18, 266
McGirk, Robert, iii, 29
McGlaughlin, Patrick, ii, 165
McGready, Israel, ii, 102
McGuire, John, iii, 104
McGuire, Philip, iii, 5, 105
McGuire, Thomas, iii, 193
McGunnegle, John, iii, 184
McHenry, Isaac N., founded the "Enquirer," iii, 66; assaults Charless, iii, 66; dies in 1821, 66
McHugh, William, ii, 94, 100, 240
McIlvain, John, iii, 69
McKay, dit Mackay, Daniel, ii, 245
McKem, William, ii, 152
McKendree, Bishop, at McKendree Chapel in 1819, iii, 240; preaches in St. Louis in 1813, 241
McKendree Chapel, on grant of William Williams, ii, 190; first Methodist church organized at, iii, 235
McKenney, Daniel, iii, 157
McKenzie, Alexander, his trip to the Pacific, iii, 141
McKenzie, Allen, ii, 187, 192
McKenzie, Farquar, ii, 69
McKenzie, John, a sailor with John Cook, settled at Jackson, iii, 87
McKibbin, Thomas, ii, 165
McKinley, James, ii, 155
McKinney, John, ii, 94
McKinney, Robert, ii, 101
McKinzie, Daniel and William keep tavern at Franklin, iii, 61
McKinzie, Stephen, iii, 131
McKinnon, dit McKinney, Theopolis, ii, 71
McKnight, John, iii, 108, 192
McKnight, Mrs., ii, 101
McKnight, Robert, goes to Santa Fe, iii, 155
McLain, his escape from the Indians, iii, 208
McLain, dit English, Charles, ii, 245
McLain, Ewing, iii, 117, 137, 138
McLain, James, i, 381
McLain, Joseph, iii, 138
McLain, Mrs. John, ii, 185
McLain, William, iii, 138
McLains, or McLanes, settle on Loutre Island, iii, 145
McLaine's Fort, iii, 137
McLanahan, Josiah, appointed sheriff, ii, 383, 405
McLane, Alexander, iii, 84
McLane, Dr. William T., in Cooper county, iii, 83
McLane, Ervin, iii, 115
McLane, William, killed, iii, 115, 118, 138
McLaughlin, Bartholomew, ii, 166
McLaughlin, Henry, ii, 77, 96
McLaughlin, James, i, 373
McLaughlin, Jean Robert, i, 367
McLaughlin, John, iii, 84
McLaughlin, John Rose, i, 381
McLaughlin, Patrick, ii, 166
McLaughlin, Robert, i, 382
McLaughlin, Thomas, i, 373; iii, 107
McLaughlin, William, iii, 229
McLean, Jacque, i, 367
McMahan, James, corporal, iii, 115
McMahan, Joseph, iii, 116
McMahan, Robert, i, 386; ii, 150

McMahan, Samuel, sergeant, killed, iii, 120
McMahan, Thomas, iii, 115
McMahan, William, Lieut., iii, 113; his savage ferocity, iii, 117
McMahan's Fort, iii, 138
McMichell, John, ii, 101
McMickle, or McMichael, John, ii, 73
McMillan, Daniel, ii, 156
McMillan, James M., ii, 156
McMillan, Jean, ii, 102
McMullin, James, with Callaway, iii, 124
McMullin, Robert I., iii, 185
McMurray, John, sergeant, iii, 115
McMurty, Joseph, i, 373
McNair, Alexander, ii, 383; iii, 9; one of the first St. Louis trustees, 72, 103, 104, 183; member of the constitutional convention, 249; biographical sketch of, 248; elected first governor of Missouri, 253
McNair, David, has a ferry at St. Louis in 1816, iii, 62
McNair, Robert, iii, 85
McNair, St. John, killed by Indians, iii, 108
McNeal, John I., i, 368
McQuick, John, ii, 91
McQuilkin, or McKouilkin, John, ii, 156
McQuilty, Lieutenant, iii, 115
McQuitty, Andrew, ii, 72
McQuitty, David, iii, 106
McPheeters, Dr., iii, 80
McRay, John, i, 373
McTyre, Bishop, iii, 236
McWilliams, Robert, iii, 104
McWilliams, Thomas, iii, 107
Mt. Tabor, first English school west of Mississippi river there, ii, 182
Mt. Vernon, iii, 185

N

Nacotahs, or Dacotahs, i, 1
Nadaillac, Marquis de, on the mounds, i, 43, 46
Naeleman, Quiete, or Kiete, ii, 148
Nahua, origin of mounds in Mississippi valley, i, 44, 47
Nai-chi-wai-go-chee, ii, 406
Nails, iii, 188; factory, 188
Nakurme, with Dodge on his campaign on the Missouri, iii, 121
Nanawenane, the Sturgeon-man, ii, 399
Namo-cha-tasa, the brave by Hazard, ii, 398
Namachewana-chaha, ii, 398
Namat-chesa, ii, 399
Names of officers and soldiers who came with St. Ange to St. Louis, ii, 17
Names of subscribers of New Bourbon to patriotic contributions to the king of Spain, i, 367; St. Louis subscribers, ii, 62.
Names of the soldiers of the Spanish-American military company, ii, 192
Names of tavern keepers in St. Louis, iii, 60
Nanson, John, tavern keeper at Franklin, iii, 61
Napetaka, ii, 399
Napoleon, rumor that he had acquired Louisiana for France, and feeling of apprehension, ii, 346; urges sale to United States, 349; his prediction of the effects of this acquisition, i, 350
Naquigen, ii, 44
Nasawarku, the fork, ii, 399
Nash, Alexander, has a ferry at St. Louis in 1817, iii, 62
Nash, H., ii, 100
Nash, Ira, ii, 69
Nash, William, ii, 101, 136
Naude, Marie, ii, 134
Natchez, Post of, i, 289, 291; sent Indians to San Domingo into slavery, ii, 239
Natchitoches Path, route of, i, 227
Natchitoches, i, 271
National Road, controversy as to where it should touch the Mississippi, iii, 167
Narvaez, Pamphilio de, i, 136
Navarre, report of attack of St. Louis, ii, 37, 41
Nave, Henry, iii, 159
Navigation of the river, laborious, ii, 265; of the Mississippi, ii, 222
Neal, Jacob, i, 372
Neal, John, i, 372
Neal, Peter, ii, 158
Neal, Reuben, iii, 188
Neal, Samuel, i, 372
Neale, Dr. Thomas, settles in Cape Girardeau in 1805, iii, 82
Neatness unknown among the Osages, i, 191
Neeley, William, ii, 159; appointed member of the territorial council, iii, 3, 6, 87, 168
Neamcolin's Path, ran through North Missouri, i, 228
Neely, John, ii, 165, 166

Neely, Thomas, **ii,** 158, 165
Negro Fork of the Maramec, **i,** 281; **ii,** 74
Negro slaves, brought to upper Louisiana by Renault, **i,** 282; **ii,** 240; fear of negro slaves, 241; introduction of, prohibited by the Spanish officials, 241; have Sunday as their own day, **iii,** 58; punishment of white persons associating with, at unlawful meetings, 163
Negro, killed by Indians, **iii,** 118
Neil, John, **ii,** 166
Nelson, Dr. Arthur, physician of St. Louis in 1818, **iii,** 81, 234
Nelson, Capt., of steamboat "Independence," **iii,** 198
Nelson, Charles, **ii,** 155
Nelson, Thomas, **iii,** 84
Ne-o-ge-he, **i,** 1
Neosho, Forks of, **i,** 18
Neosho, Osages hunted on the, **i,** 181
Neosho, village of the Osages on the, **i,** 182
Ne-o-ya-cha, **i,** 1
Neptune, Joseph, **ii,** 56
Nepveu, Pierre, **ii,** 168
Nepveu, Thomas, **ii,** 168
Nerinyck, Father Charles, **ii,** 325
Neshota, **ii,** 398
Nessotinaineg, a chief of the Pottawottomies, **iii,** 99
Newby, Marie, **ii,** 22
Newell, John C., **iii,** 107
Newell, John, **i,** 384
Newkirk, Peter, **ii,** 156
New Bourbon, location of, **i,** 362; why so named by Carondelet, 362; common field of, 365; makes a patriotic contribution, 366; known as village des Petites Côtes, 366
New France, **i,** 2
New Franklin, **iii,** 208
New London, first settler near, **iii,** 158
New Madrid, **i,** 4, 7; mounds of, 58; De Soto in the region of, 104, 224; commercial importance of, **ii,** 62; attached to upper Louisiana, 62; main physical features of ridge, 103; description of, 104; mound-builders here, 105; laid out by Morgan, 112; map of the town, 114; survey of, 114; plat of environs by Collot, 121; population of, 132; slow progress, 133; number of concessions, 133; attached to upper Louisiana, 137; military organizations at, 141; names of settlers at, 142; district of and boundaries, 154; Commandant of, 195; population in 1795, 209; in 1796, 209; when DeLassus appointed Lieutenant-Governor, 209; Commandant of, acted as sub-delegate, 217; no common field, 234; people of, displeased at cession, 363; DeLassus at, on his return, 363; educated people at, **iii,** 58; population after cession, 140; large American settlement near, 161; harbor of, described by Flint, 170; people of, regret the change of government, 172; earthquake of, 172; decline of the town after the earthquake, 179; certificates a source of fraud, 179; merchants of, 196
New Orleans, laid out by Bienville, **i,** 273; forcible seizure of, urged by western settlers, **ii,** 246
New Tennessee, settlement of, **iii,** 239
Newspapers, published in Missouri territory, **iii,** 65
Newport, county seat of Franklin, **iii,** 185
New settlements, founded after war of 1812, **iii,** 157
Neybour, Joseph, **ii,** 75
Neyswanger, Joseph, **ii,** 188
Niangua, **i,** 18
Nicholas, George, **ii,** 344
Nichols, Mathias, **iii,** 157
Nicholson, John, **iii,** 235
Nicholson, William, **iii,** 85
Nicolas, Antoine, **ii,** 166
Nicolas, Etienne, **i,** 357
Nicolet, Jean, first finds the Mississippi, **i,** 155
Nicolle, Gabriel, **i,** 372, 378
Niel, Rev. Francois, **ii,** 328; teaches in St. Louis College, **iii,** 71
Nilco, of De Soto, may be the White river, **i,** 18
Nish-na-bot-na, **i,** 17
Niska, Indian name of White river, **i,** 18
Ni-shu-dge, name of Missouri, probably derived from this word, **i,** 1
Niswanger, Joseph, **ii,** 192
Noble, James, **iii,** 84
Noblesse, Peter, **ii,** 160
Nodaway, **i,** 5, 17
Nogales, **iii,** 85
Noise, which accompanied the New Madrid earthquake, **iii,** 177
Noise, Francois, **ii,** 56
Noise, dit Des Noyer, Jacques, **ii,** 21, 56; **ii,** 307
Noland, Ledston, **iii,** 84

Norflet, James, ii, 165
Norman's account of trace up Castor river, i, 231
Normand, Charles, i, 357
Norris, James, ii, 163
Norrisses, or Norris, John L., ii, 163
North, William, i, 375
Northcut mounds, in Scott county, i, 66
North Carolina, German emigrants from to upper Louisiana, ii, 188; claims country to the Mississippi, 330
North Missouri, a land of prairies, i, 32
North St. Louis rolling mill, iii, 257
Northwest Fur Company, ii, 254
Northern limits of Missouri, fixed by United States Supreme court, i, 14
Notre Dame de Bon Secours, ii, 314
Notice, of Becknell to enlist company for trading west in 1820, iii, 156
Norvell, Joshua, one of the founders of the "Western Journal," in 1815, iii, 65
Nowlin, Elder Patton, iii, 212
Novins, James, ii, 166
Noyes, Michael T., iii, 157
Nash, Ira, ii, 100
Null, William, senior, i, 356, 379; ii, 77
Null, William, junior, i, 379; ii, 77
Number killed in attack on St. Louis, ii, 39
Number of slaves in upper Louisiana, ii, 241
Nunez, Cabaza de Vaca, Alvar, i, 119
Neuvo Biscaya, a province of New Spain, i, 136
Nussan, Jonas, i, 367
Nussan, John, i, 382
Nuttall, on number of mounds at New Madrid, i, 42; on number of Osages, i, 182; ii, 268
Nuts, i, 31
Nut trees, i, 32

O

Oath of allegiance administered to New Madrid settlers, ii, 166
Obsidian, found in Mississippi county mound, i, 62
Obrazo, same as Brazeau, i, 385
Oca-cho-lo-hol-lay, Indian name for the St. Francois, i, 17
Ochage, or Osage, i, 169
Ogle, duel with McFerron, iii, 75
Ogden, Isaac, a millwright, ii, 179
Ohaha, or Salt river, i, 17
Ohio river, also known as the Akansea, i, 170; the Arkansas at one time lived near the mouth of, 107
Odin, Father J. M., ii, 326, 327
Odonis Creek, i, 387
Odum, Jacob, i, 387
Odum, Michael, ii, 71
Oil Trough Bottom, ii, 255
Okee-chee-bee, death of Gentry at battle of, iii, 79
Oliver, dit Bellepeche, Antoine, ii, 245
Oliver, Jean, ii, 205
Oliver, Thomas, i, 356; ii, 383; iii, 103, 106; iii, 67
Oliviere, Father Donatian, ii, 313
Oliviere, Jean B., death of, ii, 26
Oliviere, Vicar-General, ii, 313
Omahas, or Mahas, i, 169; change of habitat, 173
Ombre, Marie, ii, 91
Onate, Juan de, a biographical sketch of, i, 137; marches east in search of Quivira, 137; finds the "Escanjaques," 138; the "Aijados" probably Iowas, 138
Onrow, or Unruh, George, ii, 165
Open Lake, ii, 161
Opposum, described by Father Bineteau, i, 35
Oqueny, John, ii, 160
Orain, John, ii, 102
Ordinances, of O'Reilly, ii, 196; of Cardondelet, 196; of Gayosa, 196, 215; of Morales, 215; of Cruzat for St. Louis, ii, 49
Ornaments worn by Osages, i, 194
Orr, James, iii, 157
Orr, Rev. Washington, iii, 241
Orr, William, in 1821; prints a work on surveying in St. Louis, iii, 67
Ortes, Jean Baptiste, ii, 20
Ortes, Juan, ii, 308
Ortes, Thomas, ii, 165
Old Camp Ground, old religious meeting place of Missouri, iii, 235
Old Fort Field, iii, 138
Old Mines, i, 368; ii, 326
Old Mine, Settlement of, i, 378
Olive, Jean Baptiste, biographical sketch of, ii, 161
Osage river, i, 17
Osage, also the name of Missouri river on early maps, i, 163
Osage boundary, i, 3
Osage cession of land, i, 14
Osage mound, i, 45
Osage traces, i, 230
Osage, Town of, iii, 184
Osages, described by Radisson, i, 153; dwell near the mouth of the Mis-

souri, i, 170; traditions among them, 171; derivation of the word, 177; division into clans, 177; various names, by which known, 178; remarkable for their height, 178; Spanish report as to, 179; were represented at Braddock's defeat, 179; characteristics of, 180; lived near the Osage river, 181; migratory, 182; did not impress Brackenridge favorably, 184; dress of, 186; oligarchical government, 192; divided into classes, 192; names of chiefs, 193; adorn ears, 194; headdress of, 194; hereditary chiefs, 192; brave and warlike, 194; fast before going to war, 195; no match for Indians armed with guns, 195; in archery, skill of, 195; allied with Saukees and Foxes in 1818 against Cherokees, 195; object to grant of lands ceded by them to Kickapoos, 196; audacity during the Spanish dominion, 216; insolence during that period, 217, 240; on the war-path in 1810, iii, 100
Osages, rob Ezekiel Williams, i, 201; iii, 94
Oshawano Mountains, name of some of the Ozark ridges on the Mississippi, i, 20
Ostman, Frederick, ii, 149
Otis, Abram, iii, 159
Otoes, meaning of name, i, 174; English intrigues among them, 308
Ouabache, name of the Ohio, i, 25, 163; oxen (buffalo) feed on banks of, i, 36
Ouarlia, Marie, ii, 148
Ouelette, Francois, ii, 160
Ouillet, Germain, ii, 156
Ouimate, or Wimet, Amable, ii, 55
Outagamies, or Renards, or Foxes, i, 169
Outchaquaha, an Indian chief, i, 233; ii, 395
Ouvre, Louis, ii, 68
Ouyapes, or Quapaws, i, 107, 168
Overall, Rev. Nance, iii, 239
Overby, Burwell, ii, 151, 152
Overflow at Ste. Genevieve in 1785, i, 351; ii, 51
Overstreet, Thomas, ii, 102
Owens, Harry, ii, 343, 344
Owens, John, iii, 157
Owens, Robert, ii, 74; biographical note as to, 77
Owen, Sophie, ii, 146
Owsley, or Housley, Jonathan, i, 376
Oxen (buffalo), abound on the banks of the river, i, 35
Ozarks, i, 18; rivers of south Missouri rise in, 17; landscape of, 21; plateau of, 17; elevation of, 21; destitute of timber in 1819, 25; ii, 104
O'Bryan, James, ii, 166
O'Carroll, James, ii, 166
O'Connor, Jeremiah, ii, 316
O'Connor, John, killed in Bois Brule Bottom, i, 381
O'Farrell, N., ii, 166
O'Hara, Robert, ii, 166
O'Hara, William, a private banker in St. Louis in 1819, iii, 191
O'Haire, E., iii, 197
O'Fallon, Dr. James, a revolutionary soldier, iii, 84; biographical sketch of, 86
O'Fallon, John, iii, 235
O'Hogan, Michael, ii, 186, 192
O'Neal, James, iii, 158
O'Neal, Peter, i, 382
O'Neil family, killed by the Indians, iii, 101
O'Neil, Hugh, ii, 328
O'Neil, or Oneille, Joseph, ii, 55
O'Neile, Pierre, ii, 55
O'Reilly, Count Alexander, Governor of Louisiana, report of Piernas, made to him as to upper Louisiana, i, 297; instructions of, to Piernas, 298; biographical sketch of, 301, 340; ii, 193; by proclamation introduces the Spanish law into Louisiana, 196; ordinances of, 196; proclamation of, against reducing Indians to slavery, 240, 297

P

Pacahas, i, 107, 168
Pack, of skins, had a definite value, ii, 259
Packard, Isaiah, ii, 165
Packard, Isaac, i, 367
Padget, Pedro, ii, 149
Paducahs, expedition against, i, 264
Pagget, Henry, i, 374
Pagget, Etienne, i, 355
Paggett, Stephen, i, 385
Pahetsi, Osage tribal name, i, 178
Paille, Jean, ii, 22
Pain, Joseph, iii, 245
Pain, and Armstrong, iii, 189
Pain de Sucre, nickname of Carondelet, ii, 64
Pain, Jacob, ii, 150
Paincourt, nickname of St. Louis, ii, 11; attack as planned by British, 36

Painters, iii, 190
Palardi, Pierre, ii, 86
Palazois, Pascal, ii, 138
Palisema, i, 116; the Cayas, or Kansas, 117
Palardy, Joseph, ii, 55
Palmer, Martin, iii, 157
Palmer, William, ii, 69, 102
Pamar, Ramona, ii, 150
Pan-8-tet, or Iowas, i, 169; reside on Missouri, 175; remove to the Des Moines, 176
Panda, Marie Rose, ii, 10
"Pancour," nickname of St. Louis, i, 346 (see Paincourt)
Panet, Pierre, ii, 56
Paneton, Claude, ii, 55, 86
Panisse, Veronica, ii, 20
Paper money, during French dominion, ii, 259
Papin and L'Amoureux, iii, 194
Papin, or Pepin, organizes "Sans-Culottes" in St. Louis, i, 324
Papin, dit Baronet, Antoine, ii, 52
Papin, Benito, Junior, ii, 52
Papin, Estevan, ii, 91
Papin, Hypolite, ii, 56
Papin, Jem Marie, ii, 22
Papin, Joseph M., ii, 4, 383
Papin, Julia, ii, 52
Papin, J. M., ii, 50
Papin, Sylvestre, ii, 56
Paquette, Francois, ii, 96, 151
Paquette, Pierre, ii, 151
Pap-pi-qua, a Shawnee with Dodge on the Missouri, iii, 121
Paquin, Francois, ii, 148
Paradot, Angelique, ii, 141
Paran, Charles, ii, 52
Parans, Pierre, ii, 53
Pardon, or Purdon, Thomas, ii, 149
Parent, Charles, ii, 21
Parent, Etienne, i, 355
Parent, Jacques, killed at Mine la Motte, i, 378
Paris, in Monroe county, iii, 158
Parish, Alexander, ii, 189, 192
Parish of St. Isidore, ii, 310
Parish, priest of Ste. Genevieve, ii, 302
Parish priests, during Spanish dominion, ii, 311
Parisien, ii, 151
Park, Andrew, ii, 75
Parker, Abraham, i, 376
Parker, Andrew, ii, 76
Parker, Samuel, Rev., presiding Elder in 1809, iii, 235; at first campmeeting at McKendree Chapel, 236
Parker, Samuel, ii, 156
Parker, William, iii, 159
Parquer, or Parks, Gabriel, ii, 152
Parquette, or Parkett, John, ii, 98
Partenais, Amable or Padenode, dit Maçon or Mason, i, 355, 379; ii, 65, 245
Partenay, A. P., iii, 244
Partners, in the Missouri Fur Company, iii, 191
Pascal, ii, 166
Paschall, Nathaniel, apprentice in the "Gazette" office in 1814, iii, 65; in 1828 one of the proprietors of the "Republican" and editor, 65
Pashepaho, or the Stabber, i, 233; ii, 395
Pashekomack, ii, 399
Paths, Indian, along the Missouri, i, 223; south to the Missouri to Loutre Island, 224; along Mississippi going north, 224; noted on Franquelin's map, 225; along the Missouri, 226; Virginia warrior path, 226; crosses through southern Illinois into Missouri, 227; Natchiteche's path, 227, 228; Nemacolin's path, 228; on Grand river, 229; on Cuivre, 229; Osage traces, 230; Du Tisnes' route, 230
Patriotic contributions, to Spain, made by New Bourbon, i, 366; St. Louis, i, 62
Patrol, of the Missouri and Mississippi during war of 1812, iii, 104
Patron, Morin, of boat on which Bradbury sailed alarmed at New Madrid
Earthquake, iii, 172
Patten, Nathaniel, postmaster of Franklin, iii, 63, one of the proprietors of the "Missouri Intelligencer," 66
Patterson, Andrew, ii, 186, 192
Patterson, Benjamin, ii, 156, 157
Patterson, Benoni, ii, 102
Patterson, David, ii, 185, 186, 192
Patterson, Elisha, ii, 166
Patterson, Hiram, ii, 162
Patterson, Hugh, ii, 405
Patterson, John, i, 386; ii, 69, 162, 186; blacksmith, 181, 192, 367, 384; iii, 131, wounded at Sinkhole, 132
Patterson, Josiah, iii, 240
Patterson, J. R., secures autobiography of Black Hawk, ii, 91
Patterson, Magdelena, ii, 11
Patterson, Rebecca, ii, 156
Patterson, Rev. Nicholas, iii, 232, 233
Patterson, Robert, ii, 186
Patterson, William, i, 374: ii, 70, 189
Pattie, James O., a biographical sketch of, iii, 88

Pattie, Sylvester, a biographical sketch of, iii, 88
Patton, Abram, iii, 99, killed by Indians, 100
Paul, Gabriel, ii, 56, 328; iii, 193
Paul, John, i, 368; ii, 384
Paul, Rene, iii, 193
Paul, T., ii, 398
Paul, William, iii, 245
Payant, Francois, ii, 69
Payant, dit St. Ange Pierre, ii, 150, 232, 245
Payne, John, iii, 24, acquires the "Missouri Intelligencer" at Franklin, 66
Payne, Joseph, ii, 166
Payne, Sarah, marries Peck, iii, 212
Paynish, alias Boining, Jeremiah, ii, 189, 245
Paysa, opposite Portage des Sioux, ii, 88
Pawnees, or Pani, i, 169, 170
Peache, or Pichet, Joseph, ii, 87
Pecan, i, 32
Peck, James Hawkins, first United States district Judge of Missouri, iii, 19; impeached, 20
Peak, John, iii, 118
Peck, John Mason, mounds mentioned by him, i, 42; describes Rogers, 209, 380; version of Clark's aid to St. Louis when attacked, ii, 41; converses with Boone and describes him, iii, 142; his Journal burned by Mercantile Library of St. Louis, 213; his voyage up the Mississippi, 213; preaches a Missionary sermon in Legislative Hall, 215; preaches at the Bethel Association and also at Jackson at the house of Judge Thomas, 218; comments on opposition to Missionary Association, 219; on early settlers of Wayne county, 220; his comments on Flint's sermons, 229; teaches school in St. Louis in 1817; says militia called out to suppress Sunday riot, iii, 58, 69; his account of attack on Côte sans Dessein, 127; time consumed to make his trip west, 197; biographical sketch of, 212; unsuccessful in the Titsaw settlement, 233; denies that he preached against slavery, 248
Peebles, Mrs., keeps tavern at Herculaneum, iii, 60
Peers, iii, 185
Peigne, or Peigny or Payne, Joseph M., ii, 160, 166
Peine, Antoine, ii, 151
Pekan, Indian chief, i, 309
Pekitanou, or Pekitanoui, i, 2; name of Missouri given by Marquette, 161; a Saukee word, 169
Pelair, or Pilaire, Joseph, ii, 69
Pelard, Louis, ii, 152
Pelletier, Antauya or Antaya or Antayat, family, Indian name of, i, 365
Peltier, Andrew, ii, 160
Peltier, dit Morin, Antoine, ii, 21, 245
Peltier, Archange, ii, 160
Peltier, Charles, ii, 21
Peltier, Eustache, ii, 148
Peltier, Isadore, i, 343; ii, 21
Peltier, Jean Baptiste, ii, 158
Peltier, Marie Joseph, ii, 148
Peltier, Pierre, ii, 72
Peltier, Pierre or Pelletier, senior, ii, 72
Peltry currency, ii, 260
Pembroke, Eneas, manager of Alton ferry, iii, 61
Pemiscot mounds, i, 54
Penalosa, Don Diego Dionisio, biographical sketch of, i, 139; considered an impostor, 139; perhaps result of controversy with inquisition, 142; Spanish hostility aroused by his effort to conquer New Mexico for France, 142; his expedition to Quivira, 142; narrated by Padre Freytas, 143; reached the "Mischipi," 143; finds the "Escanxaques," 145; reaches Quivira, 146; possibly a large settlement, but not a city, 147
Pendegrass, Jennie, ii, 159
Pendergrast, Jessie, ii, 159
Penicaut, with Le Sieur on his voyage, i, 246; notes prairie of north Missouri, 249
Penneman, Joshua, iii, 67
Penrose, Baptiste, ii, 87
Penrose, C. B., aids to found the "Journal" in 1815, appointed Commissioner, iii, 40, 65
People, live on wild meat, i, 36
Peorias, lived near Ste. Genevieve, i, 181, 201, 362
Pepello, implicated in killing of Owens, ii, 343
Pepin, Etienne, ii, 99
Pepin, Jean Marie, i, 387
Pepin, dit Lachance, (or Papin), Joseph, ii, 27, 53, 245
Per-8-area, i, 169
Pera, or Parez, Jacques, ii, 68
Peradeau, or Paradot, Joseph, ii, 148
Perdeauville, Mrs., opens a Young Ladies Academy in St. Louis in 1818, iii, 69
Perez, furnishes Morgan guides, ii, 112, 309

Perez, Joseph, i, 358; ii, 152
Perez, Ramon, ii, 138
Peri, Pierre, public scrivener, ii, 19
Perin, dit Boucher, Jean, ii, 21
Perkins, Isaac, iii, 159
Perkins, Joseph, ii, 383
Perkins, W. K., iii, 157
Perodot, Joseph, ii, 150
Perodot, or Paradot, Pierre, ii, 150
Peron, Pierre, ii, 148
Perra, Antoine, ii, 150
Perras, Jacques, ii, 91
Perrault, dit Duchène, Jean B., ii, 52
Perrault, J. F., ii, 50
Perrault, Louis, ii. 52
Perrault, Michel, ii, 234
Perrein, Jacques, ii, 298
Perrelle, Jeremiah, i, 367
Perez, Don Manuel, appointed Lieutenant-Governor, i, 312; ii, 51; biographical sketch of, ii, 57; receives a visit from Col. Geo. Morgan, 57, 151
Perrillot, Joseph, ii, 166
Perrin du Lac, i, 361, 362
Perrodeau, or Paradot, Miss, ii, 152
Perrodeau, Joseph, i, 357
Perron, Amable, ii, 148
Perron, Jean Baptiste, ii, 158
Perron, Pierre Riche, ii, 158
Perruque, first settlement on, ii, 96
Perry county, organized by first General Assembly, iii, 268
Perry, Edward, ii, 77
Perry, James F., i, 371
Perry, Jean Francois, ii, 89, 102
Perry, Samuel, iii, 115
Perry, Samuel, iii, 7, 8, 183, 193; member of the constitutional convention, 249; note of, 257
Perry, Williams M., i, 366, 368
Personal services required of citizens of upper Louisiana, ii, 414
Personal property, what subject to taxation, ii, 116
Peru, i, 49
Peruvians, i, 43
Peterson, Dr. C. A., opinion as to age of mounds, i, 44
Petit, Antoine, ii, 149
Petit, Benjamin, i, 376
Petit, Jean Baptiste, i, 357; ii, 21
Petit, John L., i, 376
Petit, Solomon, ii, 78, 90
Petite Osage, or Titsaw, or "Teetsaw" iii, 184
Petite Osage Baptist church, iii, 217
Petteliar, or Peltier, Andre, ii, 56
Pettibone, Elie, ii, 155
Pettibone, Levi, attained the age of 103 years, iii, 22
Pettibone, Rufus, iii, 22, 235
Pettigrew, George, iii, 159
Pettigrew, John, iii, 229
Pettijohn, John, iii, 159
Pettit, Jacob, iii, 245
Petition, against the Spanish Commercial Company, i, 333
Petition, to Congress, i, 3
Pettus, Spencer, duel with Biddle, iii, 79
Pettus, William G., secretary of the constitutional convention, iii, 250; biographical sketch of, 250
Peyroux, Don Henry or Henri or Enrique, Commandant of Ste. Genevieve, i, 347; a man of education, 348; knew Jefferson, 348; of literary attainments, 348, 349; visits New Madrid, ii, 124; takes command at New Madrid, 125, 137; succeeds DeLassus as Commandant of New Madrid, 137; receives a visit from Gen. Harmar, i, 311; did not enjoy the confidence of Carondelet, 323, 366; controversy with Lorimier, ii, 167; instructions to, 197
Peyroux, Madame, library of, iii, 70
Pew, Samuel, ii, 187, 192, 384
Phelps, Daniel, iii, 229
Phelps, Timothy, iii, 67, 182, 229
Philberry, Pierre, ii, 149
Philibert, or Phillibert, Joseph, ii, 56; keeps tavern in St. Louis in 1811, 60
Phillips, an Englishman killed at Mine la Motte by Indians, i, 378
Phillips, Charles, ii, 102
Phillips, James, iii, 138
Phillips, John, ii, 102
Phillips, Samuel, i, 387; iii, 3, 131
Phillips, sergeant J. F., of the 8th regiment, ii, 36
Phillipson, Jacob, iii, 192
Phillipson, Simon, iii, 192
Phillipson's beer, sold by Labadie and Tesson, iii, 192
Piankishaw, village, on the St. Francois, i, 218; Indians, i, 351; grant of land to Earl Dunmore, 351, 365
Picard, Alexander, ii, 10
Picard, Baptiste, ii, 87
Picard, Charles, ii, 91
Picard, Francois, ii, 150
Picard, Louis, ii, 68
Pichard, Quesnal de, with Bourgmont's expedition, i, 268
Pichet, Antoine Villiere, ii, 10
Pichet, Michel, ii, 21

Pickard, Bazil, ii, 87
Pickering, Timothy, ii, 175, 337
Picturesque scenery on the Osage, i, 17
Pidgeon, Hyacinth, ii, 63
Pierceall, Samuel, i, 376
Piernas, Don Pedro, successor of Rui, i, 296; arrives at fort on the Missouri, 296; royal stores attached at St. Louis, 297; surrenders fort to St. Ange, 297; returns to upper Louisiana, 298; O'Reilly's instructions to him, 298; takes possession of St. Louis and upper Louisiana, 298, 340; describes the people in his report, 301; describes "Misera," 340; first Spanish Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana, ii, 12, 19, 21, 23; biographical sketch of, 22; causes census to be taken, 29, 205; ii, 13, 28; after arrival of, increase of population of St. Louis, slow, 30; complaints against, 30, 52; takes census, 208, 247
Pierre, Antoine Laforge, biographical sketch of, ii, 139
Pierre, Francois Patier, ii, 150
Piernas, Nicolas Jean, ii, 151
Pierro, ii, 297
Pierson, Alonzo, establishes the Pleasant Grove Academy, iii, 70
Picketts, Joseph, ii, 88
Pigeon, Hyacinth, ii, 66
Piggot, Rev. Joseph, witness of assault by McHenry on Charless, iii, 66; a Methodist preacher, 224, 240, 241
Piggot's ferry, at St. Louis, iii, 61
Pike county organized, iii, 8; first settlers of, 157
Pike, Maj. Zebulon Montgomery, describes lodges of Osages, i, 188; his expedition up the Mississippi, iii, 141; expedition up the Osage, iii, 142
Pikey, or Piquette, Antoine, iii, 131; killed at the Sinkhole fight, 132
Pilcher, Major, second of Benton in Lucas duel, iii, 77
Piller, James E., i, 384
Piller or Pillows, James P., i, 384
Pillory, introduced in upper Louisiana, ii, 379
Pillsnoeth, William, ii, 166
Pilot Knob, Indian village near, i, 219
Pinckney, county seat of Montgomery, iii, 183
Pinconneau, dit Rigauche, Ignace, ii, 3, 275; opens a school for girls in St. Louis, 275
Pines, near Cape St. Antoine, i, 241
Pinet, Vibert, tavern keeper at Franklin, iii, 61
Pinlley, Henry, ii, 102
Pinoyer, Antoine, ii, 65
Pinto, ii, 150
Pion, Blondin, ii, 17
Piper, James, ii, 101
Pipes, William, keeps a tavern at Franklin, iii, 61, 137
Piquet, M., ii, 28
Pistols, rifle barreled, iii, 74
Pitman, John, iii, 3, 5
Pivolen, ii, 165
Pixley, Dr., a teacher at Harmony, i, 198
Placet, or Placey, Jean Baptiste, i, 379
Placet, Michel, dit Michau, i, 354, 358
Placette, or Placide, Ambroise, i, 356
Placette, Baptiste, i, 355
Placey, Capt. Joseph, aids De Balma, i, 309
Placie, or Du Placey, Jean Baptiste, ii, 21, 354
Placit, Michael, dit Michau, ii, 245
Placit, Miguel, i, 340
Placy, (Jean Baptiste?), ii, 21
Plan, to establish a Republic at the mouth of the Missouri, i, 312; of St. Louis, 325; to fortify St. Louis, 139; to attract French settlers of Gallipolis, 363; of Fort Carondelet, ii, 212
Planchet, captain of militia, ii, 69
Platte country, argument to attach to Missouri, i, 9
Platte Ebenezer L., ii, 149
Plattin, settlement on, i, 379
Plattin, i, 379; ii, 257; iii, 181
Pleasant Grove Academy, iii, 70
Plows, made entirely of wood, ii, 235
Plummer, of New Hampshire, thought Louisiana Purchase would tend to dismemberment of Union, ii, 352, 354
Plums and wild grapes, i, 31
Poage, Mitchell, iii, 116
Poage, Robert, iii, 116
Pocama, the plumb, ii, 398
Poe, Isaiah, iii, 234
Poe, Simeon, iii, 234
Poillivre, Francois, i, 386; ii, 21, 75, 258
Poinaketa, ii, 399
Poindexter, iii, 245
Point Labadie, ii, 72; iii, 154
Point Pleasant, iii, 180, 181
Point St. Ignace, i, 158
Poitvin, Jean Baptiste, i, 357

Policy, of Spain to strengthen position of upper Louisiana, ii, 57
Polite, John, iii, 245
Political agitation, ii, 385
Political discussion, after purchase, iii, 56
Political condition, change of by cession, iii, 56
Political preaching held in abhorrence, iii, 251
Politics, and politicians, unknown, ii, 279
Pomme de Terre, Osages object to Kickapoos on, i, 196; iii, 159
Pond, Fort, iii, 136
Ponkas, or Panas, i, 169; move up the Missouri, 173; exclusive trade granted to Munier, ii, 51, 250
Pontabla, M. de, ii, 347
Pontiac, interred in Protestant graveyard of St. Louis, i, 26
Pope, John, ii, 105; meets Foucher, 130
Pope, LeRoy, ii, 156
Pope, Nathaniel, biographical sketch of, iii, 12, 67
Population, efforts of Spaniards to increase same, i, 304; government grants aid to immigrants and donations of land, 304; of the Illinois country in 1772, ii, 29; of St. Louis in 1772, 29; of upper Louisiana in 1803 one-half American, 63; of Cape Girardeau District, 180, 181; of St. Louis, 208; total in 1795, 209; in 1810, iii, 156; in 1820, 138; when Louisiana was ceded, 140; of Ste. Genevieve in 1819, 152; of St. Louis in 1815, 166; of Cape Girardeau District, increase of, 168
Poriere, Antoine, ii, 161
Porier, Francois, ii, 65
Porier, Paul, ii, 151
Porier, or Poierrier, dit Desloge, Pierre, ii, 148, 245
Porphiritic Greenstone, i, 21
Pontchartrain, Count de, memoir of Sagan to him, i, 280
Portage des Sioux, name of, ii, 88; when established, 88; Bishop Flaget at, 315; French settlers will not sell land, iii, 185
Portage of St. Francois, ii, 161
Portell, Jean, i, 379
Portell, John, iii, 245
Portelle, Don Thomas, in command of New Madrid from 1791 to 1796, his signature, ii, 131, 132, 149, 173, 176, 217, 343, 344
Porter, merchant in St. Louis, iii, 193
Porter, Nathaniel, ii, 70
Portes, or Portais, Jean, i, 356
Portier, Juan, i, 340
Portine, Francois, ii, 165
Portneuf, dit Laderoute, Paul, ii, 149, 150, 245
Portorico, i, 356
Portuguese Narrative, i, 100
Posadas, says Onate marched 300 leagues, i, 135
Posey, Dr., settles at Jackson in 1815, iii, 82
Post, Col., time consumed in going east from St. Louis in 1815, iii, 197
Postmaster-General in 1819 solicits bids to carry mail by steamboat between St. Louis and Louisville, iii, 63
Postmasters, names of first, iii, 63
Post-offices, iii, 62
Post-routes, from Vincennes to St. Louis, iii, 62
Postage, iii, 62
Poston, Captain of the company from the mine country, iii, 120
Potier, Luis, i, 340
Pothier, Antoine, ii, 10
Potosi, county seat of Washington county, iii, 181; aspires to be state capital, 183
Potosi Academy, iii, 7, 69
Potter, William, finds a number of mounds in New Madrid, i, 60
Potter, William, has a ferry at Booneville, iii, 62
Pottery in Southeast Missouri mounds superior, i, 49
Pottery balls, i, 46
Pottery, established in 1816 at St. Louis, iii, 190
Pottery ware found in mounds, i, 42
Pottowatomies, steal on Loutre Island, iii, 99; in war with Osages in 1811, 145
Pouillot, Joseph, i, 351; ii, 21
Pouillotte, Louis, ii, 52
Pound, John, ii, 77
Pourcelly, Jean P., ii, 54
Pourèe, dit Beausoliel, Eugene, ii, 42; Captain of a St. Louis company, 42; a merchant in St. Louis, 44; in Kaskaskia, 45; capture of his boat by robbers, 45; his lawsuit with Chouteau, 146, 245
Poydras, John, ii, 345
Powder, ordered not to be sold by Spaniards, i, 290; magazine of, at the fort on the Missouri, 291

Powder magazine at Côte sans Dessein explodes, iii, 127
Powell, Gen. H. Watson, receives a report of capture of Fort St. Joseph, ii, 43
Power, Peter, ii, 166
Power, Samuel, ii, 148
Power, Thomas, visits New Madrid, ii, 134, 153, 343, 344; biographical sketch of, 344, 345
Prairie Carlos, ii, 164
Prairie de Village Sauvage, ii, 11
Prairie des Noyers, location of, ii, 14
Prairie fires, i, 32
Prairie grass, high, iii, 158
Prairies, opinions as to origin, i, 23
Prairies of Missouri, i, 23; reach river edge west of Côte sans Dessein, 29; of North Missouri, 29; described, 32; full of buffalo, deer, etc., 34
Pratt, William, iii, 157
Pratte, Antoine, i, 374
Pratte, Bernard or Bernardo, ii, 62, 76, 297, 383; one of the first St. Louis school trustees, iii, 72, 159, 181; member of the constitutional convention, 248; biographical sketch of, 252
Pratte, Father Henry or Henri, i, 374; ii, 313, 323, 326
Pratte, Jean Baptiste, i, 352; family of, came to Ste. Genevieve from Fort de Chartres, 340, 353, 354, 355; iii, 67
Pratte, Jean Baptiste, junior, i, 355
Pratte, Joseph, i, 350, 374, 378, 379; ii, 384
Pratte, Pierre, i, 355
Pratte, Pierre August, junior, i, 374
Pratte, Sebastian, ii, 239
Pratte, S. B., iii, 181
Preachers, poorly paid, iii, 229; excluded from office by constitution of 1820, 251
Pre-Aztecs, i, 43
Predatory hostilities of Indians on Missouri, iii, 113
Prehistoric works, of Missouri, hoes, celts, and arrow heads, i, 42; stone graves near Fenton, 78
Presbyterian church, first in Missouri, iii, 229
Presbyterianism, at St. Charles, at time Flint arrived there, iii, 229
Presbytery of Missouri, organized in 1817, iii, 232
Presle, Marie, ii, 148
Presse, Jean B., ii, 3
Presse, Baptiste, senior, ii, 91
Presse, Joseph, ii, 67, 68
Presseau, Francois, ii, 87
Presse, Louis Baptiste, ii, 68
Presset, or Gresset, Jean, ii, 148
Preston, Jonathan, i, 383
Preston, Susana, ii, 150
Prevot, or Prevost, Jean, ii, 20
Prewitt, Charles, ii, 75
Prewitt, M., iii, 187
Prewitt, Samuel, ii, 75
Price, Conrad, dit Leonard, ii, 245
Price, David King, ii, 78
Price, George, ii, 99
Price, Jacob, ii, 166
Price, John, i, 366; ii, 384
Price, John W., Col. in Missouri regiment of the Seminole war, iii, 79
Price, Risdon H., iii, 235
Prices for farm products, ii, 237; at Franklin, iii, 154; at New Madrid, for provisions in 1817, 180
Priest, Dr. Zenas, acquires an interest in the "Missouri Herald," at Jackson, iii, 66; settles in the Cape Girardeau District in 1805, 82
Prieur, Francois, ii, 88
Prieur, Noel Antoine, secretary of Commandant of St. Charles, ii, 86, 166
Prieur, W. Lacroix, ii, 60
Primm, Judge Wilson, ii, 26
Primo, Paul, ii, 102
Primo, Pelagie, ii, 55
Primo, Pierre, ii, 102
Prince, Governor, thinks Coronado reached the Missouri, i, 132
Prince, William, ii, 395
Prior, Rachel, i, 356
Prior, Thomas, i, 356
Pritchard, John, ii, 150
Pritchett, Antoine, ii, 232
Pritchett, James, ii, 73, 102
Pritchett, John, ii, 151
Pritchett, Nancy, ii, 149
Pritchett, Peter, ii, 73
Pritchett, Prudentia, ii, 151
Pritchett, Thomas, ii, 150
Probst, Jacob, ii, 192
Probst, John, ii, 188
Process Verbal, form of, when LaSalle took possession of Louisiana, i, 164
Proctor, Rev. Ben., iii, 239
Prodigious flocks of wood pigeons, i, 39
Produce shipped to New Orleans, ii, 237
Products paid for in peltry, ii, 237

Prolific animal life, i, 34
Property, rapid increase in value, iii, 150
Proposal to exclude the United States from the Mississippi, ii, 332
Proprietors of the town of Osage, iii, 184
Protector, Joseph, i, 358
Protector, Nancy, i, 358
Protestant baptism, first administered west of the Mississippi, iii, 204
Protestant members, of the first Protestant church organized west of the Mississippi, iii, 206
Protestant ministers, their struggles, iii, 229
Protestant preacher, first in upper Louisiana, iii, 203
Protestant preachers, not allowed in the Spanish possessions, iii, 203; expected to labor without compensation, 220
Protestant religion, objected to by Spanish officials, iii, 201
Proulz, Bazil, ii, 56
Proulz, Gabriel, ii, 60
Proveau, or Proveaux, Nicolas, ii, 20
Provençal, trades in Spanish territory, ii, 40
Provenchere, ii, 392
Provenchere, Jean Baptiste, ii, 11, 21
Provenchere, Jean Louis, ii, 11
Provenchere, Pierre, son-in-law of Rutgers, ii, 69, 87, 98, 391
Providence Baptist church, iii, 209, 216, 219
Provisions of act of 1806, iii, 38
Provost, Jean, ii, 83
Prudhomme, Louise, ii, 152
Pruitt, or Prewitt, Sarah, ii, 75
Public printer, first, iii, 66
Pujol, Baptiste, ii, 90, 91
Pujol, Louis, ii, 91
Pulliam, Robert, ii, 203
Pukes, iii, 35
Purrère, Don Eugenio, ii, 44, 331
Purchase of Louisiana, ii, 350
Pursley, George, ii, 72
Pursley, James, goes to Santa Fe, iii, 155
Pursley, John, iii, 116
Pusey, Nathan, ii, 405
Putney, James, iii, 131; killed at the Sinkhole fight, 132
Pyatt, John, ii, 75

Q

Qualifications, of members of the territorial council, iii, 2
Quapaws, named by Dorsey, i, 169; not engaged in the war of 1812, iii, 118
Quarles, Dr. Pryor, surgeon in the Benton-Lucas duel, iii, 77, 80
Quartier, or Sansquartier, Pierre, ii, 155
Quash-qua-ma, Jumping Fish, Indian chief, i, 233; ii, 395; a great treaty signer, 398; meets Gov. Clark prior to the war of 1812, iii, 101
Quebeck, Marie Ann, ii, 87
Quebeck, Pierre, dit Violet, ii, 88, 245
Quenel, Joseph, ii, 56
Quenel, Marie M., ii, 168
Quenel, Pierre, ii, 55, 86
Quenel, Raymond, ii, 53
Querechos, Indians of the plains, i, 126; met by Coronado, like Arkansas kill Buffalo cows, 126; Du Pratz, 126, 174
Querez, Pierre, dit LaTulipe, ii, 138, 245
Quick, Benjamin, i, 384; ii, 96
Quick, Daniel, i, 384; ii, 96
Quick, Elizabeth, i, 383
Quick, James, i, 384
Quick, Lydia, ii, 72
Quick, Thomas, i, 383
Quick, Tunis, i, 384
Quigate, i, 114
Quimbre, Richard, i, 358
Quimby, Josiah, ii, 163
Quimby, Robert, a blacksmith of Tywappity Bottom, ii, 157
Quinn, Michael, i, 386; ii, 181, 186
Quinly, or Quimby, Stephen, ii, 163
Quire, William M., iii, 85
Quisquisque, same as Kaskaskia, i, 170
Quivira, the land of, i, 129; as described by Coronado, 134; supposed riches of, 136; Humana and Bonilla in search of, 136; Onate marches 300 leagues in search of, 137; Penalosa in 1662, marches east to find it, 139; his expedition described by Freytas, 144

R

Rabley, Nicholas, ii, 163
Race Island, i, 296
Racine, Francois, ii, 91, 148
Racine, Jean Baptiste, i, 347
Racine, Marie Louise, ii, 155
Racine, Nicolas, junior, ii, 155
Racine, Peter, iii, 104

Racio, ii, 165
Radisson, Sieur, Pierre d'Espirit, biographical sketch of, i, 150; his notes of travels, 150; referred to in "Jesuit Relations," 151; the Osages, 152; describes the forked river, 153
Radisson and Groseillier, among Osages, i, 190
Rafer, Michael, i, 375
Rafts of lumber, iii, 186
Ragan, Michel, i, 380
Ragotte, Francois, ii, 87
Raille, Michael, ii, 151
Ralls county, organized by first General Assembly, iii, 268
Ralls, David, carried to senate to vote for Benton and shortly after died, iii, 268
Ramos, Jean, ii, 138
Ramsay, duel with Capt. Martin, iii, 79
Ramsay family, killed by the Indians, iii, 130
Ramsay, Capt. Andrew, ii, 157, 158; first American settler in 1795 in Cape Girardeau district, 182, 183, 190, 198, 391, 392; iii, 129
Ramsay, Capt. Andrew, junior, iii, 104-111
Ramsay, Andrew, junior, ii, 183, 192
Ramsay, Capt. Allen, ii, 183; killed, iii, 111
Ramsay Creek, ii, 183
Ramsay, Gen. Jonathan, iii, 84, 155; member of the constitutional convention, 249; biographical sketch of, 262
Ramsay, James, ii, 183, 189
Ramsay, James, junior, ii, 192
Ramsay, John, ii, 100, 183
Ramsay, John, sergeant, iii, 111
Ramsay, John, junior, ii, 189
Ramsay, Josiah, iii, 83, 84
Ramsay, Margaret, ii, 183
Ramsay, Mary, ii, 183
Ramsay, Robert, ii, 78; murdered by the Indians, 100
Ramsay, William, Captain, was in the battle of Yorktown, ii, 100, 183; iii, 104
Ramsay, William, ensign, iii, 104, 111
Ramsay's Lick, ii, 100
Ramsey, Mathew, ii, 78
Rancontre, Antoine, ii, 69
Randall, Abraham, ii, 189
Randall, Abraham, junior, ii, 192
Randall, Anthony, ii, 192
Randall Creek, ii, 186, 189, 191; Mrs. Ballew baptized in, iii, 204
Randall, Elijah, iii, 104, 107
Randall, Enos, ii, 189, 192
Randall, Enos, senior, ii, 192
Randall, James, ii, 189, 192
Randall, John, ii, 169, 189; iii, 234
Randall, Medad, ii, 187, 189, 192; keeps tavern at Bainbridge, iii, 61, 104, 107, 120, 185
Randall, Samuel, or Randol, ii, 189, 192, 384
Randol, Rebecca, iii, 206
Randolph, dit Rody Veriat, ii, 88
Randolph county, Illinois, people complain of emigration to Missouri, iii, 150
Randot, ii, 147
Randu, Francoise, ii, 143
Ranger, Joseph, i, 356
Ranger, Lambert, i, 356
Ranger, Pierre, i, 356
Rankin, David, ii, 112
Rankin, Geo.. iii, 107
Rankin, James, ii, 102; deputy surveyor of St. Louis, 225; first sheriff of St. Louis, 383; removed from office, 383, 405; iii, 104, 107
Ranney, Johnson, iii, 8; biographical sketch of, 23
Ranney, Miss Rhoda, teaches Primary school at Jackson, iii, 70
Ranney, Stephen, iii, 84
Raper, Margaret, ii, 156
Raphiante, Therese, ii, 161
Rapicaut, Rene, i, 357
Rapid growth of Laclede's village, ii, 13; increase of population after the war of 1812, iii, 140
Rapieux, dit Lamare, Joseph, ii, 3, 68, 245
Raquet, M., ii, 28
Rardin, Thomas, i, 386
Ratte, dit Labrier, Julien, i, 338, 339; ii, 245
Ratte, Monsieur, i, 340
Ravallee, Margarite, ii, 166
Ravenscraft, James, iii, 8, 104, 107
Ray county, iii, 183; organized by first General Assembly, 268
Ray, John, member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249
Raynor, Jesse, ii, 286
Rawls, Amos, ii, 155
Rawls, Hardy, ii, 155, 156
Read, Dr. J. M., physician in St. Louis in 1811, iii, 80
Read, Robert, iii, 157
Read, William, iii, 114
Reading, George, iii, 85
Reading room, and punch house, in St. Louis, iii, 61

Reading, William, iii, 158
Reagan, George N., ii, 125, 141
Real Estate, speculations in, not favored during Spanish rule, ii, 208
Reaume, dit Veuve Legrand, Veronique, ii, 148
Reaves, John, i, 376
Reavis, Andrew, iii, 70
Reavis, B. H., member of constitutional convention, iii, 249; notes on, 258
Rebolioso, Pierre, i, 357
Reburn, John, ii, 148
Recorders, clerks ex officio, iii, 6
Recorder's office established at New Madrid, ii, 120
Rector, Elias, iii, 235
Rector family, note on, iii, 256
Rector Thomas, duel with Barton, iii, 79, 184
Rector, Wharton, hinders Rev. Piggott from preventing an assault on Charless by McHenry, iii, 66
Rector, William, iii, 184, 234; member of the constitutional convention, 249; biographical sketch of, 255
Rectorville, iii, 184
Red House, residence of Lorimier, ii, 178
Redman, Rev. W. W., iii, 240
Red River Association, iii, 207
Redding, Felix, iii, 245
Reed, Henry, iii, 157
Reed, Guillaume, i, 367
Reed, Jacob, i, 382
Reed, Joseph, i, 378
Reed, Joseph, junior, i, 372
Reed, Laurent, ii, 20, 284
Reed, Louis, ii, 20
Reed, Robert, i, 373
Reed, Thomas, i, 373; iii, 107
Reed, William, i, 372, 373; iii, 107
Reed, Zebulon, ii, 192
Rees, Azor, ii, 142, 148
Reeves, John, iii, 85
Reeves, Toussaint, iii, 131
Regidores, purchased their offices, ii, 194
Regis, dit La Source, ii, 297
Regis, Jean Francois, i, 358
Regnier, Francis, a teacher in St. Louis, iii, 69
Regulations, as to land sales, ii, 215
Reid, Thos., iii, 104
Reihl, Antoine, ii, 54, 60
Reinecke, or Reiniche, Jean Frederick, ii, 145; merchant, 181; iii, 196
Reindeau, or Reguindeau, dit Joachim, Joseph, ii, 148, 245
Rejected claims, rights reserved, iii, 54
Rejoicing of the people, when enabling act passed, iii, 248
Relacion del Suceso, cited in chapter on Coronado, i, 122, 125, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132
Relfe, James H., appointed member second board commissioners, iii, 53; biographical note, iii, 53
Religion, Spanish officials suppose Americans have no religion at all, ii, 202
Religion, ceremony of, by De Soto, to secure rain, i, 105; religious services enjoined on voyage up the river by Ulloa, 290; toleration assured to settlers in Morgan's grants, ii, 111; festivals, 277; qualifications required of settlers, iii, 198; tests intolerable to many Protestants, 199; these tests perfunctory, in many instances, 199; growth of, at St. Charles, 225
Reynards, or Foxes, i, 201; ii, 398
Remington, Stephen, founder of the "Independent Patriot," at Jackson, iii, 66
Removing of settlers to the east from west side of the Mississippi, suggested, ii, 403
Remy, or Ramey, Mathew, ii, 56
Remy, Nathan, ii, 56
Renards and Saukees, meet Gov. Clark, iii, 101
Renaudiere, Sieur de, mining engineer, i, 281
Renault, Philipp Francois, a native of Picardy, i, 282; Director-General of the mines, 282; brings negroes from San Domingo to work the mines, 282; grants to, 281; manaager of the company of St. Philippe, and character of this company, 282; returns to France, 283
Renault, Philip, i, 352, 384
Renaud, dit Delorier, Francois, ii, 164
Renfro, Joseph, iii, 157
Renshaw, partner of Hoffman, iii, 194
Reno, or Renault or Renaud, Louis, ii, 68
Rent, for room of commission, iii, 44
Report of commissioners under act of 1832, iii, 53, 54
Reports, number of, required by the Spanish government, i, 299
Requa, Mr., describes habitations of Osages, i, 191; a teacher at Harmony, 199

Requêtes, for land, form of, **ii,** 225
Residence of Jean Baptiste Valle, **i,** 349
Reso, Gregoire, **ii,** 151
Retrocession of Louisiana to France, **ii,** 347
Return of the Lewis and Clark expedition, **iii,** 143
Revelle, E., **iii,** 219
Revelle, or Revely, Nicholas, **ii,** 163, 184, 192
Revolutionary soldiers in the territory, **iii,** 83
Reybolt, or Rybolt, Michael, **ii,** 99
Reynal, Dr. Antoine, **ii,** 27, 60, 86, 384, 391, 392
Reynolds, Gov. John, on origin of prairies, **i,** 23; attack of St. Louis, **ii,** 35; his father refuses to settle in upper Louisiana on account of religious test, **iii,** 202; father of, keeps horses on Cabaret Island, 147; mentions New Madrid earthquake, 174
Reynolds, Jno., expelled from Bethel church for being a member of Masonic lodge, **iii,** 207
Reynoth, Charles E., opens a book store in St. Louis, **iii,** 73
Rhea, James, **ii,** 112
Rheile, A. E., **iii,** 104 (see Reihl)
Rhodes, Claibourne, **i,** 374; **ii,** 90
Rhodes, Samuel, **iii,** 84
Rhust, Thomas, **i,** 358
Rice, **i,** 363
Rice, William B., **iii,** 85
Richard, Jean Baptiste, **ii,** 148
Richards, Mrs. Jane, teaches school in St. Louis, **iii,** 68
Richardson, Christopher, **iii,** 138
Richardson, Daniel, **ii,** 73; **iii,** 8
Richardson, Edward, **ii,** 72
Richardson, Ephraim, **ii,** 72
Richardson, James, **ii,** 75, 77; deputy surveyor in St. Louis, 225, 285, 355; **iii,** 46
Richardson, Jesse, **ii,** 71; **iii,** 116, 138
Richardson, John, **ii,** 71
Richardson, Silas, **iii,** 138
Richelot, or Reclooet, **i,** 356
Richelet, Victoire, **ii,** 200
Rickman, Abraham, **i,** 373
Rickman, John, **i,** 373
Riddick, Thomas F., **i,** 380; **ii,** 383; appointed to superintend lottery, **ii,** 418; elected clerk of Board, **iii,** 49; his services in behalf of the St. Louis schools, 71, 103, 105, 229; appointed clerk of the commissioners, **iii,** 48; makes suggestion to grant outlots to village, 50; member of the constitutional convention, 245
Ride, Louis, **i,** 357
Ride, Louis, senior, **ii,** 10, 26
Ridenhour, John, **ii,** 73, 97
Ridges, of the Ozarks, **i,** 20
Ridgeway, William, **iii,** 116
Ridley, George, **ii,** 165
Riendeau, Jeanne, **ii,** 161
Reindeau, Joachim, **ii,** 152
Riendeau, Joseph, **ii,** 158, 161
Rifles, supplied by the British to the Indians, **iii,** 107
Rigdon, James, **iii,** 103, 106
Riggs, Lieutenant, with Callaway when he was killed, **iii,** 124
Riggs, Jonah, **iii,** 104, 107
Riley, Henry, **i,** 386
Riley, James, **ii,** 158
Rindo, Jose, **ii,** 150
Riey, or Riner, Thomas, **i,** 384
Ring, Thomas, **i,** 376
Rio Blanco, Spanish name of White river, **i,** 18
Rio Grande, Spanish name of Big River, **i,** 373
Rion, Jean, or Jean Cadet Rion, **ii,** 54
Riot, on Sunday, **iii,** 58
Risher, John, blacksmith, **ii,** 181
Ritchel, Daniel, **ii,** 155
Rivard, or Rivare, Joseph, **ii,** 52, 87; **iii,** 106, 157
River margins, fringed with timber, **i,** 23
Rivers, of the state, **i,** 16
Rivers, how affected by the New Madrid earthquake, **iii,** 177
Rivet, Joseph, **ii,** 68, 69
Rivience, or Revence, Louis, **ii,** 66
Riviére, dit Baccane, Antoine, **ii,** 307
Riviére, dit Baccane, Antoine, senior, **ii,** 9
Riviére au Sel, or Salt river, **i,** 17
Riviére Charles, **ii,** 189
Riviére des Pommes, or Apple Creek, **i,** 242
Riviére, Francois, **ii,** 68
Riviére, dit Baccane, Jean Baptiste, **ii,** 8; captured by Indians, 38, 239, 245
Riviére, Margaret Vial, **ii,** 8
Riviere, Pelagie, **ii,** 10
Riviere, dit Ricard, Thomas, **ii,** 150
Riviére Zenon, **ii,** 185
Rivington's Gazette, **ii,** 249
Roach, John, **iii,** 131
Road, from Tywappity to New Madrid, **iii,** 61; to New Madrid from Bainbridge, 61; opened to Delaware town on Apple Creek, 168

Roads and highways, iii, 6
Roark, James, iii, 159
Robarge, or Robar, Louis, i, 384
Robart, dit Robar, Paul, ii, 76
Robat, Hypolite, ii, 297
Robbers, capture boat of Pourée, ii, 45
Robbins, P. K., iii, 104
Rober, John Michael, i, 375
Robert, August, ii, 87
Robert, A. P. D., ii, 161
Robert, or Robar or Robin, Charles, i, 379
Robert, Francois, i, 379
Robert, Hypolite, i, 340, 387
Robert, or Robar or Robin, Jean, i, 379
Robert, Marie Joseph, ii, 166
Robert, or Robar, Louis, ii, 21; iii, 245
Robert, Marie Josephine, ii, 141, 151
Robert, Paul, i, 356
Robert, Pierre, i, 356; ii, 161
Roberts, Bishop, iii, 241
Roberts, George W., iii, 187
Roberts, Guillaume, i, 367
Roberts, Jean, ii, 165
Roberts, John, iii, 84
Roberts, Levi, elected Major of Shaw's Regiment, iii, 136
Roberts, Philip, i, 379; ii, 76
Robertson, iii, 241
Robertson, Andrew, ii, 158; iii, 107
Robertson, Andrew, junior, ii, 158
Robertson, Daniel, ii, 154
Robertson, Edward, syndic of Big Prairie, ii, 157, 187, 190, 200; iii, 84
Robertson, Elizabeth, ii, 154
Robertson, John, ii, 163
Robertson, Robert, iii, 131
Robertson, William, iii, 116
Robideau, or Robideaux, Jos., ii, 52, 62
Robideau, Pelagie, ii, 91
Robidoux, G. F., ii, 60
Roubidoux, makes effort to reorganize Commercial Company, ii, 59; to have Clamorgan excluded, 60
Robidoux, Francois, iii, 194
Robidoux, Joseph, ii, 365; establishes a fort near the present Brunswick, iii, 143; Pike meets, 144, rents Revs. Peck and Welch a room for a school, 213
Robidoux, Joseph, ii, 21, 207, 232; has a post near the present St. Joseph, 253; iii, 3, 194
Robin, or Robinette, Charles, i, 355
Robinette, M., notary of Ste. Genevieve, i, 342, 343; ii, 297
Robineau, Rene, ii, 22
Robinson, Rev. Charles, iii, 230
Robinson, Jeremiah, iii, 85
Robinson, Dr. John Hamilton, biographical sketch of, iii, 80; with Pike as volunteer up the Osage to the plains, 144
Robock, or Roebuck, George, ii, 150
Roch, Auguste, ii, 165
Roche au Pierce, iii, 184
Rocheblave, de Rastel, i, 340
Rocheblave, Philip de, i, 340; Commandant of Ste. Genevieve, 340, 341, 345
Rocheport, iii, 184
Rock, Wall described by Ashley in Gasconade county, i, 85; covered mounds in Pulaski county, 85; house on Noyer creek, 90
Rock Fort, in Jefferson county, i, 28
Rock, or Rocque, Peter, ii, 78
Rock River, i, 5
Rock Springs, Illinois, iii, 219
Rocks, of the Ozarks, i, 20; sedimentary, 21; crystalline, 21
Rocky Mountains, known as the Shining Mountains, i, 30
Rodgers, Adestine, ii, 159, 192
Rodgers, Anderson, iii, 206
Rodney, has water mill on Hubbell Creek, ii, 182
Rodney, John, ii, 183
Rodney, Martin, erects water mill near Dutchtown, ii, 186, 187, 192, 384
Rodney, Michael, sergeant, iii, 120
Rodney, Thomas, ii, 192
Rodrique, Demoiselle Prudence, ii, 137
Rodriques, Barthèlemi, ii, 138
Roebucks, i, 36
Rogan, Ben, iii, 185
Rogan, Bernard, i, 373
Rogers Band of Shawnees, lived between the Bourbeuse and Maramec, i, 210; cultivated little farms, 210
Rogers, a Shawnee chief, i, 210; sent his son to Indian school in Kentucky, 211; summoned to Big Shawnee village, 213
Rogers, Benjamin, ii, 93
Rogers, Ebenezer, iii, 216
Rogers, Ezekiel, ii, 73
Rogers, Joseph, iii, 196
Rogers, James, i, 374; ii, 152
Rogers, dit Indian Rogers, Lewis, sent to Kentucky to school, i, 209; ii, 78, 245
Rogers, Robert, ii, 156
Rogers, Thomas, iii, 8; keeps tavern at Boonville in 1817, 61

Rohault, Nicholas, ii, 65
Roher, David, i, 367
Rolette, or Rollette, dit Laderoute, Michel or Michael, ii, 10, 11, 17, 245
Rollins, Seneca, ii, 102
Rollins, teaches school in Cooper county, iii, 70
Romagon, Marianne, ii, 165
Romain Creek, ii, 100
Romine, Christy, ii, 102
Romine, John, ii, 76
Rompre, i, 358
Rompres, or Rompert, Marie, i, 366
Roncore, Lewis, i, 368
Ronde, or Ronday, dit Motie, Louis, ii, 65
Rondin, Pierre, ii, 87
Rondon, or Rondeau, Veuve, ii, 65
Rondot, Louis, ii, 326
Ronyre, or Rompre, Francisco, i, 339
Roop, Gilliard, iii, 115, 147
Rope, Leonard, ii, 156
Ropewalks, iii, 187
Roque, Manuel Andre, ii, 65, 87
Rosati, Father Joseph, Bishop, ii, 316; induced to come to upper Louisiana by Dubourg, 317; biographical sketch of, 326; appointed Bishop of Tenegra, *in partibus*, 326; Bishop of St. Louis, ii, 326
Rose, Agnes, ii, 63
Rose, Angelique A., ii, 63
Rose, Benjamin, ii, 191
Rose, Charles, i, 379
Rose, Felicite, ii, 63
Rose, James, i, 379
Rose, Margaret, ii, 63
Rose, Marie, ii, 63
Rose, T., i, 379
Rose, Thomas Mathias, iii, 86
Rosier, or Roussin, ii, 297
Ross, John, a Baptist, at Ross' Point, keeps ferry, iii, 62, 212
Ross, James, keeps tavern at Charlton, iii, 1
Ross, Philip, iii, 104, 107
Ross' Point, now Gray's Point, iii, 62
Ross, Stephen, i, 4; iii, 8, 104, 107
Ross, William, ii, 191; iii, 84, 219
Ross' map, notes metallic districts, i, 277
Roubieu, dit European, Gaspard, ii, 27, 56, 81
Rouby, Antoine Jose, ii, 150
Rouette, ii, 165
Rougest, or Rougcot, dit Berger, Pierre, i, 357
Rouillier, dit Bouche, Jean Baptiste, ii, 245
Rouke, dit Rooks, John, ii, 99
Rousel, or Roussel, Francois, ii, 30
Rousseau, Don Pedro Andre, ii, 142
Rousel, or Roussel, Pierre, ii, 67
Roussel, dit Sans Souci, Antoine, ii, 22, 30, 245
Roussin, Veuve, i, 357
Route, to South Sea, via the Missouri, i, 244
Routier, Charles, ii, 12
Routier, Genevieve, ii, 12
Roux, Father Benoit, ii, 326
Royar, or Roark, Amos, i, 384
Rowland, Daniel, ii, 96
Rowland, David, ii, 96
Roy, Alexander, ii, 91, 160
Roy, Amable, ii, 99
Roy, Andrew, ii, 86
Roy, Antoine, dit Des Jardin, ii, 68, 245
Roy, Baptiste, ii, 87, 100; discovers Indians, iii, 124
Roy, Charles, ii, 54, 91
Roy, Francois, ii, 65, 100; iii, 105, 155
Roy, dit Lapense, Jean P., ii, 56, 245; iii, 155
Roy, Joachim, ii, 54
Roy, Joe, swims the river at Côte sans Dessein, iii, 126
Roy, Joseph, ii, 55, 100
Roy, Julien, ii, 57, 91
Roy, Julien, junior, ii, 91
Roy, Louis, ii, 100, 166; at Côte sans Dessein, iii, 124, 157
Roy, Louis Charles, ii, 91
Roy, Patrick, ii, 87, 90
Roy, Pedro, i, 340
Roy, Pierre, i, 342, 357; ii, 22
Roy, Simon, ii, 91
Royal Company of the Indies, i, 273
Royer, Nicolas, or Nicholas, dit Sansquartier, ii, 9, 17
Royer, dit Cola, Nicolas, ii, 87
Roys's Blockhouse, attacked by Indians at Côte sans Dessein, iii, 125
Roy's Fort at Côte sans Dessein, iii, 124
Rozier, Ferdinand, iii, 194, 195
Rucker, Rev., iii, 240
Ruddle, Abraham or Abram, biographical sketch of, ii, 160; iii, 158, 181
Ruddell, or Ruddle, George, Capt., ii, 160, 166; iii, 156
Ruddell, or Ruddle, John, ii, 160; ii, 184
Ruddle, Isaac, ii, 160, 161; iii, 181
Ruddle Settlement, iii, 181
Ruddle Station, ii, 160

Ruddle, Stephen, iii, 156
Ruddle's Fort, iii, 158
Rue de Charette, ii, 181
Rue Royal, now Main Street of St. Louis, ii, 24
Rueta, Domingo, ii, 138
Rufty, John, fired on by Indians, iii, 98
Ruggles, Martin, i, 373; iii, 103, 105, 107
Ruggles, Solomon, i, 372
Rui, Don Francesco, y Morales, sent by Ulloa to upper Louisiana, i, 288; instructions as to how to conduct his voyage up river, 289; instructed to erect forts at the mouth of the Missouri, 294; styles himself "military and civil Governor of the post of Missouri," i, 295; writes O'Reilly, 340; ii, 19, 66
Rules and regulations, for forest traders, ii, 50
Rupe, Gillad, iii, 137
Rupe, John, iii, 138
Rushes, settlements near, iii, 147
Russ, Thomas, i, 367
Russell, James, ii, 102, 185, 186, 192; acquires the "Patriot" at Jackson, iii, 66
Russell, John, ii, 152
Russell, Joseph, ii, 102
Russell, Moses, ii, 92
Russell, Col. William, iii, 135
Russell, William, school teacher, ii, 182, 185
Russell, William, large land claimant, iii, 53
Ruter, or Ritter, assassinated La Salle's surgeon, ii, 187
Rutgers, Arend, ii, 56; secures a large land grant on the Dardenne, ii, 98; iii, 235
Rutter, Edmund, iii, 196
Ryan, James, ii, 148
Ryland, John F., biographical sketch of, iii, 30

S

Sabourin, Pierre, ii, 148, 152
Saborough, or Laborough, Margaret, ii, 152
Saffilard, Pedro, ii, 56
Saddlery, iii, 188
Saffray, Pedro, ii, 55, 148, 149, 166
Sagan, Mathew, his memoir on metallic wealth of upper Louisiana addressed to Count Pontchartrain, i, 280
Saint Maxent, Felicite de, ii, 1
Sakeetoo, ii, 399
Salamanca, Bishop of, ii, 304
Salary, of the officers of upper Louisiana, i, 298; of Commandants, ii, 200
Salcedo, Don Manuel de, on Lorimier, ii, 180, 355; letter to De-Lassus, 357
Sale of Louisiana concluded, ii, 350
Sale of debtors introduced into upper Louisiana, ii, 379
Sale, Judge Joseph, ii, 76
Salem Baptist church, iii, 216; on Fourche à Thomas, 218
Saline, i, 117
Saline county, organized by first General Assembly, iii, 268
Saline Creek i, 17
Salisbury, Andrew, iii, 84
Salle, dit Lajoie, Jean B., ii, 10, 298
Salle, dit Lajoie, Lambert, ii, 65, 245
Sallee, i, 339
Sallier, Jean Baptiste, ii, 150
Salt, De Soto searches for salt, i, 113; from Saline sold in English possessions cheaper than Spanish side of river, 302; Captain Harrod's company comes from Kentucky for, ii, 256; on Saline River and on Salt River, 256; made in Boonslick county, 257; made on Black water, iii, 146; made by Henry Dodge at the Saline in 1819, 152
Salt Pan's River, name of Saline on Ross' map, i, 277
Salt river, or Ohaha, i, 17; mounds on, 92; mounds on middle fork, 92, ii, 99
Salt Springs, i, 18; ii, 229
Salt works on the Saline, i, 385; conveyance of, ii, 26; village of, 256
Saltiferous waters, i, 18
Salveneuve, Father Jean Baptiste Francois, ii, 292
Samer, William, ii, 189
Sampson, Alexander, ii, 148
Samuel, Edward M., biographical sketch of, i, 13; promotes annexation of Platte country, 13
Samuel, Giles M., iii, 197
Samuel, Robert, iii, 137
Samuel, William, iii, 137
Sanborn, James, i, 367
Sanborn, Nathaniel, iii, 235
Sanchez, Alonzo, survivor of the Bonilla and Humana trade, i, 137
Sanchez, Manuel, ii, 151
Sandblows, caused by New Madrid earthquake, iii, 177

Sandstone, Ste. Genevieve, used in Fort de Chartres, **i,** 249
Sandy Creek, **ii,** 77, 100
Sanford, Henry, teaches school at Jackson, **iii,** 70
Sanguinet, or Sanguinette, Charles, **ii,** 53, 60, 62, 205, 405; **iii,** 193
Sanitarium, in the Ozarks, **i,** 26
Sansfacon, Joseph, **ii,** 148, 246
Santa Fe trade, Franklin the cradle of, **iii,** 156
Sappington, Benoni, **iii,** 115
Sappington, Dr., his pills, **iii,** 159
Sappington, Hartley, **iii,** 84
Sappington, John, **iii,** 103
Sappington, Thomas, **iii,** 105
Sappington, Zephaniah, **ii,** 66; **iii,** 103
Sargent's report to Pickering, **ii,** 175
Sarpy, Gregoire or Gregorie, Berald, **ii,** 52, 60, 62; **iii,** 103, 194
Sarpy, Jean Baptiste, **ii,** 50, 52, 144
Sarpy, Jean Baptiste, junior, **ii,** 52
Sarpy, Pierre L., **ii,** 52
Sarpy, Sylvester Delor, **ii,** 52
Saucier, Francois, settled Portage des Sioux, **ii,** 8, 384; biographical sketch of, 89, 363, 391, 392
Saucier, Brigitte, **ii,** 8
Saucier, Charles, **iii,** 104, 106
Saucier, Frederick, **ii,** 326
Saucier, Marie Barbara, **ii,** 10
Saucier, Matthew, **ii,** 90
Saucier, Mathew, junior, **ii,** 91
Saucier, Mons., **i,** 338
Saugrain, Dr. Antoine, biographical sketch of, **ii,** 28; surgeon of military hospital, 63, 99, 283, 334; predicts that the Spaniards will be forced to quit the Mississippi, 334, 365, 406; **iii,** 80
Saukees, **i,** 169; various names of this tribe, 201; kill Bouvet, **ii,** 99
Saukees and Foxes, encroach on Osages, **i,** 181; drive away surveyors, **ii,** 90; predatory excursions to the Maramec, 76; meet Gov. Clark, **iii,** 101; divided during war of 1812, 105; attack Boone, 113
Saulnier, Father Michel or Michael G., **ii,** 328; **iii,** 71
Saurin, or Sorin, dit Larochelle, Joseph, **ii,** 245
Sauvole, Gov., **i,** 280
Savage, James, **iii,** 116
Savage, John, first teacher in Cooper county, **iii,** 70, 116, 147
Savage, Nicholas, **ii,** 152
Savage state, attractions of, **i,** 183
Savage, William, **iii,** 116, 147, 217
Savages, how Spanish officials were ordered to treat them, **i,** 290
Savigné, Father, **ii,** 314
Saviour, or Seavers, John, **ii,** 190, 192
Savoie, or Savoye, dit Cadien, Jean Baptiste, **ii,** 22
Savoye, Isidore, **ii,** 86
Savoye, Jean Baptiste, **ii,** 88
Sawyer, James, teaches school in St. Louis, **iii,** 63
Saxton, Joseph, **ii,** 165
Scarlet, John, **ii,** 78
Schelling, Jacob, **ii,** 75
Schermerhorn, Rev. John T., **iii,** 224
Schewe, Christopher F., opens a school in St. Louis in 1809, **iii,** 67
School, building erected at Ste. Genevieve in 1808, **iii,** 67; books, 70; for sale at the "Gazette" office in 1808, 71
Schoolcraft, on mound-builders, **i,** 44; thinks the Cayas identical with the Kansas, 117; as to the name of Mine la Motte, 279
Schoolcraft's trip, through the Ozarks, **i,** 24
Schoolhouse, first in Howard county, **iii,** 70
Schools, in the French settlements, **ii,** 275; funds for, demand for in memorial to Congress, 391; in the territory, **iii,** 67; not found in the wilderness outside of the villages, 72; provision for under constitution of 1820, 249
Schools and teachers, **ii,** 275
Schrader, John, **iii,** 3
Schrader, Otto, Judge of the Supreme Court, **ii,** 413; sketch of, 413; **iii,** 13
Schultz, Christian, comments on society at St. Louis, **iii,** 56; describes New Madrid, 171
Scott, Alexander, **iii,** 111, 131
Scott, Andrew, **ii,** 156, 157; **iii,** 8, 69, 245
Scott, Constance, **i,** 368
Scott county, mounds, **i,** 64; located, 66
Scott, James, **i,** 368; **ii,** 156
Scott, John, **i,** 7; appointed member of council, **iii,** 3, 8; biographical sketch of, 12, 67; second of Crittenden in Fenwick duel, 77, 86, 104, 107; presents memorial for admission of the territory as state, 242, 244, 247; member of constitutional convention, 248
Scott, Moses, **iii,** 193

Scott party, massacred, i, 221
Scott, Sabert, iii, 115
Scott, Thomas Baytop, biographical sketch of, appointed Commandant of Cape Girardeau, ii, 382
Scott, William, ii, 153
Scott, W. L., iii, 188
Scott's contest with Easton, iii, 8
Scripps, George H., iii, 237
Scripps, Mrs. John, teaches a primary school at Jackson, iii, 70
Scripps, Rev. John, iii, 196, 237, 240, 239, 241, 242
Scripps, William, iii, 237
Scruggs, Jesse, ii, 190
Scruggs, Mathew, ii, 190
Seal of the state, iii, 267
Search for mounds, i, 41
Seat of state government, iii, 185
Seavers, Charles, blacksmith, ii, 181
Seavers, James, conducts a tavern at Jackson, iii, 61
Seavers, Joseph, iii, 131
Seavers, or Saviour, Nicholas, ii, 183
Seavers, Nicholas, senior, ii, 190
Sebastian, Benjamin, ii, 338, 344, 345; at Bird's Point, ii, 134
Second Street known as Rue l'Eglise, ii, 24
Seditious language, held in abhorrence, ii, 202
Seek, Carlina, ii, 150
Seeleys, iii, 230
Seeley, Cornelius, ii, 166
Seeley, Guy, ii, 70
Seeley, John N., ii, 70
Segond, Joseph, ii, 18, 56
Seitz, John A., ii, 91
Self, Jacob, ii, 155
Selma Cliff, i, 20
Seminarian Priests, i, 241
Senacal, Antoine, ii, 56
Senecal, John B., ii, 87
Separate financial administration provided by Act of 1806 for the territory, ii, 417
Septlivres, Isaac, opens a school in St. Louis in 1809, iii, 67
Seraphin, or "Benoit," Joseph, i, 355
Seraphine, Ambroise, ii, 151
Serpentine mound, i, 92
Serrano, Manuel, ii, 165
Servan, or Servant, Pierre, ii, 151
Settlement, of French on Missouri in 1745, i, 286; on Saline in 1700 visited, 290
Settlement, of Quivira, i, 147
Settlers, of St. Louis, ii, 11; additional immigration to, 12; on Cuivre River, are much exposed to Indian attacks, 96; qualifications of, 215; must raise their children Catholics, iii, 103
Settlers, on Missouri erect forts, iii, 113; ordered away from Boonslick country, 146
Sewell, Joseph, iii, 6, 8, 168
Sexton, Joshua, ii, 163
Sexton, Charles, ii, 189, 192
Sexton, Daniel, ii, 163
Shackleford, William, has a ferry at Boonville, iii, 62
Schakler, Philip, ii, 166
Shaner, Henry, corporal, iii, 120
Shafers, or Shaver, Joshua, ii, 76
Shanklin, John, ii, 134, 165
Shannon, William, iii, 8, 67; has drugstore in St. Louis in 1809, 83, 185, 192, 194
Sharadin, Henry, ii, 186
Shar(r)adin, Jacob, ii, 189, 192
Sharpe, Anthony, iii, 229, 244
Sharp, Benjamin, iii, 86
Sharp, George, ii, 172
Shaver, Francois, ii, 100
Shaver, Nathaniel, ii, 158
Shaw, Col. John, iii, 94; his account of the attack on McNair, 108; escape of, 109; enlists a regiment in 1815, 136
Shaw, John, keeps tavern at Franklin, iii, 61
Shaw, Joel, iii, 186
Shawnee Indians, described by Long, iii, 151
Shawnee path, from Lorimier's to their village, i, 213
Shawnees mentioned by Marquette, i, 155
Shawnees and Delawares, number of villages of, i, 206; first settlement west of river, 208; Carondelet authorizes it, 208; Lorimier, Spanish agent to invite them, 208, 209; Sargent's report of their emigration to Pickering, 209; found by Morgan on the Chepousa, 209; Roger's Band, 209; he favors schools, 209; wealth of Rogers, 209; Peck describes Rogers, 209; settlements of these Indians, 210; their Spanish grant in Southeast Missouri, 219; villages of, near Bloomfield, 231; reliance placed on them during the Genet enterprise, 318; brought to upper Louisiana, ii, 53; first migration to Missouri, 170, 173; dwell on Apple Creek, 191; settlement in upper

Louisiana, 212; meet Clark prior to war of 1812, iii, 101
Shawnees, invited west to protect settlements, i, 181; on Apple Creek, son of Cornstalk resides with them, 213; a sister of Tecumseh, 212; divided into clans, 214; Pierre Menard's account of these Indians, 212; trade with Menard and Valle at Ste. Genevieve, 217; names of these Indians as they appear on books of this firm, 217; names of them on the books of Gilly and Pryor, 218; divided into four clans and their love of personal adornment, 215; with Dodge on the Missouri, iii, 121
Shawneetown, Peck at, iii, 212
Shaw's account of the Sinkhole battle, iii, 130
Shelby, David, ii, 155, 156
Shelby, Eli, ii, 166
Shelby, Elizabeth, i, 381
Shelby, Jonathan, ii, 152
Shelby, Col. Moses, i, 383
Shelby, Reese, ii, 163
Shell, Adam, iii, 106
Shepard, Dr. E. M., opinion as to Big Ozark Spring, i, 18
Shepard, Elihu, establishes a college in St. Louis, iii, 69
Sheppard, John, iii, 131
Shepard, Dr. Edward M., observations as to the causes of New Madrid earthquake, iii, 173
Sheperd, Jacob, iii, 104, 106
Shepherd, Thomas, ii, 172
Sheridan, Henry, ii, 384
Sheriff, collector of taxes, ii, 417
Shaver, Christopher Frederick, ii, 146
Shewe, Charles, keeps tavern in St. Louis in 1811, iii, 60
Shields, John, ii, 186, 189
Shields, Joseph, iii, 104, 107
Shiloh Meeting House, in Illinois, iii, 239
Shipp's De Soto, i, 103
Shirts, made out of deer skins, ii, 232
Shoemaker, first in Boonslick country, iii, 146
Shoemakers, iii, 187
Shon, Patrick, i, 344
Shorter, James, ii, 166
Shorter, John, ii, 166
Shot Towers, at Herculaneum, natural, iii, 153, 190
Shreeve, Colonel Israel, ii, 112, 283
Shreeve, H. M., iii, 193
Shrum, John Nicholas, ii, 163
Shultz, Christopher, ii, 65
Shultz, George, ii, 65
Shultz, Peter, ii, 65
Shultz, Philip, ii, 75
Sibley, George C., i, 14, 180; as to number of Osages, 181; on agriculture among Osages, 182; attractions of the savage state, 183, 185; on society in St. Louis, iii, 57; agent at Fort Osage, 147; biographical sketch of, 149
Sidney, or Sydener, Lawrence, ii, 78
Sigel, Paul, ii, 12
Siggenauk, i, 309
Signature, of Pedro Piernas, ii, 29; of Francesco Cruzat, 31; of Fernando de Leyba, 32; of Cerre, 47; of Perez, 52; of Zenon Trudeau, 59; of Carlos Dehault DeLassus, 63; of Francois LeSieur, 106; of Joseph LeSieur, 106; of Don Henry Lavallèe, 138; of Thomas Portelle, 131; of Pierre Antoinio Laforage, 139; of Lorimier, 180; of Father Gibault, 298; of Father Lusson, 310; of Bishop of Louisiana, 312; of Amos Stoddard, 373
Signers, of memorial for admission of the territory as a state, iii, 244
Silas, George, i, 376
Silliman's Journal cited, i, 17
Silver, i, 22
Silvera, Hernando de, i, 113
Simonds, Nathaniel, ii, 96; iii, 103, 106
Simoneau, Charles, ii, 52
Simoneau, Francois, i, 355
Simoneau, Jean Baptiste, ii, 87
Simoneau, Marie, ii, 56
Simoneau, Veuve, i, 357
Simpson, Andre, ii, 152
Simpson, Dr., iii, 80
Simpson, General, estimates distance Coronado marched, i, 128
Simpson, George, corporal, iii, 111
Simpson, James, ii, 160
Simpson, Jeremiah, ii, 183, 186, 190
Simpson, Joshua, iii, 131
Simpson, Robert, ii, 160
Sims, R. R., iii, 85
Sinclair, Governor Patrick, ii, 36, 37; report of attack on St. Louis, ii, 39, 79
Sinclair, alias John, Sinkler, i, 373; iii, 103
Sinclair, Robert, iii, 85
Sineson, John, ii, 192
Sinkhole, battle of, iii, 130; account of, by Shaw, 130; description of the place of fight, 132

Sinkholes, many caused by New Madrid earthquake, iii, 177
Siouan Indians, i, 169
Skerett, or Skerritt, Isadore, ii, 156
Skerritt, Elizabeth, ii, 156
Skin dressing, iii, 189
Skinner, Jonathan, ii, 76
Skinner, Mrs. Anna, ii, 76
Skins, found at Capaha, i, 113
Sky, darkened by pigeons, i, 34
Slaughter, Dr., settles in Jackson, iii, 82
Slavery, connected with agriculture, ii, 239; of Indians, 240; advocates greatly strengthened by the attempt to deprive people of the new state of right to determine, iii, 243; largest slave owning counties, 244; sanctioned by constitution of 1820, 246
Slaves, prohibited from leaving cabins at night, ii, 49; prohibited from dressing like Indians, 49; well treated by French, 242; agitation among caused by the cession, 375; constitutional provision for protection of, iii, 251
Sling-stones, i, 46
Slinker, Frederick, ii, 189, 192
Slinker, Jacob, ii, 189
Sloan, Amos, iii, 229
Sloan, Fergus, iii, 229
Sloan, James, iii, 229
Sloan, John, iii, 229
Sloan, Levi A., iii, 229
Sloan, Robert, i, 373; iii, 229
Sloan, Samuel, iii, 229
Sloan, Thomas, iii, 103, 229
Sloan, William S., iii, 229
Smallpox, in St. Louis, ii, 62
Small, Sam, iii, 157
Smirl, George, junior, ii, 76
Smirl, George, senior, ii, 76
Smirl, James, ii, 76
Smith, Abraham, ii, 88, 160
Smith, Alexander, iii, 158
Smith, Andrew, corporal, iii, 115
Smith, Antoine, ii, 69
Smith, Bernard, i, 383
Smith, Charles, ii, 384
Smith, Christian, a St. Louis baker, iii, 60
Smith, or Clingersmith, Daniel Clingen, ii, 189
Smith, Eli, ii, 69
Smith, Francois, ii, 101
Smith, Gen. Thomas A., iii, 183
Smith, George, ii, 69
Smith, Henry, i, 383
Smith, Henry H., iii, 6
Smith, James, ii, 156, 405
Smith, James, junior, ii, 69
Smith, James, senior, ii, 69
Smith, John, i, 382; ii, 154, 163, 186
Smith, John, killed, iii, 115
Smith, John, senior, i, 382
Smith, John Adams, ii, 98
Smith, John Henry, ii, 192
Smith, T., John, attains notoriety, iii, 55; manufacturer of fire-arms, 74; duel with Browne, 79
Smith, Joseph, iii, 104, 158
Smith, Levi, ii, 69
Smith, Martha Ann, ii, 154
Smith, Mary, ii, 163
Smith, Peter, ii, 95
Smith, Rachel, ii, 154
Smith, Rev. Daniel, iii, 226
Smith, Robert, i, 380
Smith, Robert, iii, 196
Smith, Robert A., iii, 105
Smith, Samuel, ii, 72; teacher in the St. Louis College, iii, 71
Smith, Thomas, i, 382; ii, 92, 95
Smith, Thomas, killed by Indians on south side of river, iii, 114, 115, 138; first shoemaker in Boonslick country, 146, 157
Smith, Thomas, in Coat's prairie, iii, 223
Smith, William, ii, 162, 189, 192
Smith, William, iii, 8, 25, 103
Smoky Water, i, 1
Smoot, Walter, i, 382
Smyth, in 1784, says game plentiful, i, 39
Smyth, J. F. D., i, 2
Snaling, or Snelling, Peggy Curtis, ii, 153
Sneathen, James, iii, 138
Snetham, John, iii, 138
Sneetham, John, iii, 210
Snodgrass, George, iii, 159
Snyder, Dr. J. F., says Osages built no mounds, i, 45
Socherd, Elizabeth, i, 382
"Social," brand of flour, ii, 258
Social position, change of by cession, iii, 55
Society, at St. Louis, iii, 56
Sojourner, Louis, ii, 246
Solde, Jeanne, i, 352
Soldiers, of Spanish American company, ii, 192
Soliere, or Soulair, Toussaint, ii, 88
Sollers, Safert, iii, 84
Solomon, John, i, 386
Solomon, Samuel, ii, 56, 398
Sommault, or Zumwalt, family, ii, 97

Sommault, or Zumalt, senior, Andrew, ii, 102
Sommault, or Zumalt, Christopher, ii, 96, 102
Sommerville, Alexander, ii, 160
Somors, Juan, or John Summers, ii, 165
Sorin, Joseph, ii, 56
Soudry, Carlos Leonardo, ii, 150
Soulard, Don Antonio, i, 368; ii, 82; letter of DeLassus, 136; surveys boundary of Cape Girardeau district, ii, 167; the surveyor of upper Louisiana, 58, 99, 225; cited for contempt, iii, 47
Sources, of the St. Francis and Big rivers in granite hills, i, 27
Southeast Missouri, center of prehistoric activity of mound-builders, full of mounds, i, 53
South Sea, De Soto seeks to reach, i, 114, 244
Spain, jealousy of colonial claims, ii, 231; intrigues to separate the West from the Atlantic states, 335; objects to sale, 350
Spalding, Josiah, first editor of "Republican," iii, 22, 65
Spaniards, did not settle in upper Louisiana, ii, 286; depart from upper Louisiana Nov. 16, 1804, 366
Spanish and American treatment of the Indians compared, ii, 214
Spanish cabildo, how organized, ii, 193
Spanish caravan, various accounts of, by Bousu, i, 250; by Charlevoix, 252; by Martin, 253; by Bienville in his report, 253; the Spanish officials' report of it, 254
Spanish census, ii, 208
Spanish expedition, report of, i, 254; up the Illinois River, ii, 42
Spanish Commercial Company, ii, 254
Spanish fort, in Dade county, a prehistoric work, i, 83
Spanish grant, to Shawnees and Delawares, i, 219
Spanish intrigues, to separate the West from the Union, i, 315; Gen. Wilkinson's effort to make a separate and independent American state under the Spanish protection west of the mountains, 315
Spanish land claimants "lobby" for Benton, iii, 265
Spanish land grants, proclamation of Stoddard in regard to them, ii, 374; failure of Congress to adjust, causes dissatisfaction, 388
Spanish land titles, how they entered into consideration to secure election of Benton, iii, 267
Spanish law, abridgment of, ii, 195; abolished, iii, 12; demand for copies of, 43
Spanish Lieutenant-Governors, reside at St. Louis, iii, 161
Spanish military company, at New Madrid, ii, 141
Spanish Mines, ii, 79
Spanish Needle Prairie, above Rocheport, iii, 138
Spanish, official language, ii, 196
Spanish officials, ii, 194; make heavy charges, 253; sued after cession, iii, 56
Spanish policy, in establishing Portage des Sioux, ii, 88
Spanish territory, invaded by English traders, ii, 249
Spanish troops, paid in specie, ii, 259; surrender St. Louis fort, 362
Spaulding, Bishop, ii, 312
Spann, or Spahn, William, ii, 149
Sparks, John, ii, 78
Sparks, Jonas, ii, 78
Spear, Edward, sergeant, iii, 111
Spear, John, murdered by Peter Johnson in 1810, iii, 81
Spears, Edgar, iii, 206
Spears, Edward, Lieutenant, killed at Sinkhole, iii, 133
Specie, payment in, ii, 237; during the Spanish dominion, iii, 191
Spencer, —, iii, 7
Spencer, Benjamin, i, 367; ii, 102
Spencer, George Robert, ii, 60, 102
Spencer, Joseph, ii, 67, 384
Spencer, Robert, ii, 384; iii, 3, 104, 106
Spencer, Thomas, ii, 102
Spencer, or Spence, William, ii, 93
Spiesmacher, Major Frederick Christian, ii, 298
Sports and games on Sunday, iii, 58
Sprague, Mr., a teacher at Harmony, i, 199
Sprigg, Jenifer, iii, 185
Spring River, i, 17
Spriggs, i, 18
Springs, sulphur, chalybeate, alkaline, lithia, i, 18
Square and Compass, tavern at Franklin, iii, 61
Stallcup, Mark H., iii, 197
Stanley, John, iii, 157
Stapleton, Capt. G., iii, 197
Stark, James, iii, 158
Stark, Victoria, ii, 10

Starke, Henry, i, 384
Starke, James, i, 384
Starke, Samuel, i, 384
Starling, Lyne, iii, 196
Starnater, John, i, 374
State arms, adopted, ii, 369; heraldic meaning of, iii, 270
State offices, except treasurer, under constitution of 1820, appointive, iii, 252
Statler, Adam, ii, 192
Statler, Conrad, ii, 192
Steamboat transportation, iii, 198; change effected by steam transportation, 199
Steamboats, on the Missouri, iii, 198
Steam mills, iii, 189
Steele, Andrew, candidate for clerk, ii, 412
Steele, John, iii, 193
Stefanelly, Antoine, ii, 53
Steinback, merchant, ii, 145, 181; biographical sketch of, iii, 196
Stephen, dit Stephenson, James, ii, 245
Stephens, Jacob, iii, 85
Stephens, Judge L. C., iii, 70
Stephenson, Henry, ii, 97
Stephenson, Hugh, ii, 71
Stephenson, dit Stephens, James, ii, 73
Stephenson, John, ii, 94; iii, 115
Stetler, or Stadler, Peter, ii, 189
Stephenson, Edward, iii, 131
Stevenson, Rev. William, iii, 239
Stevenson, Robert M., iii, 224; rejoices at the organization of church at Bellevue, iii, 229
Stevenson, William O., iii, 229
Stewart, D., iii, 188
Stewart, Elias C., ii, 100
Stewart, Jackey, ii, 100
Stewart, James, ii, 76
Stewart, John or James, dit Tuckahoe, i, 374; ii, 71, 75, 112, 245
Stewart, William, ii, 71, 72, 100, 101
Still, Joseph, killed by Indians, iii, 118, 138
Stillman, Jacob Hans, ii, 148
Stillwell, Harold, iii, 104
Stinson, John, iii, 138
Stirling, Captain, arrives at Fort de Chartres, ii, 12
Stockdale, Joshua, ii, 92
Stockley, Francois, ii, 158
Stoddard, his opinion as to antiquity of mound-builder works, i, 42; ii, 56; his report on Cape Girardeau District, ii, 180, 198, 285; letter to DeLassus, 360; reply to DeLassus on transfer of country, 362; his address to the people of upper Louisiana, 370, 372; on cooking of French Canadians, 278; first American official of upper Louisiana resides at St. Louis, iii, 161
Stoker, Jonathan, ii, 153
Stokes, William, iii, 235
Stone graves, near Fenton, i, 78
Stone hammers found near the Burbeuse, i, 78
Stone, of North Carolina, he thought Louisiana Purchase might dissolve the Union, ii, 354.
Stone, John B., iii, 104, 107
Stone well, near old Ste. Genevieve, i, 338
Storekeepers, keep bachelors' hall, iii, 60
Story, Joseph, surveyor at New Madrid, ii, 142, 159, 225
Stotlar, Adam, ii, 189
Stotlar, Conrad, ii, 189
Stotlar, or Stoker, Jonathan, ii, 165
Stout's fort, iii, 137
Strange, Tubal, founds the "Missouri Herald," at Jackson in 1818, iii, 66
Street, Elder William, iii, 217
Strickland, David, i, 367, 380, 382; iii, 86
Strickland, Eli, i, 380
Strickland Joab, i, 380
Strickland, John, i, 374
Strickland, Phoebe, i, 380
Strickland, Titus, i, 374, 380
Stringer, Daniel, ii, 163
Stringer, Daniel, junior, ii, 163
Stringer, George, ii, 163
Strong, John, ii, 186
Strother, Benjamin, i, 382, 384
Strother, French, murdered Cozzens, iii, 23, 235
Strother, Guillaume, i, 367
Strother, Samuel D., i, 384; ii, 190, 192
Strother, William, i, 384; ii, 192; iii, 104, 107
Stroud, Adam, ii, 75
Stuart, Alexander, Judge of the northern circuit, biographical sketch of, iii, 9
Stuart, or Stewart, John, i, 368
Stubblefield, partner of Badgly, iii, 187
Sturges, Jacques, i, 380
Sturgees, James, syndic on the Platin, ii, 199
Sturgis, James, iii, 84
Sturgis, John A., i, 379; syndic, 380

Sturgis, John A., junior, i, 380
Subdelegates, only had authority to grant land, ii, 217
Subgroup of mound-builders, in Southeast Missouri, i, 47
Sublette, William, conducts the General Jackson tavern at Jackson, iii, 6
Subterranean channels of springs, i, 18
Sullens, Jane, iii, 214
Sullens, John, ii, 73; iii, 214
Sullens, Nathan, ii, 77
Sullens, Richard, ii, 77, iii, 214
Sullens, Susan, iii, 214
Sullivan, brother-in-law of Gen. Evans, i, 14
Sullivan, Dennis, ii, 182, 186, 192
Sullivan, Gen., iii, 85
Sullivan, John C., surveys the northern boundary, i, 14; Deputy United States Surveyor under Rector, 14; iii, 8; member of the constitutional convention, 249; notes on, 255
Sullivan, P., a teacher in St. Louis, iii, 69, 70
Sullivan, William, first constable of St. Louis, ii, 383; iii, 6, 8
Sulphur Springs, i, 18
Sumande, Joseph, ii, 54
Summers, Alexander, ii, 192
Summers, Andrew, ii, 160, 186, 192
Summers, John, ii, 154, 185
Summers, John, junior, ii, 185, 192
Sunday, common fields viewed on, ii, 233; among the French Canadian settlers, 272; a day of hilarity, 276; a day of amusement, iii, 57; a market day, 57; a day given over to sport, 58; the people meet in St. Louis on, in 1808, 163; first ordinance prohibiting vending goods on, 165; day indicated to settlers by raising a flag, 204; a day of festivity, 204
Sunday school, organized at Chariton, iii, 223
Sunday school, for Negroes, opened in St. Louis by Peck, iii, 214
Sunk lands, caused by New Madrid earthquake, iii, 178
Superior character of southeast Missouri pottery ware, i, 49
Supplies, to boatmen furnished by Shawnees living on Apple Creek, i, 215
Supreme Court, first Judges of, iii, 266
Survey, how lands at New Madrid were to be surveyed under Morgan's plan, ii, 117; of St. Louis, iii, 164; of the lots of the town of St. Louis, first, 166
Swan, Hugh, ii, 96
Swan Creek, i, 18
Swan, William, ii, 153
Swans, i, 35, 36
Swashon, Joseph, ii, 150
Swearingen, Samuel, iii, 245
Sweeney, James, ii, 76
Swift, James, ii, 97
Sydener, Laurence, ii, 101
Syndics, jurisdiction of, ii, 199; receive no salary, 200
San Carlos del Misuri, ii, 80
San Domingo, negroes brought from island to upper Louisiana, i, 282
San Fernando de Florissant, ii, 80
San Felip, Felice Quoir, ii, 54
San Lorenzo el Real, treaty of, i, 318
Sans Oreille, chief of the Osages, i, 185
St. Amont, Antoine, ii, 91
St. Andre, Jean, ii, 22
St. Andre, Nicholas, ii, 22
St. Andre del Misuri, Mackay Commandant, ii, 70
St. Ange de Bellerive, ensign in Bourgmont's expedition, i, 164, 267
St. Ange de Bellerive, Louis (Groston), i, 390; takes possession of Spanish fort on the Missouri by order of the Spanish Governor, 297; Piernas surrenders fort to him, 297; royal effects attached when he reaches St. Louis, 297; Piernas' opinion of him, 298; ii, 9; leaves Fort de Chartres, 12; biographical sketch of, 12, 13; in authority, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22; land grants of, treated by Spaniards as valid, 23; exercised criminal jurisdiction, 26; indebted to Dr. Conde, 27, 52; death of, 306
St. Ange, Madame, ii, 17
St. Aubin, Barby, ii, 142
St. Aubin, Francois, ii, 150
St. Aubin, Jean Baptiste, i, 353; ii, 142, 148
St. Aubin, Josephe, ii, 147
St. Aubin, Louis, senior, ii, 148
St. Aubin, Therese, ii, 161
St. Charles, boundary of district, ii, 79; hunting and fishing of people, 83; survey of village, 83; surrounded by fence, 84; population of, 85; location of houses, 85; Bishop Flaget at, 215; common fields of, 233; Lucas takes testimony of land claims there, iii, 47; Sunday at, 58; post route from to Fort Cooper established in 1816, 62;

people apprehensive, during war of 1812, 109; population of at time of cession, 138; described, 139; in 1819 a declining town, 151; jealousy of St. Louis, 165; merchants of, 194; made the seat of Government of Missouri until 1826, 263
St. Clair county, Illinois, people of, complain of emigration to Missouri, iii, 150
St. Cosme, Father, on Mississippi, i, 240; erects a cross on high rock, probably in what is now Perry county, 145, 241; Seminarian Missionary, ii, 290
St. Cosme, settlement of, i, 382
St. Cyr, Francois, ii, 68
St. Cyr, Helene, i, 357
St. Cyr, Hyacinthe, i, 357; ii, 12; has a horse mill at St. Charles, 85, 383
St. Ferdinand, or San Fernando de Florissant, ii, 66, 363
St. Francois, runs parallel with Mississippi, i, 17; Pankeshaw village on, 219; Cherokees hunt on, 221
St. Francois, Antoine, ii, 22
St. Francois Basin, march of De Soto in, i, 101
St. Francois church, iii, 218, 219
St. Francois, Magdalen, ii, 10
St. Francois Mountains, a distinct up-lift, i, 21
St. Francois Xavier, a missionary station, i, 156
St. Gem, or St. Jeme, Amable, ii, 69
St. Gem, Jean Beauvais, iii, 86
St. Germain, Jean Baptiste, ii, 68
St. Germaine, Joseph, ii, 3, 78
St. Germain, Madame, ii, 52
St. James Bayou, ii, 162
St. Jean, Hypolite, ii, 152
St. Jean, Luis, ii, 152
St. Jean, dit Sans Souci, Pierre, ii, 56
St. Jean, Barthelemy, i, 353
St. Jeme, Jean Baptiste, i, 339
St. Jeme, Raphael, i, 353, 384
St. Jeme, Vital, i, 353
St. Joachim, parish of, ii, 292
St. Joachim, church of, ii, 326
St. John's Bayou, a seat of mound-builders, i, 42, 170; same as Chepousa, 170
St. Joseph, Fort, captured by the Spaniards, ii, 43, 44
St. Lawrence Creek, i, 381
St. Louis, Spanish garrison at, i, 209; description of manners of the people, 302; plan to fortify, 319; surveyed by Duralde, ii, 24; fortified during Cruzat's administration, 32; attacked May 24, 1780, 38; commercial interests of, promoted by removal of Cerré to, 47; Cerré removes to St. Louis in 1779, 47; makes patriotic contributions, 62; fortifications of, superintended by Vandenbenden, 155; residence of Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, 195; common field, of, 233; survey of, iii, 164; during war of 1812, some thought it ought to be fortified, 110; company in Boonslick country, 120; population of at time of cession, 140; salutes Long's expedition, 153; residence of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governors, 161; where the general court sits, 161; commercial metropolis, 162; how the town appeared in 1804, 163; number of houses in in 1804, 162; incorporated by the Court of Common Pleas, 168; rendezvous for Indian trading expeditions, 165; municipal expenditures in 1817, 166; collection made to build a Baptist church, 214; religious condition as portrayed by Hempstead, 224; the largest slave owning county in 1820, 248; illuminated when news of enabling act reached the town, 248; constitutional convention of 1820 meets in, 249
St. Louis Prairie, location of, ii, 14
St. Louis School Board organized, iii, 8
St. Louis University, germ of, ii, 328
St. Marie, Carlos, ii, 165
St. Marie, Etienne, ii, 149, 152
St. Marie, Etienne, junior, ii, 149, 162
St. Marie, dit Bourbon, Francois, ii, 149, 152, 245
St. Marie, Francois Xavier, ii, 158
St. Marie, Jean Baptiste, junior, ii, 152
St. Marie, Joseph, ii, 149
St, Marie, Louis, ii, 149
St. Marie, Marie Ann, ii, 158
St. Marie, Thereza, ii, 149
St. Marie, Ursula, ii, 149
St. Martin d'Ige, Marie Crevier, i, 353
St. Mary's of the Barrens, ii, 323
St. Mary's Seminary, foundation of, ii, 320; building of, 325; established near Perryville in 1819, iii, 69
St. Maxent, Gilbert Antoine de, ii, 1, 297

St. Michael, the germ of Frederick-town, i, 377; iii, 181
St. Philippe, founded by Renault, i, 283, 352; abandoned by settlers, ii, 13
St. Pierre, Etienne, ii, 102
St. Pierre, Father, ii, 275
St. Pierre, Francois, ii, 166
St. Thomas' Seminary, ii, 322
St. Vincent, Antoine Donnay, ii, 21
St. Vincent de Paul, ii, 326
St. Vrain, Jacques Ceran Marcelin, son of De Luziere, i, 364; ii, 99, 136; his land grant, 217
Ste. Genevieve, i, 7; Peorias lived near, 181, 296; Spanish garrison at, 299; manners of the people described by Piernas, 301; first permanent settlement in Missouri, 337; old village of, 338; overflow in 1785, 351; Miro's report of overflow, 351, 359; story of construction of a fort at, 359; fur trade of, 360; people interested in lead mines, 360; agriculture carried on in a common field, 360; Austin describes the village in 1799, size of village according to Brackenridge, 361; of Perrin du Lae, 361, 362; educational advantages, 361; Laclede arrives at, ii, 4; slow growth of population of, 208; farmers ship produce to New Orleans, 237; visited by Jesuit Missionaries, 292; first church in, 296; description of church of, 305; De-Lassus at, 366; land commissioners meet there, iii, 48; population of, at time of cession, 140, 152, 185; merchants of, 194
"Ste. Genevieve Correspondent and Record," complains of mail service, iii, 63; founded in 1820, 66
Ste. Genevieve District, limits of, i, 362

T

Tabeau, Herbert, dit Berry Tabeau, ii, 54, 245
Tabeau, Jacques, ii, 68
Tabeau, Joseph, ii, 88
Tabeau, Mary Catherine, ii, 54
Tabeau, or Thibault, Pierre Antoine, ii, 153
Tabernier, Jean, i, 357
Tabien, Francis, ii, 87
Table River, or Riviére Table, ii, 191
Table Rock, ii, 191
Tache, dit Eustache, Louis, ii, 187
Taillon, Joseph, built first mill of St. Louis, ii, 28, 234, 307
Taillon, Roger, ii, 9
Tailors, iii, 186
Tailtreau, Jean Baptiste, ii, 150
Takinantha, or Captain Allen, chief of the Delawares, ii, 213
Talapousa Indians, i, 222
Talbot Creek, iii, 185
Talbot, farm of, noted by Long, iii, 154
Talbot, Michael, ii, 68
Talbot's fort, iii, 159
Talbot, Dr. James, member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249, 265
Talbert, General, i, 377
Talbot, Herbert, ii, 68
Talbots, settle on Loutre Island in 1807, iii, 145
Tallmadge, his amendment to bill admitting Missouri, iii, 246
Tamaroas, i, 169; Canadians settle among them, 243; LeSueur, at village of, 248
Tamarouha, village of, ii, 290
Tamp, Peter, ii, 78
Taney, Mathew, a brother of the Chief Justice, iii, 92
Tangelier, ii, 297
Tanhill, Jean, ii, 164
Tanner, Edward, iii, 107, 111
Tanner, Rev. Rucker, iii, 240
Tansey, Levi, wounded, iii, 111
Tansey, Joshua, ii, 76
Tan-yards, found in every village, ii, 232; iii, 187
Tardif, or Tardit, Jean Baptiste, ii, 55
Tardiveau, i, 311; ii, 136, 144
Tardiveau, Andre, ii, 150
Tardiveau, Barthelemi, i, 363; biographical sketch of, ii, 144, 145, 166, 340
Tardiveau, Pierre, ii, 150
Tardy, William, ii, 70
Tarkio, i, 17
Tartarin, Father, biographical sketch of, ii, 291
Tash, dit Eustache, widow, ii, 163, 246
Taumaure, Dominique, i, 358
Taumier, Jean Baptiste, i, 354
Taumure, dit La Source, Marie B., i, 354
Tavern keepers, sell liquor, iii, 60; license levied on them in 1810, 161; first in the territory, 60
Taverns, license of, required, ii, 274; none during the Spanish dominion,

iii, 60; in St. Louis from 1805 to 1819, 60
Taylor, Captain, ii, 112
Taylor, Daniel, iii, 85
Taylor, Enoch, iii, 116, 137
Taylor, General Zachary, i, 377; on Rock river in war of 1812, iii, 127
Taylor, Isaac, iii, 137
Taylor, Jesse, ii, 160
Taylor, John, i, 376; ii, 384; iii, 158
Taylor, Richard, ii, 91, 95
Taylor, Sarah Kiddleton, i, 377
Taylor, William, iii, 137
Tayon, Don Carlos, ii, 9; his personal characteristics, ii, 82; kills Indians, 82; ordered to New Orleans, 82; Commandant of St. Charles, 81; place of residence in St. Charles, 82, 99, 363; lieutenant of a St. Louis company, 42; promoted in the army, ii, 43, 44
Tayon, Francisco, receives land grant, ii, 82
Tayon, Hubbard, killed at the Sink-hole, iii, 132
Tayon, Jean, ii, 87, 191
Tayon, Joseph, ii, 87
Tayon, Joseph, junior, ii, 87
Tayon, Louis, ii, 87
Taxation, causes dissatisfaction, ii, 387
Taxes, increased from time to time, ii, 415
Teague, Nathan, iii, 115
Teague, Peter, iii, 103, 106
Teaque, Pierre, ii, 87
Tebo Benevolent Society, iii, 233
Tebriege, or LeBirge, T., ii, 297
Tecon, Cornelius, ii, 166
Tecumseh, visits Shawnees of Missouri, i, 220
"Teetsaw," or Petite Osage, iii, 217
Tela, Charles, ii, 166
Templeton, James, iii, 157, 158
Tenny, Rev. David, iii, 232
Teobatsi, Osage chief, i, 188
Terrage, Villiers de, i, 341
Terrel, R., follows "sign painting," iii, 190
Territorial Auditor, office created in 1810, ii, 417
Territorial Council, appointed by President, iii, 1
Territorial Legislature, i, 4
Territorial revenue, separate, ii, 417
Territorial road, first from St. Louis to New Madrid, iii, 163
Territory of Missouri, described, i, 16; iii, 1
Tessereau, or Tisserot, dit Teporot, Joseph, i, 355
Tessero, dit Bebe, Gregoire, ii, 87, 245
Tesserot, dit Teperot, ii, 246
Tessier, Nicholas, ii, 151
Tesson, Albert, ii, 99, 102
Tesson, Elizabeth, ii, 22
Tesson, Jean Baptiste, ii, 75, 99
Tesson, dit Honore or Honore dit Tesson, Louis, ii, 11
Tesson, Marie, Theresa, ii, 54
Tesson, dit Honore, Michael, ii, 65; sells Phillipson's beer, iii, 190
Tesson, Noel, ii, 72
Tesson, Victoire, ii, 65
Tetlers, David, iii, 138
Tetlers, John, iii, 138
Tetlers, Solomon, iii, 138
Teyas, i, 175
Thacker, Rangon, ii, 160
Thacker, William, ii, 160
"The Asylum," name of school of Hertich, iii, 68
The Barrens, i, 383
The district of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, established by O'Reilly, ii, 193
"The Expedition," Steamboat, iii, 199
The Kentucky Hotel, at St. Charles, iii, 60
The Lost Trapper, Ezekial Williams, iii, 93
"The Missourian," of St. Charles, founded by Robert McCloud, iii, 66
The Forked River, i, 153
The Rapids, of the river Des Moines, where located, i, 14
The Shining Mountains, i, 30
The Yellow, i, 2
Thevenot's map, i, 2, 169
Thibault, Charles, ii, 21
Thibault, Francois, ii, 21
Thibault, Genevieve, ii, 158
Thibault, Isadore, ii, 158
Thibault, John Baptiste, ii, 158
Thibault, Marianne, ii, 146
Thibault, Mary Ann, ii, 153
Thibault, Nicolas, ii, 147, 158
Thibeault, Charles B., ii, 96
Thibeault, dit Liberge, Francois, ii, 246
Thibeault, or Thibault, Alexis, ii, 56
Thibierge, Louis, i, 357
Thickety Iron Furnace, iii, 187
Thiel, Levi, ii, 76
Thipet, Alexis, ii, 166
Third Street, known as Rue des Granges, ii, 24
Thiriet, or Thiriot, Claude, ii, 152

Thiriot, Cecilia, ii, 151
Thiriot, Jean, ii, 152
Thomas, Abraham, iii, 157
Thomas, Claiborne S., iii, 9, 187
Thomas, Francois, ii, 171
Thomas, Jeremiah, ii, 192
Thomas, Nichols, keeps a ferry at Bainbridge, iii, 61
Thomas, Richard S., i, 7; appointed first Judge of southern circuit, iii, 9; biography of, 9; a member of constitutional convention, 249
Thompson, Aaron Henry, ii, 154
Thompson, Benjamin, iii, 207, 219
Thompson, Burwell J., iii, 105
Thompson, Capt. W., iii, 120
Thompson, Isaac, ii, 149
Thompson, James, junior, i, 384
Thompson, Jacque, i, 367
Thompson, Jeremiah, ii, 146, 190
Thompson, John, ii, 192
Thompson, John Washington, iii, 105, 107, 108
Thompson, Joseph, ii, 166, 190; sergeant, iii, 120
Thompson, Joseph, junior, ii, 192
Thompson, Joseph, senior, ii, 183, 192
Thompson, Nero, corporal, iii, 120
Thompson, Rev. Samuel H., iii, 239
Thompson, Thomas, ii, 166
Thompson, William, ii, 190; iii, 83
Thompson, Wilson, Rev., preaches at Bethel, iii, 208; biographical sketch, 209
Thomure, dit La Source, J. B., ii, 246
Thorn, Alexander, ii, 189
Thorn, Charles, ii, 154
Thorn, Daniel, discredited, ii, 181
Thorn, Solomon, ii, 154, 164; gunsmith for Indians, 181, 190, 192, 232; iii, 131
Thornton, Isaac, iii, 116, 138
Thornton, John, labors for annexation of Platte country, i, 13
Thornton, John, iii, 138
Thorntonsburg, iii, 182
Thorp, John, iii, 114
Thorp, William, iii, 115, 117
Thorpe, Elder William, delegate to Bethel Association, iii, 217, 220
Thorpe, Zachariah, ii, 158
Thoulouze, Jean Marie, ii, 20
Thrall, Augustus, iii, 157
Thrall's Prairie, iii, 157
Tibeau, Charles, ii, 68
Tibeau, or Thibault, Joseph, ii, 69; iii, 157
Tibeau's Fort, iii, 125
Tiblon, dit Petit Blanc, Louis, ii, 68, 245
Tichitoli, Father, ii, 324
Tichitoli, Joseph, ii, 321
Tidia and Wigam, two Saukees, murder white man, i, 207
Tiercerot, or Kiercerou, Mr. Ree, ii, 294
Tiffany and company, Chariton merchants, iii, 197
Tiger, a specie of wild cat, i, 35
Tighe, Dr., a pioneer physician in Boonslick country, iii, 146
Tiguex, not far from the present Bernadillo, where Coronado camped for the winter, i, 121
Tilley, Bernard, iii, 85
Timantz, William, ii, 192
Timber, extent of belt, i, 23; on Missouri, 28; Ozark Highlands uncovered with, ii, 104
Timber belt, on Missouri, i, 28
Time, for journey from Mississippi to Anahuac valley, i, 49; time to make trip from the east, west, prior to 1820, iii, 197
Timon, Bishop John, ii, 326; iii, 194
Timon, Father John, ii, 326
Timon, James, iii, 194
Tinon, Claude, ii, 17
Tipton, Samuel, ii, 183
Tirard, Hypolite, ii, 160
Tirart, ii, 151
Tirart, Louis, ii, 152
Tirar, or Tirard, Nicolas, ii, 152
Tismon, William, ii, 189
Tisne, Peter, ii, 99
Tisserant, de Montcharveaux, Jean Francois, i, 355
Tisserot, Joseph, i, 367
Tisson, Albert, i, 343, 364
Tisson, dit Honore, Michael, ii, 246
Tobacco, carrots of, currency, ii, 260; factories in territorial days, iii, 187
Todd & Co., ii, 59
Todd, Andrew, favored by Carondelet, i, 330
Todd, Col., i, 344
Todd, David, first Judge of the northwestern circuit, iii, 11, 115, 158
Todd, Elisha, iii, 138
Todd, Jonathan, killed by Indians, iii, 114
Todd, Joseph, ii, 69
Todd, Judge Thomas, ii, 102, 237
Todd, Levi, iii, 138
Todson, Dr. George S., physician in St. Louis in 1817, iii, 80
Toltecs, i, 43
Tomb, David, iii, 85
Tompies, Katherine, ii, 382
Tompkins, George, teaches school

in St. Louis, 1812, Judge of the Supreme Court, biographical sketch of, iii, 25, 105, 108
Tonnelier, Baptiste, ii, 150
Tonnelier, Cadet, i, 355
Tonnelier, Louis, i, 367; ii, 148
Tonty, Chevalier, i, 2; with LaSalle, 163; captain of a brigade, 166
Topography, of the state, i, 18
Torico, Pierre, i, 357
Tornat, or Tournat, dit La Joie, Pierre, ii, 76
Touconbroud, Andrew, ii, 149
Touconbroud, John, ii, 149
Tougard, Catherine, Crepeau, ii, 54
Toulay, William, ii, 165
Tournat, dit Lajoy, Pierre, ii, 245
Tourney, Peter, Major, iii, 103
Tourville, Pierre, ii, 68
Tourville, Toussaint, ii, 68
Toussaint, Hunand, first man married in St. Louis, ii, 26
Toussainte, Jean Nicholas, ii, 141
Tousignan, Peter, carpenter of St. Louis, ii, 27
Tower at St. Charles, iii, 142
Tow-path, ii, 263
Townsend, John, i, 382
Townsend, Rev. William, iii, 241
Traces, Indian, (See Paths), Field's trace, i, 229; trace up Castor, i, 231; from lead mines to river, 284
Tracy, Edward, iii, 194
Trade, ideas of Indian, i, 232; of St. Louis, if protected, 319
Traders, petition of French, to Rui, i, 296; no land granted to, ii, 216
Trading houses, ii, 253
Trail, of Pottawatomies up Gasconade, iii, 100
Trail to Arkansas, through Fredericktown, iii, 182
Trails, Indian, i, 223; from St. Louis west and northwest, 229
Trammel, Col., iii, 187
Travis, Rev. John, appointed for the Missouri circuit in 1806, iii, 235, 236
Transportation, cost of, iii, 190
Treat, Gideon W., established a tanyard, i, 379, 387
Treaty of Fontainbleau, i, 287; of San Lorenzo el Real, 318; ii, 345; its effect on the people of the West, 345; of San Ildefonso, 347; of Purchase of Louisiana, when received in Washington, 355; of 1804, 398
Trees, on mounds, i, 42; on public highways protected by Morgan's orders, ii, 119
Treget, Clement Delor de, biographical sketch of, ii, 63; settles Carondelet, 64
Treget, Pierre Delor de, ii, 64; syndic of Carondelet, 199; ii, 276
Tremblay, Joseph, ii, 162
Trembley, ii, 53
Trenchard, Francois, ii, 161
Tresner, Jesse, iii, 115
Trial of Indians in the courts, i, 207; ii, 213
Trials, slow method of American, ii, 387; quick disposition of cases, favored by people, 387
Trials, short and quick under Spanish rule, ii, 200
Trimble, John, iii, 183
Trip, from St. Louis to Franklin, by boat, iii, 198
Troge, Pedro, ii, 83
Trombeau, Catherine, ii, 149
Trotter, David, ii, 164
Trotter, Robert, iii, 104, 107
Trotter, James, ii, 164
Trottier, Mons., lives at Cahokia, ii, 43
Troye, or Troge, Pierre, ii, 55
Trudeau, Don Zenon, i, 360; Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana, ii, 57; biographical sketch of, ii, 58; urges organization of Commercial Company, 59, 75, 78; grants land to Boone, 93, 253, 318, 360; letter to Lorimier, ii, 174; complains that owing to religious test many good immigrants lost, iii, 202
Trudeau, Don Carlos Laveau, ii, 58, 202
Trudeau, Don Jean Baptiste, ii, 22, 53, 58, 62, 275, 314, 344, 383
Trudeau, Etienne, ii, 58
Trudeau, Josephine, ii, 344
Trudeau, Laurent, ii, 22
Trudeau, Louis or Luis, i, 339, 357
Trudeau, Sieur Jean, ii, 58
Trudeau's treatment of Preacher Clark, iii, 203
Trudeau's house, on the upper Missouri, ii, 252
Trudell, Antoine, ii, 155
Trudell, Augustine, ii, 157
Trudelle, Auguste B., ii, 67
Trumpetings of wild geese, i, 35
Trustees, first of St. Louis, iii, 163
Tucker, Henry, i, 383
Tucker, Hilary, ii, 326
Tucker, John, i, 383; ii, 156, 162, 192
Tucker, Joseph, ii, 384
Tucker, Joseph, junior, i, 383
Tucker, Joseph, senior, i, 383

Tucker, Louis, ii, 326
Tucker, Michael, i, 383
Tucker, Nathaniel Beverly, Judge of the northern circuit, iii, 10; biographical sketch of, 10; probably suggested the adoption of the state arms, 270
Tucker, Peter, i, 383
Tucker, Thomas, i, 382, 383
Tunstall, receiver of public money at Jackson in 1820, iii, 183
Tuque Creek, ii, 92
Turcotte, James, ii, 141
Turgeon, Joseph, ii, 52
Turcotte, Joseph, ii, 150
Turkeys, i, 34, 35; as many as 5,000 in a flock, 36
Turley, Stephen, iii, 115
Turnage, Rev. William, iii, 217, 223
Turner, Elder Edward, iii, 211; delegate to Bethel Association, 217
Turner, Henry, i, 367
Turner, James, iii, 115
Turner, Jesse, iii, 138
Turner, John, iii, 157
Turner, Samuel, iii, 85
Turner, Thomas, iii, 245
Turner, William, iii, 157
Turtle doves, clouds of, i, 38
Tuton, or Tusson, ii, 86
Tuttle, Nicholas, iii, 85
Twentyman, Thomas, ii, 158
Twitty, Russell, iii, 84
Two Mile Prairie, iii, 222
Tyler, Thomas, i, 344; ii, 73; iii, 106
Tywappity Baptist Church, iii, 219
Tywappity Bottom, ii, 162; iii, 151, 195

U

Uge, Dominick, ii, 56, 100
Uge, Joseph, ii, 76
Unica, Osage name for White river, i, 18
Unzaga, Don Luis y Amesaga, Governor of Louisiana, ii, 1, 306, 403
Ulloa, Don Antonio de, first Spanish Governor of Louisiana, i, 288; lands at New Orleans, 288; not recognized by the people, 288; sends Rui to upper Louisiana, 288; instructions to him, 289; intoxication according to him not a Spanish failing, 291; orders forts erected at the mouth of the Missouri, 293; biographical sketch of, 288; instructions of, recognize St. Ange as Commandant of St. Louis, ii, 19
Upper Louisiana, when first so designated, ii, 226
Upham, John D., iii, 131
Upham, Robert, ii, 162
Us-seh-ta, Osage tribal name, i, 178

V

Vaca, Captain Alonzo, marches 300 leagues in search of Quivira, i, 138
Vachard, dit Mimi L'Ardoise, Antoine, ii, 152, 164, 245, 246
Vachard, dit Creol L'Ardoise, Charles, ii, 54, 246
Vachard, Mrs. Isabel Bissette, i, 346
Vachard, dit l'Ardoise, Joseph, ii, 52
Vachard, Louis, ii, 52, 153
Vachette, dit St. Antoine, Francois, ii, 148, 246
Vachette, dit St. Aubin, Antoine, ii, 152
Valentine, Father, priest of St. Louis, ii, 31, 306
Valign, Peter, ii, 101
Valle, Alexander, ii, 87
Valle, August, i, 379
Valle, Basil, i, 367
Valle, Benoit, iii, 245
Valle, Don Carlos, i, 350; ii, 65, 87
Valle, Felix, iii, 254
Valle, Don Francesco, i, 344; characteristics, 345; history of family, 350
Valle, Don Francesco, junior, thanked by Galvez, i, 307, 350, 352; has a watermill in the pineries, 381, 345; Trudeau's estimate of, 349; ii, 62, 383
Valle, Col. Jean Baptiste, i, 346, 347, 350, 352, 358, 361; ii, 52, 297; his commission as civil commandant of Ste. Genevieve from Stoddard, 372; iii, 67
Valle, John, junior, iii, 245
Valle, Joseph, i, 350; killed at Mine La Motte, 378
Valle, Louis, appointed cadet to West Point, ii, 381; iii, 245
Valle, Marie Louise, i, 350
Valle, Pascal, iii, 131
Valle & Menard, i, 350
Vallet, or Valle, i, 340, 341, 345
Vallet, or Valle, John, ii, 87
Vallet, dit Bourbone, John, i, 245
Valleau, Don Juan Baptiste, surgeon of the Spanish company under Rui, i, 289; in St. Louis, ii, 27
Valley of bones in St. Louis county, i, 78
Valois, Francois, ii, 55, 60

Valois, Louis, ii, 164
Van Amburg, Benjamin Lewis, ii, 160
Van Bibber, Isaac, ii, 93, 95; iii, 103, 106
Van Bibber, James, ii, 101; iii, 157
Van Bibber, Joseph, ii, 101
Van Bibber's Lick, iii, 157
Van Burkelow, or Van Burken, William, i, 382
Van Herum, A. C., a music teacher in St. Louis in 1818, iii, 69
Van Horn, Nathan, iii, 196
Van Iderstine, Peter, ii, 165
Van Leer, George, iii, 131
Vandenbenden, Joseph, ii, 155, 232
Vandenbenden, Louis, ii, 143, 155
Vandenberg, Judge Henry, ii, 378
Vanderhider, Mathias, ii, 75
Van Metre, Isaac, i, 379
Vansant, Abner, iii, 103, 105
Vance, Dr. John J., at Jackson in 1818, ii, 82, 130
Vanses, or Vance, Moses, ii, 158
Vantico, William, ii, 101
Vanure, Louis, iii, 131
Varnum, James, builds a distillery on the Plattin, i, 379; ii, 258
Varre, Louis, ii, 100
Variat, Rudolph, dit Rody, ii, 246
Vasquez, Don Benito, thanked especially by Galvez, for his services when St. Louis was attacked, i, 307; commands St. Louis company, ii, 42; appointed ayudante mayor, 42, 50, 52, 62, 383
Vasquez, A. F., dit Baronet, officer at Fort Bellevue, iii, 110; biographical sketch of, 110
Vasquez, Julien Papin, ii, 91
Vasseur, Regis, ii, 53
Vaudry, Jean, ii, 52
Vaughn, Daniel T., ii, 162
Vaughn, A. V., iii, 235
Vaughn, Thomas, corporal, iii, 114
Vattas, Captain, ii, 35
Venable, James, iii, 157
Venus of Milo, i, 51
Ventricle, Helen, ii, 156
Ventura M., ii, 165
Venzan, Antonio, ii, 21
Verden, James, iii, 84
Verdon, Joseph, ii, 54, 200
Verdon, Madam, ii, 199
Verger, Benjamin, ii, 68
Veriat, Pierre, i, 376
Vermet, Antoine, ii, 164
Vest, John, iii, 85
Vexerano, ii, 343
Vial, Pedro, his trip from Santa Fe to St. Louis, i, 132; ii, 58; lives at Portage des Sioux, ii, 90; iii, 155
Vial, dit Marritou, Pierre, ii, 69
Vian, Andres, i, 340
Vian, or Viot, dit Gascon, Jean, ii, 152
Vibert, Larrent, a tavern keeper at Franklin, iii, 61
Vicery, Josiah, ii, 163
Vicksburg, Yazoo company proposed to plant a colony there, iii, 86
Victor, General, ii, 355
"Victoria," Spanish galley, ii, 343
Vide Poche, ii, 64
Vien, dit Noel, Jean Baptiste, ii, 21, 52, 54, 246
Vifvarenne, Catharine, i, 340
Vigo, Francois, ii, 173; in partnership with De Lyba, ii, 42, 52
Vigo, Louis, ii, 21
Vigo, Michael, iii, 131
Vignon, Andre, i, 345; one of the remonstrating parishioners of Ste. Genevieve, ii, 297
Village of Little Hills, ii, 80
Village des Côtes, ii, 79
Villages, French settlers live in, ii, 234
Village of the Great Osages, i, 181; how built, 191
Village à Robert, i, 210; ii, 77
Villages of the Shawnees and Delawares, i, 208
Village of Wapepillese, near the present Bloomfield, iii, 122
Village Prison, first St. Louis, ii, 30
Villars, Juan, ii, 165
Villars, Louis DuBreuil de, i, 350
Villars, Madame Marie, i, 354
Villars, Mathew, ii, 165
Villazus, Don Pedro de, commands Spanish expedition to Missouri, i, 254
Ville, Don Jose de, i, 323
Villeroy, or Villeray, Pierre, ii, 65
Villette, dit St. Cloux, Francois, ii, 53
Vimont, Father Superior of the Jesuits, i, 155
Vincent, Antoine, ii, 383
Vincent, James, ii, 166
Vincent, Jean, ii, 17
Vincent, Jean Louis, ii, 69
Vincent, Nicholas Antoine, ii, 17
Vincennes, capital of upper Louisiana, iii, 159
Vincennes, Louis, iii, 157
Vineyard, Jonathan, ii, 73
Violeny, John, i, 380
Violet, Emanuel, ii, 148
Violet, Louis, ii, 148
Violette, Joseph, ii, 99
Viot, dit Gascon, Jean, ii, 245

Virginia warrior path, an Indian Appian way, i, 226
Virginia, holds country to the Mississippi, ii, 330
Viriat, Clement, i, 383
Vital, Madeline, ii, 151
Vivian, Jackson, iii, 159
Viviat, Louis, i, 339, 351; ii, 2
Vivier, Father Francois Louis, describes animal life, i, 36; on mineral wealth of country in Missouri, 274; on bad example of the French, effect of, among the Indians, ii, 287, 291, 292; biographical sketch of, 291
Voisard, Joseph, ii, 87
Volunteers, how required to equip themselves under territorial laws, ii, 410
Von Phul, Henry, appointed to superintend lottery, ii, 418; iii, 193, 234
Voyage, up river by Spaniards to take possession of upper Louisiana, i, 289; how conducted, 290; time required, ii, 253; down the river, when the Spaniards retire, ii, 366
Voyageurs, ii, 223

W

Wabasha, Indian chief, ii, 37
Wacase, name of Osages, i, 178
Wack, Casper, Rev., of the German Reformed Church, iii, 205
Wade, David, ii, 181
Wafford, William B., iii, 245
Wagner, Daniel, ii, 152
Wagon roads, earliest from lead mines to river, i, 284
Wahepelathy, his speech complaining of robberies, i, 219
Wahrendorff, Charles, iii, 193
Wakely, Samuel, i, 373
Waldo, Daniel, iii, 159
Walker, Alex. S., iii, 7
Walker, Andrew, ii, 99
Walker, Benjamin, i, 367, 381
Walker, Dr. David V., ii, 80, 210
Walker, John, iii, 104, 158
Walker, John, iii, 229
Walker, J. Hardeman, biographical sketch of, i, 6; iii, 107
Walker, Joseph Reddiford, a biographical sketch of, iii, 91
Walker, Laken, iii, 103
Walker, Larkin, i, 387
Walker, Rev. Jesse, iii, 235; biographical sketch of, 236, 237
Wall, John, carpenter, ii, 159; iii, 245
Wallace, Phoebe, ii, 78
Wallace, Robert, member of the constitutional convention, iii, 249
Waller, Joseph, ii, 120, 384
Waller's Ferry, ii, 190
Wallis, Dr., ii, 201
Walnut, i, 32
Walnut Street, known as Rue de la Tour, ii, 24
Waloonian Guard, DeLassus, first lieutenant in, ii, 135; his activity at New Madrid, 136
Walsh, Edward, iii, 189
Walsh, R., ii, 398
Walsh, Rev. Patrick, ii, 312
Walters, Jacob, iii, 8
Wapepillese, a Shawnee with Dodge on the Missouri, iii, 121
War between Spain and England, ii, 34.
War of Independence, sympathy of Spain, i, 303; Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark reports this, 304; Count Aranda's opinion, 303
War with England apprehended, ii, 409
Ward, James, iii, 233
Ward, John, ii, 72, 112, 166, 283; iii, 7
Ward, Rev. John, held first Episcopal service in St. Louis, iii, 233
Ward, William, i, 387; iii, 86
Ware, Hardy, iii, 106
Ware, Henry, ii, 76
Warin, Adjutant-General of Collot, ii, 176
Warlia, ii, 150
Warpaloka, ii, 399
Warpaths, (See Paths), i, 223; up the Gasconade, 230
Warren, dit Waring, Nathaniel, ii, 102
Warville, Brissot de, ii, 334
Wash, John, senior, iii, 85
Wash, Robert, iii, 8, 22; aids to found the "Journal" in 1815, iii, 65, 105, 232
Washington, town of, iii, 184
Washington county, organized, iii, 6, 182
Washington, J. B. C., opens a select school in Franklin, iii, 70
"Washington," Steamboat, iii, 198
Washington, proclamation of, prevented invasion of Louisiana, i, 318
Wassekenequa, ii, 399
Wasson, John, iii, 115
Watauga, settlement of, ii, 330
Watch makers, iii, 188
Water-mill, on Cape LaCruz Creek, built by Lorimier, ii, 179

Water-mills, iii, 189
Water supply, of St. Louis, iii, 166; Laclede likely located his warehouse near a spring, 166
Waterhouse, Professor, doubts attack on St. Louis, ii, 41
Waters, well distributed over Missouri, i, 18
Waters, Dr. Richard Jones, ii, 141; biographical sketch of, 143, 146, 147, 155, 257, 384, 391; iii, 82, 104, 107, 196
Waters, John, ii, 78
Waters, Maj. Thos. W., his letter to Jefferson, ii, 191, 385; sketch of, 386; iii, 84
Waters, William, ii, 143
Wathen, William, iii, 131
Watkins, John, ii, 160
Watkins, Dr. John, ii, 38, 75, 100
Watkins, Gen. Nathaniel W., a half brother of Henry Clay, iii, 24
Watkins, Joseph, ii, 189
Watkins, Samuel, ii, 95, 102
Watson, Aaron, iii, 157
Watson, David, iii, 157
Watson, Goah, iii, 196
Watson, James, iii, 157
Watson, Samuel, iii, 85, 157
Watson, Thomas, iii, 84
Watrin, Father Philibert, ii, 291; biographical sketch of, 291, 292, 297
Watts, John, iii, 157
Wau-bun-see, i, 8, 213
Wayaconda, i, 17
Wayne county organized, iii, 8
Wayne, General Anthony, at Fort Massac during threatened Genet invasion, i, 318
Weadon, Henry, iii, 116, 137
Wealthy, James, ii, 97
Weaver, John, ii, 183, 192
Weaver, Peter, ii, 183
Webb, John T., iii, 229
Webber, Frederick, iii, 131
Weber, killed in attack of McNair, iii, 109
Weber, Frederick, keeps tavern in St. Louis in 1811, iii, 60
Weber, John H., iii, 245
Webster, Resin, keeps tavern at St. Louis, iii, 60
Wedder, or Wedden, John, ii, 102
Wedsay, dit John Whitesides, Juan, ii, 78
Weesaka, or the Devil, ii, 398
Weiland, George, ii, 96
Welker, George, ii, 192
Welch, Rev. James E., teaches school in St. Louis in 1817, iii, 69, 212; accompanies Peck west, 213; arrives in St. Louis, 214; biographical sketch of, 215, 223
Wellborn, Thomas, ii, 192
Wells, George, iii, 159
Wells, Robert W., iii, 24; United States Judge, 25
Wells, Robert, iii, 116
Wells, William, iii, 131
Welsh, Elijah, ii, 187, 192
Wentzell, Daniel, ii, 155
West, William, iii, 159
Westbrook, Joseph, ii, 155; ii, 104, 107
Westbrook, Richard, ii, 156
Westcott, Robert, candidate for Clerk, ii, 412
"Western Engineer," steamboat, iii, 198
"Western Pioneer," a Baptist paper, iii, 219
Westover, Job, a carpenter, i, 384; iii, 107, 182
West Point, appointments made by Jefferson from upper Louisiana, ii, 381
Wetteau, John, iii, 104
Weyberg, Rev. Samuel, his family, iii, 204; how he made his trip from North Carolina to upper Louisiana, 205; his preaching stations on White water, 206
Wheat, Conrad, ii, 158
Wheat, Jacob, ii, 158
Wheat, not enough in 1744, to supply the colony with flour, ii, 235
Wheeler, Amos, iii, 22
Wheeler and Stoddard, Drs., at St. Charles in 1820, iii, 82
Wheeler, David, iii, 69
Wheelan, John, ii, 152
Wherry, Charlotte, ii, 285
Wherry, Mackay, ii, 55, 60, 62, 83, 96 285, 384, 409
Whetstone, David, iii, 104
Whipping-post, introduced into upper Louisiana, ii, 379; of St. Louis, where located, iii, 163; at Jackson, 169
Whiskey, manufacture of, ii, 258; of Coursault, confiscated by settlers, iii, 114; "dribbles" from the corn among the White water Germans, 170; price realized for, by Audubon and Rozier, 195
White-Hairs, Young, hereditary chief of Osages, i, 185
White-Hairs, or Cheveux Blanc or Cahagotong, i, 192; died in 1808, 193

White, Frederick, iii, 22
White, Hugh L., ii, 190; iii, 184
White, James, iii, 184
White, Joseph, iii, 188
White, Lewis, keeps tavern at Chariton, iii, 61
White Ox Prairie, location of, ii, 14
White people, ordered removed from Shawnee and Delaware lands, i, 220
White River, i, 4; Osages hunted on, 181
White, Robert, ii, 156
White's Fort, iii, 136
Whitesides, Davis, killed, iii, 111
Whitewater, mill on, ii, 182
Whitesides, Jacob, Rev., ii, 238
Whitesides, Samuel, ii, 398
Whitesides, James, ii, 69
Whitesides, dit Juan Wedsay, John, ii, 246
Whitley, in Boonslick country, iii, 146
Whitley, Captain, ii, 409
Whitley, John, ii, 76
Whitley, Paul, ii, 76
Whitley, Solomon, ii, 72
Whitley, Thomas, ii, 72
Whitney, Minor W., one of the founders of the "Patriot" at Jackson, iii, 66
Whittaker, Elijah, ii, 192
Whittaker, Elisha, ii, 187
Whittaker, Josiah, ii, 190
Whittlesey, Charles, iii, 84
Whittenberg, John, iii, 196
Whittredge, Josiah, ii, 147
Whybark, anglicized name of Weyberg, iii, 206
Wichart, Mathew, ii, 70
Wickerham, Aquilla, ii, 76
Wickerham, Jacob, ii, 75
Wideman, Francois, i, 355, 375; establishes a ferry, 379
Wideman, John, ii, 75
Wideman, Mark, ii, 75
Wiggins, Levi, i, 382
Wiggins, Stephen R., has a broker's office in St. Louis in 1819, iii, 191, 193
Wilburn, or Welborn, John, ii, 163
Wilcox, Dr. D. P., at Franklin, iii, 82
Wild animals, instinctive trails of, i, 231
Wild cats, i, 35, 36
Wild geese, i, 35
Wild grapes and plums, i, 31
Wild Horse Creek, ii, 70, 77
Wild horses and ponies, ii, 179
Wild oats, i, 35
Wilder, Isaac, a blacksmith, ii, 98
Wilkinson, Gen. James, i, 201, 368; opposes Morgan's plan, ii, 122; money shipped to from New Madrid, 134; enlisted by the Spaniards, 338; in New Orleans, 339; his effort to separate Kentucky from the Union, 341; his treasonable correspondence, 342, 343, 344, 345, services of, 347, 381, 382; appointed Governor of Louisiana, 401; suspects Burr's mission, 402; double dealing of, 403, 406; his personal characteristics, 406; removed by Jefferson, 408; forbids mining mineral, goes South in 1807, 413; iii, 45; dissatisfaction caused by his order, 45; Hunt vacates order, and then Wilkinson revokes his order, 45; Carr's letter about the matter, 45; Gallatin to Jefferson on this subject, 46; makes St. Louis his official residence, 161; establishes Bellefontaine cantonment, 141
Wiley, James, ii, 285
Wiley, Robert, ii, 166
Wiley, or Whylee, William, ii, 159
Wilkinson and Price, sell Government exchange in 1808, iii, 191
Wilkinson, Anthony, iii, 107
Wilkinson, Captain, i, 350
Wilkinson, James B., Lieut., son of General Wilkinson, ii, 356; iii, 144
Wilkinson, Thomas, ii, 69
Wilkinson, Walter, i, 374
Wilkinson, W. N., iii, 245
Wilkinson, Alex., iii, 107
Willard, Rowland, ii, 102
Williams, ii, 120
Williams, Asa, iii, 157
Williams, Dr. Joseph, a physician of St. Louis in 1820, iii, 81
Williams, Edward, iii, 84
Williams, Elder Colden, iii, 209, 211
Williams, Ezekiel, robbed by Osages, i, 201; the "Lost Trapper," iii, 93; first trading expedition of Becknell to Santa Fe starts from his place, 156
Williams, Giles, iii, 116
Williams, Isaac, ii, 190, 192
Williams, James, ii, 68, 69, 164
Williams, Jenkins, iii, 131
Williams, John, senior, ii, 76
Williams, Joseph, iii, 159
Williams, Justinian, builds a large tavern at Boonville in 1817, iii, 61, 241, 245
Williams, Rev. Luke, iii, 222
Williams, Olly, iii, 187
Williams, Parker, iii, 215, 242

Williams, Sam S., iii, 245
Williams, Theopolis, i, 383
Williams, Thomas, ii, 69; iii, 103, 105, 106
Williams, William, ii, 190; iii, 234
Williamson, Sarah, ii, 165
Williamson, William James, ii, 192
Wills, Joseph, iii, 84
Wilson and Hubbard, Drs., surgeons at Sinkhole fight, iii, 135
Wilson, Andrew, ii, 147; a Presbyterian, 203
Wilson, Dr. Andrew, at St. Charles, iii, 82
Wilson, George, first sheriff of New Madrid, ii, 149, 166
Wilson, John, ii, 76
Wilson, Mrs. John, ii, 185
Wilson, Nicholas, iii, 5
Wilson, Philberry, ii, 150
Wilson, Samuel, ii, 76
Wilson's Creek, Indian village on, i, 218
Wilt, Andrew, iii, 194
Wilt, Christian, iii, 190, 194
Wilt, George, iii, 131
Wilton, Henry, mail carrier in 1809, iii, 64
Winchester, road from, to Bainbridge, iii, 61, 185
Wind mill, on Third Street, ii, 29; owned by Creeley, 67
Windes, Samuel, iii, 245
Windows, of Fort de Chartres, i, 355
Windsor and fancy chairs, iii, 188
Windsor or Winsor, Christopher, ii, 156, 157
Windsor, Elisha, ii, 158, 384; iii, 104, 107
Windsor, Thomas, ii, 158; iii, 104, 107
Windt, Joseph, iii, 103
Wing, Mathew, constable of the United States, removed from office, iii, 47
Wingsay, ii, 166
Winkson, or Hinkson, William, ii, 165
Winnebago Indians, attempt to storm "Pancour," ii, 39
Winship, thinks Coronado in the plains did not lose "his reckoning," i, 128
Winston, James, i, 379
Winter of 1800, cold, ii, 63
Winter, probably Winsor, Elisha, ii, 153; his suspicions, 343
Wise, Jacob, i, 368
Wiseman, Jonathan, ii, 72
Witchcraft, belief in among Shawnees, i, 220
Witheringnon, Thomas, ii, 92
Withrow, James J., i, 375
Wittenberg, on Brazeau, i, 385
Wittenberg, Andrew, iii, 156
Wittenberg, Daniel, iii, 156
Wittenberg, Jacob, iii, 156
Wivarenne, Pierre, i, 378
Welker, Jacob, ii, 192
Wocondo, iii, 184
Wolf, Christian, ii, 99
Wolf Island, controversy with Kentucky, i, 15
Wolf, Rev. Fielding, iii, 208
Wolf, Rover, i, 5
Wolf, Thomas, Rev., iii, 218
Wolverton, Levi, ii, 192; iii, 131
Wolves, eat game killed by hunters, i, 35; bounty for killing, iii, 7
Wood, Abner, i, 380
Wood, Joseph, iii, 107
Wood pigeons, i, 34
Wood and Dunn, iii, 193
Wood, price of, iii, 43
Wooden cannon, ii, 367
Woodruff, Mary, ii, 165
Woods, Adam, has a ferry on the Missouri, iii, 62; sergeant, 114
Wood, Dr. David, at Franklin, iii, 83
Woods, Francis, ii, 97; iii, 115, 116
Woods, Jonathan, ii, 96
Woods, Martin, ii, 96
Woods, Peter, Elder, iii, 217
Woods, Zadock, ii, 96
Wool carding, iii, 187
Wooton, William, ii, 88
Workman, David, Kit Carson apprenticed to him, iii, 146
Worrel, or Worrell, Stephen, Lieutenant, Adjutant to Captain Stoddard, ii, 360, 395
Worthington, Charles, ii, 78
Worthington, James, ii, 78, 190
Worthington, Joseph, ii, 78, 184, 190, 192
Worthington, Pattie, ii, 183
Worthington, Rebecca ii, 183
Worthington, Thomas, ii, 78
Wright, James, i, 382
Wright, Jeremiah, ii, 87
Wright, Rev. Thomas, expelled from Bethel Church for "Arminian" views, iii, 207, 238, 240, 241
Wrigthington, Thomas, iii, 84
Wyatt, Francois, ii, 94
Wyatt, John, iii, 86
Wyatt, Thomas, iii, 86, 104
Wyley, Thomas, iii, 107

Y

Yarbrough, David, i, 384
Yarbrough, or Borough, Swanson, i, 385
Yardley, Joseph, iii, 103, 106
Yeizer, Capt., in command of gunboat "Governor Clark," iii, 128
Yazoo Company, iii, 85
You, Pierre, i, 166
Young, Austin, ii, 186, 192; iii, 104, 106
Young, Rev. David, iii, 236
Young, Edward, ii, 72
Young, James C., iii, 104, 107
Young, John, iii, 102
Young, Joseph, ii, 185; iii, 104
Young, Morris, ii, 186; iii, 104, 107
Young, Philip, ii, 185, 192
Young, Richard, ii, 72
Young, Robert, ii, 102
Yount, Jacob, corporal, iii, 120
Yous, Thomas, iii, 150
Yosti, Emelien, ii, 52, 60, 86, 383
Yurjo, Marquis de Casa, Spanish Ambassador, i, 319, 320
Yuros, George, ii, 156

Z

Zagas, same as Osages, i, 225
Zanes, William, ii, 156
Zellahon, John, ii, 192
Zinc, extent of district, i, 22
Zumwalt's fort, iii, 137
Zumwalt, Adam, ii, 96; iii, 85
Zumwalt, or Sommalt, Christopher, (Stoffle) ii, 96, 98; iii, 85
Zumwalt, Henry, ii, 96
Zumwalt, Henry, junior, ii, 96
Zumwalt, Jacob, or Sommalt, Jacob, ii, 96
Zumwalt House, camp-meeting at the, iii, 235