

THE BIG MOUND AT ST. LOUIS, 1869.

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# SWITZLER'S

ILLUSTRATED

## HISTORY OF MISSOURI,

FROM 1541 TO 1877.

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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The material of the present work was originally included in a large and costly volume entitled "The Commonwealth of Missouri," the price of which placed it beyond the reach of the majority of readers. Everything of permanent value in the larger work has been retained in this, and all extraneous matter omitted; and the work is now offered at a figure which it is hoped will meet the popular demand.

Identified with the growth of our noble State for over half a century, a considerable portion of the time in public life, no person could have been found better qualified to write its history than the distinguished gentleman whose name appears upon our title-page, COL. W. F. SWITZLER, Editor of the *Columbia Statesman*. Blessed with a remarkable memory, and having all his life given particular attention to the preservation of documents and memoranda of every description relating to the history and growth of Missouri, he has enjoyed unequalled advantages in the preparation of the work; advantages which have been supplemented by a patriotic ardor which age cannot cool, and a discriminating judgment which preserves the truth, unswerved by prejudice or partisan feeling. The unvarying accuracy of his record has already been the subject of much complimentary remark.

The numerous mounds and other pre-historic relics found within our borders indicate that Missouri was once the seat of a mighty empire, of which these relics are now the only traces. It has been thought proper, therefore, to precede the History by

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an account of these ancient remains. Prof. CONANT's admirably written chapters, while giving such an account, present also a complete epitome of the science of Archæology.

The contributions on the Physical Geography and Material Wealth of Missouri, by Prof. SWALLOW and R. A. CAMPBELL, added to the preceding sections, make the present work the most complete picture of our State yet offered to the public.

For himself the editor claims no credit beyond that of an earnest effort to present in an attractive and useful shape the productions of the abler men whose names appear above.

CHANCY R. BARNES.

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PART I. ARCHÆOLOGY.

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THE  
Mounds and their Builders

—OR—

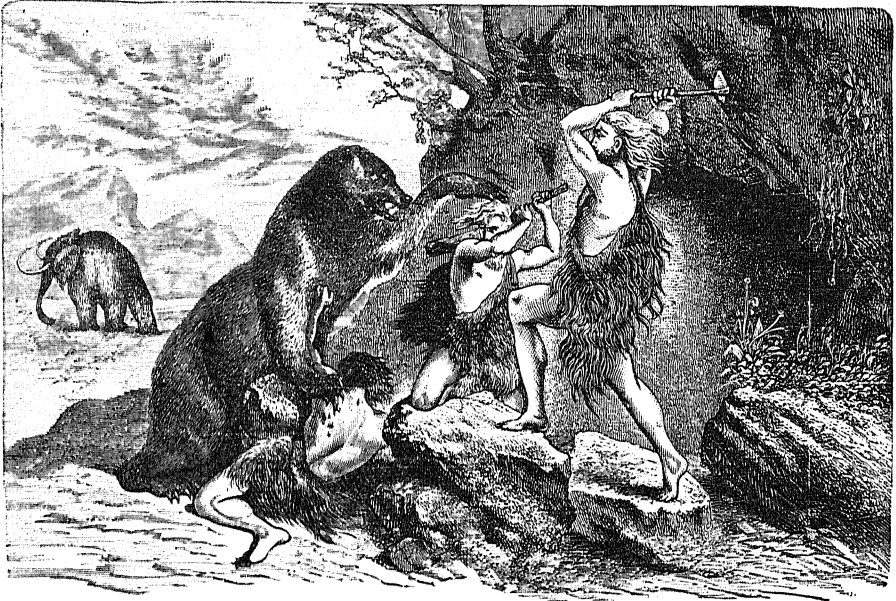
TRACES OF PRE-HISTORIC MAN IN MISSOURI,

—BY—

A. J. CONANT, A. M.,

OF ST. LOUIS.





Man in the Age of the Mammoth and Great Bear.

## CHAPTER I.

TRACES OF VANISHED PEOPLES.—THEIR WORLD-WIDE DIFFUSION.—RUSSIAN EARTHWORKS.—EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS ANCIENT AT THE DATE OF OLDEST RECORDS.—A TROY STILL OLDER THAN THE ANCIENT TROY OF HOMER.

IN all lands, whenever in the ages past the climate has been such as to render it possible for man to subsist, the earth is found thickly planted with the graves of vanished peoples. Countless generations have come and gone, and left no record of their lives and work, save what is to be found in the few surviving monuments they have erected, or the rude implements and fragmentary remains of their industry, which descended with them to the tomb. The great ocean of humanity, with the energy of its ceaseless flow, has oft-times, no doubt, obliterated the traces of former generations, save here and there a foot-print in the solid rock, or an empty shell which has been left upon the shores of time. We of to-day build, sow and reap, buy and sell, and thus repeat, over and over again, the great drama of life, above the sepulchres of departed millions, long since forgotten. How often the long eons have finished their cycles and the new began—who can compute, or from whence shall the data be drawn upon which such computation may be based? The sacred records furnish no system of the chronology of the race, nor standing-ground upon which a trustworthy one can be constructed. The wisest who have essayed the task, from such sources, differ in

their estimates more than five thousand years. The devout believer in Revelation, therefore, need feel no apprehensions for the foundations of his faith if it shall be proven even that man has been an inhabitant of the earth for a hundred thousand years or more.

All that can be gained from history, sacred and profane, supplemented with the hieroglyphic annals of Egypt and the inscribed bricks and cylinders of Assyria, carries us back only about forty-four centuries. Suddenly we come then to the border-land of legendary myths and extravagant traditions. The thick darkness which enshrouds all beyond, no one, a hundred years ago, thought possible to penetrate or dispel. But within the last fifty years a new science has been added to the varied departments of human knowledge and research—the science of Archæology, pure and proper,—and thousands to-day, including many of the best minds in the most enlightened lands, are devoting to it their serious and earnest labors.

The field of exploration is the wide world, whose continents are all equally rich in the monuments of the forgotten past. From the widely-separated quarters of this great field, the laborers gather from time to time, bringing the results of their work. All these combined are throwing their focal light upon the great questions of the origin and antiquity of the various races of mankind—their peculiar customs and mode of life—investing them with an interest never before awakened, which increases more and more, as the promise brightens of their satisfactory elucidation. The number of the monuments of which we speak, upon our own continent, is legion upon legion. From Nova Scotia to the southern coast of Florida—from Behring's Strait to Mexico and Peru—from the Atlantic to the Pacific—are to be found the sites of ancient cities, or the former seats of a dense population. Europe, as every one knows, is full of them. Not only on the surface of the soil, but far down in the gravels of the drift, are found the remains of man in companionship with the bones of huge mammals, who were buried there, it would seem, long before the "British Channel was scooped out." In Russia, from its western border to the Pacific, from its southernmost limit far north into the inhospitable regions of Siberia, earthworks are found giving evidences of long occupancy, and doubtless a forced migration to the North. There, in the sepulchers of the dead, they deposited the gold and silver ornaments and other treasures of the departed, in which relics the more recent inhabitants have driven a thriving trade. The great steppes of Asia abound with sepulchral

mounds. Nor are the deserts of Africa without their witness to the existence of former generations. Her remorseless sands are the tomb of many an ancient city.

Egypt, the oldest nation which has preserved a written history, has also her pre-historic remains. Before the name of Athens was pronounced, or Greece was born—when Italy was peopled with savage tribes as wild and barbarous as the red men of America,—Egypt was far advanced in the higher branches of knowledge, the sciences and the nobler arts. Her priests even then dwelt in the palaces of the kings, and issued their mandates, with his, from the throne. Those palaces were colleges of learning, while the priests were the professors, who not only ministered in matters of religion and worship, but devoted themselves to the higher education of the young as well.

To-day, as the explorer removes the stones from her ancient structures, he finds here and there one, whose inner surface is carved with curious devices and inscriptions, showing that it once had a place in older and demolished edifices. She had then her libraries also, in which the knowledge of her sages was preserved. Tombs of the librarians have been discovered, dating back at least five hundred years before Homer sang in the cities of Greece, and inscribed "To the chief of books."

Long since, the line of the Pharaohs became extinct, and no prince or king—so the prophet said—shall ever sit on her throne again or sway the scepter over the land of the Nile. How old she seems! And yet old Egypt was of yesterday, compared with the men of the drift, the reindeer period, or the pre-glacial times of Scandinavia, Scotland, France, England and the Pyrenees.

These everywhere ancient monuments of which we speak, men have been wont to regard with unquestioning curiosity, or at most to pass by with a conjecture only, as Homer did, who speaks of the ancient mounds, concerning which, in his day even, there was no history or tradition, and who imagined they might be the tombs of ancient heroes. Job makes more than one allusion to the monuments and "solitary mansions of the dead," which awakened the curiosity of the caravans and travelers of Teman, as they passed along the great thoroughfares of commerce. The wild songs of the most ancient bards are no longer poetic myths, the creations of a fervid imagination; but their inspiration was drawn from events which actually transpired. "With truth their souls were fired." The poets were the nations' historians as well. Troy, with her strange story, is no longer a doubtful city. Dr. Schlieman has found her ancient



site and discovered enough, among her long-entombed memorials, to authenticate her history; and we may write once more "*Ilium est*" for "*Ilium fuit.*"

And what is most surprising of all, far down beneath the level of the ground once trod by the heroes whose names Homer has given to immortality, the explorer has found the ruins of another city—and he thinks still another below it—concerning which the poet seems to have heard no tradition. Among those deposits of an age so remote, were articles of stone and bronze and precious metals, skillfully wrought, giving evidence of the existence of a people whose knowledge, attainments, and social condition were far in advance of those of the more ancient periods of stone and bronze—a civilization which could only have been realized by the slow growth of centuries.

But not alone upon that glorious land, made immortal by the fiery energy of Homer's matchless songs, has a resurrection morning dawned, nor Egypt and Assyria with their hieroglyphic annals, hoary with age; but other lands, unknown in classic story, and the islands of the sea, are giving up their long-forgotten dead. The explorers of to-day are breaking down the hitherto impassable barriers of the remoter ages of antiquity; here and there we catch glimpses of the life and customs, and hold converse with the tribes and peoples of pre-historic times. The fast-accumulating records which have been gathered during the last twenty-five years are continually enriching the libraries of every civilized nation, and he who would master them all will soon find life too short to do more than acquaint himself with the grand results of the multiplied discoveries. The chief difficulty then, it will be perceived, in the way of the present task, is one of condensation, or in other words, how to select from such vast material only those facts and observations which are necessary for the proper treatment of the subject we are about to consider.

On account of the limits prescribed for the archæological chapters of this work compelling all possible economy of space, and also for the sake of continuity, instead of burdening them with frequent references to the authors consulted, I desire in the outset to make all due acknowledgment of my indebtedness to those valued records of the labors of the noble army of abler men who have preceded me in like investigations in this department of knowledge. Chief among those which have been freely consulted, are the writings of GARCILLASSO DE LA VEGA, PROF. REFINESQUE, DANIEL WILLSON, LL.D., ALEXANDER W. BRADFORD,

J. W. FOSTER, EDWARD L. CLARK, WM. PIDGEON, Prof. G. C. SWALLOW, Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, M. L. FIGUIER, M. MARLOT, JOHN EVANS, LEWIS C. BECK, H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, JAMES ADAIR, and others. Also, an article upon the Archæology of Missouri, contributed by myself to the last volume of Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science.

## CHAPTER II.

METHODS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIST.—THE SHELL-HEAPS OF THE BALTIC.—THE BURIED FORESTS OF DENMARK.—THE SISTERHOOD OF SCIENCE.—THE FIVE GEOLOGICAL PERIODS.—THE AGES OF STONE AND BRONZE.—IRON IN COMMON USE THREE THOUS. YD YEARS AGO.

As before remarked, in almost every land upon the surface of the globe, are to be found countless monuments and memorials of vanished races; sometimes structures of imposing magnitude, but oftener implements of war and the chase, of domestic use and personal adornment. From such remains, more or less rude and defaced, it has been found possible to reconstruct a pre-historic history of man's life in the most remote ages of his existence; and by their careful study we are able to scrutinize his manner of life; to look in upon his domestic scenes; to witness his ceaseless struggles for existence—his mode of burial; and to learn something of his notions of another life. Only one important thing is forever lost—his language. For "we can never hear him speak." Yet the history we may recover is as true and touching as any which the poets sing. Nor need all this be thought incredible, for these results are obtained by the simple processes of reasoning and induction which we apply to the affairs of every-day life. When the traveler upon our western plains stumbles by chance upon the ashes and debris of a former habitation, if he finds there the fragments of a hoe and sickle, he at once infers that the former occupant was a tiller of the soil; should his eye light upon a cast-off shoe of infantile proportions, he naturally concludes that once it was the home of childhood. In addition to this, should he discover charred bits of bread and other articles of food, carbonized grain and fruits, along with culinary articles, showing the action of fire, these facts would show what crops

were grown, the kind of food upon which the family subsisted, and also that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. The presence of the fragments of a crucifix would point to the religious belief of the former occupant.

Such is the method of the archæologist. When he examines the huge heaps of shells along the shores of the numerous arms of the Baltic sea, composed of individuals of large size, select and full-grown, of several species, commingled with rude implements of stone and bone, with also the bones of the codfish, and compares them with the diminutive specimens he is able to procure from the same waters now, it is an inference most reasonable, that when these heaps were piled up around the miserable huts of the ancient fishermen, the waters of the Baltic were not so fresh as now. The presence of the bones of the codfish gives some evidence of skill in navigation, for they must be caught in the open sea. When the peat-bogs of this same country are examined, they present a record reaching far back of the historic period. These depressions in the natural surface of the earth—sometimes to the depth of thirty feet, disclose three distinct periods of arborescent vegetation. At the bottom are the stately trunks of the pine tree; above these the oak, which once grew upon the sides of the pits, and when their full maturity was reached, fell inward. The oak was succeeded by the beech and birch which now flourish—and have flourished during all the period of history—throughout the land. The pine and oak have never been known during the historic period in the native forests of Denmark. In these bogs, beneath the layers of pine, are found the rude implements of the ancient inhabitants. Man lived, then, when the pine forests were in their glory, and at that time also piled up the shell heaps along the shore; for in these are found in great abundance the bones of a bird whose food is derived from the pine.

Again: when the student of Archæology discovers—as is frequently the case—the bones of extinct mammals, *in situ*, each bone lying by its fellow in its relative position as when in life, he knows there can have been no disturbance of the remains since the death of the animal. If he finds also, in companionship with them, the relics of man's industry, he believes that these mammals and man were contemporaneous. Should he find, further, huge bones split longitudinally, and showing marks and scratches of flint knives, which could only have been made while the bones were soft, he naturally concludes that man hunted these animals for food and split the bones to obtain the marrow. But the generalizations of the archæologist are not based upon the study of such relics alone. Geology,

Paleontology and Archæology go hand in hand, and have well been called "three sister sciences." Each of these three related departments of human knowledge is throwing its focal light with increasing luster upon the great question of man's first appearance upon the earth. By the light of their combined disclosures, the steps of our groping feet are illumined as we travel slowly along the pathway which leads us irresistibly to the night of the unknown ages, "and the mind recoils dismayed when it undertakes the computation of the thousands of years which have elapsed since the creation of man."

The five geological periods into which the crust of the earth has been divided, are commonly named in the relative order of their age: the primitive rocks, the transition rocks, the secondary rocks, the tertiary rocks, and quaternary rocks. All of these are anterior to the present geological period. The long succession of animals and plants peculiar to each, is found generally to have died out during the time of its continuance. Judging from the present order of things, each period must

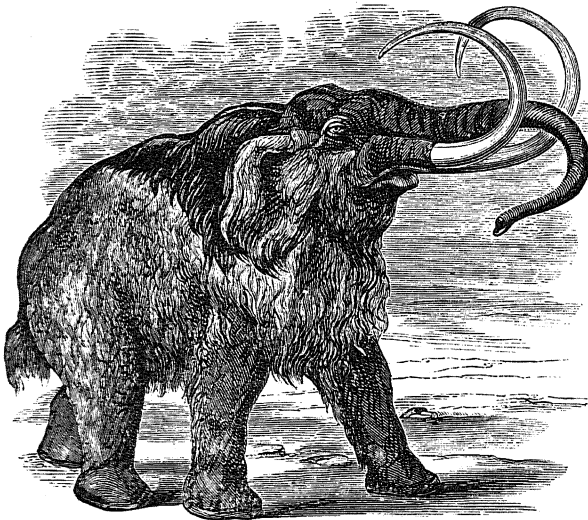


A Solitary Cave Dweller.

have been of long duration; for the animals and plants with which we are familiar show scarcely any alteration since their first appearance, though they have existed for thousands of years. Now it is considered certain by the best informed, that man existed in Europe at the commencement of the quaternary period.

We are not left in doubt as to the climatic conditions of that country in those remote times, which must have been similar to the polar regions of the North to-day. There was no Iceland, Scotland, or Scandinavia then. The whole continent was shrouded in a winding sheet of snow. Her now beautiful valleys were the bottom of the sea. Enormous ice-fields stretched away from mountain to mountain, and only the highest elevations of the Pyrenees and Apennines were visible above the vast expanse of eternal snow and ice. Yet there, during that awful winter, for

which there was no promise of a coming spring, man and cotemporaneous animals contrived to exist. But what a life! To us, it would seem utterly hopeless and dreary; but for its maintenance he found abundant employment for all his activities, in providing means for his daily sustenance, and in his contests with the wild beasts around him for the possession of the shelters of the caves and overhanging rocks. How long this period continued we cannot know; but the centuries rolled on, and slowly the glacial period comes to an end—the ice-fields melt away, the glaciers retreat to the north, and the submerged continent arises from the ocean. The sunshine and the genial air of a new spring morning dissipate the tears from the face of Nature, and she hastens to put on her robes of green. With this dawn of another life a new



The *Elephas Primigenius*.

generation of animals now makes its appearance on the earth, and very different too, from those which perished during the glacial period. Among them the huge mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*) with his woolly covering and lion-like, shaggy mane; the Siberian Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros tichorinus*, with curious horns) and clothing of fur, so soft and warm; several species of the Hippopotamus; the Cave Bear, of prodigious size, (*Ursus spelæus*); the Cave Lion (*Felis spelea*); various kinds of Hyenas, the Bison, the Urus, (*Bos primigenus*), and the gigantic Irish Elk, with enormous wide-spreading antlers, and many others which need not now be mentioned.

These huge monsters rapidly multiply and roam in countless multitudes over the continent, as do the buffaloes of our western wilds to-day. Hundreds and thousands gather together in their favorite resorts and from some cause unknown they perish. How man could successfully contend with such formidable adversaries with the rude implements he was able to construct by his infantile skill, is surprising; but his necessities compelled him to be victorious. Nor was he then destitute of æsthetic taste; for at his leisure he carved in stone or bone the outlines of the beasts he had slain in the chase.

At length the long summer ends, and another fearful winter begins. Again the cold is intense; the glaciers advance through the valleys toward the south. The floods increase, the caves are submerged, and man seeks a home again in the mountain ranges. The valleys are filled with alluvium for hundreds of feet up the mountain sides. The centuries roll on—how long, no one can tell,—and again another subsidence of the floods, or uprising of the continent, takes place, and the glaciers once more recede to the north. Slowly the mountain tops are lifted toward the sky, and the earth is clad again in green.

Man now returns to the former abodes of his ancestors. But what a change has taken place! Many of the mighty mammals his forefathers hunted on the plains are seen no more. A few solitary individuals linger on, but soon he witnesses "the extinction and disappearance from the face of the earth of an entire fauna of the larger animals."

From this period the Reindeer epoch,—known also as the period of migrated animals—begins. A new civilization dawns. Polished implements of stone and bone take the place of rude chips and splinters of silex. Pottery is manufactured and ornamented with curious devices; and all that man does displays the awakening exercise of his sense for beauty. From this time the race proceeds with slow but steady advancement. How long the Neolithic, or polished stone period lasted, we have no means of judging, nor when men learned to smelt the more yielding ores, and to make bronze by the alloy of copper with tin. But when that great discovery was made by which he supplied himself with a material so much better fitted by its superior hardness to copper for cutting implements and other uses, he entered that pathway, which ends only in all the glorious possibilities of the future. With this discovery, the age of Bronze was ushered in. Speedily its use spread over the greater part of Europe. With the age of bronze the arts and sciences may be said to have had their birth. Of the time of its continuance, which seems to have been long, we know but little more than we do of

the age of stone. But at length it seems to have been brought to a sudden termination by that mightiest physical event in the history of the development of mankind—the discovery of Iron. As to the time when this great transition took place, history is silent; for it was long before history began. The poems of Homer and Hesiod prove that iron was known and in use at least three thousand years ago.

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### CHAPTER III.

NO "AGE OF BRONZE" IN AMERICA.—TRADITIONS REGARDING THE MOUNDS.—TUSCARORA CHRONOLOGY.—THE ANIMAL MOUNDS OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI REGION.—ANCIENT FISH TRAPS.—BURIAL, SACRIFICIAL AND HISTORICAL MOUNDS.

THE facts, and the conclusions they suggest, presented in the foregoing chapter, are gathered mostly from the continent of Europe. Each of the great geographical divisions of the globe seems to possess an archæological record more or less peculiar to itself. Our own continent has had no age of bronze. At the time of its discovery, however, implements of copper, beaten out usually, but sometimes smelted and cast in a mold, from the native ore, were to some extent taking the place of those of stone and bone. And although the copper regions of Lake Superior, for the distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles along its southern shore, give evidence of long-continued mining operations upon a stupendous scale, still we must believe that this metal was too costly to be to any great extent the property of the masses; while, even in our own times the remnants of some savage tribes may be found who still point their spears and arrows with stone. The presence of the relics of such material therefore, it hardly need be said, is of no value in questions of antiquity, only so far as they are found in companionship with the remains of extinct animals, or their age is demonstrated by geological or some other irrefragable proofs.

But now, leaving all other facts and considerations bearing upon the general subject of archæology, which might be interesting and appropriate in this connection, it is proper to proceed to the examination of the monuments of our own land, among which those found in Missouri are peculiarly instructive, not only as forming no inconspicuous part of the one great whole, and calculated to shed much light upon the question of

the homogeneity of the vast population which once swarmed upon this continent, but also—if not their origin—at least the direction of their disappearance.

In view of the magnitude of the subject, the ethnological questions involved, and the evident relation of these remains to all which are found in both North and South America, it has seemed to me impossible to examine them in the most profitable manner, if our examination shall be circumscribed by the imaginary boundaries of the State. For the reason mentioned, I have also presented, as briefly as possible, the preceding statement of the results achieved by the labors of the archæologists of Europe. I will now proceed to speak of some of the more important monuments of this country, with such description as suits my present purpose.

The statement has been often repeated by writers upon this subject, that the Indians have no traditions concerning the authors or the design of these monuments. This is undoubtedly true as far as the degenerate remnants of the tribes of the present day are concerned. But when the country was first discovered, and long after, here and there a solitary individual was found who claimed to be a prophet, and to have descended from a long priestly line, and also from a race superior to the Indians by whom their forefathers had been conquered and enslaved. Concerning the traditions handed down from father to son, they were very reticent, except under peculiar circumstances and with those who gained their highest confidence and esteem. The sacred treasures of their history, of which they were the preservers and guardians, were not for the common masses of their own people; much less would they communicate them to strangers and foes. And when, as it sometimes happened, their frigid reserve would be conquered, and a narration of their legendary history elicited, it was considered more wild and untrustworthy than the long lists of Manetho and Berosus, of Egyptian and Assyrian dynasties, and not worth preserving. From this cause many valuable facts have been irrecoverably lost. A few only have escaped oblivion, of which the briefest possible mention can now be made.

The traditions of the Wyandot Indians, according to the account of Mr. Wm. Walker, for some time Indian Agent for the Government, published in 1823, are not devoid of interest. They were in substance as follows:

Many centuries ago, the inhabitants of America, who were the authors of the great works in the Mississippi Valley, were driven to the south



by an army of savage warriors from the North. After many hundred years, a messenger returned from the exiled tribes, with the alarming news, that a terrible beast had landed on their shores, who was carrying desolation wherever he went, with thunder and fire. Nothing could stay his progress, and no doubt he would travel all over the land in his fury.

It is conjectured that this beast of thunder and fire referred to the Spanish invasion of Mexico. The Tuscaroras, according to the account published by Mr. David Cusick in 1827—quoted by Prof. Rafinesque—had a well-arranged system of chronology, dating back nearly three thousand years. Their traditions locate their original home north of the great lakes. In process of time, some of their people migrated to the river Kanawag (the St. Lawrence). After many years, a foreign people came by the sea and settled south of the lakes. Then follow long accounts of wars, and fierce invasions by nations from the north, led by confederate kings and a renowned hero named Yatatan. Many years again elapse, and the king of the confederacy pays a visit to a mighty potentate whose seat of empire is called the Golden City, situated south of the lakes; and so on, down to the year 1143, when the traditions end. In these records appear accounts of wars with various tribes, given with great particularity; migrations southward and west to the Mississippi, (called Onauweoka); the names of the ruling monarchs, and the order of their succession. There appear to have been several dynasties of longer or shorter duration. Thus, the name Tarenjawagon is borne by three successive monarchs, and Atotaro is continued to the ninth.

Only a few items are here given, to indicate their character. No one can examine these traditions without being convinced that they have some great historic facts for their basis, however incredulous he may be as to the correctness of their dates, or their pretensions to so high antiquity. The limits prescribed for this essay admit of but one more notice of traditions in this connection.

A class of works, frequently noticed by explorers, is found on the upper Mississippi, chiefly in Wisconsin,—a few in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa—known as animal mounds, on account of their striking resemblance to the forms of various animals, such as the Buffalo, Bear, Elk, and the like, and some to the human form. These works have elicited much discussion and conjecture as to their origin and purpose, in which no two writers agree. Some of them are of gigantic proportions, and cannot be ascribed to the present race of Indians, for the same reason which precludes the idea that they were the authors of the stupendous works of the more southern States.



SPORTS OF THE FRENCH OCCUPATION.

The traditions relating to these animal mounds are very minute, full and interesting, and were first published in 1853, by Mr. Wm. Pidgeon, who spent several years in the examination of the various monuments in Virginia, the Valley of the Mississippi and South America as well. He tells us that he began these researches from motives of personal interest merely, and continued them for several years, without any design of publishing the results of his observations.

During his travels in the regions of the Upper Mississippi, he met a stranger among the red men, of dignified and venerable appearance, who had no fixed abiding place, but wandered from tribe to tribe, always welcomed and venerated wherever he went; who claimed to have descended from a

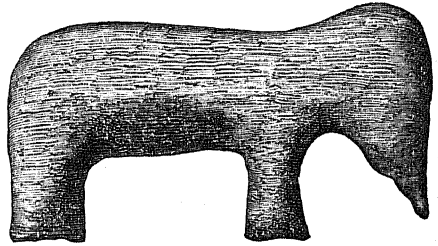


Fig. 1.—Mastodon Mound.

long line of ancient prophets, he the last of the line and the last of his race. He was then nearly ninety years of age. The Indians called him "the Mocking Bird," because he could speak fluently five different languages. By kindness, his confidence and friendship were won, and his companionship secured during the journey of exploration. He seemed perfectly familiar with all the most important works, from the Ohio to the extreme north and the far west,—could draw their outlines from memory, and supply any defect in the drawings of others; and could generally give a ready and lucid account of their authors and the purposes for which they were constructed. Unlike many who have written upon the pre-historic people of America, the author seems to have had no pet theory to maintain—as that they were the ten lost tribes of Israel, and the like,—but to have been a thoroughly conscientious and careful observer, faithfully noting what he saw and heard.

From the seventy engravings—and accompanying descriptions—with which the work of Mr. Pidgeon is illustrated, I select two or three, and leave the reader to judge whether these traditions are reasonable and trustworthy or not.

Many years ago, in the bed of Paint Creek, in Ross County, Ohio, several deep cavities or wells were discovered, which gave rise to much speculation as to their origin and purpose. I believe they have since been found in many other localities. Mr. Pidgeon states that he discovered four similar ones in the bed of a small tributary of the St. Peters river, varying in depth from eight to twelve feet, from five to six feet in

diameter at the bottom and from three to five feet at the top. These excavations were made in the soft slate rock which formed the bed of the stream.

To the level top, or rim of the well, a thin flat rock was fitted, with a round or square hole in the center, about twelve inches in diameter. This opening could be closed at will, by a stone stopper perforated with small holes. A short distance below the wells he found one of these stoppers which fitted neatly the larger capstone of one of the wells. At the time of their discovery the depth of the stream which flowed over them was ten inches. Mocking-Bird informed him that these were fish traps, and that many such could be found in other streams, were they not so filled with mud and stones as to escape observation; and also that they were constructed and used anciently for the purpose of securing a supply of fish for the winter. Large quantities of bait being deposited in them in the fall, the fish would gather there in great numbers, when the stopper would be placed over the mouth, which prevented their escape, and then they could be taken out with a small net as desired. While it is no doubt true that the mound-builders were an agricultural people, it is quite reasonable to suppose, from the fact that their most extensive works are found upon the shores of lakes and banks of rivers, that fish formed no inconsiderable item of their bill of fare.<sup>1</sup>

As before stated, the historian of these traditions, after the death of Mocking-Bird, proceeded to investigate by careful excavation those earthworks of which he had previously made only a superficial survey, especially those concerning which he had received traditions. The first group thus explored which I notice is represented in Fig. 2. It is described as being located at the junction of Straddle Creek and Plumb river, in Carroll County, Illinois. It is composed of conical mounds, rings and semi-circles, with diameters varying from twelve to twenty-five feet. The rings are about two feet high, and seem to have been formed by throwing up the earth from within, leaving the interior in the form of a basin.

The traditions concerning these works are in substance that they were

<sup>1</sup> Some writers have discredited the idea of the artificial origin of these wells or fish-traps, attributing their formation to the disintegration of the rocks in which they occur, owing to the unequal hardness of the strata of which they are composed, etc. But it would seem that vastly more credulity is required to believe that the ordinary operation of nature in various parts of the country would produce such cavities, from eight to twelve feet in depth, with nice fitting covers, perforated at the center, than that they are the workmanship of intelligent beings for some special purpose.

constructed by a people who were accustomed to burn their dead, and were only partially occupied. Each family formed a circle sacred to its own use. When a member died, the body was placed in the family circle and burned to ashes; a thin covering of earth was then sprinkled over the whole. This process was repeated as often as a death occurred, until the inclosure was filled. The ring was then raised about two feet and again was ready for further use. As each additional elevation would of necessity be less in diameter than the preceding, in the end a conical mound would be the result. The darkest spots in the engraving represent those which are finished; the rings, those in various stages of occupancy; and the semi-circles those which were only begun. Similar

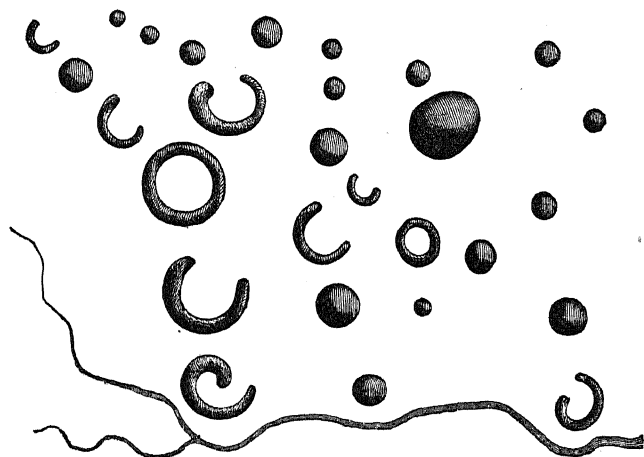


Fig. 2.—Burial Mounds.

works have been found in the Ohio Valley, in the more northern States, west of the Mississippi and in Michigan. Upon excavating the more finished mounds of the group described, they were found filled with ashes, mingled with charcoal: some of them to the depth of twenty inches below the surrounding surface of the soil. In this group were found two mounds much larger than the others, (one is represented in the engraving), shaped like the body of a tortoise, known as battle mounds, and said to contain the ashes of hundreds slain in battle. Both these mounds were found to be filled with ashes and charcoal like the others, thus confirming their traditional history.

About two hundred and fifty yards south of these mounds, another group of finished works was found, where the bodies were deposited in the more usual manner without burning.

These two modes of burial, so widely different and in the same locality, mark either a sudden change of custom or the presence of two distinct races at different periods of time. Tradition asserts that there was such a sudden change of mode of burial in obedience to the command of the prophets, for the reason that, while the people were burning the body of a great and good king, suddenly the sun (their chief deity) refused to shine, although there was not a cloud in the sky. This was taken as a sign of disapprobation of the custom, which gradually ceased thereafter.

It has been generally supposed that those mounds, which showed the frequent or long-continued action of fire, were used for sacrificial purposes only. It seems however more likely that these cinerulent structures were simply the depositories of the bodies of the dead, and this the traditions affirm.

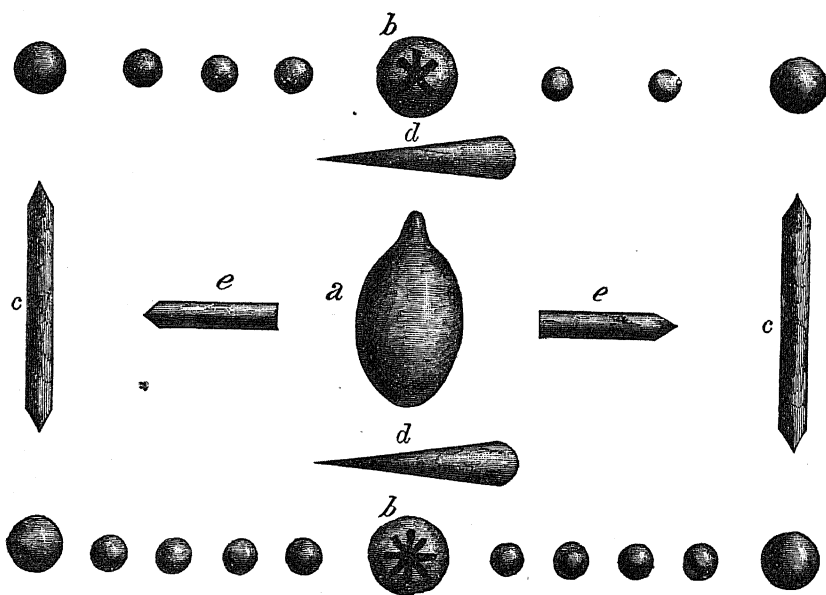


Fig. 3.—A Royal Cemetery.

The second group noticed in this connection is more complicated (Fig. 3), and presents a greater variety of forms. It is found (or was in 1840) on the north side of St. Peter's river, about sixty miles above its junction with the Mississippi, in what was then the Territory of Minnesota.

It is thus described: The central embankment, in the form of the body of a tortoise, is forty feet in length, twenty-seven in breadth, and twelve in perpendicular height. It is composed in part of yellow clay,

brought from some distant place. The two pointed mounds north and south of this are formed of pure red earth, covered with alluvial soil. Each is twenty-seven feet in length and six in height at the largest end, gradually narrowing and sinking at the top until they terminate in a point. The four corner mounds were each twelve feet high and twenty-five in diameter at the base. The two long mounds on the east and west sides of the group were sixty feet in length, twelve feet in diameter at the base, and eight feet in height. The two mounds on the immediate right and left of the central effigy, were twelve feet long, four feet high, and six in breadth. These were composed of sand, mixed with small bits of mica to the depth of two feet, covered with white clay, with a thin layer of surface soil on the top. The large mound in the center, south of the effigy, was twelve feet high, twenty-seven in diameter, and composed of a stratum of sand two feet in depth, covered with a mixture of sandy soil and blue clay. The similar work on the north of the tortoise was of like formation, four feet high and twenty-two feet in diameter. Thirteen small mounds whose dimensions are not given, complete the group.

Only a glance at this cluster of mounds, twenty-six in number, presenting such variety of forms and peculiar arrangement, and which must have required so much time and labor for their construction, is needed to convince the observer that they were intended to perpetuate some history, and that each of the hieroglyphic symbols of which the group is composed had its special significance, which was well understood by the builders and their cotemporaries.

But what was that history, or what event is recorded here? The works themselves give no answer. Tradition asserts, that this was the royal cemetery of a ruler known as the Black Tortoise, and was designed to commemorate the title and dignity of a great king or potentate. The tortoise-shaped central mound (*a*) was his tomb. The four corner mounds were called Mourning Mounds. The two larger mounds (*bb*) directly north and south of the effigy were the burial places of chiefs. The number interred in each is recorded in the number of small mounds on each side of them—five in the northern and eight in the southern line. The two long embankments (*cc*) at the extreme right and left of the works, were known as points of honor, and are said never to occur except in connection with those works which symbolize royalty. The two pointed mounds (*dd*), and described as twenty-seven feet long, six feet in width at the larger end, tapering down from the top and sides to a vanishing point, are known as mounds of extinction, and tell us that he

was the last of his line. These too are never found alone, but always in connection with larger works. The mounds (*ee*) on either side of the central effigy are the burial places of prophets. In these it will be remembered small bits of mica were found mingled with the ashes. The presence of this substance in a certain class of mounds, in localities so remote from each other, from Minnesota to the Scioto Valley—sometimes in large circular plates, but oftener in countless smaller fragments, has called forth much speculation as to its use by the ancient inhabitants. It has been suggested that it may have been used for mirrors, or again for ornament, or, on account of its preciousness, as a medium of commercial transactions. But when it is remembered that it is never found indiscriminately with other deposits in many mounds of the same group, we may safely conclude that it was set apart for a special use. Tradition says that it was sacred to the prophets, and was deposited in their tombs alone;—that they had the mysterious power of calling fire from heaven, which was distributed to the minor prophets by whom the sacred fires were kept perpetually burning; that the fire used at the annual feast in their most holy places was thus received from the sun upon the summit of the sacred altars. This bringing fire from heaven is found in classic stories and in the traditions of many lands, as every school-boy

knows. So Zoroaster taught his disciples, that the sacred fire which he committed to their care had been brought direct from heaven. "It is possible that the prophets of the ancient Americans were able in some manner to construct lenses from plates of mica, of sufficient power to ignite the fuel upon the sacrificial altars."<sup>1</sup> The Mexicans in ancient times called obsidian "the shining god," and held it in high estimation.

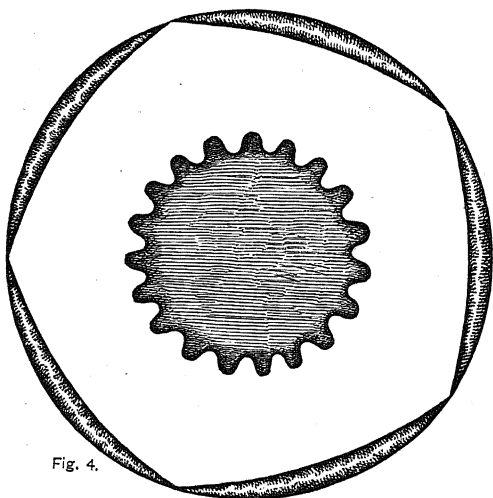


Fig. 4.

Several works have been observed of the form shown in Figure 4. The one here represented is described as located on the lowlands of the Kickapoo River in Wisconsin. The central work, with radiating points, sixty feet in

<sup>1</sup>Pidgeon.



diameter and three feet in height. This is inclosed by five crescent-shaped works, having an elevation of two feet, and all presenting a level surface at the top. It is traditionally represented to have been occupied only during sacrificial festivities consequent upon the offering of human sacrifices to the sun, which the central mound was said to represent. Upon excavating, after removing the soil from the top, the central portion, for a space twelve feet in diameter, is found thickly studded with plates of mica set in white sand and blue clay; and, says the observer "had this surface soil been removed with care, and the stratum beneath washed by a few heavy showers of rain, under the sun's rays it would have presented no unapt symbolical representation of that luminary." The sacred Pentagon, Fig. 5, is found in close proximity.<sup>1</sup>

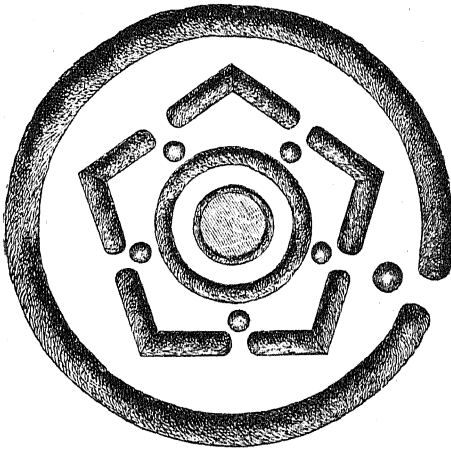


Fig. 5.—Sacred Pentagon.

As before stated, no class of works has awakened more curiosity, or elicited more unsatisfactory speculations, than these animal effigies; and among these the most singular and enigmatical are those representing the larger animals, and the human form on a gigantic scale, and generally with such accuracy of delineation as to leave no doubt as to what particular animal was intended to be represented by the figure. Sometimes these huge representations of beasts, birds and men are grouped to-

gether in such strange and grotesque combinations as to forbid all attempts to discover the design of the builders in their erection. A few of the most common forms are shown in the accompanying engravings.

That the mastodon is intended by figure 1 is conceded by all—as far as known—who have described it. I am not aware that it has ever been found outside of Wisconsin. There it frequently occurs, either

<sup>1</sup> This is represented here because of its intimate relation to the one just described, which is found associated with it. The outer circle is twelve hundred feet in diameter, in the center is the sacrificial altar, upon which human sacrifices were said to have been offered twice a year. In the spring the oldest man of the nation, willingly—so great was the honor—presented himself as the victim. In the autumn a female was sacrificed. If the day was cloudy, the offering was left upon the altar of sacrifice until the sun looked down upon it, which was considered a sign that the sacrifice was accepted. The people then repaired to the festival circle with rejoicing, where the feast was celebrated

alone or in companionship with other mounds. As men in all ages, in their first attempts at pictorial art, have been accustomed to delineate only those objects which were most striking and with which they were most familiar, we may well believe that the ancient Americans were not unacquainted with this king of beasts, and that they lived in those days when those gigantic animals roamed over the plains in vast numbers, whose skeletons have been so often found in Missouri.

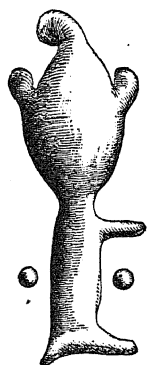


Fig. 6.  
Bird and Beast.

The combined figures of bird and beast as represented at Fig. 6 are also of frequent occurrence, particularly in Wisconsin. The one here delineated is one hundred and eighty feet in length, and forty-four in its greatest breadth. The whole is composed of reddish clay, but covered to the depth of twelve inches with a black alluvium. It was designed to record the change in title of a sovereign line of rulers. The head of the beast being merged in the body of the bird concedes to the conqueror the right of dominion. The two truncated mounds, one on each side of the beast, record the extent of his humiliation. They are altar mounds, on which were sacrificed his descendants both male and female.

The effigy shown in Fig. 7 is unmistakably human. It memorializes a hereditary chief of royal line, but who, according to the record, could not yet have been a sovereign ruler, as no mound of honor indicating that condition is found in connection with it. He was thus memorialized because he fell in battle, and with him his son, whose memory is perpetuated in the truncated mound between his feet.

The amalgamation group (Fig. 8) is more complicated and enigmatical, and but for the traditions concerning it would doubtless always remain so. The beast is one hundred and eighty feet in length; the human effigy perpendicular to it is one hundred and sixty. On either side of the horizontal figure is a truncated work eighteen feet in diameter and six feet in height. The summits of both are flat. The representations of horns, which are very distinct, are of different dimensions. The main stem of the front horn is eighteen feet in length. The one which inclines backward is twelve, the longest antlers are six, and the shortest three feet in length. At the foot of the human effigy is attached an embankment running parallel with the horizontal figure, eighty feet in length, twenty-seven in diameter and six in height. On a line with this is a series of conical mounds, the largest of which is also

twenty-seven feet in diameter and six in height. From this the others diminish on either side and terminate in mounds eighteen feet in diameter and three in height. The group thus described is represented to have been erected to commemorate an important event in the history of two friendly nations, which were once great and powerful, but now reduced by long-continued wars against a common foe; and being now no longer able to maintain a separate national existence, they resolved to unite their forces under one title and sovereign. One was known as the Elk nation, the other was the Buffalo. This work was designed as a public record and seal of their amalgamation. This fact is plainly expressed by the union of the head of the Buffalo with that of the human effigy representing the sovereign of the Elk nation, and also by the joining of the hand of the one with the foot of the other.

Horns appended to effigies represent warriors; their length and number the relative power of the two nations at the time of their union. The Buffalo was therefore manifestly recorded as the weaker of the

two, as his antlers are seen to be smaller and in a declining position. The fact is also here recorded that, when the union was fully consummated the nationality of the Buffalo became extinct. This is shown by the presence of the mound of extinction

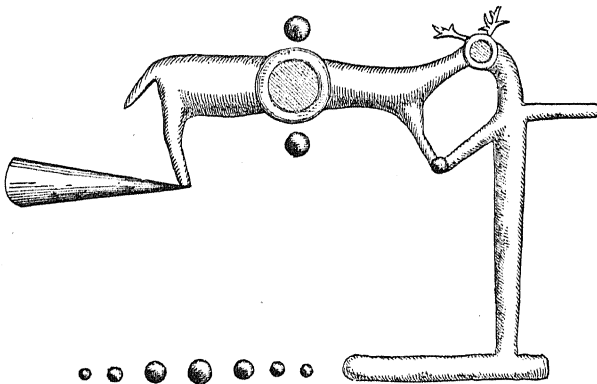
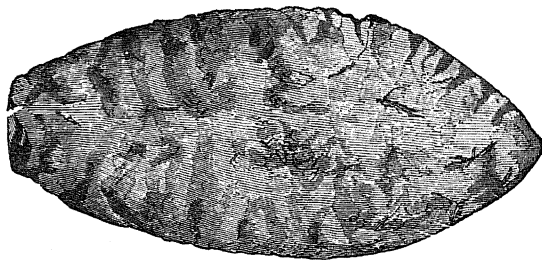


Fig. 7.—Human-Shaped Mound.

—before described—in connection with the Buffalo and terminating at his hind feet. The two truncated mounds on either side of the

animal effigy are sacrificial altars upon which appropriate sacrifices were offered, not only at the time of the erection of the works, but annually thereafter; the fires of which were kept burning until the smoke from both united in one column above the mound. This annual sacrifice symbolized the renewal of the covenant entered into when the compact was made. The seven truncated mounds in a line with the embankment upon which the human figure stands, (and known as a symbol of nationality) are matrimonial memorials, and record the international marriages of seven chiefs which occurred during the construction of the work, and which were also a further ratification of the national union here perpetuated. Upon excavating the altars, after the alluvial soil was removed, a stratum of burned earth mingled with ashes and charcoal was disclosed, to the depth of fourteen inches. This group was found upon the northern high land of the Wisconsin River, about fifty miles from its junction with the Mississippi.

In that part of the work where the heads of the two effigies unite, an oak was standing at the time of its first examination. Upon a second visit it was not there, but the stump showed by its concentric annual rings of growth that it was four hundred and twenty-four years old. Works of this description, which occur so frequently in Wisconsin, have also been observed in Northern Illinois.



Lance Head..

## CHAPTER IV.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL MONUMENTS OF MISSOURI.—THEIR RAPID DESTRUCTION.—SITES OF TOWNS AND CITIES.—THE LABORS OF H. M. BRACKENRIDGE.—THE BIG MOUND AT ST. LOUIS.—COL. O'FALLON'S RESIDENCE ERECTED ON AN ANCIENT MOUND.—THE MOUNDS IN FOREST PARK.—EVIDENCES OF A VAST POPULATION.—NEW MADRID ITS CENTER.—DESCRIPTION OF VARIOUS WORKS.

The preceding remarks upon the general subject of Archæology, with the few notices of traditions concerning the ancient inhabitants of America, are all that the limits of this article will permit, as well as all which our present purpose demands. Nor has it seemed necessary to describe those extensive and imposing works, which are found scattered through the Central States, from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and especially in the Ohio Valley, consisting of walled towns, embankments enclosing large areas of land, in squares, circles, octagons and the like, associated with mounds of prodigious size; for these have been so often described and delineated that whatever comparison of them with the monuments of Missouri may be thought desirable may be readily accomplished by reference to the works of those authors, who have published so many valuable descriptions of these antiquities, and which are to be found in almost every public library.

That Missouri was once the home of a vast population composed of tribes who had fixed habitations, dwelt in large towns, practiced agriculture on an extended scale, with a good degree of method and skill; who had also a well-organized system of religious rites and worship, and whose æsthetic tastes were far in advance of the savage tribes who roamed over her prairies and hill ranges when her great rivers were first navigated by the white men, is, I am confident, no difficult matter to prove. Says Mr. H. M. Brackenridge, who was an extensive traveler, and a man of excellent judgment, in speaking of the ancient works in the Mississippi Valley: "It is worthy of observation, that all these vestiges invariably occupy the most eligible situations for towns or settlements; and on the Ohio and Mississippi they are most numerous and considerable. There is not a rising town, or a farm of an eligible situation, in whose vicinity some of them may not be found. I have heard a surveyor of the public lands observe, that wherever any of these remains were met with, he was sure to find an extensive body of fertile land."

Although, for more than three-quarters of a century since that time,

the waves of an advancing civilization and the hand of agriculture have passed over them and utterly destroyed vast numbers, including many of the most remarkable ones, which arrested the attention of every beholder,—still, any one at all familiar with those which now remain would write the same things to-day. The name of the city of St. Louis was once Mound City, called so on account of the number and size of those ancient works which once stood upon her present site. The larger of them are all demolished, while the few which yet remain are so small that they would hardly be noticed save by the eye of a practical observer. The same may be said of nearly all which once crowned the terraces of the Mississippi along her eastern border, and those of the Missouri and her tributaries.

Notwithstanding all this widespread demolition and obliteration, there is doubtless now no richer field for archæological research in the great basin of the Mississippi than is to be found in the State of Missouri. As has been already stated, the most important works are found located in the vicinity of extensive areas of fertile lands, and upon the most eligible sites for towns and cities. The same locations would naturally be the first to be occupied by the pioneer settlements of our own times, and these aboriginal remains would be the first to be obliterated. It is not surprising, therefore, that the earlier notices of the ancient monuments of this valley are so meagre and unsatisfactory, especially when we remember the peculiar vicissitudes of a frontier life, which necessitated unceasing toil and eternal vigilance: continually menaced, as the early settlements generally were, by a wily, savage foe.

It should also be remembered that until quite recently the prevailing opinion concerning mounds and embankments was that they were the work of the red men, and to this day they are known among the masses as Indian mounds.

Notwithstanding the fact that multitudes have been destroyed, there still remain so many vestiges of an ancient race—not only upon the alluvial plains of our larger rivers, but also in the interior valleys, watered by smaller streams and rivulets, and also upon the sterile slopes and summits even of the Ozarks—that Missouri still presents a most inviting field for the labors of the archæologist. A proper examination and description of them all would involve no inconsiderable expenditure of time and money, and require a volume for their elucidation. It cannot therefore be expected that we can do more in this article than to describe the different classes of those remains—with their most prominent characteristics—which are best known and

which have been the most thoroughly explored. In carrying out this design, it will perhaps best serve our purpose in the way of method and convenience to consider them under the following general divisions: 1st, Sites of towns or cities. 2d, Burial mounds, caves and artificial caverns. 3d, Sacrificial or temple mounds. 4th, Garden mounds. 5th, Miscellaneous works. 6th, Pottery; and 7th, Crania.

*I.—Sites of Towns or Cities.*—The early French explorers of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and the territories through which they flow, seem to have taken no notice of the ancient monuments along their course; or if they did, they doubtless ascribed their origin to the red men, who were found occupying, in some instances works of similar construction.

But when permanent settlements had been established along their banks, with the consequent increase of travel, these works ere long attracted the attention of the historian, and awakened an interest which resulted in their more careful examination. The early writers, as they became familiar with the habits and social condition of the Indians, and in view of the magnitude of the structures they so frequently met with, as well as the skill and herculean labors required for their erection, make frequent mention of their doubts as to the ability of the Indians to erect monuments of such prodigious proportions. And not until St. Louis became an incorporated town, and the capital of that vast extent of territory then known as Upper Louisiana, do we find any descriptive accounts of the ancient works which at that time occupied the terraces upon which this great city now stands.

Notwithstanding the meager and unsatisfactory character of the accounts which have been preserved, still, we are thankful for the crumbs of information the early observers have left us, and will endeavor to make the most of them.

Mr. H. M. Brackenridge,<sup>1</sup> writing in the year 1811, says: "I have

<sup>1</sup> The work of this author ("Views of Louisiana") seems to have been the perennial fountain from whence many subsequent writers upon American Archæology, both in this country and in Europe, have drawn much of their inspiration and many of the facts and germinal suggestions which they have elaborated with extended speculations, and frequently without any mention of their obligation to this writer for the facts and suggestions which have been so freely made use of. Mr. Brackenridge, I believe, was the first American author who alludes to the statements of Plato concerning a people who had come from an island in the Atlantic, in great numbers, and overran Europe and Asia, and known as the Atlantides, which island was said to have been sunk by an earthquake 9000 years before his time. He notes, also, a similar tradition among the Romans, and thinks it possible America may have been referred to.





frequently examined the mounds at St. Louis. They are situated on the second bank, just above the town, and disposed in a singular manner; there are nine in all, and form the three sides of a parallelogram, the open side towards the country being protected, however, by three smaller mounds, placed in a circular manner. The space inclosed is about three hundred yards in length and two hundred in breadth. About six hundred yards above these is a single mound, with a broad stage on the river side; it is thirty feet in height, and one hundred and fifty in length; the top is a mere ridge of five or six feet wide. Below the first mounds there is a curious work called the Falling Garden. Advantage is taken of the second bank, nearly fifty feet in height at this place, and three regular stages or steps are formed by earth brought from a distance. This work is much admired—it suggests the idea of a place of assembly for the purpose of counselling on public occasions.”

Accompanying the foregoing description is a simple diagram which, as it does not seem to be the result of any actual survey, and therefore of no scientific value, need not be reproduced in this connection.

Dr. Beck, who noticed them twelve years afterwards, presents in his work another diagram, which seems to have been the result of more careful observation, although in this, however, one of the nine, and the three smaller mounds described by Mr. Brackenridge as protecting the side of the parallelogram opening towards the country, are wanting. From all the information I can gather, I believe the following plan will present the true relation of the mounds here described:

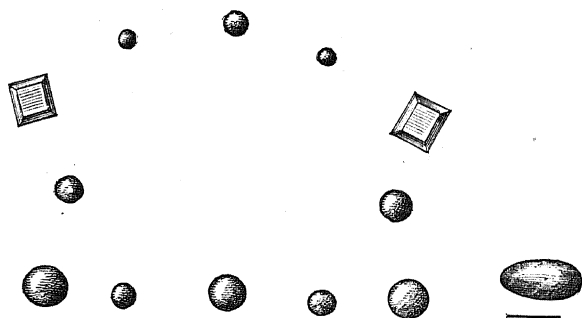


Diagram of St. Louis Mounds.

One of the above group undoubtedly represents the old landmark known as the Big Mound, (a representation of which as it appeared at the time of its removal, faces the first page of the present volume), which once stood at the corner of Mound street and Broadway, but which was entirely demolished in 1869. This I suppose to have been the terraced mound, represented by Mr. Brackenridge to have been located six hundred yards north of the main group. The Big Mound is known to have been beautifully terraced, and nothing of the kind is mentioned in connection with those constituting the parallelogram. Nor is the Falling Garden spoken of as a mound, but only as a terraced bank. For these and other reasons which need not be dwelt upon, after much reflection, I am persuaded that the terraced mound, afterwards known as the Big Mound, was the last to disappear before the encroachments of the rapidly-growing city. Be this as it may, this most interesting work will be particularly described under the more appropriate head of Sepulchral Caverns, when I shall be able to speak with more confidence, as I shall give there the result of my own observations. There were formerly many other mounds in the immediate vicinity of St. Louis, rivaling in magnitude and interest those described by the authors just quoted, but which escaped their notice. In fact, the second terrace of the Mississippi, upon almost every available commanding point of elevation, was finished with them. Nineteen years ago, in a conversation with the late Col. John O'Fallon, he informed me that his family residence on the Bellefontaine road was erected upon one of those ancient mounds. It must have been very large, although I do not recall the dimensions. He stated, further, that as the summit was being leveled, preparatory to building, human bones by the cart-load were disclosed, along with stone axes and arrow-heads and the like, without number. He then led me to the forest west of his dwelling, and called my attention to the small hillocks which abounded there in prodigious numbers, which he conjectured were the residence sites of former inhabitants, because of their regularity, and from the fact that upon excavating them they disclosed ashes and charcoal.

Still farther north, upon the highest points of the second terrace, I have traced the remains of others which must have been quite imposing before they were subjected to the leveling influence of agriculture. In Forest Park, a few miles west of the city, there is a small group of mounds which the park commissioners, I am happy to know, have resolved to preserve. It is a pity that none of the larger ones have been spared, to stand hereafter as the memorials of a people whose origin is

hid in the night of oblivion. But let them remain, such as they are, and when future generations shall throng the green groves and shady walks of that beautiful garden of their great city, these shall recall the fainting echoes of another race, whose homes once clustered, in days long gone, upon the banks of that great river where a statelier—can we say happier—city stands to-day.

The works thus briefly noticed are only a few of the great group of large circumference, of which that king of mounds, on the fertile plains across the river, known as Monk's Mound, was the radiating center. That high place was a temple mound—the holy mountain for this whole region, doubtless,—and the smoke which ascended from the perpetual fire of its sacred altar could be seen for many miles on every side.

But while our business now is with the ancient people of Missouri, it should be borne in mind that the imaginary lines which divide us into States had no existence in those other times, when a mighty people dwelt upon either side of the Mississippi, outnumbering far, perhaps, the present occupants; who were homogeneous in their commercial pursuits, arts and worship. They traded with the nations who dwelt by the sea, and brought from thence the shells and pearls of the ocean, and left them in their tombs, along with the precious wares of their own handicraft, for our admiration and instruction.

But before we leave St. Louis, another work demands a notice, which the following (Fig. 9), will illustrate.

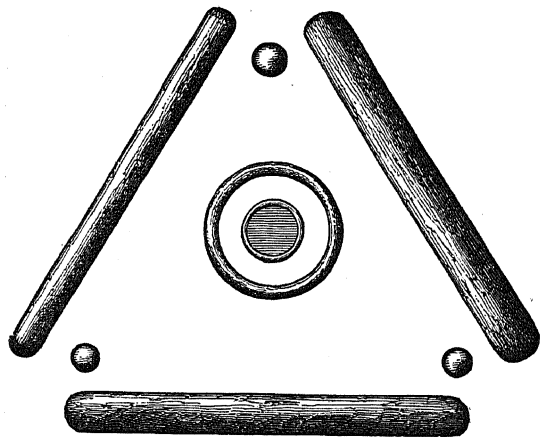


Fig. 9.—Historical Mound.

This class of works appears frequently in Iowa, but was formerly found in greatest numbers in Missouri. The one figured here was located on Root River, about twenty miles west of the Mississippi. The central mound is represented as being thirty-six feet in diameter, and twelve feet in height. The circle inclosing it was nearly obliterated. The

long embankments which form the sides of the triangle were each one hundred and forty-four feet in length, and respectively three, four and five feet in

height, and twelve feet in diameter; and what is singular, the sum of the heights of the embankments equals the vertical height of the central mound, and these two amounts multiplied together, give the exact length of the embankments. Sometimes works of this description are built in the form of a square, with four embankments; but of whatever form, it is stated that the same relation of the sum of the heights of all the embankments to the height of the central mound is always presented, and the product of these gives the length of the embankments.

A group precisely similar to the one just described, and of large dimensions, once stood near the village of St. Louis. Its precise location cannot be learned, as it was demolished somewhere between the years 1835-40. This class of mounds will be further noticed under the head of Miscellaneous Works.

The evidences of a dense pre-historic population in Missouri are nowhere so abundant as in the southeastern counties of the State. These consist of mounds of various dimensions and forms, sometimes isolated, but oftener in groups of peculiar arrangement; also embankments and walls of earth inclosing large and small areas, in which may be traced the lines of streets—if such they may be called—of a village or city, and numberless sites of former residences. One of the largest mounds in this region, is about four miles from New Madrid, and, as described in 1811, is twelve hundred feet in circumference, forty feet high and surrounded by a ditch, five feet deep and ten feet in width. New Madrid was unquestionably once the great metropolis of a vast population, the remains of whose villages are everywhere met with, upon the banks of the numerous bayous which abound in the several counties in this portion of the State. For the reason before mentioned, one group only can be particularly described.

The one selected is situated upon Bayou St. John, about eighteen miles from the town of New Madrid. The bayou at this point is one mile and a half in width; its whole length may be stated in round numbers to be about seventy-five miles. While, in the notices of the earlier travelers, it is described as a lake with a clear, sandy bottom, it is now a sluggish swamp, filled to a great extent with cypress trees.

Upon the western bank of the bayou the works to be described are located. They consist of inclosures, large and small conical and truncated mounds in great numbers, and countless residence sites of the ancient inhabitants. From the level of the bayou to the prairie land above, the ascent is by a gradual slope to a vertical height of

fifteen feet. Upon this belt of sloping ground, now covered with a heavy growth of timber, the works are most numerous; while from its edge, westward, the level prairie (that is, the alluvial plain of the Mississippi) has been under cultivation for sixty or seventy years. Here, including forty acres of the cultivated field and ten of the sloping timber belt, is an area of about fifty acres, enclosed by earthen walls which may be distinctly traced for several hundred feet, but gradually disappear on the western side, having been nearly obliterated by the long cultivation of the field. Where it is best preserved in the timbered land, its height was found to be from three to five feet, and fifteen feet wide at the base.<sup>1</sup> In the centre of the western side of the enclosure and close to the wall, is a mound of oblong shape, three hundred feet in length at the base, and at its northern end one hundred feet wide, and twenty feet high at the present time, as near as could be estimated by careful stepping. The top of it slopes gradually to the south, and although the plow has passed up and down its sides for sixty years, still on its eastern side may be distinctly seen the evidences of a graded way to its summit. Close to its northeastern side, where the mound is widest, is a deep depression in the field, about ten feet in diameter. Mr. Wm. M. Murphy, a farmer who has long resided in the neighborhood, told me that when he first saw it he could not get in and out of it without a ladder, and that it had since been nearly filled up by the tillers of the soil with stumps, logs and earth. In the centre of the enclosure stands a circular mound seventy-five feet in diameter, and also twenty feet high, which upon examination disclosed nothing but broken pottery. It belongs to that class usually termed residence mounds. The view from its summit towards the west and south commands a prospect several miles in extent; on the north the view is cut off by a heavy growth of timber, and on the east by the cypress swamp. In a direct line with the two mounds thus described, partly upon the edge of the cultivated field and partly upon the declivity which descends toward the swamp, in the midst of a group of smaller works, stands a large burial mound, twelve to fifteen feet in height, and one hundred feet in diameter. Its original height could only be conjectured, as it has long been occupied as a residence site by the present inhabitants. The ruins of a log house are still standing upon its summit. It has been the sepulchre of many hundreds, perhaps a

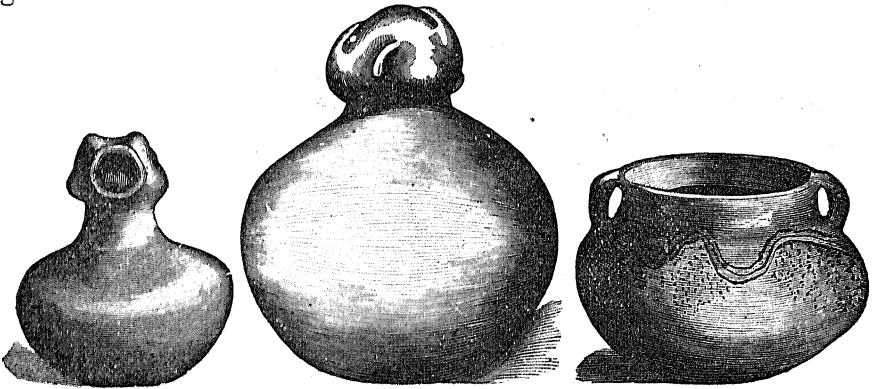
<sup>1</sup> It will readily be perceived that absolute accuracy of measurement would be impossible, where the ground has been so much disturbed by cultivation.



thousand individuals. The manner of interment, as far as my own observations extended, was to place the corpse upon the back, with the head towards the centre of the mound; the vacant space between each deposit being generally two or three feet. When the inner circle was full, another would be formed outside of it. In two burial mounds in this region, which were only from three to five feet in height, and fifty or sixty feet in diameter, I found this process of burial continued far beyond the circumference of the mound; in which cases the graves had been dug in the natural bed of the plain upon which the mound was erected, and were generally from three to four feet in depth. The kind of pottery found in these is precisely similar to that taken from the centre of the mound, and was always in the same relative position to the skeleton. Three vessels were usually found with each individual. Two were water jugs, and placed on each side of the head; the other, a receptacle for food, rested upon the side of the chest, and was kept in place by the angle of the arms, which were folded across the breast. These vessels will be more particularly described hereafter.

Within the enclosure before described, beginning near the margin of the bayou, extending up the side of the declivity, around the burial mound, and continuing quite a distance into the inclosure, are great numbers of depressions, or shallow pits in the soil, from one to three feet in depth and from fifteen to thirty in diameter; sometimes in parallel rows, and usually about thirty feet from centre to centre. In many of these, forest trees of large size are still growing, and others equally large are lying upon the ground in various stages of decay. Upon digging into them, almost every shovelful of earth disclosed pieces of broken pottery; many of these fragments indicated vessels of large size which must have had a capacity of from ten to fifteen gallons. Upon joining the fragments together, the mouths or openings were found to vary from three to twelve inches in diameter. They were doubtless stationary receptacles of food or water, as they were so thin that it would hardly seem possible they could be moved, when filled, without breaking. In many of these depressions were observed large rough masses of burnt clay, of the color of common brick, full of irregular and transverse holes, which seem to indicate, that, before it was burned, the desired form of a chimney, or oven, had been rudely made out, by intertwining sticks, twigs and grass, and the whole plastered inside and out with moist clay, to the thickness of several inches, and then burned until it became red and nearly as hard as the bricks now in use. At the depth of about two feet, at the bottom of all which were examined, what

seemed to have been a fire-place was disclosed. The earth was also burned, so as to present the color and hardness of the fragments of brick, to the depth of several inches. Along with the broken pottery were found, quite often, fragments of sandstone of various sizes, the larger pieces with concave surfaces, and all showing that they had been used for polishing or sharpening purposes, especially the smaller ones, which are covered with small grooves one-eighth of an inch deep across the whole length and width, and at various angles with each other, as though they had long been used for sharpening some small metallic instrument or graver's tool.



Water Jugs and Food Vessel.

Another interesting and suggestive feature of these works is worthy of notice. Along the shore of the bayou, in front of the enclosure, small tongues of land have been carried out into the water, from fifteen to thirty feet in length by ten to fifteen in width, with open spaces between, which, small as they are, forcibly remind one of the wharves of a seaport town. The cypress trees grow very thickly in all the little bays thus formed, and the irregular, yet methodical, outline of the forest, winding in and out, close to the shore of these tongues of land, is so marked as to remove all doubt as to their artificial origin. Although the channel of the Mississippi is now from fifteen to eighteen miles east of this point, there is no question that this long bayou was one of its ancient beds. It is well known that at New Madrid the river has receded at the rate of one mile in seventy years. With the supposition that its recession has been uniform, at this rate nearly a thousand years must have passed since the Mississippi deserted the banks upon which these works are located. But this, could it be proven, would give us no positive testimony concerning their age. When the river changed its course, a lake



took its place. The change therefore must have been somewhat sudden, for according to its prevailing habits, while it wears away the shore upon one side it leaves a corresponding deposit of alluvium upon the other.

The numerous miniature wharves would suggest that the inhabitants were fishermen and had plenty of boats of some sort, which being so, these waters must have been navigable and not filled up as now with an almost impenetrable cypress forest.



Large Water Vessel.

While it is true that the most important works are all situated upon the high ground, fifteen feet above the water level, some of the smaller ones are located upon the intermediate declivity, and near the shore of the bayou, as also some of the residence sites.

If we assume their occupancy to have been contemporaneous with the presence of the river, they would be subject to overflow by the annual floods, and the wharves would be swept away. It seems probable therefore that the time when they were occupied was long subsequent to the change in the course of the river. The idea of the great antiquity of these works, entertained when I made the report of their examination, to the St. Louis Academy of Science, I confess has since been somewhat shaken, the reasons for which may appear as we proceed. I am reminded however that, for the work of which these are the initial chapters, a picturesque and, so to speak, a topographical description of the ancient monuments of Missouri is desired, rather than a dry detail of facts with extended generalizations. Considerations therefore which might otherwise be appropriate in this connection will be reserved for a more fitting opportunity.

One mile south of the remains under consideration, and about three hundred feet from the margin of the bayou, is a peculiar work, in the form of an oval or egg-shaped excavation, one hundred and fifty feet long in its largest diameter and seventy-five feet wide and about six feet deep. It is surrounded by an embankment about eight feet in height around its northern curve: on the southern end the wall is not over five feet, in which is a narrow opening, and extending from it is a curved, elevated way to the swamp, in which the earth taken from the excavation



Small Drinking Vessel,  
and Stopper.

seems to have been deposited, until a circular mound or wharf was raised about twenty feet in diameter and five feet high in the centre. The same opening and elevated way is seen at the northern end, extending to the water. It is doubtless an unfinished work, but its purpose cannot be conjectured.

About eight miles, in a southeasterly direction, from the works upon Bayou St. John, upon what is known as West Lake, is another extensive group almost identical with those described above, differing chiefly in this, that they are covered throughout with a heavy growth of timber; and the residence sites are found covering a much larger space, and in prodigious numbers; while in the center of the group is an open space of several acres which seems to have been made perfectly level, containing no elevations or depressions whatever save what may have been produced by the uprooting of timber.

The aboriginal remains thus briefly described are only small groups of the multitudinous works with which this whole region abounds, and in many instances are still covered with the primeval forests.

They seem to increase in number and size as we approach the town of New Madrid, where they appear in structures of much greater magnitude, one of which has been already noticed. Their character at this place would seem to indicate that here was the seat of government and commercial metropolis of a dense population, which occupied a large extent of territory, embracing not only New Madrid county, but also the counties of Mississippi, Scott, Perry, Butler, Pemiscot, Scotland, Madison, Bollinger and Cape Girardeau, all of which contain the same class of works, and whose authors were the same people. Further explorations, I have no doubt, will disclose their presence in other counties adjoining.

## CHAPTER V.

ONE PEOPLE THE BUILDERS OF THESE MOUNDS.—CREMATION AND BURIAL MOUNDS.—  
THE BIG MOUND AT ST. LOUIS.—MISTAKEN VIEWS.—MINUTE DESCRIPTION OF THE  
WORK.—STONE MOUNDS.—STONE SEPULCHERS IN ST. LOUIS AND PERRY COUNTIES.

Notwithstanding the variety of form presented in the multitudinous structures throughout the continent of North America, the comparison of many of their most prominent characteristics makes it reasonably certain that one people were the authors of them all. While many of them in the order of their age belong to periods more or less remote, reaching back many hundreds and perhaps thousands of years, many others are comparatively recent. Taken as a whole, the thoughtful observer will see, in this diversity of configuration and grouping, that natural order of growth which might be looked for in the slow development of a national life, whether generated among the people themselves or helped forward by occasional and accidental impulses from without. It seems highly probable that there were two slowly-moving streams of migration from the north; the most important one on the east of the Mississippi, the other through the territories lying west of the river. This southward movement of a vast people seems to have been arrested in the valley of the Ohio for a long period of time. Otherwise the fact can hardly be accounted for that here occur the most stupendous monuments of their industry and skill, and also the most striking evidences of the stability and repose of their national life. Here the mound-builders reached the highest stage of civilization they ever attained this side of Central America and Mexico. The movement upon the western side of the river, while it had its source in the one great fountain-head at the north, does not seem to have been so well defined in all its characteristics, notwithstanding the fact that the population in Missouri at one time was as great, and, we have reason to think, greater than in Ohio. The cause may have been that they never enjoyed a season of repose and exemption from war to such a degree as to render it possible for them to devote the time and concentrate their energies upon their internal affairs to the extent which resulted in the more advanced civilization of the eastern tribes. There seems to have been one prevailing system of religion among them all, which was based upon the worship of the heavenly bodies. This remark applies not only to people of North America, but to the ancient inhabitants of the southern

continent as well. The temple mounds in both, though built of different materials, are the same in form and purpose.

While the oneness of their forms of worship of itself proves nothing as to the unity of their origin, still, when taken in connection with the fact of their constant intercourse, and the identity of so many rites and customs among them all, it is believed no extended argument is needed, as before stated, to prove that, whatever may be the relative age of the groups of works found in different localities, they were all built by one people. In view of the foregoing it ought not to be surprising if, as we trace the history of their development as recorded in their remains, we find here and there traces of a radical change in some of their customs. The one we have now to consider is a most important and significant one, which relates to the disposition of their dead. This has already been noticed (see p. 17, fig. 2), as illustrated in the two cemeteries in Carroll County, Illinois, with traditional reasons for the substitution of mound burial for cremation. Many able writers upon American antiquities have given much attention to the numerous class of works which have usually been denominated sacrificial mounds.

These are described as presenting upon excavation a basin-shaped cavity of varying dimensions: frequently paved with stones, and containing ashes and charcoal, which are sometimes mingled with various implements and ornaments, all showing the action of fire. To my own mind the evidences are almost conclusive that these should be denominated Cremation Mounds; and that up to a certain period this was the usual, and perhaps, universal, method of disposing of the remains or departed friends. The size of the mound would then indicate the rank of him whose body was thus consumed therein. Upon no other hypothesis can we account for the earth being heaped upon the so-called altars while the fires were yet burning, leaving some portions of the wood yet unconsumed. At length this practice ceased and mound burial took its place. The latter custom seems to have been the one universally practiced by the mound-builders of Missouri.

While cremation mounds occur in Iowa and Wisconsin, if any exist in Missouri they are yet to be discovered. But here even the mode of burial was not uniform throughout the State, nor always in the same locality even. One class, in the bayou St. John group, has already been described. It is to be remembered that in these no implements whatever were found with the interments—nothing save the earthen vessels for food and drink. Occasionally a flint spear and arrowhead would be disclosed, but in such relations that I have no doubt their presence was

accidental. These mounds I believe to have been the ordinary burial places of the people. In others, as was the case with the one upon which the O'Fallon mansion stands, great numbers of stone axes, arrow-points, and the like abound.

In the one case, only those domestic utensils were deposited which minister to the comfort of their domestic life; in the other, those which served them in war and manly activities. Nor does this seem strange, when we remember the belief, so common among mankind in certain stages of civilization, that those pursuits to which the individual was devoted in this life are continued in the life beyond the grave; consequently, if he had been a great hunter or mighty in war, it would be most natural to deposit with him, in the tomb, his arms. But if the nation were at peace, and unused to the arts of war, his friends would think only of a necessary supply of food and drink; hence vessels of pottery would be the sole accompaniments of his journey.

Should the idea here advanced be substantiated by future investigation, that cremation was once the prevailing custom and that at some period it was discontinued and mound-burial adopted in its place, then it would seem altogether probable that Southeast Missouri was peopled at some time subsequent to that event, and therefore the works so abundant there are more recent than those of the Ohio Valley.

Another class of sepulchral mounds, whose occurrence is somewhat rare, has been observed more particularly in the Western Central States. Generally they are of large dimensions and contain a chamber or vault, which is sometimes rudely finished with stone. The floor is usually on a level with the natural surface of the soil, upon which the dead were placed, in a reclining posture. The most conspicuous example of this class is the one known as the Big Mound, which once stood at the corner of Mound street and Broadway in St. Louis, but which, as before stated, was removed in 1869. A representation of it, as it appeared, is given in our frontispiece.

Of all sepulchral mounds thus far examined, this was the king. If its magnitude, or rather the size of the vault within it has any significance, it would seem to have been the tomb of the most holy prophets or of the royal race. The statements concerning its dimensions are widely different. According to one observer, it was four hundred feet in length, two hundred feet wide at the base and over fifty feet high. According to Mr. Brackenridge, it was one hundred and fifty feet in length and thirty in height. The latter figures are probably not far from the truth.

These discrepancies are not difficult of explanation when it is remembered that in its construction, advantage was taken of the highest point of the terrace, and when the streets were cut through it, on its northern and southern ends, the grade was nearly twenty feet lower than the top of the terrace upon which it was erected. A casual observer, therefore, would be likely to take the whole as artificial, whereas more than one-half, as it then appeared, was of fluvial origin. The dividing line between the natural ground and the mound proper is shown in the engraving. It is about midway between the level of the street and the top of the mound.

The demolition of this ancient landmark was an event which awakened much interest among the citizens, who gathered in crowds, from day to day during the many weeks occupied by its removal. Numerous and conflicting accounts were published at the time concerning it, with any amount of speculation and hasty conclusions. Some of them have been perpetuated in one recent work, at least, upon the pre-historic races of America; on which account I think it proper to say that the statements which follow are based upon personal and careful examination of the work during the process of its removal, until its destruction was accomplished.

This mound, as is well known, was used by the Indians as a burial place, and only about sixty years since, it was visited by a small band, who disinterred and carried away the bones of their chief who had been buried there. But their interments here, as was their unvarying custom, were near the surface. I have observed the same in other localities, sometimes not more than eighteen inches from the top of the mound,—as was the case with some I examined in Washington County, on the banks of the Missouri. On account of this it is not difficult to distinguish the Indian burials from those of the Mound-builders. Had this fact been better understood, we would have been spared many erroneous statements, as well as hasty generalizations upon articles taken from the mounds, which were attributed to their builders, but which, in fact, were deposited by the Indians; and many of them even, subsequent to their first acquaintance with our own race. A striking example of this occurred during the removal of the "Big Mound." Near the northern end, and about three feet from the surface, two skeletons were discovered very near each other, one evidently that of a male, the other a female. With the larger of the two were found the spiral spines of two conch shells, much decayed, nine ivory beads of an average size, as near as I can recollect, one inch in length and nearly one-half in

diameter, an ivory spool with short shaft but very wide flanges, which were much broken around the edges, and two curious articles of copper, about three inches in length and about half as wide, resembling somewhat in shape the common smoothing iron of the laundry. The under side, which was concave, showed the marks of the mould in which they were cast. The upper side, which was much corroded, showed traces of an elaborate finish in the way of engraving. From the center of the finished upper side an arm projected at a right angle, about five-eighths of an inch in continuous width and two-eighths in thickness at its juncture, which tapered to a thin edge.

Embedded in the verdigris with which they were encrusted were plainly visible the marks of a twisted string just like ordinary wrapping twine, which had been clumsily tied about them, and upon which the beads had been strung. All the above articles were about the head and neck of the skeleton, and had evidently been interred with the possessor just as he wore them in life.

I have been thus particular in the account of this "big Indian" and his treasures—for such he undoubtedly was—because these articles of copper, and the ivory spool, which must have been turned in a lathe, (and I must include also the pieces of cloth found with them, which however I did not see) have been taken as the exponents of the state of the arts among the Mound-builders, and have been made the subject of the most extravagant statements. Although I was not present when these articles were taken out, they were placed in my hands a short time afterward, by the person who unearthed them, who also kindly gave me portions of the skull, the larger bones of the legs, and a *lock of hair!* from the head of both the sachem and his squaw, which are still in my possession.

But the most interesting feature of this truly great structure is the sepulchral chamber which it once contained. By what means the ponderous mass of earth which formed its roof was sustained, the mound itself furnished no clue, for it had long ago fallen in and crushed almost to atoms the already decayed bones of the skeletons lying upon the floor. The original length of the chamber could only be conjectured, as portions of the mound had been removed when the street was cut through upon the southern end, as seen in the engraving. It could be traced, however, for seventy-two feet. For this distance the sides were perfectly smooth and straight, and sloped outwardly a few degrees from the perpendicular, and the marks of the tool by which the walls were plastered could be plainly seen. One circumstance, which was very puzzling for a while, was the curious appearance of the surface of the

walls. They were covered with a complete network of black lines, interlacing and crossing each other with all sorts of beautiful and fanciful complications, resembling more than anything else the delicate tracery of a frosted window pane. Upon careful examination, these proved to be the remains of rootlets from the trees which once grew upon the surface above; which, finding easy ingress along the face of the wall, had thus covered its surface, but were now completely carbonized.

The manner of its construction seems to have been thus: The surface of the ground was first made perfectly level and hard; then the walls were raised with an outward inclination, which were also made perfectly compact and solid, and plastered over with moist clay. Over these a roof was formed of heavy timbers, and above all the mound was raised of the desired dimensions.<sup>1</sup> The bodies had all been placed in a direct line, upon the floor of the vault, a few feet apart, and equidistant from each other, with their feet towards the west. These were disclosed, several at a time, as the laborers detached long, vertical sections of earth by the simultaneous use of crowbars inserted at the top. Mingled with the black deposit which enveloped the bones, were beads and shells in prodigious numbers, though in no instance were both deposited with the same individual.

The beads, so called, are the same as are found in the mounds of Ohio, and evidently cut, as Dr. Foster thinks, from the *Busyon*, from the Gulf of Mexico. They are small discs perforated in the center by drilling. From the many specimens in my possession in various stages of their manufacture, the conclusion is warranted that the hole was first drilled and the edges rounded afterwards. Many of these seem to have been cut from the common mussel-shells which are abundant in this region. The small sea shells (*Marginella apicina*), were only found with a few skeletons, possibly five or six at the southern end of the vault, and with each one from four to six quarts, all of which were pierced with small holes near the head, by which they were undoubtedly strung together. With the majority, however, only the perforated buttons were found, but in such numbers that the body from the thighs to the head must have been covered with them.

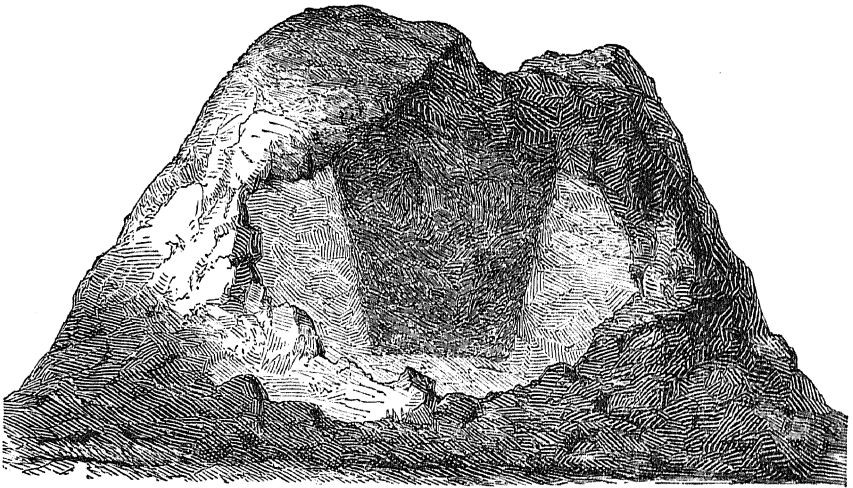
Being very desirous of securing, if possible, a perfect skull, or at least the fragments from which one might be reconstructed, and as all

<sup>1</sup> Although not a vestige of wood was discovered when it was removed, in a work across the river, more recently destroyed, which contained a similar vault, were found sticks of red cedar, much decayed, but in such positions as showed that they had been the supports of the superincumbent earth.



which were thrown out by the excavators were in small pieces which crumbled at the touch, I began a careful excavation with a common kitchen knife near the feet of a skeleton, following the spinal column to the head. My work was soon interrupted however by the crowd of eager boys from the neighboring schools, who scrambled for the beads which were thrown out with every handful of earth, with such energy that I was lifted from my feet and borne away. By the aid of a burly policeman, however, I was able to finish my excavation, but without being able to secure what was so much desired. The bones were so much decayed, when the roof fell in, that all the larger bones were crushed, and only small fragments of the skull could be obtained, and of course no cavity corresponding to its shape remained from which a plaster cast might have been taken.

The last visit to the mound was most interesting of all. The night before, the workmen had made a vertical cut directly across the northern end of the small portion of the work which yet remained.



Cross-Section of the Big Mound at St. Louis.

What was there revealed is well represented in the engraving. The sloping walls were of compact yellow clay, the intermediate space filled with blue clay in a much looser condition, in perfect agreement with the idea of its having fallen in from above by the decay of its support. Here too, at the northern end, I conjectured, was the entrance to the sepul-

cher, for the reason that here the walls were about eight feet in height, from six feet to eight feet apart, whereas the first measurements at the top, when the walls were discovered, showed a diameter of eighteen feet.

Here, then, was an artificial sepulchral tomb, whose dimensions we may safely state to have been from eight to twelve feet wide, seventy-five feet long, and from eight to ten feet in height, in which from twenty to thirty burials had taken place. If any other deposit had been made with the dead, save the before-mentioned beads and shells, the tomb must have been desecrated by some savage who had no regard for its sacred character, for not a vestige of anything else was disclosed at the time of its demolition.

Another evidence of a large aboriginal population is furnished by the stone mounds which are very numerous in certain localities, particularly in those counties through which flow the Osage and the Gasconade rivers. Not being so conspicuous as the others already noticed, they would not be likely to attract the attention of ordinary travelers, and may therefore be found covering a much larger area than is at present known. These are simple heaps of stones, of such size as could be conveniently carried from the ravines where they are found to the highest elevations—the spots usually chosen for their erection. I have seen them in groups on a continuous line running back from the very brow of a precipitous escarpment two hundred and fifty feet above the Gasconade, which swept majestically below. In fact, those commanding elevations, no matter how difficult of access, from whence the view of the surrounding landscape was most extended and lovely, seem to have been the ones most preferred. The Ozark Hills, clothed with the primeval forests, are full of them. They are generally considered more recent than the earthen tumuli. In all that I have opened nothing was discovered which shed any light upon their history, save a few human teeth and the smallest bits of the larger bones, which proved them to be burial mounds. It is stated by Adair that some of the nomadic tribes of Indians thus disposed of their dead, and as they passed and re-passed those graves, from year to year each man of the tribe was accustomed to add another stone to the heap which had been raised above them. In a group of seven, I observed one which showed some skill in masonry; one of the walls was built up with a smooth face about three feet in height, in which the joints were beautifully broken, although there was no evidence of mortar having been used.

In this connection should be noticed still another class; the most noteworthy examples of which, were discovered about the year 1818, in the town of Fenton, about fifteen miles from St. Louis. These were stone

graves or cists, each inclosing a single skeleton, or the dust of one—as all were in a crumbling condition there. Not one of the many examined exceeded fifty inches in length. They were built of six flat stones, single slabs forming the bottom, top, sides, and ends.

According to Dr. Beck, of *Gazetteer* fame, much discussion was elicited at the time and many communications appeared in the newspapers. The chief point upon which it all centered was the shortness of the graves. As was the case in Tennessee, a few years since, it was considered as proving the former existence of a race of pigmies. But the fact that in some of them the leg bones were observed lying parallel with and alongside of the bones of the thigh, accounted for the shortness of the graves; and this, taken along with the well-known custom practiced by some tribes, of suspending their dead in the branches of trees until the bones were denuded of flesh and afterwards depositing them in their common burying place, was regarded as a sufficient answer to all the pigmy speculations.

About one hundred yards from the ancient burying ground at Fenton were once a number of mounds, and remains of an extensive fortification, which also attracted the attention of the curious in those early days. And if files of the old *Missouri Gazette* of sixty years ago could be found, no doubt many interesting facts would be recovered which are now forgotten. Similar stone graves are found in Perry County, seventy-five miles from St. Louis.

## CHAPTER VI.

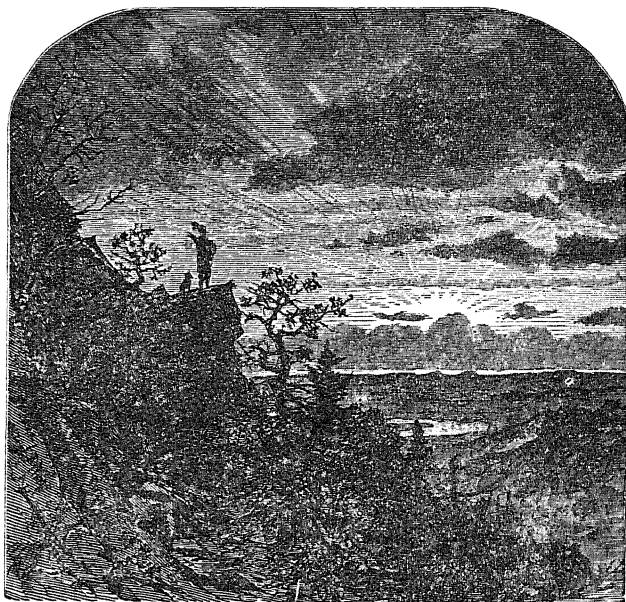
"THE CAVE-DWELLERS."—TALES OF DISCOVERIES IN KENTUCKY, ETC.—THE CAVES OF THE OZARK MOUNTAINS.—PROOFS OF LONG OCCUPANCY.—SKELETONS AND OTHER RELICS FOUND.—THE CAVE-DWELLERS A DIFFERENT RACE FROM THE MOUND-BUILDERS.

To the general student of Ethnology and Archæology, no one department of antiquarian research has yielded grander or more satisfactory results than those which have rewarded the explorers of the caves and rock-shelters of some of the mountain chains of the old world. Concerning the relative age of the earthen structures of the vast alluvial plains of America there may be much difference of opinion. But in his occupancy of the caves of Europe, primeval man has so inscribed the records of his early life and presence, during those geologic changes which he witnessed, in the succession of the glacial and diluvial epochs, that they are sometimes as sharply delineated and legible as are those of the various orders of animal life in the stratified rocks. By these faithful chronographs of the childhood of the race, we are carried back irresistibly to a period so remote, that the cave-dwellers from Mount Hor, who joined the confederate kings, and were so signally overthrown by Abram in the plains of Sodom, were but of yesterday.

In America, this field is comparatively unexplored, or perhaps we had better say, is undiscovered. Indeed, it may be that we have nothing here which shall be found to correspond to or compare with the drift period and bone-caves of Europe. It is true we find, in the early tales of border life in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, accounts which must contain some elements of truth, of caverns filled with human bones; others whose walls are pictured and sculptured with strange devices, of animals, known and unknown; and representations of the heavenly bodies; and others still, containing mummied corpses, embalmed and wonderfully preserved, clad in robes of feather-work like those of Peruvian fabric which so filled the Spanish conquerors with admiration. But alas! these were long since destroyed. Then, they had little or no scientific value, consequently there was no motive for their serious examination, or preservation.

Still, however, we may indulge the not unreasonable hope that others may yet be discovered, whose disclosures shall be equally precious. In this hope we are the more encouraged by the fact that the few which have been noticed and described, furnish indubitable proof that they

were once the favorite resorts, for burial purposes, of some pre-historic race. When the stones shall be rolled away from the doors of the sepulchral caverns in the limestone hills of Missouri, the long-forgotten dead may again come forth re-vivified, rehabilitated, and the Ozark Mountains may yet disclose materials for a chapter in the life of her primitive people, which shall equal in interest the records of the mounds. The Ozarks, thanks to their sterile slopes, have preserved their sacred



Among the Ozarks.

treasures well. They are honeycombed with caves, some of unknown extent. Their openings may be seen in the precipitous bluffs along the Gasconade River, in great numbers, on either side, or the majestic arches of their openings span the divides where the smaller hill ranges meet. Do these numerous caves and channels evidence an ancient system of drainage, in operation long before the Gasconade had asserted its "right of way" and scooped for itself a course through the rocks by its ceaseless flow? <sup>1</sup>

In these caves the ancient dead were buried and the funeral feasts were celebrated. The deep deposit of rich nitrogenous earth in the

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Charles Lyell's remarks upon the Valley of the Meuse, "Antiquity of Man," p. 73.

larger chambers, and the bones of various animals, birds, and mussel shells—the refuse of the funeral feasts,—the alternate layers of ashes and charcoal mingled with earthy matter, containing human bones in different degrees of preservation, tell of oft-repeated visits and recurrence of the funeral rites.

What little we have learned from the few thus far explored makes us only the more eager to examine still further the records they contain. A description of one must serve our present purpose. The one selected is in Pulaski County, and is one of the many famous saltpetre caves so often mentioned in the early annals of the State, with which the country of the Gasconade abounds. The opening is in the face of a perpendicular limestone bluff which extends along the river for many miles. While the scenery of this whole region is very beautiful, the view from the mouth of some of the caves is enchanting. Standing in the shadow of one of their lofty arches, the eye is charmed with the peculiar beauty of the landscape spread out before it. The Gasconade flowing far below, the stately trees which fringe its banks and mark the course of its long graceful curves, until it loses itself in the dim outlines of the Ozarks which swell and roll away until their opalescent hues melt into the mellow light of the autumn sky,—all conspire to awaken the liveliest feelings of respect and admiration for a people whose æsthetic taste was so refined and tender as to lead them to select a place so charming for the long repose of their loved ones. But poetry and science have but little in common: one must end where the other begins. So turning my back upon the beautiful scene, and repressing all compunctions for the sacrilege we are about to commit, the impatient workmen are directed to begin the labor of cutting a trench one hundred and seventy-five feet long, through the deposit at the bottom of the cave. At the end of this distance the perpetual gloom begins. Here the torches are brought into requisition, by whose dim light, as the laborers proceed with their work, the sectional notes and measurements are taken.

The whole surface of the deposit seems to have been much disturbed, to the depth of from eighteen inches to two feet. It is composed of earth and ashes, mingled profusely with broken pottery, fragments of human bones and flint-chips. Below this, the deposit is hard and compact. Selecting a point about midway from either end of the trench, we proceed to make more critical examination. Continuing the excavation to the depth of six feet, the natural deposit at the bottom is reached, composed of a tough reddish clay, which contained nothing but decayed mussel shells. All above this showed the continual

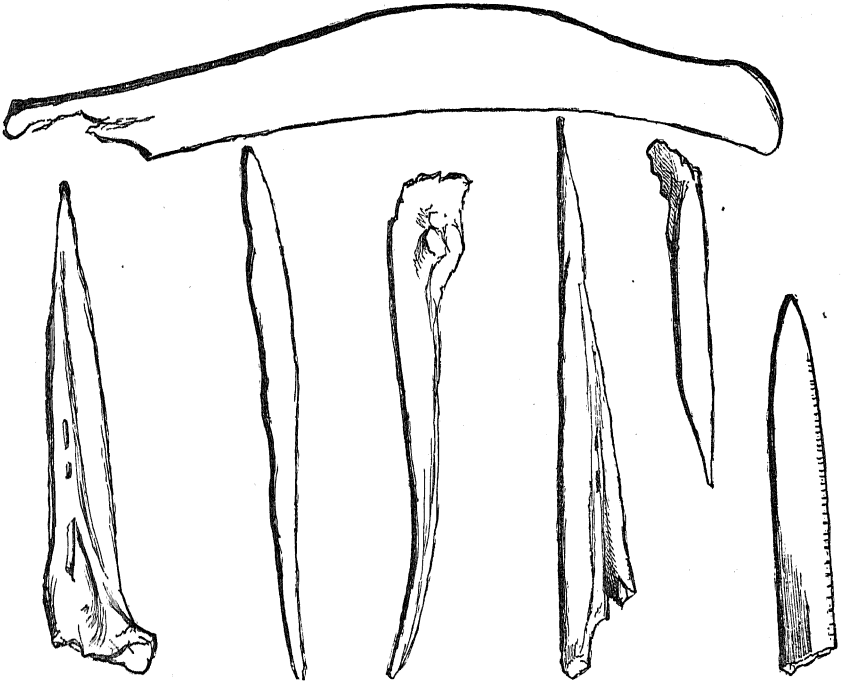
occupancy of the cave during its deposition. A vertical section at the point above named, disclosed the following strata:

Alluvium, mingled with ashes, bits of pottery, etc.....	18 inches.
Stratum of different colored ashes.....	2 "
Clay and dark Alluvium.....	2½ "
Ashes.....	½ "
Alluvium.....	3 "
Mixture of Ashes and Clay.....	3 "
Pure Ashes.....	½ "
Alluvium.....	3½ "
Pure Ashes, mingled with Charcoal.....	4 "
Alluvium, " " " ".....	7 "
Ashes.....	3 "
Alluvium, mingled with Charcoal.....	20 "

At the depth of about two feet, the first skeleton was reached, lying upon its back, with head towards the east. All the small bones were thoroughly decayed. About six feet north of this, another skeleton was disclosed, evidently buried in a sitting posture. This was so much decomposed that only a few of the thicker portions of the skull could be secured. Near this was also found the skeleton of a very aged female, the skull in a better state of preservation. In companionship with these was a flint spear-head of the rudest pattern, as were all the implements of stone—which were not numerous—which the deposit contained. With the exception of the rude spear-head, their presence seemed to have been accidental, and this also may have been so. Among the most interesting relics, were articles of bone, such as awls, scrapers, and the like, and occasionally one made from the inner surface of a shell, with a sharp edge.

What was most surprising was the prodigious number of mussel shells which were continuous through the whole deposit, decreasing in size and more decayed as we descended, until their whole substance was a chalky paste. These are still abundant in the river below. Intermingled with the alluvium and ashes, as far as the excavation extended, were skulls and bones of fishes, deer, bear, mud-turtle and wild turkey. The skulls were always broken, no doubt to obtain the brains, which have always been esteemed a great delicacy among the civilized and savage as well. While, for purposes of ethnological study, a more detailed description of the crania contained in this cave would be instructive, and other particulars here suggested might be properly enlarged upon, still, enough has been stated to indicate the desirableness of a more thorough exploration of this comparatively new class

of antiquities. But keeping in mind that we have more to do in these chapters with the traces of the aboriginal inhabitants of Missouri than with lengthy generalizations upon the facts they disclose, we can only hint at one or two conclusions.



Bone Implements.

Here was the burial place of a people who were not insensible to those beauties with which nature around them was glorified, and who sought those places with the most lovely surroundings in which to deposit the remains of their friends. Here were laid to rest from time to time the old and young, the aged matron, and the child, the fragments of whose thin, paper-like skulls suggested many thoughts of maternal love and tears of sorrow. The vast numbers of shells, and bones of beasts and birds, bear witness to the oft-repeated funeral feasts beside the new-made graves of the departed, and point to a belief in a life continued in another world. Who they were, or when they lived, it is not our province now to try to answer. The Indians, it is well known, regarded these gloomy caverns with superstitious fear, for in them they believed



the great Manitou dwelt. In view of this fact, so well attested by writers, the idea that they were the occupants becomes a matter of doubt. The skulls thus far examined, are also wanting in those peculiar and generally very marked characteristics which are so evident in the crania of the mounds. With this allusion to a question so interesting we must leave its discussion to a future occasion, when we may hopefully hope to be able to continue it in the light of more extensive information.

## CHAPTER VII.

TEMPLE MOUNDS.—GROWTH OF ANCIENT RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS CLASS OF MONUMENTS.—THE GREAT MOUND AT CAHOKIA, ITS BEST REPRESENTATIVE IN NORTH AMERICA.—BRACKENRIDGE'S DESCRIPTION OF IT IN 1811.—HOW IT CAME TO BE CALLED "MONKS' MOUND."—THE CEREMONIES OF THE SUN-WORSHIPPERS.—OTHER TEMPLE MOUNDS.—THE INDIANS NOT DESCENDED FROM THE MOUND-BUILDERS.

Although the propriety of some of the mound-classifications of the earlier writers has sometimes been questioned, no doubts are entertained as to the purpose of those which have been denominated Temple Mounds. In treating of this class, we enter at once upon a field almost as vast as the two continents of America. For, whatever may have been the material used in their construction, whether stone, or earth alone, or both combined, they present such uniform characteristics, so identical in evident purpose and design, that they link together by one prevailing system of religious worship, of which they are the striking exponents, unnumbered tribes and peoples, scattered up and down the two continents from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Reason as we may, the more they are studied, and considered in their relation to other groups and classes with which they are found associated, we can hardly escape the conviction that they point to one common origin.

Before yielding a hasty assent to a general conclusion, a proper caution would suggest the possibility of accounting for this uniformity of structure by other and natural considerations. It is well known that barbaric tribes in all lands and times have manufactured their first implements of war and the chase from stone and bone, and have learned, by means of some hint which Nature, perhaps, afforded, to fashion rude vessels of clay for domestic use. It is also true that their petitions and adorations have been addressed to the same class of imaginary beings, or objects and active forces whose effects they were accustomed to behold around them; among which the heavenly bodies appear to have occupied a conspicuous place, particularly during some stages of their progress from barbarism to a higher life.

Possessed of the same faculties, appetites and passions, inheriting the same necessities, meeting always the same difficulties in their struggles for existence, it is not surprising that rude nations have ever followed the same paths in all the activities of their wild, infantile life. Indeed, it would be surprising if they had not. From these and similar considerations it may be thought that the identity of form, structure and relation,

and also apparent oneness of purpose which characterize the Temple Mounds, demonstrate only the operation of a universal law, in the progress of a people from a state of barbarism through the slow stages of its developement towards a higher civilization. The sun and moon have been worshiped in ages and countries widely separated, and by nations between which there could never have occurred any possible communication.

Man never has attained by intuition or philosophy that knowledge of the unity and perfections of the Supreme Being which Revelation presents : and wanting that knowledge, he naturally worships those visible objects which are most conspicuous and which most inspire his reverence, especially those which, he conceives, exert the greatest influence upon his life and destiny. But when each nation starts out for itself in the path of a progressive civilization, the prevailing forms of worship, being subjected to the same influences which mould the national polity, must necessarily, under the new impulse, become also materially changed, or as has sometimes happened, displaced altogether, by a system entirely new. From this point, the forms of Nature-worship would cease to be identical, and each resultant system become thereafter more and more divergent ; and long periods of time must necessarily be required for the working out of a complicated and well arranged system of popular religion which should be able to enforce the ready obedience and subjection of a vast people to its mandates, and enlist the energies of the nation in the erection of their most imposing structures, for no other purpose than the observance of their religious rites and ceremonies. Such structures, among the memorials of an ancient people, are very interesting and instructive, from the fact that religion has ever exerted such controlling influence in the establishment and perpetuity or decline of countless nations, whose history has been preserved.

They are the records, therefore, of more than the religious faith and practice of a particular people ; but, because of the leavening influence of religious ideas when crystallized into systematic forms, they become the interpreters of many things which otherwise would never be understood.

It will readily be seen, therefore, in the light of the foregoing, that the Temple Mounds of America are invested with an interest and importance outside of their purely religious character ; and which is greatly enhanced by the fact that wherever they are found, along with them invariably occur the most striking evidences of the former presence of a numerous population, whose civil and social condition was separated by a wide gulf from that of the red race who occupied their ancient seats

when America was discovered; and whose government was so well established and enduring, as to render it possible for vast numbers to be employed for a series of years in their erection.

Temple Mounds, according to Squier and Davis, "are distinguished by their great regularity of form and general large dimensions. They consist chiefly of pyramidal structures, truncated, and generally have graded avenues to their tops. In some instances they are terraced or have successive stages. But whatever their form, whether round, oval, octangular, square or oblong, they have invariably flat or level tops."<sup>1</sup>

"The summits of these structures were probably crowned with temples, but having been constructed of perishable materials, all traces of their existence have disappeared. The truncated pyramidal form, which often rises to no great height, was obviously the foundation for such structures. In the works at Aztalan, Wisconsin, we trace the outlines of this form of mounds at the angles of the bastions, and this may be said to be their northern limit. They are not recognized on the southern slope of Lake Erie, and are seen at only three points in Southern Ohio, viz: Marietta, Newark and Chillicothe.

"The stupendous mound at Cahokia in Illinois, with its graded way, its terrace and level summit, was the best representative of this class.<sup>2</sup> In Kentucky they are not rare; the great mound near Florence is of this character, and that near Claiborne—fifty feet in height—has a level summit with a gradual slope on the east, and a succession of ten terraces on the west. In this class, too, must be included the great mound at Seltzertown, Mississippi, and most of those in the Gulf States.

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, p. 173. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> When he wrote this, Dr. Foster was under the impression that this great work was destroyed. While he was mistaken, it is understood to be for sale, and may soon be reckoned among the things that were, provided some railway shall be constructed near enough to render its huge mass—containing several million cubic yards of earth—desirable to elevate its grade. What a graceful thing it would be for the State, or National Government to purchase it and decree its perpetual preservation! Men of science all over the world and in all future time would be so thankful for such an act. Thus the Government of Denmark has done with her antiquities. Whether either of our great political parties could be persuaded to assume such a tremendous responsibility is very doubtful. Our legislators are so conscientious and so intent upon "retrenchment and reform," that the expenditure of a few hundred dollars for the preservation of the stupendous work which must have occupied the ceaseless labor of thousands of men through a life-time to erect, would be a precedent too dangerous to think of—such an act might shake the foundations of the Republic. No partizan would dare favor such a proposition, lest it should be followed by his speedy consignment to a political grave from which there could be no resurrection.

"In Mexico and Central America, we see the culmination of this form in the Teocallis, which were faced with flights of steps and surmounted by temples of stone."<sup>1</sup>

The identification of some of the mounds in their enumeration as Temple Mounds, by the authors above named, I cannot but regard as lacking confirmation. Indeed the evidences derived from my own observations are conclusive that some of them belong to quite another class. Those of the "truncated pyramidal form which often rise to no great height," were doubtless crowned with the residences of the chiefs and rulers. These are often found in groups. I have counted seven or eight very near each other, a few feet in height, with flat or level tops: the central one generally larger than those around it, which tradition affirms was occupied by the dwelling of the chief. The others of the group were erected from time to time for residence sites for his sons, as they came to man's estate and had families of their own. In all which I have excavated, nothing was disclosed but fragments of pottery.

The only structures which can with certainty be identified as Temple Mounds are those whose perfect model is seen in the Teocallis of Mexico and South America.

In whatever group they are found, they are the most imposing. Generally oblong, with one or more stages, and ascended by graded avenues. Such was one of the large mounds at St. Louis, and I am disposed to believe that the beautiful Falling Garden was an unfinished work of this class, whose three stages, about fifteen feet each in height, were finished, but the elevated work which was to crown the whole was wanting.

The great Cahokia Mound is the best representative of this class to be found in North America. This was examined by Mr. Brackenridge in 1811-12. His interesting description of it, along with the numerous works of smaller dimensions with which the American Bottom is filled,—or was in his day—may well be quoted entire in this connection:

"To form a more correct idea of these, it will be necessary to give the reader some view of the tract of country in which they are situated. The American Bottom is a tract of rich alluvial land, extending on the Mississippi, from Kaskaskia to the Cahokia River, about eighty miles in length and five in breadth; several handsome streams meander through it; the soil is of the richest kind, and but little subject to the effects of the Mississippi floods. A number of lakes are interspersed through it, with

<sup>1</sup> Foster's Pre-Historic Races, etc., p. 186.

fine high banks; these abound in fish, and in autumn are visited by millions of wild fowl.

"There is perhaps no spot in the western country, capable of being more highly cultivated, or of giving support to a more numerous population, than this valley. If any vestige of ancient population were to be found, this would be the place to search for it; accordingly this tract, as also the bank of the river on the western side, exhibits proofs of an immense population. If the city of Philadelphia and its environs were deserted, there would not be more numerous traces of human existence.

"The great number of mounds, and the astonishing quantity of human bones everywhere dug up, or found on the surface of the ground with a thousand other appearances, announce that this valley was at one period filled with habitations and villages. The whole face of the bluff, or hill which bounds it on the east, appears to have been a continued burying ground. But the most remarkable appearances are two groups of mounds or pyramids, the one about ten miles above Cahokia, and the other nearly the same distance below it, which in all exceed one hundred and fifty of various sizes. The western side also contains a considerable number.

"A more minute description of those above Cahokia, which I visited in the fall of 1811, will give a tolerable idea of them all. I crossed the Mississippi at St. Louis, and after passing through the wood which borders the river, about a half a mile in width, entered on an extensive plain.

"In fifteen minutes I found myself in the midst of a group of mounds, mostly of a circular shape and at a distance, resembling enormous haystacks scattered through a meadow: one of the largest, which I ascended, was about two hundred paces in circumference at the bottom, the form nearly square, though it had evidently undergone considerable alteration from the washing of rains; the top was level, with an area sufficient to contain several hundred men. The prospect from this mound was very beautiful; looking towards the bluffs, which are dimly seen at the distance of six or eight miles, the bottom at this place being very wide, I had a level plain before me, bound by islets of wood, and a few solitary trees: to the right the prairie is bounded by the horizon; to the left, the course of the Cahokia may be distinguished by the margin of wood upon its banks, and crossing the valley diagonally S. S. W. Around me, I counted forty-five mounds or pyramids, besides a great number of small artificial elevations: these mounds form something more than a semi-circle, about a mile in extent, the open space on the river.

"Pursuing my walk along the bank of the Cahokia, I passed eight others in the distance of three miles, before I arrived at the largest assemblage. When I reached the foot of the principal mound, I was struck with a degree of astonishment not unlike that which is experienced in contemplating the Egyptian Pyramids. What a stupendous pile of earth! To heap up such a mass must have required years, and the labor of thousands. It stands immediately on the bank of the Cahokia, and on the side next it, is covered with lofty trees. Were it not for the regularity and design which it manifests, the circumstances of its being on alluvial ground, and the other mounds scattered around it, we would scarcely believe it the work of human hands.

"The shape is that of a parallelogram standing from north to south; on the south side there is a broad apron or step, about half way down, and from this another projection into the plain, about fifteen feet wide, which was probably intended as an ascent to the mound. By stepping around the base I computed the circumference to be at least eight hundred yards, and the height of the mound about ninety feet. The step or apron has been used as a kitchen-garden by the monks of La Trappe, settled near this, and the top is sowed with wheat. Nearly west there is another of a smaller size, and forty others scattered through the plain. Two are also seen on the bluff at the distance of three miles. Several of these mounds are almost conical. As the sward had been burnt, the earth was perfectly naked, and I could trace with ease any unevenness of surface, so as to discover whether it was artificial or accidental.

"I everywhere observed a great number of small elevations of earth to the height of a few feet, at regular distances from each other, and which appeared to observe some order; near them I also observed pieces of flint and fragments of earthen vessels. I concluded that a populous town had once existed here, similar to those of Mexico described by the first conquerors. The mounds were sites of temples or monuments to great men.

"It is evident this could never have been the work of thinly-scattered tribes. If the human species had at any time been permitted in this country to have increased freely, and there is every probability of the fact, it must, as in Mexico; have become astonishingly numerous. The same space of ground would have sufficed to maintain fifty times the number of the present inhabitants, with ease, their agriculture having no other object than mere sustenance. Among a numerous population, the power of the chief must necessarily be more absolute, and where there

are no laws, degenerates into despotism. This was the case in Mexico, and in the nations of South America. A great number of individuals were at the disposal of the chief, who treated them little better than slaves. The smaller the society, the greater the consequence of each individual. Hence, there would not be wanting a sufficient number of hands to erect mounds or pyramids."

The largest mound of the Cahokia group, thus described by Brackenridge, is now known as Monks' Mound, on account of its having been occupied in early days by a colony of monks of the order of La Trappe. This prodigious temple site, as before remarked, is the best representative of its class in the United States, not only on account of its vast size, but also because it is the most finished model of all similar works which can with any degree of certainty be determined as temple mounds. The Teocallis of Mexico and the regions further south, though finished with stone, are of the same form, with graded ascents, or flights of steps, leading to the broad stage, or level top, at one end of which rose another elevation, upon which stood the most holy temple and sacred altars.

Upon these burned the perpetual fire, to be extinguished only at the close of the year, and rekindled by the sun himself, as his rising beams were concentrated by the high priests, when the new year began. This event was always observed with the greatest solemnity.

When the sacred flame expired upon the altars, with the dying year, the whole land was filled with gloom, and the fire upon every domestic hearth must be extinguished also. Then the people sat down in awful suspense to watch for the morning. Possibly their father, the sun, might be angry with his children, and veil his glory behind the clouds at the coming dawn. Then as they thought of their sins and bewailed their transgressions, their fears were expressed in loud lamentations. But as the expected dawn—the momentous time—approaches, all eyes are turned towards the holy mount where the now fireless altars stand. At length the eastern sky begins to glow with a golden light which tells them that their god is near, and, while they watch, he rolls in splendor from behind the eastern hills, and darts his fiery beams upon the sacred place where holy men are waiting to ignite anew the sacrificial fires. Nor do they wait in vain, for soon the curling smoke and the signal flames are seen by the breathless multitude which fill the plains below, and then one long, glad shout is heard, and songs of joy salute the bright new year. Swift-footed messengers receive the new-lit fire from



the hands of the priests, quickly it is distributed to the waiting throng and carried exultingly to their several homes, when all begin the joyful celebration of the feast of the Sun.

The peaceful tribes who once dwelt in this region of the Mississippi Valley, upon either shore, found no quarries of stone of easy cleavage, or which could be wrought with their simple tools for the erection of their edifices. Doubtless wood was the only material at their command, or possibly sun-dried brick. The dust of their temples is gone with that of their builders; their altars are crumbled—the sacred fire is extinguished, which the sun shall nevermore rekindle. But the proud monument of their national solemnities still rears aloft its majestic form in the midst of a vast alluvial plain of exhaustless fertility—a grand memorial of days more ancient than the last migration of the Aztec race to the plains of Anahuac, who found there the very same structures, which they appropriated and by which they perpetuated the worship of the land of their fathers as well as that of the people whom they subjugated. It is not unreasonable to suppose that when, from its elevated summit, the smoke of the yearly sacrifice ascended in one vast column heavenward, from the great work above described, that it was the signal for simultaneous sacrifices from lesser altars throughout the whole length of the great plain, in the centre of which it stands, and that the people upon the Missouri shore responded with answering fires from those high places which once stood upon the western bank of the river, but are now destroyed.

Here, we may well believe was the holy city, to which the tribes made annual pilgrimages to celebrate the national feasts and sacrifices. But not here alone; for this vast homogeneous race, one in arts and worship, had the same high and holy places, though of less imposing magnitude, in the valley of the Ohio, in Alabama, and Mississippi.

In south-east Missouri, at New Madrid, is a similar work, surrounded by a ditch ten feet in width and five in depth. It is twelve hundred feet in circumference and forty feet in height. Among the ruins of almost every ancient town lying back from the river, upon bayous and smaller streams, may be found the oblong Temple-mound, which is always the highest work of the group, and commands a view of the whole.

There are some who profess to believe that the Indians are the degenerate sons of the authors of these extensive and complicated works. But when it is remembered that their languages, which are divided into many groups, present very few affinities which are common to all, and the dialects into which these groups are further divided are, many of them,

so distantly related as to show that the various tribes must have been separated from the parent stock in times very remote; and when we take into the account also, the wonderful unity of the race of the mounds, as displayed in their works and worship, and the vast extent of territory they occupied, it will be seen that such a supposition involves an antiquity of the red race, which its most ardent defenders will find difficult to harmonize with the recognized facts.

To my own mind the evidence is clear that the two peoples were as distinct as the Greeks and Romans. That the exodus of the mound-builders occupied long periods of time, is altogether probable, and comprised several distinct migrations, to the south and southwest, which were brought about by the continued encroachments of the more warlike and savage hordes from the north and northwest. Here and there, no doubt, small bands were enslaved or absorbed by their conquerors, who adopted some of the customs of the subjugated race, particularly those pertaining to their worship, the traces of which are often well defined,—the practice of which was continued by a few Indian tribes as late as the beginning of the present century.

If the views here presented are correct, it will be apparent that the Temple-mounds are invested with an interest peculiar to themselves, in as much as they give us an insight to the social and political condition of the ancient inhabitants of the State of Missouri and the Mississippi Valley, which can be gained from no other class of works. It will also be perceived that we have barely entered upon a most interesting field of research, which will well repay a careful and thorough examination.

## CHAPTER VIII.

GARDEN MOUNDS.—THE FOOD OF THE PRE-HISTORIC RACES.—FISH PROBABLY ONE OF THEIR MAIN RESOURCES.—THE USE OF THE DITCHES WITHIN THEIR CITY WALLS.—DOMESTIC ANIMALS.—AGRICULTURE.—RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.—DISSIMILARITY BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN TRIBES OF INDIANS.—TRACES OF AZTEC CULTURE AMONG THE LATTER.—VAST NUMBERS OF THE GARDEN MOUNDS.—PROOFS OF THEIR PURPOSE.—THE UTAH MOUNDS.—INTERESTING DISCOVERIES.—A NEW VARIETY OF WHEAT GROWN FROM KERNELS FOUND THEREIN.—AN OPENING FOR FURTHER RESEARCHES.

The foregoing evidences of an ancient people swarming in prodigious numbers throughout the vast territory in which these works abound, and who had their permanent dwellings in towns and cities which were well arranged and constructed with no mean skill, suggest the most interesting question, How did they subsist? The importance of this question is realized when we remember that it lies at the foundation of their whole social fabric; and in fact, once determined, the answer becomes one of the chief exponents of their physical condition, intellectual capacity and, in a good degree, of their moral status as well. Many of the staple articles of food upon which all civilized nations depend for subsistence are only to be procured by intelligent labor, guided by a plan and forethought which are the result of a more or less extended observation of nature's laws.

Here were large cities; then here also must have been trade and commerce of some sort. Merchandise may not have been bartered for gold and silver, but more likely—as was the case with the Peruvians—the products of the field, the fold, or the chase, were exchanged for those of the workshop and domestic handicraft. Again: their means of support must have been so certain and reliable, and withal so abundant, that large numbers of the people could be employed continuously upon those monuments of their industry which they have left behind for our admiration. The probability that fish formed no inconsiderable item of their food supply has already been suggested. The name of our great river, which it is thought has come down to us from their time—*Nemesisipu*, which means River of Fish—if it be true, bears witness to this. The prodigious shell heaps along the southern coast, from Florida to the mouth of the Mississippi, may also be noticed as evidence of the fact that they were not unskillful fishermen. These accumulations of the refuse of their kitchens have often proved peculiarly interesting and instructive, inasmuch as they abound in numerous relics which,

under other circumstances would have been destroyed. The shell heaps of the Baltic coast are complete zoological museums of the fauna of the period when they were formed, containing, as they do, the bones of many animals long since extinct in those regions, and representing also the bones of the few domestic animals which were the companions of man in that remote period.

The most important sites of the towns of the pre-historic Americans are found upon the shores of lakes or banks of rivers, and generally—though not always—contiguous to, or upon extensive areas of fertile land. We are not compelled to suppose, however, that they were always influenced by agricultural considerations in the location of their permanent homes, for the ruins of some towns have been observed upon the sandy beaches of lakes, and where, too, there was no fertile land near, which was suitable for agricultural purposes. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that the inhabitants of towns so situated were fishermen.

The wide, deep ditches on the inside walls of some of their enclosures have called forth much speculation as to their purpose. It has generally been assumed that the walls which enclosed their towns were erected for defensive purposes. But the puzzle has been about the location of the ditch along the base of the wall within the enclosures. According to all our notions of warfare, the ditch—to serve any defensive purpose—should have been outside the walls. Moreover, many of the walled towns were so situated in valleys, which were overlooked by the near hills which surrounded them, as to be totally incapable of defense in any kind of known warfare. The theory, therefore, that this inside ditch was one of their means of defense, seems hardly satisfactory. I have somewhere met with the statement that there was a tradition to the effect that the ditches were receptacles for water, or rather, artificial channels for water conducted from the natural streams near which the towns were located, thereby furnishing the inhabitants with a constant and flowing supply. Without stopping to discuss the question, it may be remarked that the idea seems altogether probable, and their construction for such a purpose a very natural thing to do, while the control of the stream, by gates and locks, would require no greater engineering skill than they have displayed in their more durable works. They would also have been specially adapted to the culture of fish, or they may have been the receptacles for their winter's supply. Speculative as the above may appear, it is certainly as rational as the notion that the inside ditch contributed in any way to their defense against the attacks of their foes.

What sort of domestic animals, if any, were reared by the ancient inhabitants of Missouri, we have no knowledge; but there can be very little doubt that game was abundant and that they were successful in the chase. There is satisfactory evidence that the huge Mastodon was their cotemporary whose bones are so abundant in our alluvial plains; and also that he was conquered and slain by their seemingly feeble weapons. I have myself exhumed from the ruins of one of those towns fragments of the vertebral column of the buffalo.

However all this may have been, concerning their *agricultural* skill, we are not left to conjecture; and we may confidently assert that their main dependence for subsistence was upon the labors of the husbandman. They worshipped the sun, and invoked his benign influence upon the occurrence of the great annual festival when their crops were sown in the spring; and when these were gathered, in the autumn they offered up the first fruits to him as lord of the harvest.

That this was their custom we may with confidence assume; nor is it, indeed, mere assumption. The largest of these structures—the Temple Mounds—are found to be precisely similar in form and character to those of Mexico; and the Spanish historians have given the fullest accounts of the manner in which their religious exercises were performed upon their summits, or in the temples which crowned the Teocallis. And as the belief prevails that the builders of these were of the same race as the Mound-builders, and probably their descendants, it becomes almost certain that structures of the same form in both countries were erected for the same uses and ceremonies. If it be true, as we believe, that when the great majority of the race of the Mound-builders had been destroyed, or driven from their habitations in the Mississippi Valley, some of whom are known to have migrated to the southwest—some remnants of the tribes remained, and were absorbed by their conquering successors, then we might expect to find some of the customs of their fathers still practiced by those who were left behind; and more particularly, those pertaining to their religious rites and manner of providing for their subsistence. The student of the history of the red men cannot fail to notice the fact that a few of the southern tribes possessed traits and customs peculiar to themselves, and in which they differed widely from those of the north and east. The former had a complicated and well-arranged system of religious worship, with the perpetual fire of the altars; also a line of priests or prophets, who enjoined seasons of rigorous fasting, and conducted the exercises upon the occasions of their festivities. The former can scarcely be said to have had any religious system or belief. Mr.

Adair has given a detailed account of the religious rites and ceremonies which were once practiced by a few southern tribes among whom he resided for many years; and so impressed was he with their imposing and multifarious ceremonials that he believed they must have derived their system from the Jews.

The dissimilarity between the tribes of the south and those of other localities was equally striking in their manner of house-building, sports and games. The former had fixed habitations, in towns with streets and public squares, and a love of home, with various other characteristics which belong to a higher civilization than the nomadic tribes of red men ever possessed.

But perhaps in no one thing was the dissimilarity more strongly expressed than in the methods of agriculture. The author quoted above speaks of having seen deserted cornfields seven miles in extent, and we know that they raised quite a variety of crops, and in abundance, chief among which was maize. Among the now numerous and roving tribes we discover only a methodless and scanty agriculture.

The ancient garden beds supposed to belong to the Mound-builders, which in some instances are several hundred acres in extent, have frequently been noticed in several of the Western States. These are said to have been laid out in straight parallel rows or drills across the fields; but as none have been found in Missouri, as far as I am informed, they need not be dwelt upon in this connection.

There are evidences of tilling the soil, of quite a novel character, which still exist in prodigious numbers, not only in Missouri but also in other regions west of the Mississippi. I have heard of very few east of that river. These works consist of low circular elevations, generally two or three feet above the level of the natural surface of the soil, with diameters varying from ten to sixty feet; all are round, or nearly so, sloping off gently around the edges. All that I have seen among the Ozark hills are composed of black alluvial soil, and disclosed, when excavated, no implement or relic of any sort. Their presence may always be detected in cultivated fields when covered with growing crops, by the more luxuriant growth and deeper green of the vegetation. They abound in all the little valleys among the flinty hills of the Ozarks, from Pulaski County, Missouri, to the Gulf of Mexico, and westward to the Colorado in Texas, and as far north as Iowa. Their size in the hilly regions seems to have been determined by the amount of rich vegetable mold which could be scraped together in a given spot. Residence sites they could not have been, or they would have contained some relic of stone or bone,

or fragment of pottery, or at least the ashes of the family fire. To enable the reader to form some idea of their prodigious numbers, I can do no better than give the remarks of Prof. Forshey, as quoted by Dr. Foster, in his "Pre-historic Races of the United States," which I take it, refer to the same class.

Says Prof. Forshey: "In my geological reconnoissance of Louisiana, in 1841-2, I made a pretty thorough report upon them. I afterwards gave a verbal description of their extent and character before the New Orleans Academy of Sciences. These mounds lack every evidence of artificial construction, based on other human vestiges. They are nearly all round, none angular, and have an elevation hemispheroidal, of one foot to five feet, and a diameter from thirty feet to one hundred and forty feet. They are numbered by millions. In many places in the pine forests, they are to be seen nearly tangent to each other as far as the eye can reach, thousands being visible from an elevation of a few feet. On the gulf marsh margin, from the Vermillion to the Colorado, they appear barely visible, often flowing into one another, and only elevated a few inches above the common level. A few miles interior they rise to two and even four feet in height. The largest I ever saw were perhaps one hundred and forty feet in diameter and five feet high. These were in Western Louisiana; some had abrupt sides, though they are nearly all of gentle slopes." He further states that he "encountered hundreds of these mounds between Galveston and Houston, and between the Red river and Ouicita; that they were so numerous as to forbid the supposition of their having been the foundations of human habitations; that the burrowing animals common to the region piled up no such heaps; and finally, that the winds, while capable of accumulating loose materials, never distribute them in the manner above mentioned." In conclusion he adds: "In utter desperation I cease to trouble myself about their origin and call them inexplicable mounds."<sup>1</sup>

From all that can be learned about them, I see no reason to doubt that they were erected for agricultural purposes, and have therefore presumed to name them Garden Mounds.

It would seem perfectly natural, in a sterile country, and where the inhabitants had few materials for artificial fertilization, to gather into

<sup>1</sup> The Professor adds, that "there is ample testimony that the pine trees of the present forests ante-date these mounds." What the testimony is he does not say. If they are the work of the Indians, then we must believe them to have been vastly more numerous than any other facts hitherto known would lead us to suppose.

heaps the thin vegetable mold upon the surface, thus increasing its richness and capacity for retaining moisture. But the question may be asked, why should the same practice be necessary in the prairies and bottom lands, the richness of which is proverbial and inexhaustible. For the answer, we are not left to conjecture.

In the rich lowlands of the west, the chief difficulty is too much moisture, especially in seasons of unusual rain-fall. This, the corn-raisers in the American bottom know from repeated experience. Hence, acres of corn are often utterly ruined in such seasons, when planted upon low and level fields which have not ample artificial or natural drainage: when, had the earth been raised a few inches even in drills or mounds, such as have been described, a good crop would have been secured. An intelligent Iowa planter informed me that he had often seen this demonstrated in corn-fields which were filled with these mounds. The low ground between them, if the season were unusually rainy, would yield no returns, while upon the mounds themselves the crop would be excellent. From these considerations, there can be but little doubt that the garden mounds were raised for the better cultivation of maize, which was doubtless the staple article of ancient husbandry. But we are not to suppose, however, that this was the only kind of grain known to the pre-historic Americans; for evidence is not wanting that, in some sections at least, they cultivated wheat, and deposited it, along with those articles which were deemed most precious, in the tombs of their loved ones. Thus—thanks to their affectionate care in the disposition of the dead,—it has been preserved for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years; and, like the few small grains in the hand of the Egyptian mummy, when brought forth to the sunlight and moisture, has germinated and ripened, and furnished us with a variety unknown before.

From an interesting account of certain mounds in Utah, communicated by Mr. Amasa Potter to the *Eureka Sentinel*, of Nevada, as copied by *The Western Review of Science and Industry*, I make the following extracts:

"The mounds are situated on what is known as the Payson Farm, and are six in number, covering about twenty acres of ground. They are from ten to eighteen feet in height, and from 500 to 1,000 feet in circumference." "The explorations divulged no hidden treasure so far, but have proved to us that there once undoubtedly existed here a more enlightened race of human beings than that of the Indian who inhabited this country, and whose records have been traced back hundreds of years." "While engaged in excavating one of the larger mounds, we



discovered the feet of a large skeleton, and carefully removing the hardened earth in which it was embedded, we succeeded in unearthing a large skeleton without injury. The human framework measured six feet, six inches in length, and from appearances it was undoubtedly that of a male. In the right hand was a large iron or steel weapon, which had been buried with the body, but which crumbled to pieces on handling. Near the skeleton we also found pieces of cedar wood, cut in various fantastic shapes, and in a state of perfect preservation; the carving showing that the people of this unknown race were acquainted with the use of edged tools. We also found a large stone pipe, the stem of which was inserted between the teeth of the skeleton. The bowl of the pipe weighs five ounces, and is made of sandstone; and the aperture for tobacco had the appearance of having been drilled out." "We found another skeleton near that of the above mentioned, which was not quite as large, and must be that of a woman. There was a neatly carved tombstone near the head of this skeleton. Close by, the floor was covered with a hard cement, to all appearances a part of the solid rock, which, after patient labor and exhaustive work, we succeeded in penetrating, and found it was but the corner of a box, similarly constructed, in which we found about three pints of wheat kernels, most of which was dissolved when brought in contact with the air. A few of the kernels found in the center of the heap looked bright, and retained their freshness on being exposed. These were carefully preserved, and last spring planted and grew nicely. We raised four and a half pounds of heads from these grains. The wheat is unlike any other raised in this country, and produces a large yield. It is the club variety; the heads are very long and hold very large grains." "We find houses in all the mounds, the rooms of which are as perfect as the day they were built. All the apartments are nicely plastered, some in white, others in red color. Crockery ware, cooking utensils, vases—many of a pattern similar to the present age—are also found. Upon one large stone jug or vase can be traced a perfect delineation of the mountains near here for a distance of twenty miles. We have found several millstones used for grinding corn, and plenty of charred corn-cobs, with kernels not unlike what we know as yellow dent corn. We judge from our observations that those ancient dwellers of our country followed agriculture for a livelihood, and had many of the arts and sciences known to us, as we found molds made of clay for casting different implements, needles made of deer-horns, and lasts made of stone, and which were in good shape. We also found many trinkets, such as white stone beads and marbles as good as made

now ; also small squares of polished stones resembling dominoes, but for what use intended we cannot determine."

The above account we see no reason to discredit, and can only wish that the examinations had been more thorough and the account more explicit as to dimensions of rooms and other details. From what is stated, however, we conclude that the authors of these works could not have belonged to the present Indian race, but were undoubtedly of the mound-building people of the Mississippi Valley. It is, at least, a most interesting discovery, and they may belong to a series of structures which shall yet reveal the history of their migrations. That there were two if not three, distinct and widely separated southward movements, in point of time, of the pre-historic race, has already been suggested ; and the Utah mounds may belong to that class which upon further investigation shall furnish the clue to one of the routes pursued, and lead to its demonstration. Should the conjecture as to their authorship be verified, a new chapter of unusual interest in the history of the Mound-builders will be opened for our perusal ; and we may reasonably hope for much valuable information concerning the character and extent of their agriculture, their esthetic taste, and their knowledge of the industrial arts ; and we may find that, in most respects, their social condition was in no wise inferior to that of Mexico and Peru. The wood-carving, plastered and tinted walls, painted vases, and the presence of that most precious of all cereals, wheat, are new and striking evidences of a higher social state than we have hitherto thought possible, whose luxury and refinement were but the presage of a nobler civilization which found its realization and full development in Central and South America, or by some dire calamity was overwhelmed and destroyed.

## CHAPTER IX

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.—HISTORICAL OR NATIONAL FESTIVAL MOUNDS.—STONE STRUCTURES.—RUINS ON THE GASCONADE RIVER.—GROUP NEAR LOUISIANA, MO.—SOME INDIANA RELICS.—CREMATION CHAMBERS.—PROOFS OF ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE.—GREAT CANALS ANTE-DATING THE ERIE.—ANCIENT COUNTERPARTS OF MODERN ACHIEVEMENTS.—OUR SOUTHERN "BAYOUS" OF ARTIFICIAL ORIGIN.

The works to be described under the head of Historical, or National Festival Mounds have already been noticed. A representation of one of this class is given on page 30. (Fig. 9.) It consists of three embankments placed in a triangular form, enclosing a central mound which is also enclosed by a circle of small elevation. The ends of the embankments do not meet, however, but narrow openings are left at the lines of intersection, and in these openings are found small truncated mounds. Sometimes, we are told, the group is composed of two parallel walls, but oftener of three, in triangular position as just described; while some have been seen which had four embankments arranged in the form of a square; all, however, containing the central mound with its enclosing circle.

These groups have generally been thought to be defensive works. As far as known, none have been seen south of Missouri, but it is said they frequently occur in the States of Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, and some in Illinois. In the latter two States the usual form is square, while in Iowa and Missouri the triangular arrangement is most frequent. As the walls are generally of no great height, they are among the first to be leveled by the plough. But, of whatever form or size, there seems always to have been observed in their construction a fixed rule in the relative size of the several parts, whose uniformity invests them with an interest peculiar to themselves. The group figured on page 30, though found in Iowa, was selected for description because this form is said to have been of most frequent occurrence in Missouri.

It will be remembered that the embankments which form the sides of the triangle were each one hundred and forty-four feet in length, and respectively three, four and five feet in height, and twelve feet in diameter. The sum of the heights of the embankments is twelve feet, which is the exact height of the central mound. These multiplied together equal the length of the embankments—one hundred and forty-four feet. In all which have been described, the same relation of the several parts is observed. The embankments are always of equal length, but never

of the same height, while the sum of the heights—whether the group is composed of three or four—always equals the height of the central mound, and the product of both gives the length of the embankments. The tradition concerning them is, that they were erected to perpetuate the union of two or more tribes; the number forming the compact is recorded by the number of embankments, and their relative power by the height of each. The circle in the center of the enclosure was known as the festival circle, and the small mounds in the angles, or openings, were matrimonial mounds. To these works the confederated tribes made annual visits, to celebrate the event of their union with singing, dancing and feasting, and a great variety of festive games, which were performed within the enclosure. The national union thus celebrated was further cemented on these occasions by intermarriages among the members of the different tribes, which took place at the matrimonial mounds. The central mound was known as the union mound, and on festival occasions was occupied conjointly by the chiefs and prophets of each nation, who presided during the celebration. Concerning the relative age of this class of works nothing is known, and though the tradition above given may be regarded as having no weight or importance, it is quite clear that all conjecture concerning them is equally valueless.

The early writers upon the antiquities of Missouri make frequent mention of the ruins of buildings which were constructed of unhewn stone, and whose walls were said to have been built up with creditable skill and strength, though without durable mortar, if indeed any were used.

Of this kind of structure, the examples are very rare east of the Mississippi. Whether any are now to be found in any good degree of preservation is quite doubtful. I will present, therefore, such facts concerning them as can be gleaned from the most trustworthy accounts of early writers. The first to be noticed are thus described by Mr. Lewis C. Beck, who, after speaking of the pine timber which abounded fifty or sixty years ago along the Gasconade river, and the saw mills erected upon its banks by which the lumber was prepared for the St. Louis market, goes on to state that “near the saw mills, and at a short distance from the road leading from them to St. Louis, are the ruins of an ancient town. It appears to have been regularly laid out, and the dimensions of the squares, streets, and some of the houses can yet be discovered. Stone walls are found in different parts of the area, which are frequently covered by large heaps of earth. Again, a stone work exists, as I am informed by Gen. Ashley, about ten miles below the mills. It

is on the west side of the Gasconade, and is about 25 or 30 feet square; and, although at present in a dilapidated condition, appears to have been built with an uncommon degree of regularity. It is situated on a high bald cliff, which commands a fine and extensive view of the country on all sides. From this stone work is a small foot-path running a devious course down the cliff to the entrance of a cave, in which was found a quantity of ashes. The mouth of the cave commands an easterly view.

"It would be useless at this time to hazard an opinion with regard to the uses of this work, or the beings who erected it. In connection with those of a similar kind which exist on the Mississippi, it forms an interesting subject for speculation. They evidently form a distinct class of ancient works, of which I have, as yet, seen no description."

Another group, described by the same author, was located about two miles southwest of the town of Louisiana. "They are built of stone, with great regularity, and their site is high and commanding, from which I am led to infer that they were intended for places of defence. Works of a similar kind are found on Buffalo creek, and on the Osage river. They certainly form a class of antiquities entirely distinct from the walled towns, fortifications, barrows, or mounds. The regularity of their form and structure favors the conclusion that they were the work of a more civilized race than those who erected the former—a race familiar with the rules of architecture, and perhaps with a perfect system of warfare." The description of those works located near Louisiana is accompanied by a ground-plan or diagram made by the Rev. S. Giddings, a former clergyman of St. Louis, of which Fig. 1 is an exact copy.

#### DESCRIPTION OF ACCOMPANYING DIAGRAM.

*a, b, c, d*, outer wall, 18 inches in thickness; length, 56 feet; breadth, 22 feet. The walls are built of rough, unhewn stone, and appear to have been constructed with remarkable regularity.

*E* is a chamber three feet in width, which was no doubt arched the whole way, as some part of the arch still remains. It is made in the manner represented at 3, and is seldom more than five feet above the surface of the ground: but as it is filled with rubbish it is impossible to say what was its original height.

*F* is a chamber four feet wide, and in some places the remains of a similar arch still remain.

*G* is a chamber 12 feet in width, at the extremity of which are the remains of a furnace.

*H* is a large room with two entrances, *I* and *K*. It is covered with a thick growth of trees. The walls are at present from two to five feet in height. One of the trees in the work is two feet in diameter. 2 is a smaller work about 80 rods due east from the former.

*A* and *C* are two chambers without any apparent communication with *B*.

*B* is a room nearly circular, with an entrance.

In the apartment *G*, human bones have been found.

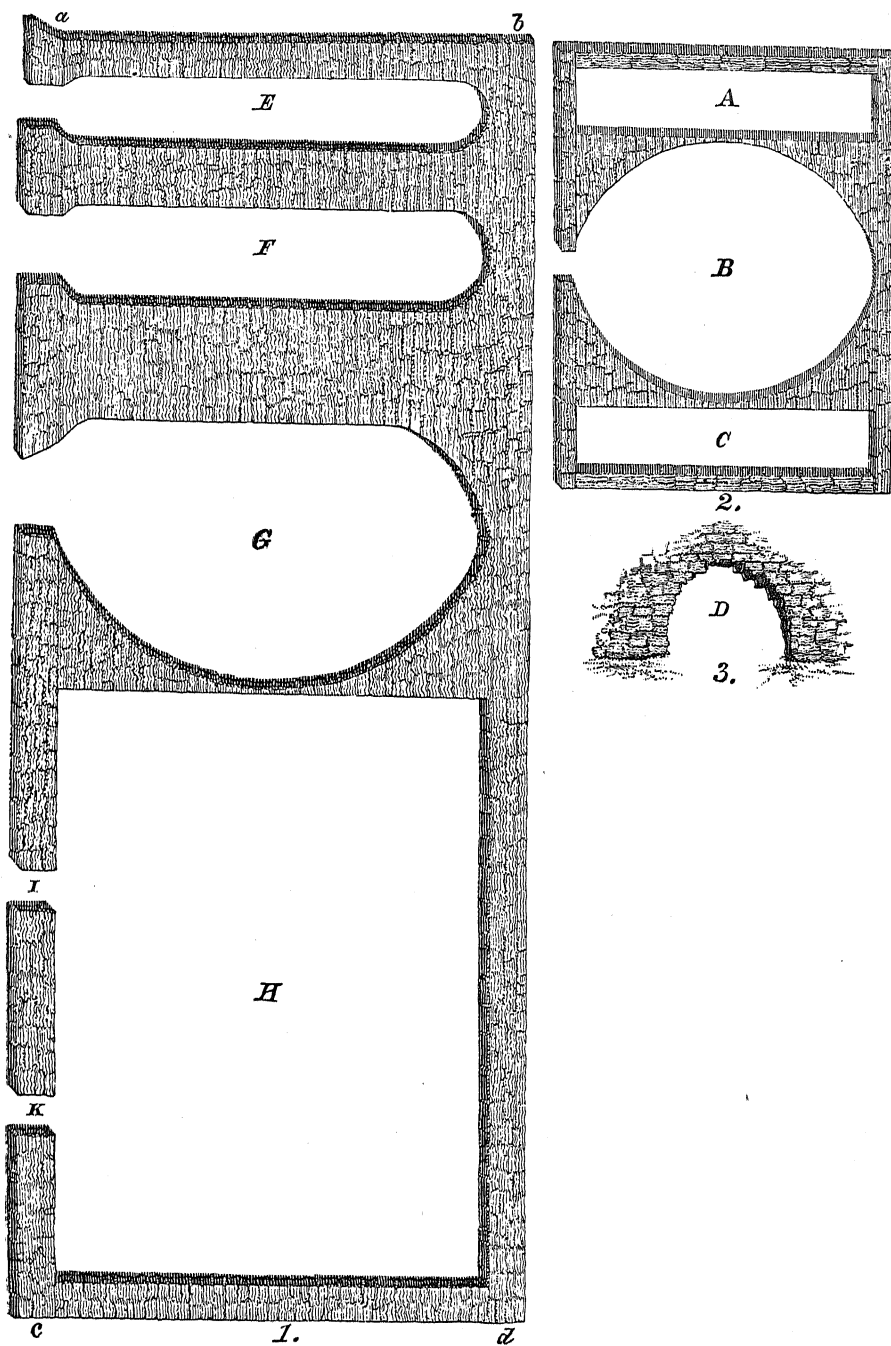


Fig. 1.—Ancient Works near Louisiana, Mo.

The stone edifices thus described seem to have been peculiar to Missouri alone, as I find no notices of existing similar works in any other locality, unless those described by Mr. Brown in his *Western Gazetteer* were such. Those were found near the town of Harrisonville, Franklin Co., in the State of Indiana. They were located on the neighboring hills, northeast of the town. The ruins of quite a number were observed, all of which, it is stated, were built of rough, unhewn stone. The walls were levelled nearly to the foundations, and covered with soil, brush and full-grown trees. Mr. Brown informs us that "after clearing away the earth, roots and rubbish from one of them, he found it to have been anciently occupied as a dwelling. It was about twelve feet square. At one end of the building was a regular hearth, on which were yet the ashes and coals of the last fire its owners had ever enjoyed, for around the hearth were the decayed skeletons of eight persons, of different ages, from a small child to the head of a family. Their feet were all pointing towards the hearth, which fact suggests the probability that they were murdered while asleep." The bottom lands in this region are said to have abounded in mounds similar to those described elsewhere, and containing human bones, implements of stone, and a superior article of glazed pottery. A skull taken from one of them was found pierced with a flint arrow which was still sticking in the wound, and was about six inches long. The stone dwellings described by Mr. Brown were evidently of inferior construction to those of Missouri. The authors of the latter showed no mean skill in architecture; while the rough and ruder walls of the Indiana structures, their diminutive size, along with the fact of the whole family lying together on the floor, would indicate a social condition but little removed from barbarism. Whether their builders belonged to the race of the mounds in the valleys near, is not certain, and the means of deciding the question are doubtless destroyed.

Upon a recent visit to the site of the works near Louisiana, Mo., described by Mr. Beck, I found only a confused heap of stones, the walls thrown down and the stones scattered in every direction. The view from the summit of the hill where the building once stood was very extensive and lovely. Mr. Levi Pettibone, now ninety-seven years of age, and Mr. Edwin Draper,—both gentlemen having resided in the neighborhood of the work for nearly half a century—confirmed the account given by Mr. Beck, in every important particular.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stillman, the obliging and gentlemanly proprietor of the Laclede Hotel at Louisiana, also gave me much valuable information. He stated that formerly there existed

In the February number of the *Western Review* of the present year, appears quite a lengthy article, by Judge E. P. West, containing an account of the examination of several mounds near the Missouri river which contained "buried chambers, or vaults, built of stone, compactly and regularly laid." The stones, which are undressed on the inside, are laid horizontally, and apparently have been selected with great care, the walls presenting, when the earth is removed, a smooth inner face. The chambers were generally of uniform size, being about eight and one half feet square and four feet in height. Each had an opening, or doorway, towards the south, two and a half feet in width. The walls were about eighteen inches in width at the top, and five feet at the base. Some are described as containing "a large quantity of burnt human and animal bones, burnt clay, wood ashes and charred wood, all intermingled and extending entirely over the floor, at one point to the depth of eight inches." Judge West seems to favor the opinion that they were used for dwellings, before the dead were interred in them. This was possibly the case; but the commingled mass of burnt bones, charred wood, and burnt clay to the depth of several inches, would point to funeral rites by cremation. A house eight and a half feet square and four feet high would be a very confined habitation for a family of ordinary size. It seems more in consonance with the facts as stated to suppose them to have been furnaces for consuming the dead by burning. The Judge computes their age to be about two thousand years. Other and similar structures have been described to me, and the localities of their sites named, by respectable persons who claimed to have opened them, of much larger dimensions than any above described, and which are stated to have contained large quantities of human bones and implements of stone. One, I was told, contained a vault at least one hundred and fifty feet in length, fifty feet wide and above twelve feet in height. Another,

upon his land, at a distance of about half a mile from the work described, a stone heap of quite large dimensions, similar in its appearance to those noticed in a previous chapter and conjectured to have been of Indian origin. Having occasion to use the stones for the walls of a cistern, he caused them to be removed. At the bottom of the pile he found a level floor, composed of flat stones of various sizes, but joined together, as he expressed it, as closely and evenly as any mason could do it to-day. From these, and similar facts, I am led to believe that possibly many of those which appear outwardly to be simply piles of stones loosely thrown together, and which are to be counted by thousands upon the hills in various parts of the State, may be the remains of the uncemented walls of ancient habitations. And this conviction receives additional strength from the fact that recent explorations of many earthen mounds have disclosed a vault, walled and arched with stone,—some of large dimensions,—with contents similar to those of Utah.



much smaller, was beautifully arched with stone. At the time the narrator saw it, it was cleared of the decayed skeletons and was used as a dairy-house. The two just mentioned were in Missouri, and distant from each other one hundred and fifty miles. Again the question recurs Who built them; and whence their architectural skill and knowledge?

Says Dr. Foster: "A broad chasm is to be spanned before we can link the Mound Builders to the North American Indians." There are some who attempt to do this, but the difficulties which beset the task are insurmountable to those who have examined, with any degree of thoroughness, the evidences of the vastly superior civilization of the people who erected the stone structures found in Missouri, to that of the North American Indians, during any known period of their history; and to such, the belief that they were the authors of the multitudinous monuments of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys, becomes altogether improbable. But if all this is inconclusive of the proposition we maintain, what shall be said of the ancient canals, some of which still remain, the indubitable evidences of an extended inland communication between lakes, rivers and bayous, and also of an industry, enterprise and skill which would be creditable to the scientific engineers of our own times? In many of the great achievements of this age of ours we are only recovering the knowledge and wisdom of the long-forgotten past.

When Gov. Clinton, of New York, first proposed the construction of the Erie Canal, the idea was greeted with scorn and derision; and as the work progressed it was characterized as "Clinton's Ditch," the opposers of the scheme little dreaming that it was to become the great channel for the commerce of the nation; connecting, as it does, the great chain of lakes in the far Northwest with the Atlantic Ocean. And not until a thousand freighted boats began to pour the rich treasures of the prairies into the lap of the East, was the far-seeing wisdom of its projector fully vindicated. Then men began to point to it with boasting congratulation, as an evidence of the rapid and surprising progress which we of the nineteenth century were achieving. But alas for human pride! we are but slowly learning again what other nations, who lived in the morning of the historic period, knew, and the world had long ago forgotten.

Again, when the French began the Suez Canal, "all the world wondered" at the grandeur of the enterprise. But they soon found that they were only clearing out the sands of three or four thousand years' accumulation from the old pathway of the commerce of the Pharaohs, who had built the canal when Egypt was the storehouse of the nations. These came through the canal to her door, in great ships laden with the

riches of the Orient, which they exchanged for corn, and then sailed back from the Nile, and through the Red Sea to their homes again. But at length the scepter departed from the throne of the Pharaohs; the temple colleges, to which the philosophers of Greece resorted for instruction six hundred years before Christ, were closed, and crumbled in decay—the desert sands swept over their ruins; the canal was filled and forgotten through all the long dark ages. At length commerce revives, and men begin to dig canals again, with vain-glorious pride.

It is with nations as with individuals who are taken with some deadly disease, from which they barely escape with their lives. Though their strength returns, their memory is utterly oblivious to all they have ever learned from books, and so they must begin with the alphabet once more. Nations have their deadly maladies from which few recover, and for those which do, how long and unpromising is the tutilage of their second childhood. History is repeated here. The pre-historic people of Missouri were not only great in populous towns, in their agriculture, in their huge piles of earth and embankments and buildings of stone, but they, too, were canal-builders. With surprising skill they developed a system of internal navigation, so connecting the lakes and bayous of the southern interior of the State, that the products of the soil found a ready outlet to the great river. The remains of these artificial water-courses have been frequently alluded to by travelers who have seen them, but never thoroughly explored. Dr. G. C. Swallow, while at the head of the Geological Survey, called attention to them, and described one which was "fifty feet wide and twelve feet deep." For the fullest description of this class of works, I am indebted to Geo. W. Carleton, Esq., of Gayoso; who, in response to a note of enquiry,—in addition to many interesting facts concerning a great number of ancient structures in Pemiscot County,—kindly furnished the following account, which I give in his own words:

"Besides our Mounds, we can boast of ancient canals. Col. John H. Walker informed me that before the earthquakes, these canals—we call them bayous now—showed very plainly their artificial origin. Since the country has become settled, the land cleared up, the embankments along those water courses have been considerably leveled down. One of these canals is just east of the town of Gayoso. It now connects the flats of Big Lake with the Mississippi river. Before the bank crumbled off, taking in Pemiscot bayou, it connected this bayou with the waters of Big Lake. Another stream, that Col. Walker contended was artificial, is what we now call Cypress Bend Bayou. He said that it was cut so as to

connect the waters of Cushion Lake with a bayou running into Big Lake. Cushion Lake lies in the northern part of Pemiscot county. The canal was cut from the flats of the lake on the south side, about three miles into Big Lake bayou. By this chain of canals, lakes and bayous, these ancient mound-builders and canal-diggers could have an inland navigation from the Mississippi river at Gayoso, into and through Big Lake bayou and the canal into Cushion Lake, through Cushion Lake and a bayou into Collins Lake or the open bay, thence north through a lake and bayou some eight miles, where another canal tapped this water course and run east into the Mississippi river again, some five miles below the town of New Madrid. Col. Walker, in referring to these water-courses, spoke of them only as canals. They show even now a huge bank of earth, such as would be made by an excavation, on the side opposite to the river, so that in case of overflow the water from the river would not wash the excavated dirt back into the canal." <sup>1</sup>

Although in the foregoing account the present depth and width are not given, from it and from the reports of others, there can be no doubt that the ancient inhabitants had constructed with a skill which would do no discredit to our own engineers, a system of connecting canals which must have been necessitated by an extended internal trade, and which required boats of respectable dimensions. The evidences of work of such magnitude as canals, widen the "broad chasm" which is to be spanned before we can link the Mound-builders to the North American Indians, until it becomes an impassable gulf.

<sup>1</sup>In reply to a subsequent note of inquiry as to the length of this water-course, including canal and bayou, Mr. Carlton estimates it to be about seventy miles.

## CHAPTER X.

POTTERY.—SUPERIORITY OF PRE-HISTORIC AMERICAN WARES OVER THOSE OF EUROPE.—IMITATIONS OF LIVING OBJECTS.—THE MATERIALS USED.—RELIQUARIES.—SKULLS ENCLOSED IN EARTHEN VESSELS.—BOWLS WITH ORNAMENTAL HEADS.—PROBABILITIES OF HIGHER ART AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

The number of vessels of pottery which have been taken from the mounds in Missouri is prodigious, and almost endless in variety. In an instance which fell under my own observation, nearly, if not quite, one thousand pieces were obtained from a single burial mound; and these were of various sizes and great diversity of form and workmanship. Some of the most characteristic examples will be presented as we proceed. The skill displayed by the pre-historic Americans in everything they manufactured from common clay is vastly superior to that of the ancient civilizations of Europe, to which, in other respects many striking similarities may be traced.

From the fact that few articles which are the products of human ingenuity and skill are more enduring than earthen-ware, this class of antiquities, to the archæologist, is very interesting and instructive. The skill and taste displayed in its various imitative forms, in outline and decoration, give us an insight into some phases of the domestic life, social condition and æsthetic taste of ancient peoples, which can be derived from no other source. Fragments of pottery, to the archæologist, therefore, are the imperishable leaves of a book, inscribed by the truthful hand of humanity, in legible characters, with the precious records of those feelings and tender sentiments which are recorded nowhere else, and which need no translation. Their value is enhanced so much the more by the fact that we possess specimens of these records from every quarter of the globe, and coeval with the remotest civilizations.



Fig. 1.

The successful attempts of the ancient Americans to imitate the forms of beasts and birds, which they saw every day around them, evince a contemplation, observation and affectionate communion with nature which fills us with surprise.

The drinking vessel molded into the form of an owl, a representation of which is given in Fig. 1, seems, by its frequent occurrence in the mounds, to have been a favorite model. The most common form is the universal gourd-shaped water jug (Fig. 2). These are of various sizes, the largest being from eight to ten inches high, and the largest diameter not exceeding eight inches. Sometimes the body of the jug is more globular on the top than this figure shows. Fig. 3 presents a form of water jug which, as far as my own observation extends, is much more rare than the preceeding. The engraving was made some years ago ; I have since seen a sufficient number to prove that the reconstruction of the neck is correct. From the greater size of the neck I am led to believe that it was an ordinary drinking-vessel ; while the form represented in Fig. 2 is more properly that of a

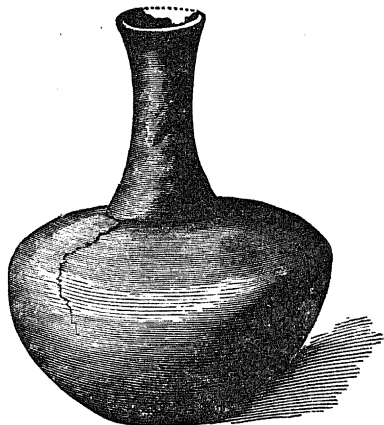


Fig. 2.

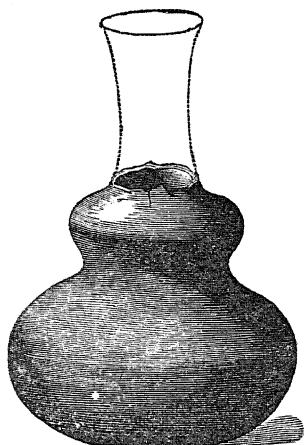


Fig. 3.

water-cooler, which, when filled, was hung up until the water was reduced in temperature by its slow evaporation through the pores of the vessel, after the manner of the inhabitants of the American tropics at the present time.

In reference to the superiority of the skill displayed by the Mound-builders in the ceramic arts, to the corresponding civilization of ancient Europe, I can not do better than quote the words of Dr. Foster.<sup>1</sup>

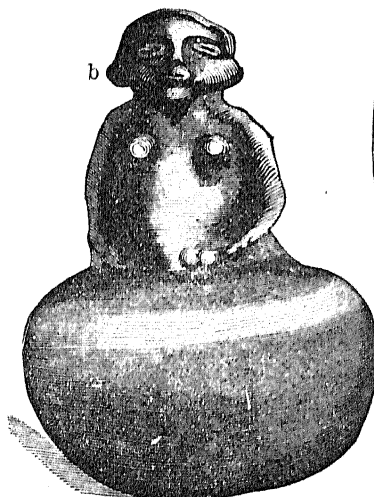
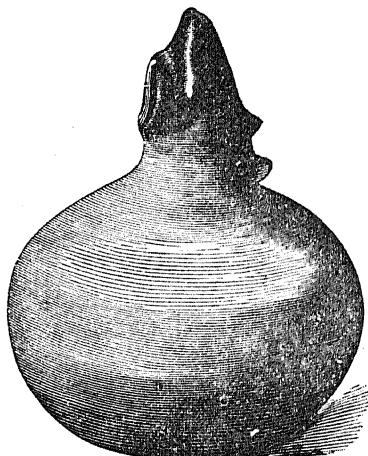
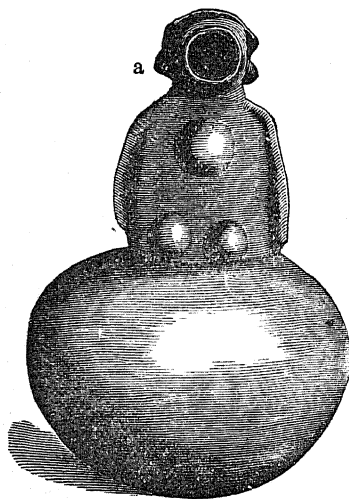
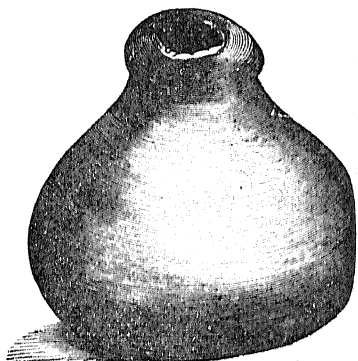
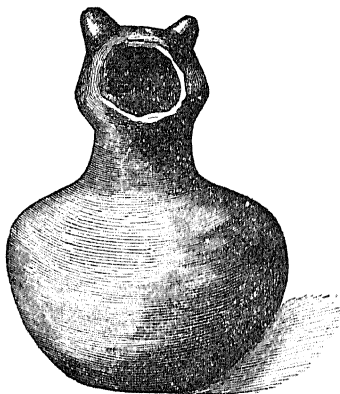
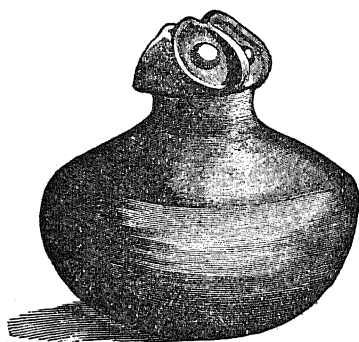
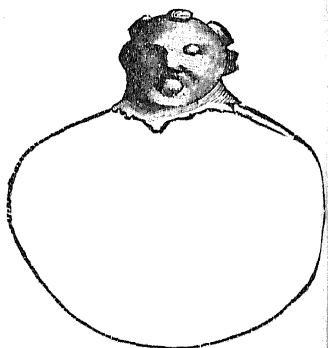
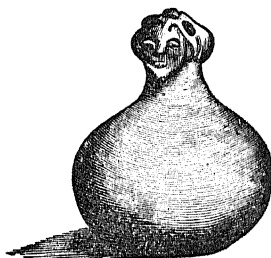
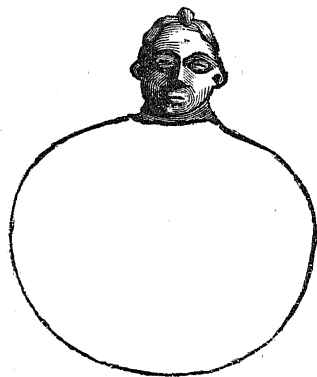
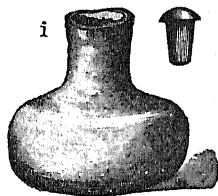
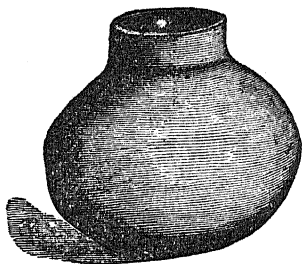
"In the plastic arts, the Mound-builders attained a perfection far in advance of any samples which had been found characteristic of the Stone, and even the Bronze Age of Europe. We can readily

<sup>1</sup> Pre-historic Races of the United States, p. 236.

conceive that, in the absence of metallic vessels, pottery would be employed as a substitute, and the potter's art would be held in the highest esteem. From making useful forms, it would be natural to advance to the ornamental. Sir John Lubbock remarks that 'few of the British sepulchral urns, belonging to the ante-Roman times, have upon them any curved lines. Representations of animals and plants are almost entirely wanting.' They are even absent from all the articles belonging to the Bronze Age in Switzerland, and I might almost say in Western Europe generally, while ornaments of curved and spiral lines are eminently characteristic of this period. The ornamental ideas of the Stone Age, on the other hand, are confined, so far as we know, to compositions of straight lines, and the idea of a curve scarcely seems to have occurred to them. The most elegant ornaments on their vases are impressions made by the finger-nail, or by a cord wound round the soft clay."

"The commonest forms of the Mound-builders' pottery represent kettles, cups, water-jugs, pipes, vases, etc. Not content with plain surfaces, they frequently ornamented their surfaces with curved lines and fret-work. They even went farther, and moulded images of birds, quadrupeds, and of the human form. The clay, except for their ordinary kettles, where coarse gravel is often intermixed, is finely-tempered, so that it did not warp or crack in baking,—the utensils, when completed, having a yellowish or grayish tint."

In the group of vessels shown in Fig. 4, while the human faces and heads of birds are crudely expressed, we find much to admire in the tasteful forms of the birds themselves. The flow of their outline, so to speak, evinces a degree of refinement of feeling which could only result from a culture of the sense for beauty, which must have required a long time for its realization. It will be noticed that the mouths or openings were, on all, made at the back side of the head. This seems to have been the uniform practice, whether the head of the vessel was that of man, beast or bird. Sometimes the vessels with vertical openings, as of *h* and *l*, are fitted with covers of the same material, with projecting knobs on the top for handling them. Sometimes, again, the smaller jugs, or bottles as they should be called, have nicely-adjusted stoppers, as shown at *i*. These latter bottles are made of much finer material, and while they are generally quite thin, they are so well baked that they seem to be almost as tough and strong as our own ware. On page 23 of the Eighth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum, a representation of two of these stoppers is given; one of which is the same as shown at *i* (Fig. 4). They are described as "two articles



Varieties of Drinking Vessels from Southeast Missouri. a and b Front and Back View of same Vessel. i Small Bottle and Stopper.

carved from a hard clay slate and carefully smoothed. Their use is problematical, but they so closely resemble lip ornaments as to suggest that they were such." These are now in the "Swallow Collection" of the museum. In its transportation from Missouri to Massachusetts, the report informs us, many of the articles were so broken as to make their reconstruction impossible. When I had the pleasure of examining this collection, some years since, these stoppers were then attached to the bottles with which they were found. The smaller bottle of the two, Professor Swallow informed me, when taken from the mound, contained a red liquid.

Some, of the representations of the human figure are executed with a good degree of fidelity to nature, through all the members; showing that the artist had studied carefully his model, and had evidently labored to tell the truth as he saw it. Some of the human figures have an expression so striking and individual that we can hardly believe that they

are not portraits. This becomes more probable when we examine the animal representations, or rather the heads of birds, with which the pottery is very often ornamented; particularly those of the different varieties of ducks, in which we observe in the shape of the head, line of neck, etc., the nicest distinctions in particular varieties, which are expressed with remarkable skill. This will be apparent when we come to the consideration of Food Vessels.

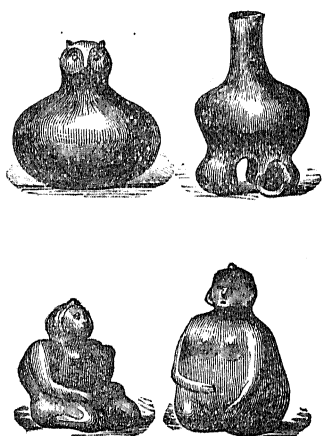


Fig. 5.

In the annexed group (Fig. 5) are four varieties. In one, the head of the horned owl is skillfully joined to the body of the vessel. Another form of jug, which is of less frequent occurrence than the gourd-shape, is, as shown in the cut, supported by four and sometimes three hollow bulbous legs. The two human figures are coarsely executed, except the heads. They usually represent a hump-backed female figure in a sitting position, and the legs, when they are suggested, bent under the body, with arms resting upon the knees. They are simple water-jugs, having the mouth always in the occipital region of the head. Occasionally one is met with which is grossly indelicate. The vessels representing the human figure vary much in size. Some are so small that their capacity is not greater than two fluid ounces. The larger are from four to ten inches in height



and hold from one to four pints. This is, however, a proximate estimate, but can not be far wrong.

Some of the smaller images are, of all that I have seen, altogether the most artistic and expressive. They have been by some supposed to be idols, but there is no evidence whatever, that I have seen, which favors this supposition. They all have an orifice through which the cavities could be filled, which is constructed precisely like the commonest jugs; while their relative position in the mounds, in companionship with other vessels, is conclusive to my own mind that they were used as receptacles of some precious articles of domestic use; such as medicines, ointments, and the like. And again, there is very little in all we know concerning this people that would favor the idea that they had any idols, unless it may have been symbolic representations of the heavenly bodies, which we know were the chief objects of their worship. In addition to all this, they made images of beasts, as we shall see, which were unquestionably humorous caricatures.

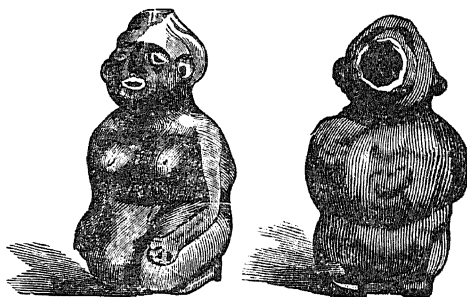


Fig. 6. Two Views.

The most elegant and artistic specimens of pottery which have been taken from the mounds in Missouri were quite recently discovered. Some vessels now in the museum of the St. Louis Academy of Science are very suggestive of the pottery of Ancient Egypt, and indeed, in their decorative forms, and coloring of black, red and white figures, are not greatly inferior to Etruscan art.<sup>1</sup>

The material of these articles is much finer than that of the common ware, which in the larger vessels, having a capacity of several gallons, is generally mixed with sand, and the medium sizes with pounded shells; while the finest seems to be composed of a light-colored, very fine-grained, yellowish clay—perhaps mixed with gypsum. The different varieties of ware, the different materials of which they are composed, and the diversity of tastes displayed in their decoration, would “suggest a division of labor” among several classes of skilled artisans and artists.

<sup>1</sup> The St. Louis Academy of Science, under the supervision of the Archæological Section, will soon publish a series of plates of these decorated jugs and vases, drawn on stone and printed in *fac simile* colors, with descriptive text by F. F. Hilder.

This was probably the case; for, as is well known, however common the articles manufactured may be as to their uses, in everything which comes from the hand of the skillful there is a finish or refinement of treatment which is never seen in the work of the unpracticed hand. The annexed engraving (Fig. 7) represents a jug, about nine inches in height, of a light yellowish color, ornamented around the neck with red and black lines, and around its greatest diameter with curved lines in red, white and black. It is very symmetrical in form, with a bottom sufficiently flat to cause it to stand firmly.



Fig. 7.

I have exhumed one similar in shape and color, but differently ornamented. Around the largest circumference were six red circles; close to these, and on the inside, are white circles. Within these again, is a red circle, and in each of the spaces thus enclosed by the circles, is a white cross with arms of equal

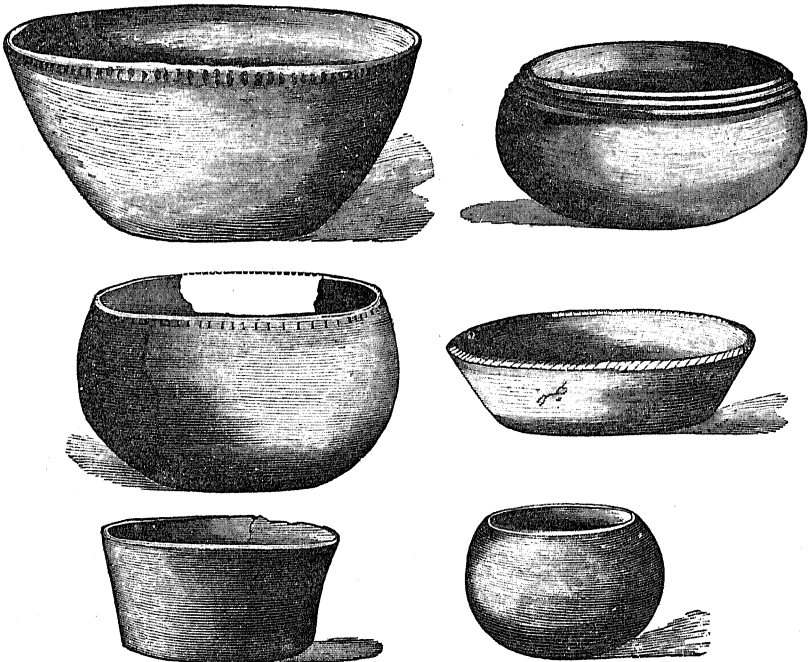


Fig. 8.

length. The stripes are about three-tenths of an inch in width. This combination of color and form has a striking and not displeasing effect. The knowledge and feeling evinced by the combination and contrast of

angles and circles, in colors, is certainly quite remarkable. The colors of the stripes were mixed with some sort of article which preserved them, and gave them a lustrous or varnished appearance, which they still to some degree retain.

In the next group (Fig. 8) are presented a few of the endless forms of the more common utensils. They are interesting as showing the constant and active presence of the inclination to beautify whatever vessel they manufactured. There are very few that are not ornamented in some manner. Some have the edges indented or dotted, as with the point of a stick or the finger-nail, while others have the rim slightly enlarged and marked with a spiral line, which gives the edge a beaded appearance. Some of these bowls and pans have a very familiar look as to their form.

This class of pottery, as well as the ordinary jugs, are usually of dark gray and well baked, the clay, as before stated, having been tempered with pounded shells.

In a previous chapter, describing the mode of burial in one of the mounds near West Lake, it was stated that with the skeletons were usually found two or three vessels, one or two jugs near the head, and a food-vessel in the bend of the arms, which were folded across the breast. The forms of food-vessels here presented are those most frequently found in that position. In some of them I have observed a very small pot, not much larger than a hen's egg: in some instances containing a bone. In others carbonized fruit, resembling wild grapes, has been found; in others, again, the soft remains of muscle shells, thoroughly decayed. The jugs and bowls which were interred with the corpse, no doubt, contained food and drink, for the purpose of sustaining the traveler during the long journey he was supposed to have entered upon. These pots suggest many interesting reflections concerning their faith and notions of a future life.

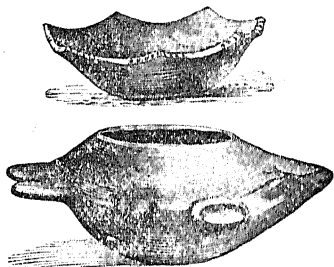


Fig. 9

The forms represented in the preceding group are the simplest of all but not more frequent than those which are much more ornamental. Vessels in the form of the muscle-shell, and holding fully one pint, are by no means unfrequent; and again a fish or frog will be used as a model. The two presented in Fig. 9 are quite common. Sometimes the legs and feet of the frog are well defined, but folded along the sides of the body. Usually, when a fish is represented, it is done by simply

moulding the head, tail and fins upon the side of the dish, but occasionally the exact form of the fish is represented, scales and all. In such cases, the orifice is in the side, and furnished with a tube which projects an inch or two, for convenience in use as a drinking-vessel. In one instance, which came under my notice, the body of a man lying upon the back was represented, with legs and arms rudely made out, and the tube projecting from the stomach.

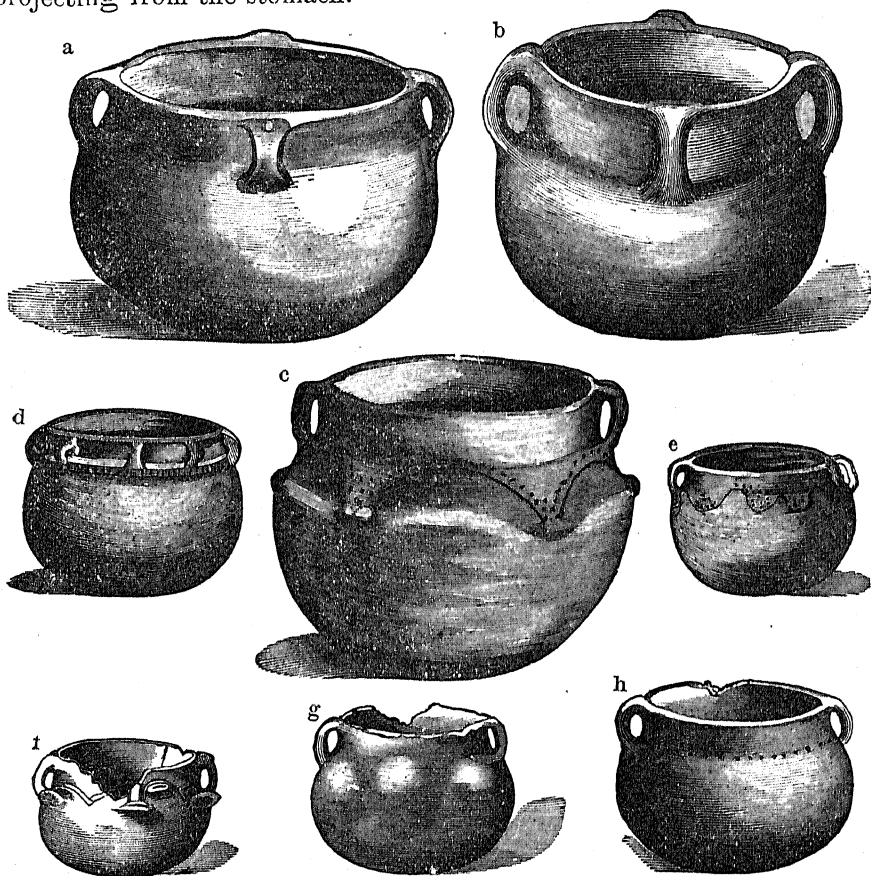


Fig. 10. Cooking Vessels.

Their imitative faculties, as illustrated in their pottery, were certainly remarkable, and to give an adequate idea of the variety of their work in the subjects which might be chosen for illustration would require more space than is allotted to this essay. We proceed, therefore, to consider their cooking utensils. Some of the more frequent forms are grouped together in Fig. 10.

While these vessels were doubtless for common, every-day use, some of them are really quite artistic and graceful. The three larger ones (*a, b, c*) are particularly so. The forms and ornamentation of the others seem to be more experimental, and perhaps transitional, as though the maker varied a little from his usual manner just to see how they would look. The one at *g*, however, is a much bolder innovation, and is finished as there shown, with six hemispheroidal projections. It will be observed that all have two or more handles, by which they were probably suspended over the fire by passing through them green twigs, which they covered with moist clay to prevent them from burning. Examples might be multiplied, *ad infinitum* almost, of this class of vessels, but the above are sufficient to illustrate the inventive powers of their authors in this direction, as well as their constant striving to gratify their æsthetic feeling in the manufacture of those fragile articles which were designed for the commonest uses.

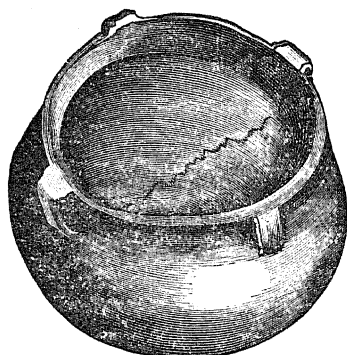


Fig. 11.

Fig. 11 represents a pot very similar to *a*, of the preceding group, but entirely unique in this, that it contained the upper portion of a human skull and one vertebra. It was taken from a mound near New Madrid, by Prof. Swallow, who tells us that the vessel must have been moulded around the skull, as it could not be removed without breaking the pot. It is now in the Peabody Museum. The top of the skull is shown in the engraving. This is certainly a curiosity. Nothing like it has been found in any other burial mound here or anywhere else, as far as known.

It may be remembered, however, in this connection, as before remarked, that small pots have frequently been found in the larger pans, and which contained a decayed shell or fragment of bone. These were, very likely, valued relics or charms which were buried with their possessor.

In Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology,"<sup>1</sup> in the chapter upon Idol-Worship and Fetich-Worship, the following interesting statements occur, which seem quite pertinent in this connection:

"Facts, already named, show how sacrifices to the man recently dead

<sup>1</sup> Popular Science Monthly for December, 1875, p. 153.

pass into sacrifices to his preserved body. We have seen that to the corpse of a Tahitian chief daily offerings were made on an altar by a priest; and the ancient Central Americans performed kindred rites before bodies dried by artificial heat. That, along with a developed system of embalming, this grew into mummy-worship, Peruvians and Egyptians have furnished proof.

"Here the thing to be observed is that, while believing the ghost of the dead man to have gone away, these peoples had confused notions, either that it was present in the mummy, or that, the mummy was itself conscious. Among the Egyptians, this was clearly implied by the practice of sometimes placing their embalmed dead at table. The Peruvians, who by a parallel custom betrayed a like belief, also betrayed it in other ways. By some of them the dried corpse of a parent was carried round the fields that he might see the state of the crops.

"How the ancestor, thus recognized as present, was also recognized as exercising authority, we see in the story given by Santa Cruz. When his second sister refused to marry him, 'Huayna Capac went with presents and offerings to the body of his father, praying him to give her for his wife, but the dead body gave no answer, while fearful signs appeared in the heavens.'

"The primitive idea that any property characterizing an aggregate inheres in all parts of it, implies a corollary from this belief. The soul, present in the body of a dead man preserved entire, is also present in preserved parts of his body. Hence the faith in relics. Ellis tells us that, in the Sandwich Islands, bones of the legs, arms, and sometimes the skulls, of kings and principal chiefs, are carried about by their descendants, under the belief that the spirits exercise guardianship over them. The Crees carry bones and hair of dead persons about for three years. The Caribs, and several Guiana tribes, have their cleaned bones distributed among the relatives after death. The Tasmanians show 'anxiety to possess themselves of a bone from the skull or the arms of their deceased relatives.' The Adamanese 'widows may be seen with the skulls of their deceased partners suspended from their necks.' This belief in the power of relics leads in some cases to direct worship of them. Erskine tells us that the natives of Lifu, Loyalty Islands, who 'invoked the spirits of their departed chiefs,' also 'preserve relics of their dead, such as a finger nail, a tooth, a tuft of hair, and pay divine homage to it.' Of the New Caledonians, Turner says: 'In cases of sickness, and other calamities, they present offerings of food to the skulls of the departed.' Moreover we have the evidence furnished by conversation with the relic. Lander

says: 'In the private fetich hut of the King Adolee at Badagry, the skull of that monarch's father is *preserved in a clay vessel* placed in the earth.' He 'gently rebukes it if his success does not happen to answer his expectations.'

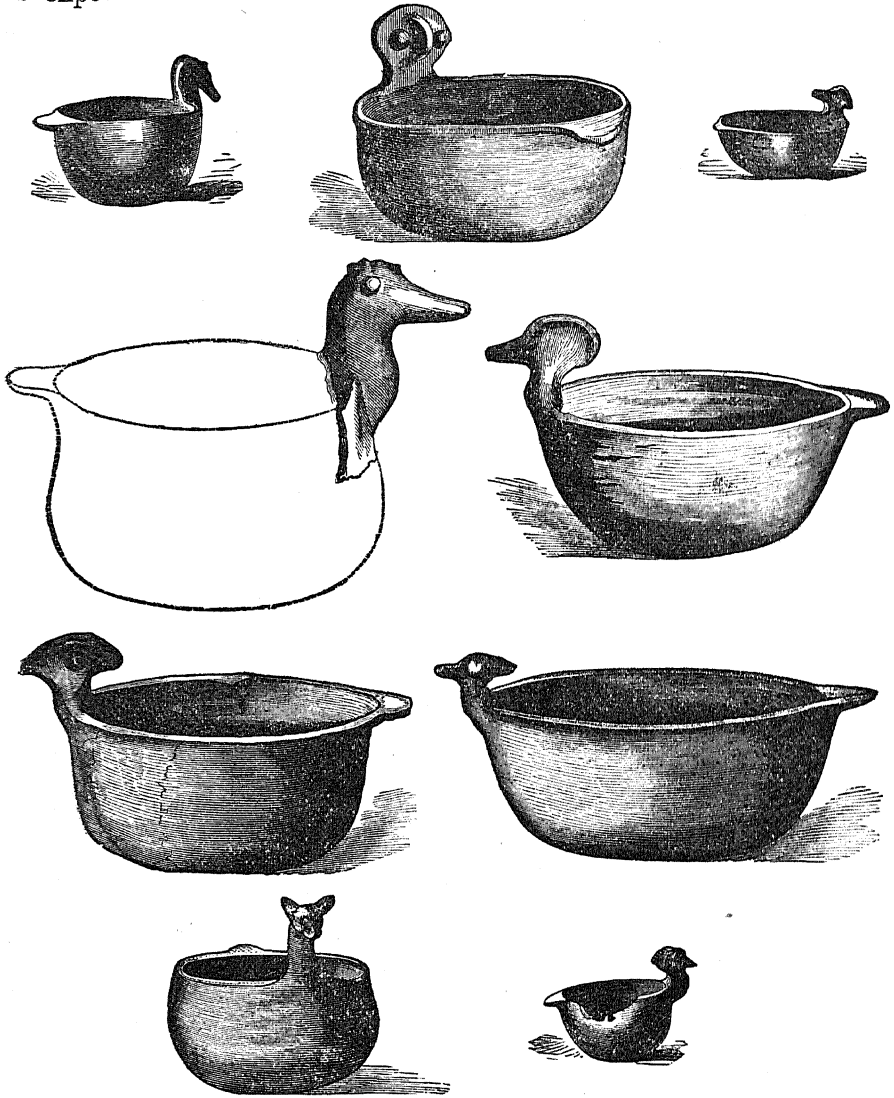


Fig. 12. Bowls With Ornamental Heads.

" Similarly, Catlin describes the Mandans as placing the skulls of their dead in a circle. Each wife knows the skull of her former husband or

child, 'and there seldom passes a day that she does not visit it, with a dish of the best cooked food. There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day, but more or less of these women may be seen sitting or lying by the skull of their child or husband, talking to it in the most pleasant and endearing language that they can use (as they were wont to do in former days) and seemingly getting an answer back.'

"Thus propitiation of the man just dead leads to propitiation of his preserved body or a preserved part of it; and the ghost is supposed to be present in the part as in the whole."

From the foregoing remarks and array of facts presented by Mr. Spencer, there can be but little doubt that the presence of the skull in the earthen vessel from the New Madrid mound is due to a belief in the presence of the soul in the relics of the departed, and which seems to have been a common belief among many savage and uncivilized nations.

In the next group (Fig. 12) are presented a few of the most common varieties of another and quite distinct class of bowls. They are peculiar in this: the bodies of the vessels are entirely devoid of ornamentation. From the edge of the lip on one side projects a small handle: on the opposite side is moulded the head of some beast or bird, and quite often a human head is represented.

The thing to be specially noticed is the diversity of form in the heads of the ducks. So faithfully are the distinctive features of the different varieties delineated, that those at all familiar with them must believe that the artist, according to the best of his skill, conscientiously copied nature. The beautiful curve of the neck, and its union with the outline of the vessel itself, could not possibly have been accidental.

The best which these ancient workmen could do is so far inferior to the art of our own times, that it is not easy for us to appreciate the difficulties they must have overcome, their many failures, the long time necessary for the acquisition of those habits of observation, and the development of the skill of hand sufficient to enable them to express themselves as creditably as they have done in all their imitative work. In the class of vessels under consideration, examples decorated with the human head and features are by no means rare. If the credit given them for conscientious observation of nature, and skill in expression of what they saw, is not an over-estimate, then we may believe that, in their delineation of the human face, they also copied nature with a sufficient degree of accuracy to warrant us in the idea that in their work we have at least characteristic likenesses of themselves. In the examples presented in Fig. 13, there is wanting that refinement of feeling and realistic portraiture which



are displayed in the preceding representations of animal heads; but still sufficient individuality to make them very interesting, and, as before remarked, to impress us with the belief that they too were copied from life.

In the examples thus far given of the pottery of the Missouri Mound-

builders, the aim has been to show the leading varieties and mode of decoration. The subject is by no means exhausted; in fact, almost every mound opened discloses some new variety, and I have seen many other specimens of their ware entirely different in form—some of them are beautifully decorated—but which are now scattered among private collections, and therefore not available for illustration here. There is one other curious form of drinking vessel which should be noticed. It has elicited much speculation as to what it was intended to represent.

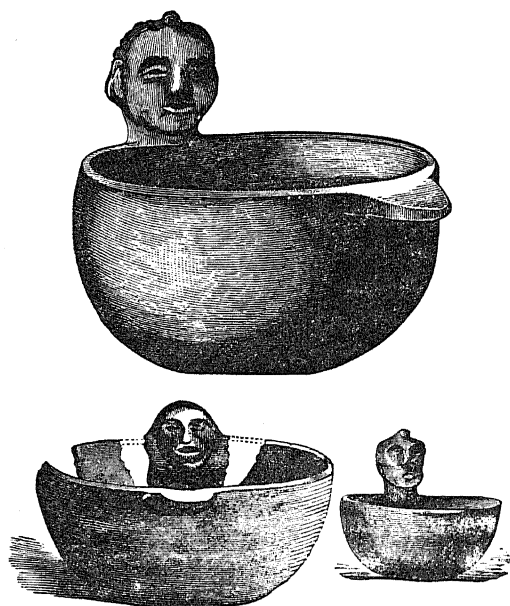


Fig. 13. Bowls With Human Heads.

Several of this variety have been found in the Missouri mounds, unmistakably representing the same animal, but no two alike. The general figure of this "what is it" is shown in the engraving. It has four clumsy legs, a thick body, the usual drinking neck projecting from the back, and a swinish head. Sometimes they are made of very fine and finely-tempered yellowish clay,—the larger ones of the usual material of the dark gray ware, with a capacity of from one to two pints. The light-colored and finer ones are decorated with scroll-work made out with red and white lines. Some of the larger ones have human faces moulded upon the sides of the body, midway between the legs. In some instances the head proper has the eyes of a human face and the snout turned up to such an extent as to completely obstruct the front line of vision, which, with its half-human expression, make it very grotesque. If the hog were



Fig. 14.

indigenous to America, it would at once be pronounced a representation of that animal. The nearest approach to it which is native here, is the peccary, or Mexican hog, but that has no tail, while on one example of this figure a tail was well represented; and as it would have been too easily broken in the natural position it was curled up on the hip. Some have pronounced it the hippopotamus. To my own eye it is intensely hoggish. But whatever was intended to be represented by it,—hog or hippopotamus,—it introduces a disturbing factor into the question of chronology which may require some time to adjust; unless we can credit La Vega's statement in his *Royal Commentaries of Peru*, that the ancient Peruvians who dwelt in the mountains had hogs similar to those which the Spaniards introduced. Again, if the model after which these were moulded was the common hog, which was introduced by the first white settlers in this region, why is it that they took no notice of any other animal or bird which the earliest settlers brought with them, or why do we not find in companionship in the mounds some other human vestigia of European origin? For the present we can only state the facts, with the questions which they suggest, and wait for further developments.

Writers upon American archæology have been able to find no evidence that the Mound-builders knew anything about the use of the potter's wheel; but it is difficult to believe that some of the finest of their work could have been so gracefully and symmetrically moulded by ordinary manipulation, and without some mechanical appliances and adjustments, by which a uniformity of action and pressure would be brought to bear upon the whole mass. Without discussing the question, however, I desire simply to call attention to two discoveries, which at first sight may seem unimportant, but after all may have some value, should they stimulate further and more careful observation in this direction. The first is represented in the engraving, Fig. 15, and was taken from a New Madrid mound by Prof. Swallow. "It is one-half of a rough ball of burnt clay, about 3.5 inches in diameter, and shows the impression of the skin and finger-marks of the hands that moulded it. This mass was perforated through the center, as shown in the figure giving a section of it."<sup>1</sup> It had perhaps been designed to be fashioned into a vessel of some

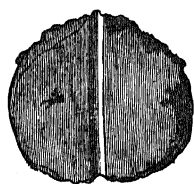


Fig. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Eighth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum.

sort, but by some means burnt before the design was carried out. The perforation would suggest that it had been attached to a stick or spindle for convenience in handling. The other article is much more suggestive. It belongs to that class of implements usually denominated spindle-whorls. They are found scattered over the whole country, at least wherever the principal works of the Mound-builders are to be seen. This was taken from a mound about eighteen miles from New Madrid. When I attempted to wash it, I discovered that it had not been hardened in the fire, but

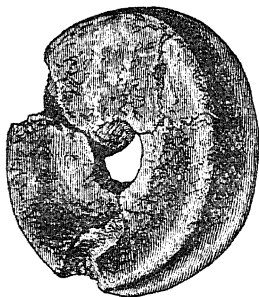


Fig. 15.

only sun-dried, as it fell into fragments under the action of the water. With great care, these were collected and glued together again. It is about 2.5 inches in diameter, and three-fourths of an inch in thickness at the periphery. Both sides are concave. The most interesting fact about it is this: It has around the outer edge a rudimentary groove, as represented in the engraving. Fig. 16. I can only wish the groove had been deeper. But as it was unburnt, I am led to believe that the article was unfinished; and that

had it been, it would have furnished some evidence that the maker was not unacquainted with the use of the pulley, or potter's wheel.

The necessity for condensation demands that here our consideration of this part of our subject should end. The variety and beauty of many of the objects of their fictile skill are very suggestive, and furnish much material for extended generalization. But a remark or two must suffice in this connection. To suppose that all this taste and feeling—this close observation of nature and fidelity in delineation, displayed in the pottery of the Mound-builders, found no expression in any other direction, and was expended upon their domestic utensils alone, is simply incredible. Very different must have been the homes of a people furnished with such tasteful articles, from those miserable huts which the nomadic Indians constructed for their habitations; and it is quite likely that in their dress as well as their dwellings they evinced the same ideas of taste and convenience which we perceive in their domestic utensils. In some of their human effigies we do find the manner of arranging the hair distinctly delineated, and we may yet discover those which shall furnish us with correct representations of their mode of dress. Indeed I have seen one vessel with figures of men rudely painted in outline upon its sides, who were clad in a flowing garment, gathered by a belt around the waist, and reaching to the knees. In this connection I may mention the

engraved shells which have frequently been found with skeletons, both in Missouri and Illinois. One of the most interesting is represented in Fig. 17,<sup>1</sup> which gives also the natural size. When taken from the mound, the shell was quite soft and brittle, and easily cut with the finger-



Fig. 17.

nail. The outer edge was much broken or worn away, as shown in the engraving. The design was enclosed by six circular lines, portions of which still remain. On one side were two perforations, designed doubtless for the string by which it was suspended from the neck. All similar shells that I have seen are so perforated. It seems quite evident from the picture that it memorializes the victory of the individual represented as standing over an enemy who lies on his face at his feet. The victor,

<sup>1</sup> For the photograph of which this is an accurate copy, I am indebted to the late Captain Whitley.

it will be observed, holds in his right hand a weapon or symbol of authority, with which he seems to be pressing the prostrate figure to the earth. Many of the accessories are unintelligible. While the whole work is very crude, and the figures out of all proportion, there is here and there an outline which shows earnest endeavor; as the leg of the standing figure, for example, in which also the action is so well expressed as to suggest that, by an impetuous onset, he has just felled his antagonist to the ground. The artist seems to have had most difficulty with the eye, or rather, has made no attempt at imitating that organ.

There is now in the museum of the St. Louis Academy of Science a similar shell, upon which is portrayed, in a creditable manner, the figure of a spider. I have also been shown another by Dr. Richardson, from a mound in Illinois, almost precisely like it, and differing only in a small symbolic device, which is carved upon the back of each. Engraved shells are generally found upon the breast of the skeleton, or in such a position as shows that they were originally placed there, and also where they were probably worn during life. According to Mr. Pidgeon, the spider emblem is perpetuated in the mounds far to the north. He describes one which he saw in Minnesota, about sixty miles above the junction of the St. Peters river with the Mississippi, which covered nearly an acre of ground. Upon ascending its highest elevation, he tells us, it was very evident that the spider was intended to be represented by it. I bring these facts together for the benefit of future observers, without speculating as to their significance, further than to venture the remark that they point to a great diffusion of one people, or their migration from the north, southwardly along the Mississippi valley.

## CHAPTER XI.

CRANIA.—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SKULLS OF THE MOUND-BUILDERS AND THE INDIANS.  
—DIFFICULTIES OF THE SUBJECT.—TWO VARIETIES OF CRANIA IN THE SAME MOUNDS.—  
PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFICATION.—INFLUENCE OF LOCAL CUSTOMS.—PERUVIAN SKULLS.—  
CHARACTERISTICS OF MISSOURI SPECIMENS, ETC.—THE TOOLS OF ANCIENT AMERICANS.  
—PROOFS OF A KNOWLEDGE OF IRON.

To the common observer, the unnumbered stars which shine nightly in the firmament above utter no voice, and give no sign concerning their physical condition, their individual motions, or relative distance from each other. All seemingly sweep on together with undeviating regularity—differing only in the intensity of their light. But when the appliances of modern science are brought to bear upon the facts within our grasp concerning them, and their dim rays are gathered up by the spectroscope, the faint star becomes a fiery orb and the theatre of the conflict of forces of prodigious power. The sun is seen to be a fiery, fluid mass, in whose atmosphere are ceaseless storms of flaming elements and tempestuous cyclones, which burst forth on every side with awful grandeur and inconceivable velocity.

Alike unintelligible to a common observer, in their ethnic relations, would be a collection of skulls brought together from different lands, as throwing any light upon the long history of the different races of mankind. Some would appear shorter, rounder or more irregular than others, but the same general features which characterize them all—with the exceptions named—would be about all that would be specially noticed. But when viewed in the resultant light of all the study which has been bestowed upon them, and the cautious inductions of the wisest ethnologists, they become vocal with revelations of transcendent interest. We are not to suppose, however, that there are no great and decided variations in the crania of a particular race, for these are as widely different as the varying expressions of the human face, and yet all the while presenting certain broad distinctions and characteristics by which the particular race to which they belong may generally be determined.

Says Dr. Foster: “ While the individual variations in the crania of a particular race are so great as to present intermediate gradations from one extreme to another, thus forming a connecting link between widely separated races, yet, in a large assemblage of skulls derived from a particular race, there is a general conformation, a predominant type; which appears

to have been constant as far back as human records extend; to have been unaffected by food, climate, or personal pursuits; and which has been regarded among the surest guides in tracing national affinities. Hitherto, our knowledge of the mound-builders' crania has been exceedingly scant—restricted to less than a dozen specimens—which, if authentic, clearly indicate for the most part the Indian type. The results of my observations have led me to infer that the mound-builders' crania were characterized by a general conformation of parts, which clearly separated them from the existing races of man, and particularly from the Indians of North America."

While the number of authentic skulls from the mounds has been greatly multiplied since the above was written, not much has yet been done in the way of classification, measurement and tabulation, so as to be available for serious study. But enough has been already determined to show how premature were the broad generalizations of Dr. Morton—and others who accepted his opinions—deduced from the few examples of the crania of the mounds which he was able to add to his large collection of other types from all parts of the world. While questioning some of his conclusions with which he sums up the results of his long-continued labors, no contrary deductions can detract in the slightest degree from the inestimable value of his labors and splendid contributions to ethnological science. While many, in view of more extended observations and discoveries since his time, will withhold their assent to the proposition, "that the American nations, excepting the polar tribes, are of one race and one species, but of two great families, which resemble each other in physical, but differ in intellectual character," all will heartily subscribe to the statement of Dr. Daniel Wilson that, "following in the footsteps of the distinguished Blumenbach, Dr. Morton has the rare merit of having labored with patient zeal and untiring energy, to accumulate and publish to the world the accurately observed data which constitute the only true basis of science. His *Crania Americana* is a noble monument of well-directed industry; and the high estimation in which it is held, as an accurate embodiment of facts, has naturally tended to give additional weight to his deductions."

Nor was this great naturalist less mistaken in his opinion as to the mode of burial practiced by the aborigines of the American continent. He tells us "that from Patagonia to Canada, and from ocean to ocean, and equally in the civilized and uncivilized tribes, a peculiar mode of placing the body in sepulture has been practiced from immemorial time. This peculiarity consists in the sitting posture." That this was not the

universal, nor even the most common mode of burial, those who have read the foregoing accounts of explorations in burial mounds in various parts of the continent, have already seen.

He found some difficulty at first in reconciling the peculiarities of the long and flattened Peruvian skulls with the round-headed type of the red Indian, but finally decided that these were only variations of the same type produced by artificial pressure in infancy. But the evidence is abundant and convincing that there was one race in Peru—probably older than the Inca race—with which this peculiarity was not artificial, but congenital, and the skull of the adult retained through life the strangely elongated shape with which it entered the world. Dr. Wilson further remarks in this connection: "The comprehensive generalization of the American cranial type, thus set forth on such high authority, has exercised an important influence on subsequent investigations relative to the aborigines of the New World. It has, indeed, been accepted with such ready faith as a scientific postulate, that Agassiz, Nott, Meigs, and other physiologists and naturalists adopted it without question, and have reasoned from it as one of the few well-determined data of ethnological science. It has no less effectually controlled the deductions of observant travellers."

With such examples before us, a becoming modesty should characterize the conclusions of those laborers in the same great field, who at best may only hope to contribute a page or two to the volume of truth which he has bequeathed to his followers.

The caution with which we should proceed in every step of our investigations becomes all the more imperative on account of the difficulties which meet the observer at the very threshold of his enquiries. One of the difficulties has been already suggested, which is the small number of skulls concerning which there can be no doubt whatever, that they belonged to the race of men who erected the mounds. While it was the custom of the Indian tribes to bury their dead in the mounds which they found ready made, yet their interments may generally be easily distinguished from those of the race of the mounds themselves by the shallowness of the graves, which are usually near the surface.— Still, for the want of close observation among cranial collectors, and attention to this fact, much confusion has been the result. Another perplexity is caused by the fact that in the same burial mound are sometimes found—at least in Missouri—two entirely different classes of skulls, with distinctions almost as strongly marked as those which pertain to the Caucasian and Negroid types, whose position in the mound and companionship in the



way of implements and utensils invest neither class with any distinctive claim over the other, as being the individuals for whom the memorial was erected. But, not to specify further, it may be remarked that so great are the perplexities caused by these disturbing elements, in the minds of some, that they have been led to question whether we are justified in assuming that we have a predominant cranial type of the Mound-building race, with characteristic conformations so constant as to distinguish them from all others, wherever found, so that they may be relied on as sure guides in our investigations.

Assenting, as I do, to the conclusions of such distinguished naturalists as Wilson and Foster, to the effect that we are justified in assuming that the crania from localities so far asunder as Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio and Missouri, present a "similarity of type in those crania, apart from the similarity in weapons of warfare, pottery, personal ornaments and earth-works, which would indicate a homogeneous people distributed over a wide area," yet, to present representative specimens of the skulls which have been collected from the mounds which are scattered over such an extended territory, along with the necessary descriptions, measurements and illustrations as would be requisite for scientific accuracy and induction, would extend our investigations far beyond the limits of the present essay. We must content ourselves, therefore, with such illustrations and considerations as are more general in their character, but sufficiently specific and particular, it is hoped, to make them of some scientific value, at least in clearing the way somewhat for other observers.

For convenience in the study of ethnic relationships, craniologists have recognized three distinct classes of skulls under which all are grouped. The principle upon which this classification is made, is based simply upon the relation of the breadth to the length of the skull. Taking the length of a skull to be one hundred, when the breadth is less than seventy-three to one hundred, it is called Dolicocephalic, or long head; those whose proportions are from seventy-four or seventy-nine to one hundred are termed Orthocephalic, or regularly formed; those skulls whose proportions are from eighty to eighty-nine to one hundred are called Brachycephalic, or short heads. It may be remarked with reference to the classification of skulls, that some have been found in Europe presenting such phenomenal characteristics that another class has been proposed, called Scephocephalic. But, as it is quite likely that the peculiar elongation of those classed under this head may have been produced by artificial means, they need not be dwelt upon here. Concerning the skull known as the "Scioto Mound Skull", which was taken by Squire and Davis from

a mound in the Scioto valley, and figured and described in their great work, Dr. Morton says it is "perhaps the most admirably formed head of the American race hitherto discovered. It possesses the national characteristics in perfection, as seen in the elevated vertex, flattened occiput, great interparietal diameter, ponderous bony structure, salient nose, large jaws and broad face." This skull was regarded by the discoverers as the one of all others concerning which there could be no doubt that it belonged to the race of the mounds; and other eminent writers have accepted the opinion of the finders. Dr. Foster, however, (because of its decided Brachycephalic form doubtless), says that "any comparative anatomist will instantly recognize it as of the Indian type."<sup>1</sup>

As far as my own observation goes, I am persuaded that those ethnologists who have taken one specific form as the type, rejecting all others which do not closely resemble it, do not make sufficient account of the wide extent of territory in which they are found, the length of time which must have passed while the civilization of the race was being developed, nor the influence of local habits and customs in modifying the osteological conditions of the individual members of communities isolated as they must have been for a long series of years; nor of the recognized fact that "individual variations in the crania of a particular race are so great as to present intermediate gradations all the way from one extreme to another, thus forming a connecting link between widely separated races." The burial mounds of Missouri present well-defined Brachycephalic specimens, often flattened in the occipital region, as well as the longer and more symmetrical Orthocephalic type; and sometimes both are observed in one mound. The assumption, therefore, that the one or the other is the exclusive typical form, cannot be maintained; nor on such a narrow basis can these seemingly wide divergencies in the shape of individual skulls be satisfactorily explained. We may safely conclude, therefore, that the idea that one uniform constant type prevailed during the centuries of the occupancy of the Mound-builders of the vast continent of America, through all its fixed communities, is a sweeping assumption which finds no support from the history of other races of men, nor from the facts which the mounds disclose.

The influence of local customs, as exhibited in the different manner of flattening the skull by related tribes of Indians, is a case in point.

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that very many other considerations enter into the account in determining the class to which certain skulls belong besides the proportion of breadth to length. This, however, is the first and most important, and the one which I shall chiefly consider

Included under the general name of Flatheads, are at least twenty different tribes. With some, the head of the child is strapped to the cradle-board until its transverse diameter is enormous, when seen in front or from behind, while the longitudinal diameter is only about half as great. In others the skull is shaped by winding a deer-skin cord around the head, beginning just above the ears and winding in such a manner that a uniform pressure is brought to bear upon the skull, forcing it upward until it assumes a tapering form, almost terminating in a point at the vertex. In others again, the pressure is so applied as to press back the frontal bone to such a degree that the forehead is almost entirely obliterated. Concerning the origin of these diverse customs among affiliated tribes we need not stop to enquire. They are sufficient to

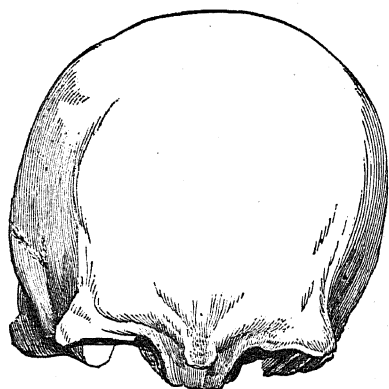


Fig. 1. Front View of Skull from Bayou St. John Mound.

prove that peculiar practices, affecting the shape of the skull in contrary ways, do originate in communities dwelling near each other, and are persisted in, notwithstanding their constant familiarity with the different customs of their neighbors. It is not surprising then, we repeat, that mounds a thousand miles from each other, or the same mounds even, should disclose cranial forms presenting distinct and contrasting characteristics.

The skull represented in Fig. 1, it will be observed, is very globular in shape, with transverse diameter almost equalling the longitudinal, as will be apparent by comparing the front with the side view which is represented in the next engraving, Fig. 2. From the superciliary ridges, which are prominent, the line of the forehead ascends almost vertically to a great height, and then sweeps in a well-rounded curve to the apex, from whence it suddenly slopes off in an almost straight line to the occipital protuberance. The squamosal suture is exceptionally straight. The chief point to be noticed in the shape of this skull, is the evidence of artificial flattening seen in the almost straight line from the occipital protuberance to the top of the skull. With few exceptions, all the crania from the Missouri mounds which I have seen are more or less flattened in the occipital regions. Sometimes the pressure seems to have been applied to the right, or to the left of the occipital protuberance, and occasionally directly to the back of the head, and so low down that

the line of the skull from the foramen magnum to the apex of the lambdoidal suture is almost vertical. And yet I cannot believe that this artificial conformation was designed. The absence of any sort of uniformity in the extent to which it was carried, as well as the indiscriminate application of the pressure to any part of the occipital regions, would suggest that it resulted solely from the method of treating the infant during the first year or two of its existence. The custom of the North American Indian nomads, of strapping the infant to a board or basket, for convenience in carrying, and from which it was removed but seldom until it was at least one year old, need hardly be mentioned. There is evidence that certain semi-civilized nations so treated their children as to produce an abnormal shape of their skulls. One reference must suffice for illustration. Garcelasso de la Vega<sup>1</sup> in speaking of the manner in which the Peruvian infants were reared, tells us that all classes, rich and poor, "bred up their children with the least tenderness and delicacy that was possible; for as soon as the infant was born they washed it in cold water. Their arms they kept swathed and bound down for three months, upon supposition that to loose them sooner would weaken them; they kept them always in their cradle, which was a pitiful

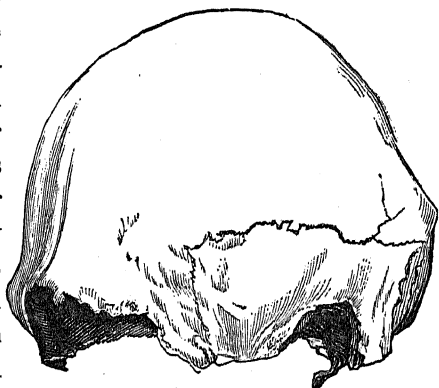


Fig. 2. Side View.

kind of a frame, set on four legs, one of which was shorter than the rest, for convenience in rocking; the bed was made of a sort of coarse knitting which was something more soft than the bare boards, and with a string of this knitting they bound up the child on one side and the other to keep it from falling out. When they gave them suck they never took them into their lap or arms, for if they had used them in that manner, they believed they would never leave crying, and would always expect to be in arms, and not lie quiet in their cradles; and, therefore, the mother would lean over the child, and reach it the breast, which they did three times a day, that is, morning, noon and night, and unless it were at these times, they never gave it suck." He tells us in the previous chapter that they were not weaned until they were two years of

<sup>1</sup> Royal Commentaries of Peru, Chap. 12.

age. Some of the Peruvian skulls present a flattened occiput so similar to those of the mounds that it is highly probable this formation was produced by the same means, that is by fastening the infant to the cradle either upon its back, or with the head turned more or less to the one side or the other, in which position it remained until the head became flattened in the region of its contact with the hard bed, thereby receiving a form which it ever afterwards retained.

The skull represented in Fig. 3, when viewed from the front, shows much the same globular form of the brain-case as the preceding ones (Figs. 1 and 2). The vertical view, however, is very different. The flattened portion is more lateral, the pressure having been brought to bear upon the right side of the occiput.

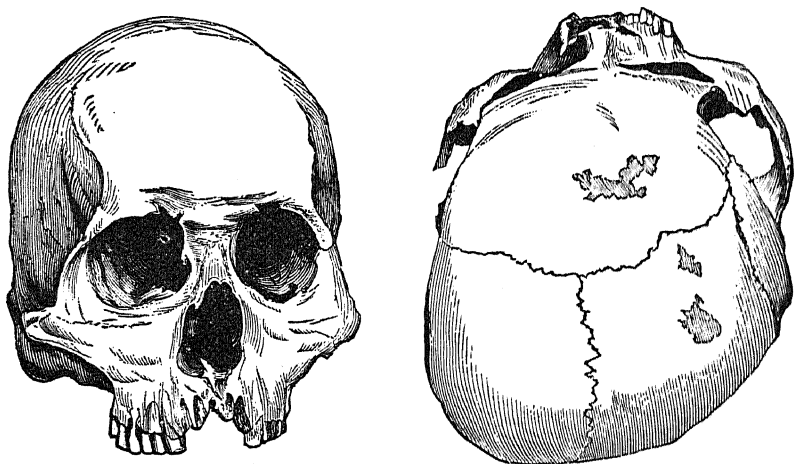


Fig. 3

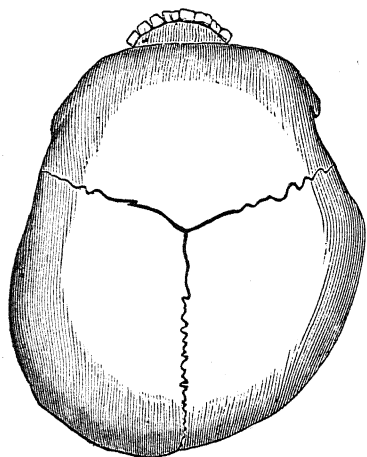
These decidedly Brachycephalic skulls are very far from conforming to the Mound-builders' type for which Dr. Foster contends. Those represented in his work, taken from mounds in Illinois and Indiana, and undoubtedly authentic, are Orthocephalic or regularly formed. Nor do they present this abnormal deformity of the occiput which characterizes the large majority of those from Missouri. I regret that circumstances forbid the reproduction here of the many cranial forms which are necessary to properly illustrate this part of our subject. But as those figured above, according to the Doctor's views, should be regarded as belonging to the Indian type, I transcribe what he says concerning their peculiarities of form: "The Indian possesses a conformation of skull which clearly separates him from the pre-historic Mound-builder,

and such a conformation must give rise to different mental traits. His brain, as compared with the European, according to George Combe, differs widely in the proportions of the different parts. The anterior lobe is small, the middle lobe is large, and the central convolutions on the anterior lobe and upper surface are small. The brain-case is box-like, with the corners rounded off; the occiput extends up vertically; the frontal ridge is prominent; the cerebral vault is pyramidal; the interparietal diameter is great; the superciliary ridges and zygomatic arches sweep out beyond the general line of the skull; the orbits are quadrangular; the forehead is low; the cheek-bones high; and the jaws prognathous. His character, since first known to the white man, has been signalized by treachery and cruelty." "He was never known voluntarily to engage in an enterprise requiring methodical labor; he dwells in temporary and movable habitations; he follows the game in their migrations; he imposes the drudgery of life upon his squaw; he takes no heed for the future. To suppose that such a race threw up the strong lines of circumvallation and the symmetrical mounds which crown so many of our river-terraces, is as preposterous, almost, as to suppose that they built the pyramids of Egypt."

In the examples I have given, many of the above traits of the Indian skull are wanting. The anterior lobe is not small; the brain-case is not box-like, nor is the cerebral vault pyramidal; the forehead cannot be said to be low, nor are the orbits quadrangular, or the jaws prognathous. Still, in some other particulars there is a striking conformity to the Indian portraiture. For example, the superciliary ridges and zygomatic arches in the second example "sweep out beyond the general line of the skull." They are decidedly of the short-head type, and were it not for the derangement of the general outline by artificial means in infancy I imagine they would correspond in a striking manner to the Scioto Mound skull, which Foster believes to belong to the red race. The occipital and lateral depression shown in the vertical view, Fig. 3, is by no means confined to the skulls of the Missouri mounds, but is found in Peru. If the reader will consult Morton's *Crania Americana*, Plates B and C, he will find skulls with the identical characteristics of the one at Fig. 3. They occur in the mounds of the upper Mississippi region, and in Tennessee. In *Harper's Magazine* of December, 1876, is a valuable archaeological article by Dr. Jones, in which I find the engraving of a skull whose resemblance to Fig. 3 is so striking that I reproduce them both side by side. The thing to be noticed is the general outline in which the similar depression is shown. In the Tennessee skull—assuming that

the same point of view is taken in both—the zygomatic arches are scarcely seen, while in that from Missouri they bulge out far beyond the general outline.

While, as before remarked, the majority of the skulls found in the Missouri mounds possess the characteristics shown in the examples here given; some which occur more rarely are so strikingly different that they can not by any reasonable theory be classed with them. While exploring a mound in southeast Missouri, before referred to as having been the burial-place of many hundreds, two skeletons were found lying beside each other, so decayed that the bones could scarcely be handled at all without crumbling to pieces. The skulls were entire when passed up to me from the excavation. They were so peculiar that I was filled with



Skull from Mound in Tennessee.

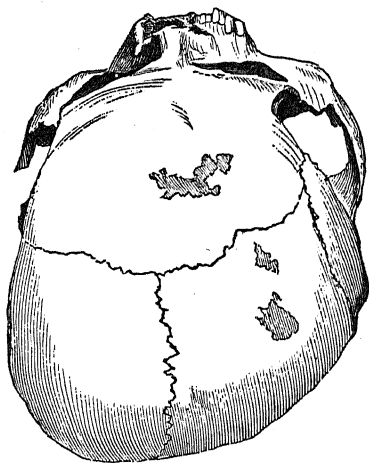


Fig. 4.

Skull from Mound in Southeast Missouri.

astonishment the moment I saw them. One crumbled to dust in a few moments after its exposure to the air, and fell from my hands, along with the earth with which it was filled, like all others, which are—as well as bowls and small-necked water-jugs—always densely packed with the loam which covers them. I proceeded to a more careful examination, as I suspected an intrusive burial. With much painstaking I was able to preserve the upper portion of the second skull, which was a duplicate of the one destroyed. The outline of this fragment is well represented in the engraving. Both skeletons were lying upon the back, with the head toward the center of the mound, with the usual drinking vessels close to the head, and a food-vessel in the angle of the folded arm upon the breast. It will be seen at a glance that the forehead is annihilated; the frontal sinus is quite prominent, which, along with the almost horizontal

line of the frontal bone, makes this part of the skull resemble that of a beast more than a human head; and yet I am quite sure that its form was perfectly natural, for I could detect no indication of an artificial depression in any part of it. The frontal bone was curved backward, on each side of the occiput, and from the foramen magnum, or from the bottom of the brain-case to the apex, was one graceful curve. It might be suggested—as has been done in the case of the Neanderthal skull—that these were the skulls of idiots. But whoever they were, they were buried with tender care, and in the belief that they would enjoy another life beyond the grave in companionship with the many hundreds of others who were provided with the necessary food and drink to sustain them during their long journey. As so large

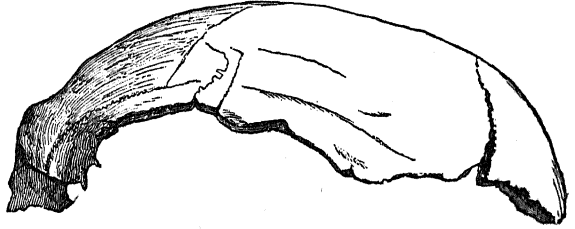


Fig. 5.

a portion of the skull is wanting, it is perhaps useless to generalize upon so small a fragment.<sup>1</sup> Still I can but record my own strong conviction that we have here no idiotic anomaly, but characteristic examples of a race of men entirely distinct from those who piled up the mounds in southeast Missouri. Much evidence is gathered from widely separated localities upon the American continent, which suggests more than the probability that it was once inhabited by a race of men whose origin must ever be hid in the night of oblivion, and the date of whose occupancy may not be far from that of the Paleolithic races of Europe.

The same configuration has been found in the bone caves of Brazil, and in companionship with extinct animals. Dr. Lund thinks they were contemporaneous. In some which he describes, the peculiarities which characterize them are "in excessive degree, even to the entire disappearance of the forehead." The same form appears in the sculptures on the most ancient monuments of Mexico, as also in the bas-reliefs of Uxmal and Copan, in Central America. "Humboldt and Bonpland," says Foster, "were the first to draw attention to this remarkable configuration of skull. The former, as far back as 1808, thus stated: "This extraordinary flatness is found among nations to whom the means of producing artificial deformity are totally unknown, as is proved by the crania of Mex-

<sup>1</sup> For the distinguishing traits of idiotic skulls, consult Humphrey's *Treatise on the Human Skeleton*, p. 233.



ican Indians, Peruvians, and Atures." Pentland, Cuvier, Gall and Tiedeman believed this strange cranial form to be congenital. Rogers and Tschudi both were convinced of the former existence of an Autochthonous race in Peru with this peculiarity of skull, and "state that it is seen in the fœtus of Peruvian mummies." Dr. Lapham has observed what seems to be the same type, in Wisconsin. In a private note to Dr. Foster he says, concerning two skulls found at Wauwatasa: "The peculiar characteristics indicating a low grade of humanity, common to both, are a low forehead, prominent superciliary ridges, the zygomatic arches swelling out beyond the walls of the skull, and especially the prominence of the occipital ridge. The anterior portion of these skulls, besides being low, are much narrowed, giving the outline, as seen from above, of an ovate form. It seems quite probable that men with skulls of this low grade were the most ancient upon this continent, that they were the first to heap up those curiously-shaped mounds of earth which now so much puzzle the antiquary; that they were gradually superceded and crowded out by a superior race, who, adopting many of their customs, continued to build mounds and bury their dead in mounds already built. Hence we find Mound-builders' skulls with this ancient form, associated with others of more modern type. The discovery of these skulls, with characteristics so much like those of the most ancient of the pre-historic types of Europe, would seem to indicate that if America was peopled by emigration from the Old World, that event must have taken place at a very early time—far back of any of which we have any record." The occurrence of skulls with this unique and congenital configuration, in both continents of America, from Wisconsin to Peru, and many of them associated with those ancient structures whose authors are unknown to history or tradition, are facts not to be overlooked or lightly considered in tracing the ethnic distinctions of the pre-historic inhabitants of the, so-called, New World. They are certainly very suggestive, and invite the serious study of future observers.

There are certain facts which have been noted from time to time, which fit into none of the popular theories concerning the state of the arts of the Mound-builders. It has been stated, and often repeated, that they had no knowledge of smelting or casting metals, yet the recent discoveries in Wisconsin of implements of copper cast in molds—as well as the molds themselves, of various patterns, and wrought with much skill—prove that the age of metallurgical arts had dawned in that region at least.

And again: what shall be said concerning the traces of iron implements which have been discovered from time to time in the mounds, but more frequently at great depths below the surface of the soil. Though accounts of such discoveries are generally from reliable sources, they have latterly received no attention, and always have been considered as so much perilous ware which no one cared to handle. The peculiar shape of skull with the retreating forehead, as has just been shown, points to the presence, in remote times, of a race of men entirely different from that to which the authors of many of the earthworks of the Mississippi valley belonged. This form has been traced to Mexico and Peru. When the Spanish conquerors pillaged those countries and laid waste their beautiful cities, they observed vast structures and ancient temples built of hewn stone, with consummate skill. When they questioned the Aztec and Inca races concerning their origin they could give no answer but this: they were here when our fathers came; they belonged to a people of whose history we know nothing. The Incas copied these ancient models in the great structures which they erected. But with what tools did they perform such wonders—were they of copper only? As we are told; or copper alloyed with tin. It is said they had some secret method of making it hard as iron, but none of the copper tools which have been found confirm the statement. Mountains of stone were brought into dwellings and temples of the gods; huge walls were cut from the solid rocks; the mountains themselves divided into galleries and fortifications rising one above the other, connected here and there by artificial breastworks, but generally cut out of the strata of the mountain and left standing, one solid mass of stone. Common dwellings built of enormous slabs of stone seven feet wide and twelve feet high are met with. Porphyry, basalt and marble yielded alike to their magic touch, like clay in the hands of the potter. Vitreous obsidian is utilized by the excellence of their tools and the delicacy of their manipulation. Plates and cylinders of exquisite thinness they made of this fragile substance for ornaments for their women.

The dexterity of these ancient lapidaries in cutting the hardest stone is amazing. And it is difficult to conceive how, without cutting implements equal, at least, to our own in hardness, such delicate and such stupendous works could have been executed. And to the question whether they possessed a knowledge of working iron, the wise man will hesitate long before he answers in the negative. It should be remembered, too, that iron quickly—unless under most favoring conditions—iron corrodes to rust and leaves scarcely a trace behind. The piles of the Swiss lake-

dwellings, the cedar posts of the mounds, may endure for ages, while iron—so hard, and more precious than gold in the advancement of the world's civilization,—speedily melts away before the gentle dews and air of heaven.

The idea that there once existed on this continent a race anterior to, and entirely distinct from, that which immediately preceded the red men, is no new and fanciful conjecture, but one which was held by the earliest and most cautious observers of the antiquities of America; and we may yet be forced to adopt their conclusions, not only upon this point, but also their opinions as to the state of the arts in those remote times.

According to Morse, the geographer: "In digging a well in Cincinnati, the stump of a tree was found in a sound state, ninety feet below the surface; and in digging another well, at the same place, another stump was found at ninety-four feet below the surface, which had evident marks of the axe; and on its top there appeared as if some iron tool had been consumed by rust."

Says Priest: "We have examined the blade of a sword found in Philadelphia, now at Peale's Museum, in New York, which was taken out of the ground something more than sixty feet below the surface. The blade is about twenty inches in length, is sharp on one edge, with a thick back, a little turned up at the point, with a shank drawn out three or four inches long, which was doubtless inserted in the handle, and clinched at the end."

"Twelve miles west of Chillicothe, on Paint Creek, are found the remains of a furnace, ten or twelve feet square, formed of rough stones, surrounded by cinders, among trees of full size. There are, at this place, seven wells situated within the compass of an acre of land, regularly walled up with *hewn* stone, but are now nearly filled up with the accumulating earth of ages. Eight miles further up the creek, a small bar of gold was taken out of a mound, which sold in Chillicothe for twelve dollars. A piece of cast iron, we are further told, was taken from a circular embankment in Circleville."

From the distinguished antiquary, Mr. Atwater, who was present when a large mound near Circleville was removed, we learn that in addition to the skeletons it contained, along with stone implements, was found "the handle, either of a small sword or large knife, made of elk's horn; around the end, where the blade had been inserted, was a ferrule of silver, which, though black, was not much injured by time; though the handle showed the hole where the blade had been inserted, yet no iron was found, but an oxide, or rust, remained, of similar shape and

size." With another skeleton, in the same mound, was found a large plate of mica, three feet in length by one and one-half in width, and one inch and a half in thickness. On this was a plate of iron thoroughly oxydized, which crumbled to dust when disturbed by the spade, but resembled a plate of cast iron. This was doubtless a mirror. Both bodies had been burned, and mingled with the bones and implements were quantities of charcoal and ashes. The same author thinks that some of the supposed iron knives which have been discovered in the mounds may have been steel instead. The "huge iron weapon" found in the hand of the skeleton in the Utah mound before described, which crumbled to dust on exposure to the air, will be remembered. But here must desist from further consideration of the question—for the present at least—as to the extent of the knowledge and uses of iron among the ancient Americans, as I am not aware of any relics of this metal having been found among the antiquities of Missouri, save those made of native ore. But, as similar notices of its occurrence in the mounds and on ancient levels, far below the present surface of the alluvial plains, are abundant in all the current antiquarian literature of the last half century, felt that the subject was too important to be passed over in silence, especially as I had reason to suspect that those remote dwellers upon this continent, whose peculiar form of skull has been noticed by Humoldt, Foster, Lapham and many others, and lastly by myself in Missouri, were not unacquainted with the uses of iron and other metallurgical arts. That these were the opinions of that distinguished scholar and statesman, William Wirt, the following quotation from his writings will show. After speaking of the various relics of vanished races, among which he mentions "iron and copper, buried in a soil which must have been undisturbed for ages," he proceeds to say: "The mighty remains of the past, which we have alluded, indicate the existence of three distinct races of men, previous to the arrival of the existing white settlers. The monuments of the first or primitive race, are regular stone walls, wells lined up, brick hearths found in digging the Louisville canal, nineteen feet below the surface, with the coals of the last domestic fire upon them, medals of copper and silver, swords and other implements of iron. Mr. Flint assures us that he has seen these strange ancient swords. He has so examined a small iron shoe, like a horse-shoe, encrusted with the rust of ages, and found far below the soil, and the copper axe, weighing about 70 pounds, singularly tempered and of peculiar construction." The second race, he thinks, were the authors of the mounds, who, in time, were succeeded by the Indians.

A few weeks since I received, in a private letter from Prof. Tice, the distinguished meteorologist, an interesting account of the discovery, in one of the interior counties in Illinois, of the corroded remains of some sort of cutting implement of iron or steel. As I have not his communication at hand at this moment, I cannot give the details; but as I recall the statement, it was found several feet below the surface, in a gravelly river bank which had been washed away by the floods and thus exposed, and under such circumstances as to convince intelligent observers who saw it, and the bed from whence it was taken, that it was of great antiquity. What shall we say to these numberless and constantly recurring notices of the discovery of traces of iron? The journey of De Soto across the continent has been made to do good service in explaining the presence in the mounds of metal implements, as well as the immense defensive structures in some of the Southern States, which were thought to be beyond the skill of the ancient inhabitants. A topographical representation of all of the supposed routes of his journeyings would resemble a western railway chart. Had De Soto lived till now, and traveled incessantly, like the Wandering Jew, he could not have accomplished all that has been placed to his credit. Again, the bold Norsemen, under Eric the Red, and other adventurers on the ocean, whose ships, by adverse winds or favoring gales, were driven to these far off shores,—colonies of Welsh, Malaysians—and the lost ten tribes of Israel—all have been marshaled by different authors in the interest of their particular theories, and made to do duty in explaining the inexplicable problems of our antiquities. In regard to the question thus touched upon, as well as many others equally perplexing, is it not better to sift and garner the grains of truth we have, and with childlike receptivity wait for greater light?

## CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.—THE ORIGIN OF THE PRE-HISTORIC RACES OF AMERICA.—THEORY OF SPONTANEOUS GENERATION.—THE LAW GOVERNING THEIR MIGRATIONS.—SUCCESSIVE MOVEMENTS OF THE NAHUA RACE.—THE AZTECS THE LAST COLONY OF THAT PEOPLE.—OPINIONS OF BARON HUMBOLDT.—OUR OWN COUNTRY PROBABLY THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE AZTEC CIVILIZATION.—THE INDIAN RACES OF ASIATIC ORIGIN.—FACILITIES OF IMMIGRATION *via*. BEHRING'S STRAITS.—A PERSONAL WORD.—DRY BONES CLOTHED.

A proper completion of our investigations demands a brief notice of the current opinions which relate to the origin, migrations and the ultimate fate of the race whose relics and monuments have been considered in the preceding pages. By whatever theory we may be pleased to adopt as to the manner in which was first peopled, we are carried back irresistably to times so remote that we rise from our study of this subject with the conviction that the origin of the first inhabitants of this continent must ever remain hidden in the darkness of oblivion.

None of the many theories, some of which seemed quite probable at first view, have withstood the test of later investigations. One nation after another—European or Asiatic—has been put forward, as entitled to the honor of having been first in the field with its peopling or civilizing colonies; prior to whose coming, it was assumed, this continent must have been a desolate waste, without inhabitants, or, in the latter case, at best, the home of wild and barbarous tribes. Another theory, which is maintained by a few distinguished writers, is based upon the hypothesis of spontaneous generation; the natural sequence of which is that the aboriginal inhabitants of America were Autochthons;<sup>1</sup> or in other words, that man—in common with the plants and lower orders of animals—made his appearance on the earth spontaneously, when, in the fullness of time, it had reached that condition which presented all those favoring and concurrent circumstances which made his appearance a natural necessity.

The spontaneous generation hypothesis is still so far from being verified, that the question of an autochthonous population need not be discussed;

<sup>1</sup> Humboldt suggestively asks, "Did the nations of the Mexican race, in their migrations to the south, send colonies towards the east, or do the monuments of the United States pertain to the Autochthone nations? Perhaps we must admit in North America, as in the ancient world, the simultaneous existence of several centers of civilization, of which the mutual relations are not known in history." *Personal Narrative*, Vol. VI., p. 322.

inasmuch, also, as what we have to consider farther, relates to the ancient people of Missouri; who, whatever may have been their origin, were so far removed in time from the parent stock, and changed in their physical and social condition by their evident subsequent commingling with the Indian tribes, that they furnish us with few, if any, facts which can be relied on as sure guides in conducting us to the origin of their national life.

We must take them, therefore, as we find them, and in the light of such facts as we have been able to gather, and, applying also the mysterious, yet well-established law which seems ever to have controlled the migratory movements of the various nations of both hemispheres, deduce such conclusions as we may be justified in doing concerning their own migrations and their ultimate fate.

The student of ancient history will observe that the migrations of rude and semi-civilized nations have generally, if not always, been from north to south. The exceptions to this, which are exceedingly rare in proportion to the vast number of known movements of tribes and peoples in this direction, it is believed may readily be accounted for by some local and temporary cause—as stress of war, for example—which turned them for a time from their normal course. The constancy of the operation of this law—the causes of which are yet the subject of much learned speculation—I shall assume without stopping to illustrate it by quoting the numerous examples with which the pages of history abound, further than to give the opinion of one distinguished naturalist in its support. Says Von Hellwald,<sup>1</sup> “If we seek, however, to establish for historical events a basis in geographical relations—that is to say, if we carefully compare them together, analyzing the former and investigating their possible causes, studying the latter and deducing as far as possible the resulting consequences—we shall find that certain generally valid laws, which resolve in the simplest manner many an unexplained riddle, are evolved from such a study through the remarkable correspondence of facts. Thus, in reference to the migrations of mankind, it seems to result from the geographical structure of the continent that, as by virtue of an *historical law* we are not to look for men of comprehensive and deeply penetrating intellect in Lapland or Malta, in Bosnia or Asturias; so, conformably with a strict *geographical law*, the direction of the migratory stream will be found always to lie in the axis of the greatest longitudi-

<sup>1</sup> The American Migration, by Frederic Von Hellwald—an admirable essay. Some of his facts and dates I have adopted.  
Smithsonian Report, 1866.

*nal extension of the continent.* In fact, no example from history informs us that the Tchapogires, Tunguses, Jakoots or people from the banks of the Amour, have ever descended into the Deccan or Malacca; that the Ethiopians have ever migrated into Sennegambia, or the Finns into Greece. As a new proof how much nations and men depend on geographical circumstances, and even when they believe themselves guided by their own will, merely obey a great natural law, the fact is of much significance that the American tribes form no exception to this general rule; for here, also, the procession of the migratory races is in the longer axis of the continent, namely, from north to south.

“That America, as well as Europe and Asia, was already inhabited before this great migration, and in many parts possessed of an ancient civilization, admits of no doubt. Occasional traditions of those early periods of culture have penetrated to us, and I cannot forbear soliciting the attention of the learned world to this legendary cycle of America, which is certainly worthy in many respects of a critical scrutiny; for to judge from so much as is yet known, the inquiry cannot but yield interesting and valuable disclosures respecting the cosmogonic views of the American aborigines and the general tendency of their ideas; perhaps endow even the historian here and there with a fact of value. But to determine, from our present knowledge of the mystical traditions of these races, which of the tribes in America may have been the oldest, seems to me as impossible as superfluous.

“Upon this soil multitudes of nations have moved and have sunk into the night of oblivion, without leaving a trace of their existence; without a memorial, through which we might have at least learned their names. Those nations only, which by tradition, written records, monuments, or whatever other means, first guaranteed the remembrance of their own existence, belong to the domain of history; and history which, to be true, accepts nothing but what is actually known, points to those as the primitive races which first transmitted a knowledge of themselves; time begins for us when the chronology of such nations takes its rise. But all these so-called aboriginies might be only the remainder of previously-existing races, of whom, again, we know not whether they were indeed the first occupants of the land. In truth we meet in America, at more than one point, with traces of a rich civilization, proceeding demonstratively from much earlier epochs than the tribal migration itself; as, for example, in upper Peru, the gorgeous structures of the Aymaras, near Tiahuanco, on the beautiful shores of Lake Titicaca; the mysterious monuments of Central America, between Chiapas and Yucatan, of which



the buildings of Palenque constitute the most celebrated representative; the earth and stone works of a people distinct from the above, on the banks of the Mississippi and the Ohio."

In speaking of the migratory movements of the American tribes, it must be remembered that several distinct expeditions of the same people, at times more or less remote from each other, are often spoken of as one migration; for example, the race which bore the name of Nahuatlacas, was composed of seven tribes; namely, the Xochimilcos, Chalcas, Tepanicas, Tlahuicas, Colhuas, Tlaxcaltecas and Aztecs. All these tribes spoke the same language, and, issuing from the same region far to the north, appeared in Mexico at successive periods, following each other in the order named. The Aztecs, renowned in the history of the Conquest, were the last to arrive. Some time prior to the commencement of the Christian era—many think not less than a thousand years must be assumed—the mysterious Nahoas, or Nahuas, appear in Mexico. Concerning their origin little is known, and none have been able to penetrate the clouds of obscurity which envelop their history. This much, however, is established, namely, that all the Toltec and the later Aztec, or more properly Nahuatl tribes, were only branches of the great Nahua family, and all spoke dialects of this ancestral race. This is a most important and significant fact, as affinities of language are considered among the most certain guides in ethnological investigations. But little more is known concerning the original Nahuas than to suggest the probability that they were the authors of some of the stone structures in Northern Mexico, and the builders of a few, and those the most ancient, mounds of the Mississippi Valley. With the advent of the Toltec domination in the country previously occupied by their Nahuatl<sup>1</sup> ancestors, the thick darkness begins to be dissipated, and the dawn of ancient American history is ushered in.

The learned and able interpreter of the monuments and hieroglyphic annals of ancient Mexico, the Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg, regards 955 years before Christ as the earliest reliable date which can be established in the Nahuatl language. Although the Toltec tribes did not make their appearance on the scene simultaneously, but at different times, and possibly by different routes, as was the case with the Aztecs who succeeded them, their active occupancy began in the seventh century of our era, or, to speak more accurately, in the year 648. Clavigero, however, who is alone in his opinion among early writers, fixes the date at 596. This

<sup>1</sup> Pronounced "Know-all"; and according to de Bourbourg, it has the same meaning.

people, after the lapse of about four hundred years, having been almost destroyed by famine, pestilence and civil wars, were succeeded by a more barbarous, though neighboring tribe, known as Chichimecs, who also have been supposed by some to have belonged to the same Nahua family, but whose peculiar language is now considered as convincing proof that they were from a separate and distinct stock, although they had been more or less influenced by association with their Toltec neighbors, and had adopted some of their arts and customs. Of course it should be remembered that the large territory of Mexico was occupied conjointly by many other pre-Toltec tribes besides the Nahuas, but whose languages were so radically different, so entirely wanting in linguistic affinities with the Nahuatl tongues,—among which may be mentioned the Almecs and the Otomi, whose speech was monosyllabic,—that they must be regarded as more ancient than the Nahuas even. But the reign of the Chichimecs was short. A tribe of immigrants, known as the Acolhuas, took up their residence with the Chichimecs, and the union resulted in the kingdom of Acolhuan. This kingdom was scarcely established when the great and last migrations we have to notice took place. The seven Nahuatlacas tribes, as before noticed, arrived upon the scene, the Aztecs bringing up the rear, after a longer interval than the others. This celebrated people, who, in the year 1090, had left their home in the mysterious Aztlan, after various wanderings and delays in their southward journey, finally reached the table-lands of Mexico somewhere between the years 1186 and 1194, and took possession of the cities which the Chichimecs in turn abandoned, following in the path of the Toltecs, who had fled from these same seats less than two hundred years before. Adopting and improving upon the civilization of their predecessors, the Aztecs founded that kingdom whose magnificence and power filled the Conquerors with wonder. They displayed a bravery and heroic devotion in the defense of their rulers and their native land which awakens our liveliest sympathies, and the admiration of the civilized world; and their final and pitiless destruction has left a dark stain upon the character of their destroyers, which no excuses in the interests of religious zeal can diminish, nor the glory of their daring deeds efface!

In the preceding and incomplete outline sketch of the leading branches of the Nahua family, with some account of their migrations, I have called attention to those facts only which seemed necessary to a more explicit statement of what has been incidentally assumed throughout these investigations.

From my point, of view then, no theory is admissible which does not

contemplate the migrations of the various tribes which appeared at different times upon the table lands of Mexico, during a period of two thousand years or more, as the movements of the different branches of the one Nahua race, whose ancient seats must be sought for in the great alluvial plains of the Mississippi valley. Their precise location may never be discovered; it is, however, quite probable that the unknown Aztlan, the Huehuetlapalan of the Aztecs (who, as has been shown, were the last to leave their primitive home), may yet be identified. At the commencement of my study of the antiquities of America, I accepted without question the views of distinguished early writers upon this subject, which I have since found no reason to reject during all my subsequent inquiries. And had I at any time been disposed to embrace opposite conclusions, I should have felt great diffidence in suggesting them, which to me would savor of presumption, thus to place myself in opposition to the mature convictions of the great men who have devoted years of patient labor in this direction, of whose names I need mention but one. Among the learned in all lands, the opinions of Humboldt, upon any subject which engaged the attention of his powerful intellect, command the most respectful consideration. The rare opportunities which he enjoyed, during his extended travels and prolonged stay on this continent, at a period, too, when many of the antiquities were in a better state of preservation and therefore much more intelligible and instructive than now, give great weight to his conclusions concerning the ancient races of America. In speaking of the races under consideration, he says: "The very civilized nations of New Spain, the Toltecs, the Chichimecs, and the Aztecs, pretended to have issued successively, from the sixth to the twelfth century, from three neighboring countries situated toward the north, and called Huehuetlapalan or Tlepallan, Amaquemacan, and Aztlan or Teo-Alcolhuacan. These nations spoke the same language, they had the same cosmogonic fables, the same propensity for sacerdotal congregations, the same hieroglyphic paintings, the same divisions of time, the same taste for noting and registering everything. The names given by them to the towns built in the country of Anahuac were those of the towns they had abandoned in their ancient country. The civilization on the Mexican table-land was regarded by the inhabitants themselves as the copy of something which had existed elsewhere, as the reflection of the primitive civilization of Aztlan. Where, it may be asked, must be placed that parent land of the colonies of Anahuac, that *officina gentium*, which, during five centuries, sends nations toward the south, who understand each other without difficulty, and recognize

each other for relations? Asia, north of Amour, where it is nearest America, is a barbarous country; and, in supposing (which is geographically possible) a migration of southern Asiatics by Japan, Tarakay (Tchoka), the Kurile and the Aleutian isles, from southwest toward the northeast (from 40 to 55 deg. of latitude), how can it be believed that in so long a migration, on a way so easily intercepted, the remembrance of the institutions of the parent country could have been preserved with so much force and clearness! The cosmogonic fables, the pyramidal constructions, the system of the calendar, the animals of the tropics found in the catasterism of days, the convents and congregations of priests, the taste for statistic enumerations, the annals of the empire held in the most scrupulous order, lead us toward oriental Asia; while the lively remembrances of which we have just spoken, and the peculiar physiognomy which Mexican civilization presents in so many other respects, seem to indicate the existence of an empire in the North of America, between the 36th and 42d degree of latitude. We cannot reflect on the military monuments of the United States without recollecting the first country of the civilized nations of Mexico." On a preceding page he also mentions the fact that "the country between the 33d and 41st degrees of latitude, parallel to the mouth of the Arkansas and the Missouri, is considered by the Aztec historians as the ancient dwelling of the civilized nations of Anahuac." The views here expressed, and which all succeeding investigations have tended to verify, carry us back to very remote times, far beyond any authentic history or tradition, when America was peopled by rude tribes of a low grade of humanity, but which, nevertheless, possessing within themselves the germs of a civilization which slowly through the ages evolved a progressive national life, at length resulted in the establishment of the fixed communities in North America, whose skillful husbandry, arts, commercial enterprise and original and complex system of religion we have already contemplated. All of those, however, were but the broad beginning—the prophecy of that higher development which found its fulfillment in the more sumptuous civilization in the rich valleys of Central and South America. The territory occupied by the Mound-builders is too large, the evidences of a dense population throughout its length and breadth too numerous, to permit us to suppose that its occupancy was of short duration. There is also too wide a difference in the respective ages of many of the mounds: some are manifestly hoary with age, while others are of recent date.

While we believe, therefore, that a period of many centuries must

have elapsed during the extension of a people so numerous over the vast area which they inhabited, and the erection of so many structures as are still to be seen, it is equally clear from my stand-point that we must also believe that all facts, when rightly considered, point to a gradual disappearance towards the south, and at different periods of time, which may be found to correspond to the known dates of the migrations of the Aztec tribes. As these occurred at times more or less remote from each other, it is altogether probable that, to different causes must the separate migrations be ascribed. Some tribes, as the ruins of their military forts and encampments show, retreated slowly before the encroachments of an invading force. Other sites seem to have been abandoned deliberately, without any attempt at defence; or perhaps the impulse which set them in motion may have been the captivating accounts they had received of the glory and riches of the distant land to which their brethren had departed years before. While long lines of military defence may be traced here and there across the continent at the north, and along the eastern plains of the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio, very few have been observed upon the western side of the Mississippi, at least in Missouri, and those are of small dimensions. I am led to infer that, however sudden may have been their abandonment, it was voluntary, and that the ancient Missourians were the last to leave the country. While it may be impossible to decide whether they were the Aztecs themselves, or a remnant of that tribe which was left behind, I cannot forbear to express my own inclination to the latter opinion; in which case they may have proceeded no further than the regions about the Gulf, where they became amalgamated with the Indians, who may have intercepted them in the journey, and by whom, as a tribe, they were exterminated. That some such event did take place, as before stated, many facts would induce us to believe. Many of their customs survived them, in the practices of the more southern tribes, when the country was first occupied by the Europeans, which point strongly in this direction. Among these tribes the Natchez will be remembered, whose arts, worship, sacerdotal system and customs were very similar, and in many respects identical with those of Mexico. This identity of customs, worship, etc., I had intended to discuss more at length, and also present the facts which bear upon the question, but, as I have already transcended my limits, I must desist. It seems to me to be established, that the ancestors of the Indian tribes came to America by way of Behring's Straits. These are frozen over every year as late as April, according to Professor Henry, who further states that "intercourse at present is constant, by means of canoes, in summer between the Asiatic

and American sides. As another fact relating to the same question, we may state that, while the Asiatic projection near Behring's Straits is almost a sterile, rocky waste, the opposite coast presents a much more inviting appearance, abounding in trees and shrubs. Moreover, the climate, when we pass southward of the peninsula of Alaska, is of a genial character, the temperature continuing the same as far down as Oregon. The mildness of the temperature, and the descent of the isothermal line, or that of equal temperature, along the coast, are due to a great current called the Gulf Stream of the Pacific, which carries the warm water of the equator along the eastern coast of Asia, thence across the opposite coast of America, and along the latter on its return to the equator. The action of this current, which does not appear to have been considered by the ethnologist, must have had much influence in inducing and determining the course of the migration." He adds "that the present inhabitants of the countries contiguous to Behring's Straits on the two sides, in manners, customs, and physical appearance, are almost identical." It is believed that the hypothesis we maintain, which holds that the southern portions of this continent were peopled by tribes who had their origin in more northern regions, and who, in some cases at least, were driven from their ancient homes by mongrel hordes who made their appearance by way of Behring's Straits, is the only one which harmonizes the many otherwise inexplicable facts which continually confront the student of the antiquities of America. No other theory will satisfactorily explain the presence in the same mounds of skulls of such different and contrasting types, and which are so frequently met with in the *tumuli* of Missouri.

In bringing our work to a close, I beg leave to say that, in the preparation of the foregoing chapters, it has been my aim to present the subjects treated of in a form as attractive and popular as I was capable of, and in a manner in keeping with the historical character of the work in which they appear. If, to the scientific reader, I may seem at times to have expressed my views with a warmth and enthusiasm not always appropriate to scientific inquiries, my desire to invest with all possible interest, to the general reader, a subject which might ordinarily be considered dry and unattractive, must be my apology. Having for fifteen years devoted all the time which could be spared from the labors of my profession to archæological studies, and especially the antiquities of my native land, the enthusiasm which I felt at the outset has been intensified rather than diminished, at every step of the journey. Indeed, the results which have been attained already are of such absorbing interest as to arouse the

enthusiasm of every student of these antique memorials ; and the zeal of the antiquary receives a fresh impulse from time to time, as he grapples with those questions which relate to the origin of the different races of men, their modes of development, the routes of their migrations and the like ; as also, while he labors to construct a pre-historic history from the ashes of forgotten cities, the debris of former habitations, and the mouldering relics which ancient tombs disclose.

It is related in sacred story, of an old prophet, that he was set down in a valley of dry bones, and told to pass by them round about, and behold they were very many, and very dry. But, at the sound of his prophetic voice, there was a noise and shaking and coming together, bone to his bone, the flesh and skin covered them again, and there stood up an exceeding great army. So the scientist to-day passes up and down the valleys, and among the relics and bones of vanished peoples, and as he touches them with the magic wand of scientific induction, these ancient men stand up on their feet, revived, rehabilitated, and proclaim with solemn voice the story of their nameless tribe or race, the cotemporaneous animals, and the physical appearance of the earth during those pre-historic ages.

The Christian scientist, pursuing his investigations regardless of all dogmatic theories concerning divine revelation, and bringing, at last, all right results of his work to the subjective light of that old record which thus far they have only served to glorify, discovers now and then the golden key by which the sublime and occult truths condensed in its sententious statements may be unlocked, and the long æons understood, which are comprehended in the evening and the morning of the creative days.

PART II. HISTORY.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

—OF—

MISSOURI,

—BY—

COL. W. F. SWITZLER,

*Editor Missouri Statesman,*

COLUMBIA.



"I see here one State that is capable of assuming the great trust of being the middle, main, the mediator, the common center between the Pacific and Atlantic—a State of vast extent, of unsurpassed fertility, of commercial facilities such as are given to no other railroad State on the Continent—a State that grapples hold upon Mexico and Central America on the south, and upon Russian and British America on the north, and through which is the thoroughfare to the Golden Gate of the Pacific."—WM. H. SEWARD.

## INTRODUCTION.

SEVERAL histories of Missouri, more or less elaborate, have appeared since the close of our civil war. Whence, therefore, the necessity for another? With as much reason it might be asked, Why more than one history of the war itself, or of the country and people and institutions affected by it? What good reason can be given for more than one history of the United States? After one was issued, and received it may be with more or less favor by the thoughtful and reading people of our country, what consideration justified the publication of a second, and of a third, or of a still greater number?

Reasons as various, perhaps, as the minds which conceive them would be assigned for the appearance of a multiplicity of historic works in regard to the same country, and it is needless to trace them here.

Two leading considerations justify, if they do not demand, other histories of Missouri than those now before the public: 1. The materials, not unlike the wealth and resources of the State, are inexhaustible—the field of exploration, discovery and discussion without limit. 2. Even if to a large extent the same events, records, traditions and reminiscences are brought to view in each, and are made the subjects of comment and criticism, their presentation by different writers will be from different points of view, each disclosing new and valuable truths, and each essential to the fullest development of their just influence on mankind.

No great and important truth attains its full strength, or to the fullest measure exerts its vital force on human destiny, unless it be faithfully presented in all its phases; and no single mind, no difference how cultured and analytical it may be, will be found equal to the task of exhausting its virtues.

The plan and scope of the History of Missouri now presented, differ in some particulars from any History which precedes it. Where some of these waste their strength in amplification, and in diffusiveness of style, this seeks to be terse, crisp and perspicuous. Where others dazzle the reader with the adornments of speech, and leave him to grope his way amid copious illustrations which are mere pictures of fancy, this subordinates everything to clearness and accuracy of statement, and to an honest effort to chronicle the truths of history and not the imaginings of the writer.

In the sketch which follows, Missouri will be considered under four general heads: 1, PROVINCE; 2, DISTRICT; 3, TERRITORY and 4, STATE. As a Province, embracing the period from the date at which the first European set foot on its soil, in 1541, to 1804, when it became a part of the "District of Louisiana." As a District, from 1804 to 1812, when it was organized as a Territory. As a Territory, from 1812 to 1821, when it was admitted into the Union as a State. As a State, from 1821 to the present time.

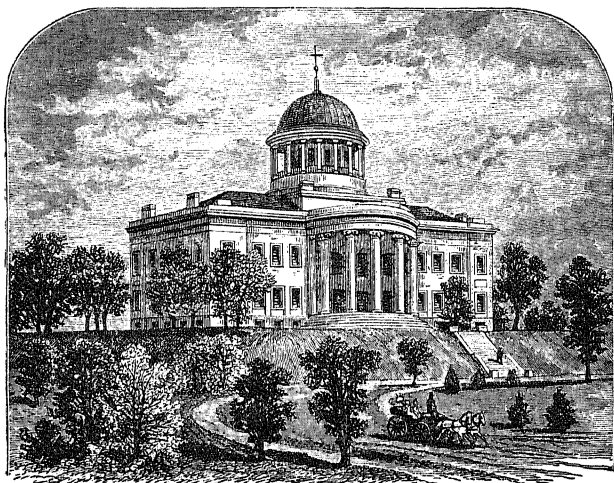
Missouri has had a wonderful history. Within the memory of some of its oldest inhabitants now living, it was a part of the District of Louisiana, without population and almost without government, a wild waste of forest and prairie, the home of the Indian and buffalo, to which the arts of civilized life were almost unknown.

In less than three-quarters of a century it ranks in population as the fifth in the sisterhood of thirty-eight States which compose the American Union, and boasts a taxable wealth of six hundred million dollars.

The following words from ex-Governor Brown's Inaugural Address (1870) have lost nothing of their truth, their force or freshness:

"In all the elements of population, wealth, area, fertile soils, inexhaustible mines and manufacturing enterprise, the State of Missouri is an empire in itself. Devastated by armies, checked in production, girded by railways, it has yet risen, since the last census, from being the eighth to the position of the fifth in importance in the Union. For this large growth, with its attendant prosperity, we are deeply indebted to an immigration that has given us the assurance of sympathy by casting its lot in our midst.

"To the young men and women of the land we can extend the broadest welcome; to the denizens of older States we can promise that the swiftest rewards shall await upon labor; and to those of foreign countries, the scholar, the skillful artisan, and the husbandman, we can assure hospitality and employment. *Thus, and thus only, will the recital of the next census be made to transcend by far the marvel of the last.* Thus, too, we may secure the means of a development of field and mine, of trade and manufacture, somewhat commensurate with our infinite promise. Thus will the burden of debt transform itself into a necessity for reduced taxation. Thus will wealth be diffused into the equal life of all. In the old days of Haroun Alraschid, we read of genii that had the power to build up splendid palaces in a single night; but in these times the genii who construct great States are the master motives that direct the tides of a vast moving population, and be convinced that none are so strong as *love, and peace, and freedom.*"



The Capitol at Jefferson City.

## CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF JUAN PONCE DE LEON IN 1512, TO FLORIDA, IN SEARCH OF GOLD AND THE FOUNTAIN OF ETERNAL YOUTH.—HIS FAILURE AND DEATH.—DE SOTO'S MARVELOUS EXPEDITION IN 1539.—A SPLENDID PAGEANT.—HE DISCOVERS THE RIVER MISSISSIPPI IN 1541—CROSSES IT, AND MARCHES INTO THE PRESENT TERRITORY OF MISSOURI.—DE SOTO'S DEATH AND ROMANTIC BURIAL.

**T**he first European who set foot on the territory now embraced in the State of Missouri, accompanied Hernando de Soto in his wonderful expedition in 1541–2 in search of mines of gold and silver, and which resulted, among other things, in the discovery of the Mississippi river.

This expedition, therefore, one of the most extraordinary of which history gives an account, cannot properly be ignored in a work of this character: for, to the discovery of that river and to the explorations along its banks in search of the precious metals, are we indebted for the first settlements of the white man in our great State.

In connection with it, and as embracing "events which cast their shadows before" in the disclosure of the Mississippi river and the occupancy of the Province of Missouri, it would be thrillingly interesting to trace, did the limits of this sketch allow, the course of Spanish adventure in the early years of the sixteenth century, directed toward Central America, and leading in time to the discovery, by Vasco Nunez, of the Pacific Ocean, and to the conquests of Peru and Mexico.

While these adventures were prosecuted, it seems not to have been forgotten that there were regions to the north, and on the Atlantic coast, worthy of the marvelous enterprise and insatiable cupidity of the Spaniards.

In demonstration of this statement, Juan Ponce de Leon, an old comrade of Christopher Columbus and a Spanish navigator who had amassed great wealth by the subjugation of Porto Rico, one of the West India islands, having heard of mines of gold and precious stones and a fountain of eternal youth at the North, determined to possess them. Already rich, he desired to be richer; already old, he coveted the vigor of youth. Enchanted by the marvelous stories of untold wealth, and by the legend of bubbling waters of which whosoever drank should never die, he fitted out three ships at Porto Rico in March, 1512, and set sail for the new El Dorado. After a delay of more than a month in leisurely sailing over this delightful sea, touching here and there at different islands, the adventurers finally crossed the old Bahama channel which lies between Cuba and the Bahama islands; they discovered the eastern coast of Florida and landed near the present site of St. Augustine. It happened to be Easter Sunday, called by the Spaniards *Pascua de Flores*. "*Pascua*" is the same as the old English "Push" or Passover, and *Pascua de Flores* is the "Holy-day of flowers."

In honor of the day of the discovery, and because of the beautiful flowers and luxurious groves which covered the shore, and birds of song which made melody in the trees, Leon called the country Florida, and took possession of it in the name of Spain.

Having discovered and possessed a land so fair to look upon, with a sky of Italian beauty above it and a placid sea washing its flowery shores, Ponce de Leon was convinced that the mines of gold and the wonderful fountain which had been the subjects of his thoughts by day and of his dreams by night were now within his grasp. For more than a month, therefore, he diligently sought them by cruising along the coast on both sides of the Peninsula and among the adjacent islands. Whether it was one or the other, whether it was trading with the Indians or fighting them—or penetrating "the deep-tangled wild wood" of the main land,—his eager eyes glistened with the expectation of the great discovery. Patiently and persistently he pursued his explorations, searching for gold on the banks of every stream, drinking the waters of every spring, and bathing in every fountain.

Neither coveted mines of wealth nor fabled fountain of eternal youth were found; and this gay old cavalier, broken in spirit by disappoint-

ment and bereft of his fortune, retired to the Island of Cuba to die of an arrow-wound received in one of his fights with the Indians.

Notwithstanding the failure which attended the expedition of Leon, marvelous stories continued to reach Spain of inexhaustible mines of gold in all the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, and various expeditions were projected to discover them. But their object was gold, not youth-restoring waters which gurgled from the fabled fountains in the new world.

Among those whose cupidity and curiosity were excited was Hernando de Soto, who had been with Pizzaro in the conquest of Peru in 1533. De Soto had returned to Spain from this conquest with a fortune of five hundred thousand dollars; met a flattering reception from the emperor Charles V, and made a magnificent display at court.

Although every previous expedition to Florida had resulted in disaster, the conviction was strongly entertained among adventurous Spaniards that mines of boundless wealth existed in that country. De Soto shared this conviction, and determined to stake his life and fortune upon it. Being successful in inspiring others with confidence in his plans, in 1538 he collected a numerous band of Spanish and Portuguese cavaliers, and, desiring to make a lavish display of his wealth, clothed them in gorgeous suits of armor of knightly pattern, and at their head appeared before the king of Spain. A respectful audience being granted, he petitioned the king for permission to take possession of Florida at his own cost, and that to this end a commission as *Adelantado* be issued to him. His requests were complied with.

The news of his intentions excited throughout Spain and Portugal the greatest enthusiasm, and hundreds of gentlemen of position and wealth flocked to his standard, eager to share his perils and successes.

Collecting and splendidly equipping a noble and heroic band of six or seven hundred men—some historians say a thousand,—twenty-four ecclesiastics and twenty officers, he sailed from San Lucar in April 1538, with a fleet of nine vessels, which carried, in addition to his men, two or three hundred horses, a herd of swine, and a number of blood-hounds—

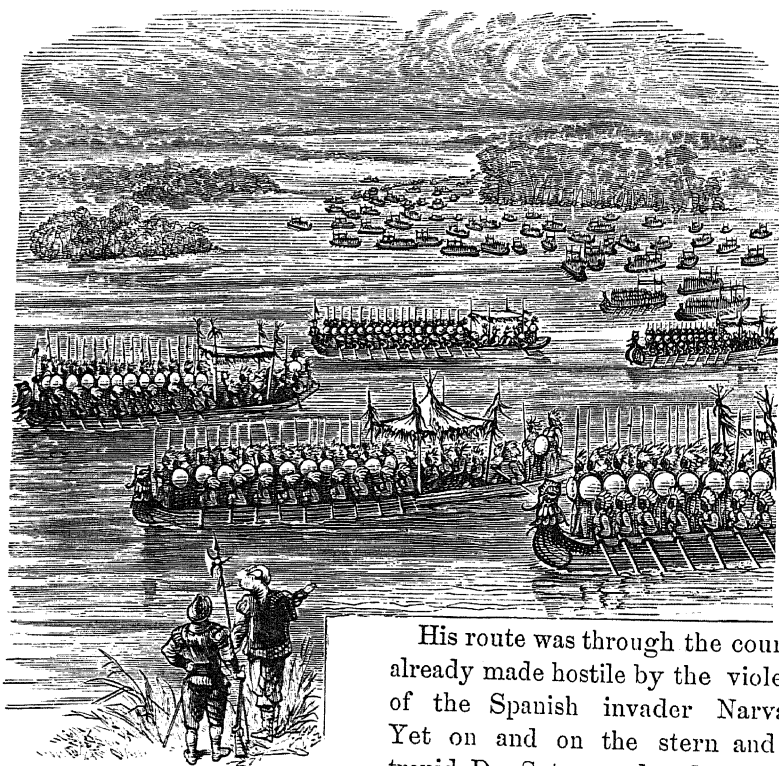


De Soto.

the latter seemingly an indispensable force in all Spanish attempts at conquest and colonization.

After stopping at Santiago de Cuba, and then at Havana, perfecting arrangements for the expedition, the fleet finally left the latter place for Florida, and in May, 1539, anchored in Tampa Bay.

With very little delay, De Soto, organizing anew the most gaudily-attired pageant which ever proposed to march through the unbroken forests of a new world, entered upon his wonderful expedition into the interior, determined, notwithstanding the bloody resistance of the Indians, and failures to discover mines of gold, to succeed or perish in the effort.



Fleet of the Cacique.

His route was through the country already made hostile by the violence of the Spanish invader Narvaez. Yet on and on the stern and intrepid De Soto wandered, through tangled forests and over deep morasses, finding neither gold nor precious stones, nor cities rich in treasure and merchandise, until, April 25th, 1541, he reached the banks of the Great River of the West — the Mississippi — and thus achieved immortality.

The point at which De Soto first saw the Mississippi was not far from the 35th parallel of latitude, at the Lower Chickasaw Bluffs, a few miles below Memphis.

His arrival awakened much curiosity and fear among the Dacotah tribe of Indians, who inhabited the western bank. Therefore a great multitude of them, armed with bows and arrows, and richly painted, and richly decorated with tall plumes of white feathers, their chiefs sitting under awnings as magnificent as the natives could weave, came rowing down the river in a fleet of two hundred canoes, bringing to the delighted Spaniards gifts of fish, and loaves of bread made of the persimmon.

Desirous to cross the wide and rapid stream, De Soto was compelled to construct eight boats for the purpose. This delayed him over a month. After the boats were completed, the expedition crossed without difficulty or opposition, and pursued its way north along the west bank of the river, into the region now known as New Madrid in our own State. At this point, therefore, and at this time, the first European set foot on the soil of the territory now known as Missouri.

Thence the expedition marched successively southwest and northwest until it reached the highlands of White River, the western limit of his explorations. De Soto then proceeded south to the present site of Little Rock, and to the Hot Springs in Arkansas, and spent his third winter on the banks of a stream which may have been the Washita, the White or the Arkansas. The accounts do not agree.

In March or April, 1542, he marched to the Mississippi, where he was attacked with a fever. Overcome by hardships, disappointment and disease, De Soto died, May 21, 1542, at a place called Guacoya, and priests chanted over his body the first requiem ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi.

To conceal his death from the Indians, who believed him the son of the Sun, who could not die, he was wrapped in a mantle, and in the stillness of midnight all that was mortal of Hernando De Soto was sunk in the middle of the stream.

The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He who had crossed the Atlantic and a large part of the continent in search of gold and silver and precious stones, found nothing so remarkable as his own burial. After his death his successor, Moscoso, led the survivors of his army, in 1543, in boats, down the stream to the Gulf of Mexico. Such was the first visit of Europeans into the country now known as Missouri, and into the great western valley of North America.

These adventurers came primarily for the purpose of gratifying their



love of gold, and for conquest and colonization. How strange and melancholy their failure! They came splendidly and gorgeously equipped, with richly-caparisoned horses, their riders glittering with burnished steel, scarlet plumes and silks of gaudy hue. They founded no settlement and left no traces of civilization. Indeed so fruitless of good and so full of disaster was this expedition, although entered upon with wondrous pomp and pageantry, that for more than a century after its close the West remained utterly unknown to the white man.



Burial of De Soto.

## CHAPTER II.

LOUISIANA.—FRENCH EXPLORATIONS.—ACQUISITION OF LOUISIANA.—MISSOURI A PORTION OF THE PROVINCE.—EXPEDITION OF MARQUETTE AND JOLIET IN 1673.—THEY DISCOVER THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI AND THE MOUTH OF THE MISSOURI.

As the portion of country now known as Missouri formed a part of Louisiana, which was purchased from France by the United States in 1803, during the administration of Mr. Jefferson, it lies directly in the track of our "Sketch," to mark the origin and progress of the French power in North America.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The vast region known as "Louisiana" was claimed by France by right of discovery and settlement.

November 3, 1762, by a secret treaty between the French and Spanish kings, the former ceded to the latter that part of the Province of Louisiana which lay on the *Western* side of the Mississippi river, including the Island and city of New Orleans on the *Eastern*. (See "Annals of the West," p. 122.)

The war which was waged between France and England for the possession of the country in the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Ohio, and which commenced in 1754, was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763. By this treaty France ceded to Great Britain, Canada with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and other islands and coasts in the gulf and river St. Lawrence—the parties also stipulating that in order to establish an enduring peace and remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, that the confines between their dominions should be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, thence along the middle of that stream, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea—the navigation of the Mississippi being equally free to both nations.

October 1, 1800, the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso was made between Napoleon, as First Consul, and the King of Spain, whereby the latter re-transferred to France the Province of Louisiana, which by the treaty of November 3, 1762, had been ceded by France to Spain.

January 11, 1803, Mr. Jefferson appointed Robt. R. Livingston and James Monroe ministers to France, and Charles Pinckney and James Monroe ministers to Spain, with full authority to agree upon treaties for "enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi, and in the territories eastward thereof." Neither at that time nor for months afterwards did Mr. Jefferson or the ministers appointed have any idea of purchasing Louisiana *west* of the Mississippi. They only wanted New Orleans and the Floridas. But Napoleon, then about to renew his wars with England, proposed, through Marbois, his Minister of the Treasury, to Mr. Livingston and Mr. Monroe, to sell to the United States Louisiana *entire*; and the American negotiators, transcending the letter of their instructions, agreed to pay \$15,000,000 therefor. Although this agreement was unauthorized and wholly unexpected, Mr. Jefferson, as President, ratified it; and Congress was at once convened to consider it. That body met on the 17th of October, 1803, and on the 21st the treaty was ratified. (See "American State Papers," Vol. II., pp. 525-583. Also "Annals of the West," pp. 528-529.)

Spain, France and England were the three great colonizing powers which with great activity and various success projected expeditions of discovery and settlement in this division of the continent. And one surprising coincidence is true of them, namely, the Spaniards planted their first colony east of the Mississippi on the barren sands of Florida; the French, their first in the icy and inhospitable region of Quebec, and the English, at Jamestown, in Virginia, a State in no way remarkable for its fertility, and at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, "a stern and rock-bound coast."

From these feeble and unpromising settlements radiated the conquests and colonies of the three great nations we have named.

The Spaniards, although at this period less enlightened than the French, had the advantage of larger experience; and therefore their colonial policy was not based on theory or fancy. The English were characterized by more fixedness of purpose and greater perseverance than either of their rivals, and yet the French, by their superior aptitude in assimilating with the savages, and adroitness in winning their confidence, had a clear advantage over both.

While therefore the English were planting along the coast of the Atlantic, some of the most flourishing colonies of the New World, the French were penetrating the Indian tribes who inhabited the northern interior of the continent, navigating in bark canoes the mighty rivers, and coasting the shores of the boundless lakes of the country. They displayed remarkable enterprise and address, and although beset on all sides by great and singular perils, accomplished extensive explorations.

We cannot follow the French colonies into Canada, along the shores of the St. Lawrence, and of Lakes Erie, Huron and Ontario; but this Historic Sketch would be incomplete did we not refer to the expedition in search of the Upper Mississippi in 1673, by James Marquette and Sieur Joliet.

"Just at this period," said Hon. Thomas C. Reynolds, of St. Louis, in an address in that city, at the two-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Upper Mississippi, September 17, 1873—"just at this period, when the missionary mind of Canada was excited on the subject of the mysterious river to the 'South Sea,' there landed, at Quebec, on September 20, 1666, a young Frenchman from the picturesque old cathedral city of Laon, in the beautiful and fertile region which lies to the north of Paris. This famed municipality had existed since the times of the Romans; his family was the most ancient in it; and as modern research has shown how wondrously the towns of Gaul, especially those

hich were under the immediate protection of Christian Bishops, preserved their institutions intact even under the rule of the conquering ranks, it needs no great stretch of the imagination to believe that the atrician Marquettes of Laon were the descendants of Celtic nobles whom the profound policy of ancient Rome attached to her standards by leaving them in control of their ancestral territories under her almost nominal supremacy. These Marquettes were a martial race; three of them died in the French army, which aided our ancestors in the war of our own revolution; and when James Marquette enlisted under the banner of the cross, he naturally assigned himself to that order to which its soldier-under gave the military title of the Company of Jesus. As chivalric courage descended to him through his father's house, so fervent devotion as his birthright from his mother, Rose de la Salle, kinswoman of John Baptiste de la Salle, founder of the educational order of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. He was twenty-nine years of age when his feet first touched American soil. \* \* \* From all the contemporary accounts of the expedition it is evident that Father Marquette was its real leader, its very soul. But, as an ecclesiastic, he could not take command of an armed force, however small; as an ambassador of Christ, to foreign heathen nations, he could not act as the agent of a king of France. It was accordingly arranged that the *Sieur Joliet*, a native of Canada, should command the expedition, and that Marquette should accompany it as its missionary. The choice of Joliet was a wise and happy one."

On the 17th of May, 1673, these two French missionaries, together with five boatmen, left the strait connecting Lakes Michigan and Huron, called Michilimackinac (or Mackinac) in two bark canoes in search of the Great River of the West. In Marquette's simple language he says: "We were embarking on a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some dried meat, was our whole stock of provisions. With this, we set out in two bark canoes, M. Joliet, myself and five men, firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise." Joyously they sped their way down Lake Michigan and through Green Bay into Fox River, and crossed the Portage (carrying their canoes) to the westward-flowing river, the "Ouisconsin" (Wisconsin).

The Indians endeavored to dissuade them from pursuing their perilous journey; told them of tribes still more savage than themselves, of frightful monsters that infested the great river, and of a demon who stopped the passage and engulfed all who dared approach. Nevertheless they launched on the broad Wisconsin, rowed slowly down its current

amid its vine-clad isles, and its countless sand-bars. No sound broke the stillness; no human form appeared; and at last, after the lapse of seven days, on the 17th of June, 1673, they happily glided into the great river—the Wisconsin joining the Mississippi River a few miles below what is now known as Prairie du Chien. Joy that could find no utterance in words filled the grateful heart of Marquette. The broad river of the *Conception*, as he named it, now lay before them, stretching away hundreds of miles to an unknown sea.<sup>1</sup>

It was on this day and at this spot the Upper Mississippi was first seen by Europeans. Surrendering their frail bark to the swift current of the river they descended to the mouth of the Illinois, and then to the mouth of the Missouri, called by Marquette *Pekitanoui*, that is, "Muddy Water."<sup>2</sup>

Thus we have seen that De Soto, Marquette and Joliet were the first Europeans who entered the territory now forming our great State; the two last the first white men, for a period of one hundred and thirty-two years, after DeSoto, to float upon the Mississippi!

Leaving the mouth of the "Pekitonoui," Marquette and Joliet descended the Mississippi, passing the present site of St. Louis without taking the least notice of it, to the mouth of the Ohio, and as far down as the mouth of the "Arkamsas," or Arkansas. From the last point they returned to the north and reached Green Bay in September of the same year, without the loss of a man or any serious accident.

<sup>1</sup> Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi Valley," p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> In Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi Valley," there is a note on this word, to the effect that "Pekitanoui," or Muddy Water, prevailed till Marest's time (1712), about which period it was called "Missouri," from the fact that a tribe of Indians known as Missouris inhabited the country at its mouth, the same country being now embraced within the limits of St. Louis County.

### CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERY OF THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—LA SALLE AND HENNEPIN.—SEEKING A NORTHWEST PASSAGE TO CHINA THEY DISCOVER THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND TAKE FORMAL POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY IN THE NAME OF LOUIS XIV.—IN HONOR OF HIM THEY CALL IT "LOUISIANA."—MISSOURI A PORTION OF IT.—LETTERS PATENT TO CRUZAT.—JOHN LAW'S COMPANY.

"While the simple-hearted and true Marquette," says Peck in the "Annals of the West," "was pursuing his labors of love in the West, two men differing widely from him and each other, were preparing to follow in his footsteps, and perfect the discoveries so well begun by him and Joliet. These were Robert de La Salle and Louis Hennepin." La Salle was a native of Normandy; was brought up by the Jesuits, and a man of enterprise and intelligence. For some cause, about which it is unnecessary to inquire, he lost his patrimony in his native country, and about 1670 reached Canada very poor.

Sharing the conviction which prevailed among scientific men of that period, that there was from the great lakes a north-west passage to China and Japan, La Salle, about the time of the return of Marquette, was busy in organizing an expedition to discover it. He was not only ambitious to establish his own fortune and reputation, but zealous for the honor of his nation to signalize the French name by the splendor of the achievement.

Frontenac was then governor-general of Canada, and to him La Salle unfolded his plans and applied for assistance. Frontenac deeply sympathized with his views, and advised him to visit Louis XIV, then reigning sovereign of France, make known his embryo but gigantic scheme, and solicit the royal patronage and protection. He did so; received the King's favor and a tender of assistance, with letters patent and important discretionary powers.

On the 14th of July, 1678, La Salle, with Tonti, an Italian, and about thirty men, sailed from Rochelle, France, for Quebec in Canada, arriving safely in September. Preparations were at once made for the contemplated western expedition, the design of which was to discover the Mississippi, and to follow it to its source as well as to its supposed entrance into the Gulf of Mexico. In this enterprise La Salle and party were joined by Louis Hennepin, who was a Franciscan friar, and a man very ambitious to become a great discoverer, but who withal possessed the weakness of exaggerating his own powers and exploits.

The limits of this "Sketch" forbid our following step by step the varying fortunes of these explorers. Suffice it to say, that after leaving Fort Frontenac in November, 1678, about eighteen months were spent in explorations on the northern lakes, along the coasts of the rivers, and among the tribes of Indians which inhabited the country now embraced by the States of Wisconsin and Illinois, during which they encountered many hardships and perils. At the lower end of Lake Erie they built a small vessel called the *Griffin*; and near the present site of Peoria, on the Illinois river, a fort, which from their disappointments they named *Creve-Cœur*, or Broken Heart.

In order more expeditiously to explore the northern and southern country, La Salle finally adopted this programme: That Father Hennepin should ascend the Mississippi to its source; that Tonti should remain at *Creve-Cœur*, while he should descend the Mississippi to its mouth. Accordingly, Hennepin embarked, on the 28th of February, 1680; and having passed down the Illinois into the Mississippi, ascended the latter as high as the Falls of St. Anthony—so named by him in honor of his patron saint. Shortly after he was taken prisoner by the Sioux Indians, robbed of his property, and carried 200 miles to their village. But he soon made his escape, and returned to Canada by the way of the Wisconsin; and thence sailed immediately for France, where in 1684 he published an account of his travels.<sup>1</sup>

La Salle, after visiting Canada for additional supplies and to perfect arrangements for his great expedition, returned to *Creve-Cœur*. Tarrying at this fort but a short time, he, accompanied by about twenty Frenchmen, eighteen Indians, and ten Indian women to act as servants for their lazy mates, descended the Illinois river to the Mississippi, where he arrived on the 6th of February, 1682. On the 13th of the same month he commenced his downward passage, and on the 5th of April accomplished the grand purpose of the expedition by the discovery of the three mouths or passages, through which the great river discharges its waters into the Gulf of Mexico;—one of those channels deepened at this time by Capt. Eads, by his system of jetties.

<sup>1</sup> L. C. Beck's Gazetteer, 1823, p. 51. "Annals of the West" by J. M. Peck, 1850, pp. 40-41. The volume published by Hennepin he called "A Description of Louisiana." Thirteen years after its appearance he issued it in a new and enlarged form, with the title "New Discovery of a Vast Country Situated in America, Between New Mexico and the Frozen Ocean." In this edition Hennepin claims to have violated La Salle's instructions and to have gone down the Mississippi to its mouth before ascending it. But this is a shameful imposture, for he took the account of his pretended descent from the work of Le Clercq, published in 1691.

Three days afterwards, that is on April 9th, 1682, La Salle, by a ceremony of great pomp, took formal possession of the country in the name of Louis XIV, the reigning King of France, in honor of whom he called the country *Louisiana*.

About three leagues from the confluence of the great middle outlet with the Gulf, on a dry spot above the reach of inundations, La Salle prepared and "planted a cross, with the arms of France, amid the solemn chants of hymns of thanksgiving, and in the name of the French King took possession of the river, of all its branches, and the territory watered by them, and the Notary drew up an authentic act, which all signed with beating hearts; and a leaden plate, with the arms of France and the names of the discoverers, was, amid the rattle of musketry, deposited in the earth." The leaden plate bore this inscription: "*Louis le Grand, Roi de France et de Navarre, Regne; le Neuvieme Avril, 1682.*" Standing near the planted cross, La Salle proclaimed with a loud voice, that "in the name of the most high, mighty, invincible and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, fourteenth of the name, this 9th day of April, 1682," he took possession of the country of Louisiana, comprising almost indefinite limits and including, of course, the present territory of Missouri.

After this discovery La Salle returned to Canada, then to France, and in July, 1684, under the patronage of the King, sailed from Rochelle for America with twenty-four vessels, four of which were specially designed for the re-discovery (from the Gulf of Mexico) of the mouth of the Mississippi and the settlement of the far-famed Louisiana. But La Salle's vessels sailed far beyond the Mississippi, landed on the coast of Texas; quarrels arose among his party, and on the 20th of March, 1687, La Salle was assassinated by Duhant, one of his men, and buried on a branch of the Brazos. He was shot from ambush, in the head, and died within an hour. Thus perished La Salle, the first French explorer of the Mississippi to its mouth. He was illustrious for his courage, enterprise, perseverance and misfortunes. He was one of the greatest adventurers of the age in which he lived, and his discoveries were extensive and of importance to the French nation. He was the first European who established permanent colonies along the Mississippi, and opened the way for the settlement of Illinois, Missouri and Louisiana.<sup>1</sup>

By right of the discovery thus made, and in virtue of the ceremonies indicated, was the foundation laid for the claim of France to the Mississippi Valley, according to the usages of European powers.

<sup>1</sup> "Annals of the West," pp. 41-54.



Singularly enough, for a long period after the discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto in 1541, the French settlements along that stream, all of which were projected in the interest of gold and silver mining, were confined altogether to the east bank. Finally, however, in the year 1705, just a century preceding the well-known expedition of Lewis and Clarke up the same river, the French organized a prospecting party for the Missouri River, which they ascended to the mouth of the Kansas. It is not recorded that this expedition, the first in chronological order ever made up the Missouri River, resulted in the discovery of any of the precious metals.

About this period it is known that the wars in Europe rendered it necessary that France should husband all her resources, and to a large extent withdraw attention and supplies of men and money from the colony of Louisiana. Determined, if possible, to keep the colony out of the hands of his enemies, Louis XIV, as a *dernier ressort*, on September 14th, 1712, conveyed it by charter or letters patent to Anthony Cruzat, a man of reputed intelligence and great force of character, and withal of immense wealth and credit. The letters patent bore date September 14th, 1712, and granted to Cruzat, Counsellor of State, etc., the exclusive privilege of the commerce of Louisiana, for fifteen years. This embraced the whole country on both sides of the Mississippi and now included in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri. It was also provided in this charter that the "edicts, ordinances, customs of Paris, etc., were to be observed for laws in the said country of Louisiana." Therefore, the customs of Paris, etc., whatever they were, in connection with the common or civil law, constituted the laws of the province, with such modifications as were necessary to adapt them to a new and distant country.

The first governor under Cruzat was M. de la Motte, who arrived and assumed the reins of power in 1713. Inexhaustible mines of gold and silver, prolific in yield beyond the historic richness of Peru and Golconda, opened themselves to the enchanted fancy of this Frenchman. Vast sums were expended to discover the priceless deposits, but in vain. A five years' experience, singularly marked by disappointment and disaster, induced Cruzat in 1717 to return his patent to the King.

Following this in quick succession, the colony of Louisiana was transferred (1717) to the Company of the West, of which the celebrated John Law was the master spirit. Law was an adventurous Scotchman, whose financial speculations attained the acme of human folly in the disastrous explosion of the bank which he was authorized to establish in

connection with the Company, a bank whose worthless notes were in circulation to an amount exceeding two hundred millions of dollars. The expected income from the commerce, lands and mines of Louisiana occupied the place of United States bonds and coin as capital, and constituted the foundation of its credit. It was declared a royal bank, and its shares rose to twenty times their par value. Thousands of capitalists rushed to the stock board, the "Mississippi Bubble" was soon inflated, and in 1720 bursted, leaving the deluded speculators penniless.

Amos Stoddard, in his excellent and very instructive Historical Sketch of Louisiana, very justly remarks :

"The Mississippi scheme was no less bold in its conception than disastrous in its consequences. It seized within its grasp the bank, the mint, all the trading companies, and all the revenues of the kingdom. The object was to employ this vast capital in opening the rich mines of Louisiana, and in cultivating its fertile soil, in carrying on the whole commerce of the nation, and in managing its revenues. The company created three hundred thousand shares, at five hundred livres each; all of which were sold in market, and before the completion of the sales they arose to an enormous height. The amount of stock thus created, without taking the rise into calculation, amounted to sixteen hundred and seventy-seven millions five hundred thousand livres; or three hundred and ten millions six hundred and forty-eight thousand, one hundred and forty-eight dollars!

"Such indeed was the phrenzy of speculation that the whole nation, clergy and laity, peers and plebeians, princes and statesmen, mechanics and even ladies, employed their wealth in purchasing these shares."

Overwhelmed by irretrievable ruin, the charter of the Company of the West was surrendered to the Crown in 1731. Nevertheless, the enterprise of Law was not an unmixed evil. It quickened the tide of immigration of miners, mechanics and agriculturists to the territories of Illinois and Missouri, and settlements for the first time began to dot both banks of the Mississippi. The cultivation of tobacco, indigo, rice and silk was introduced, the lead mines of Missouri were opened, in the hope of finding silver; and in Illinois the culture of wheat was commenced.

It is proper to remark that, although the country included within the present limits of Missouri excited the attention of the French in consequence of its mineral resources, their settlements were generally confined to the east bank of the Mississippi. When, however, by the treaty of Paris, 1763, the Mississippi became the boundary between the possessions of England and France, many of the French inhabitants, preferring their old to their new masters, crossed the river and commenced new settlements; for it should be recollected that, although the territory west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain in 1762, the fact was not known to the colonists until two years afterwards, to-wit: April 21st, 1764.

## CHAPTER IV.

FIRST SETTLEMENT IN MISSOURI.—THE FRENCH SETTLE STE. GENEVIEVE IN 1735.—ITS INUNDATION IN 1785.—NEW BOURBON.—RENAULT'S SEARCHES FOR GOLD AND SILVER.

While all historians agree, we believe, as to the *place* of the first permanent settlements in the territory now known as the State of Missouri—to-wit: that they were made at Ste. Genevieve and New Bourbon,—there is an embarrassing conflict of authority as to the *date* of them. Mr. Lewis C. Beck fixes them in his *Gazetteer*, published in 1823, page 214, in the autumn of 1763, while others believe them to have occurred at an earlier period.

For example: A letter from Hon. Gustavus St. Gem, dated Ste. Genevieve, Mo., September 18th, 1873, and addressed to the writer of this "Sketch," says:

"I find, in looking over the old papers of my grandfather, in possession of my sister, Mrs. Menard, and carefully preserved by her as precious family relics, that my great-grandfather purchased of Mr. Gabouri a house with lot of two arpents of land, in the 'Post of Ste. Genevieve of the Illinois,' on the 29th day of December, 1754, thus showing that the town had evidently been settled several, nay, many years before the date of his purchase. There is, in my opinion, no correct data, written or of record, fixing the exact time when the place was settled; but we have it here by tradition that the first white inhabitants came over here from Kaskaskia about the year 1735. Kaskaskia was then the metropolis of the West, with a population estimated at 6,000 souls. It was from Kaskaskia that Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, Kahokia, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux and other early settlements, for many years obtained their supplies of goods and merchandise, and it was the opulent and proud inhabitants of Kaskaskia, who gave the derisive names of *Misere* to Ste. Genevieve, *Pain Court* (short of bread) to St. Louis, *Vide Poche* (empty pocket) to Carondelet, *Pouilleux* (lousy) to the people of Kahokia, etc. The town or 'post' of Ste. Genevieve was located by its first settlers in the river bottom three miles south or south-east of its present site. It was completely inundated in 1785, *l'annee des grandes eaux*, when the inhabitants were driven for safety to the elevations, and founded the present town. So the town now dates from the year 1785. New Bourbon was settled only after the French revolution of 1789, by Royalists who fled from France and exiled themselves at this place two miles south of Ste. Genevieve, and called their settlement New Bourbon, after that detestable dynasty which kept France under an iron rule and crushing tyranny for so many long centuries. But the place never thrived, and, like the Bourbons, there is nothing left of it except a few landmarks. The settlers of New Bourbon were Camille Delassus and Mr. Demunn, of the *ancienne noblesse*."

Whether the first settlement at Ste. Genevieve be fixed at the traditional period of 1735 or at a later date, it is unquestionably true that it was made in the interest of gold and silver mining, and long before the

purchase of Louisiana. As early as 1720, Renault, a son of a celebrated iron founder of France, established himself at Fort Chartres, about ten or fifteen miles above Ste. Genevieve, on the opposite bank of the Mississippi. He left France in 1719, with two hundred artificers and miners provided with tools and whatever else was necessary to accomplish his object. In his passage he touched at the Island of St. Domingo and purchased five hundred slaves for working the mines; and, entering the Mississippi, pursued his voyage up that river to New Orleans, which he reached some time in 1720, and soon afterward proceeded on his way to Fort Chartres. From this point he dispatched parties of miners to "prospect" for the precious metals, and they crossed the river to the west bank and explored what is now Ste. Genevieve County. These expeditions were prosecuted with great diligence, as is proven by the fact that many of Renault's old mines, overgrown with trees and covered with moss, have been since discovered.

Failing to find either gold or silver, as all previous explorers had failed, but discovering lead ore in abundance, he established rude furnaces for smelting it, and conveyed it on pack horses to Fort Chartres, thence to France via New Orleans in boats.

In 1785, about twenty years after the founding of St. Louis, the great flood destroyed the old town or "post" of Ste. Genevieve, and the site of the present town was established. After this was done, the new town experienced a large influx of population from the east side of the Mississippi, and it became a very important village.

## CHAPTER V.

LACLEDE.—ST. LOUIS.—“THE LOUISIANA FUR COMPANY.”—LACLEDE ITS MASTER SPIRIT.—  
HIS EXPEDITION FROM NEW ORLEANS IN 1783.—STE. GENEVIEVE.—FORT DE CHARTRES.  
—A DESCRIPTION.—DISCOVERY BY LACLEDE, IN 1764, OF THE SITE OF ST. LOUIS.—  
EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS OF HON. WILSON PRIMM.—LACLEDE'S DEATH AND BURIAL.  
—WHAT A BUBBLE IS FAME!

The prediction is not unfrequent that St. Louis is destined to become the great city of the continent. Certainly it is at this time the great commercial and manufacturing metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, and in the enjoyment of advantages of geographical position and enterprise which secure it a proud future.

From whatever point of view it may be contemplated St. Louis has a marvelous history. Much of it has been written; much of it remains to be written. Replete as it is with thrilling interest from the earliest period of its existence to the present time, and embracing events, traditions and reminiscences sufficient of themselves to fill a volume, the limits of this Sketch compel the omission of much properly belonging to its history.

St. Louis was founded by Pierre Laclede Liguist, or as he is most commonly called, Pierre Liguist Laclede, on the 15th of February, 1764. Mr. Elihu H. Shepard, in his “History of St. Louis,” says he “was born in Bion, France, near the base of the Pyrenees Mountains, the line between France and Spain, in the year 1724. He was about five feet eleven inches in height, of very dark complexion, had black, piercing and expressive eyes, a large nose and expansive forehead.” Also that “he was a merchant of no ordinary mind. Others have acquired vastly larger estates, but no one has excelled him in pushing forward commercial enterprises in person, and planting the seed of a city in more fertile soil, and cultivating it with greater success. His scrutinizing eye and sound judgment directed him to the point on the block of Main street, in front of the spot where the Merchants’ Exchange was afterwards located, as the best place to sell goods on the west side of the Mississippi, in 1764. More than a century has since elapsed, and it is the best place yet. On this celebrated block, on which Barnum’s Hotel now stands, and on which other elegant structures unite to cover the whole block, Mr. Laclede erected his dwelling house and store. He left a host of friends to lament his loss, speak his praise, and enjoy his labors: but no widow to shed a tear, or child to inherit his property or his name. His history



SPORTS OF THE FRENCH OCCUPATION.

while in Missouri, however, lives, and must live as long as the city he founded retains its name."

During the year 1763, Laclede obtained from M. D'Abbadie, then Director-General as well as civil and military commander of Louisiana, a monopoly of the "fur trade with the Indians of Missouri and those west of the Mississippi above the Missouri, as far north as the river St. Peters." This company was organized as the firm of Laclede, Maxent & Co., but was popularly known as "The Louisiana Fur Company." Its leading object was the prosecution of the traffic in furs, then believed to promise very large rewards. With a view of accomplishing the designs of the Company, an expedition under the leadership of Laclede, was organized in New Orleans, for the purpose of establishing a permanent trading post at some point north of the then existing settlements. This expedition, accompanied by a little band of trappers, mechanics and hunters, left New Orleans in rude and clumsy boats, on the third day of August, 1763, and proceeded on their weary way up the river. Three months afterwards—November 3d—they reached Ste. Genevieve, then a place of considerable importance, where they hoped to find temporary accommodations for themselves, and houses in which to store their goods.

Louis XV had already signed the treaty of peace by which was ceded to Great Britain the immense region comprising what are now the two Canadas, the great watery expanse of the Northern Lakes, and the rich domains of Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and East Louisiana to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Mississippi river thus became the boundary between the French and British possessions, with its navigation declared free to the two nations. At this time the French establishments were principally on the east side of the river. The little village of Ste. Genevieve alone was on the western side; and in this Mr. Laclede could scarcely find a house of sufficient size to store a fourth of his cargo.

Moreover, M. D'Abadie, the Director-General of Louisiana, had received orders to deliver up the territory on the east side of the river to Great Britain, so that the British authorities might be expected at any moment to take possession of it. In the midst of these difficulties, Laclede was greatly relieved by the offer of M. Villiers, the commander of Fort de Chartres, to allow him the use of it until its surrender. He gladly accepted the offer, and lost no time in apportioning his men and distributing his flotilla along the river, so as to render them most effective either for defense or trade.





At this period the French Colony, established sixty years before in Illinois, was in a prosperous condition, Fort Chartres being its seat of power. This fort was originally built by the French in 1720, for defense against the Spaniards, and in 1756 was rebuilt in view of hostilities between England and France for the possession of the country on the Ohio. It was less than a mile from the Mississippi river, on the east or Illinois shore of that river and about fifteen miles above Ste. Genevieve; and possessed every convenience for officers and men, as well as magazines for munitions and stores.

It was an irregular quadrangle, the sides of the exterior polygon being 490 feet in length. The walls, which were of stone, were two feet two inches thick, and at proper intervals were pierced with loop and port-holes for small arms and cannon. In truth at that time it was the best built and most convenient fort in North America.

By gradual encroachments the Mississippi river, many years previously, reached and undermined the west wall; while those portions which escaped inundation were removed by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, a town on the river below and nearly opposite Ste. Genevieve, for building purposes. More than twenty years ago trees three feet in diameter stood on the site of the fort—now a ruin in the midst of a dense forest.<sup>1</sup>

In an address delivered by Hon. Wilson Primm, in St. Louis, on the 15th of February, 1847, at an anniversary celebration of the founding of that city, he said:

*“Fort de Chartres, one of the chain of military posts established by France upon the line of her frontier, was surrendered to the English as early as the year 1765, some two years after the treaty, and some seventeen months after the foundation of St. Louis. In the meantime, and until 1768, the province of Louisiana, which really belonged to Spain, remained under French laws and French jurisdiction. Fort de Chartres, established in the American Bottom, a short distance above Kaskaskia, was garrisoned by French troops, and had become to the Province of Upper Louisiana, a nucleus, around which, under the protection of the French Government, numerous villages and settlements, on both sides of the Mississippi, had sprung into existence.*

*“St. Ange de Belle Rive was the French commander at Fort de Chartres, and surrendered it to Capt. Stirling, who had been appointed to take possession of it. This transfer of possession from the French to the English control, was not pleasant to a race of men whose tastes, habits, religion and feelings, were so much at war with those of their new master; and it is not a matter of surprise that the descendants of those who battled against the British Crown, in many a well-fought field, should leave their altars and firesides, and seek, as they did, upon the western side of the river, an abiding place where naught should recall to their minds the idea of subjection to a national, if not a natural foe.*

<sup>1</sup> “Annals of the West,” pp. 688-90.

"It was during this state of the political and social aspect of the country, and whilst France was *de facto* governing the Province of Louisiana, that the first movement was made which resulted in the establishment of St. Louis. In 1762, Mr. D'Abadie was Director General and Civil and Military Commandant of the Province of Louisiana under the French Government. Invested with powers of almost a vice-regal character, he had control in Louisiana of all that pertained to governmental functions. The upper portion of Louisiana was but little known, its vast resources were unexplored; but to enterprising men, there was enough known to warrant an undertaking such as the Founder of St. Louis originated.

"The lead trade, which was mostly concentrated at Ste. Genevieve, and the commerce in oils and peltries, which was in a measure monopolized by the neighboring small settlements and villages, still left abundant room for the development of the resources and capabilities of the upper Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and the countries bordering upon them.

"In Pierre Liguist Laclede was found a combination of the qualities which were required for such an undertaking. But we are left to deplore that, in the history of such a man, we can only start with the record of an act eventful in our annals, and say that at a fitting time, he had been sent forth as the moving cause of great and wonderful results. It was in view of the productive capacities and the resources of Occidental Louisiana, or rather of the Illinois, as this region was then called, that Laclede obtained from Mr. D'Abadie, in behalf of himself and others, the exclusive privilege, and the 'necessary powers to trade with the Indians of the Missouri and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, as far north as the river St. Peters.'

"In the beginning of February, 1764, Laclede left the *Fort de Chartres* for his point of destination, taking with him the men whom he had brought from New Orleans, a few from Ste. Genevieve, and some from the Fort and its neighborhood. On his route passing through the town of Kahokia, then called '*Notre Dame des Kahokias*,' he engaged several families to go with him to his proposed establishment.

"On the 15th of February, 1764, Laclede and his party landed at the spot now occupied by our city, and proceeded to cut down trees and draw the lines of a town, which he named St. Louis, in honor of Louis XV, of France, a town which subsequently became the capital of Upper Louisiana and which is now the commercial capital of Missouri.

"I can not, in justice to my audience, and on such an occasion, speak of the physical aspect of the country more than to say that St. Louis was then a wilderness, tenanted by the prowlers of the forest and surrounded by untutored and savage bands of Indians, and that for long afterwards, the beasts of the forest afforded nourishment, and rude huts on the ground and scaffoldings in the trees afforded shelter and protection, to the generous and daring people who first exposed the bosom of our soil to the genial influences of social industry.

"In the year 1765, the *Fort de Chartres* was abandoned by the French troops, ostensibly because of the unhealthiness of its position, but really, because of its surrender to Captain Stirling, under the provisions of the Treaty of Paris.

"Mr. St. Ange de Belle Rive, the French commander of that fort, upon the surrender, removed with his officers and troops to St. Louis on the 17th of July, 1765; and from that time, henceforth, the new establishment was considered as the capital of Upper Louisiana. Immediately upon his arrival, St. Ange assumed the reins of government. Whence he derived his authority is unknown, for Mr. D'Abadie, about that time, had died, and his functions were exercised by Mr. Aubry, at New Orleans. The inhabitants of St. Louis submitted to his authority without a murmur, for they had always been accustomed to the mild and liberal policy of the French power; and even then, perhaps, the secret of their transfer to Spain had been studiously concealed from them.

"The mildness of the form of government, the liberal spirit with which grants of valuable lands were made, in connection with the advantages which the trade of the country presented, soon attracted immigration from the Canadas and Lower Louisiana. Settlements were formed along the Missouri and Mississippi rivers; and as early as 1767, *Vide Poche*, afterwards called *Carondelet*, in honor of the Baron de Carondelet, was founded by Delor de Tregette. In 1776, Florissant, afterwards called St. Ferdinand, in honor of the King of Spain, was founded by Beaurosier Dunegant; and in 1769, *Les Petites Cotes*, now St. Charles, was established by Blanchette Chasseur; and numerous other small settlements sprang up on the borders of the two rivers before named, and in the interior of the country."<sup>1</sup>

Nearly two years after the Declaration of American Independence; that is, on June 20, 1778, and on his return from a business trip to New Orleans, Laclede died at the mouth of the Arkansas river, aged fifty-four years, and was there buried.<sup>2</sup> His grave has, no doubt, long since been washed into the river. After Laclede's death his residence became the property of the late Col. Auguste Chouteau, who enlarged the house and beautified the grounds, making them the admiration of strangers and the pride of citizens. This historic mansion was pulled down, and the

<sup>1</sup> The following beautiful and appropriate ode, written by John P. Shannon, Esq., and freely distributed among the people on the occasion of the anniversary celebration at which Judge Primm's address was delivered, deserves a place in history:

Through forest arches—ancient woods—  
Breasting the hurrying river's floods,  
Long time ago, a venturesome crew  
Paddled their dancing birch canoe,  
From forest aisle—from hill and dell,  
Their welcome was the savage yell,  
That told of tales of slaughter rife,  
The tomahawk and scalping knife—  
The sudden shout—the wild surprise—  
The dusky forms and gleaming eyes,  
That from the bank, the grove, the bush,  
Came like the lightning's deadly rush,  
Telling of bloody scenes to be,  
Ere the red man bowed or bent the knee,  
How the lone mother's straining ear,  
In those gone days, was bent to hear  
The husband's step, who, all day long,  
With hardy foot and sinews strong,  
Tracked through the woody plains the bear,  
The buffalo, and fierce cougar!  
The brother, sister, child and sire  
Watched long and well the signal fire,  
With beating hearts—for, ere the morn,

Their souls on angels' pinions borne  
Night, in the dark and dusk-browed Even,  
Like perfume, be exhaled in Heaven.

\* \* \* \* \*

Lo, now! where rolls that rushing flood,  
And where the dim and shallow wood  
Once twined its summer swaying arms,  
'Mid spring time bloom and winter storms,  
A city rears its stately head—  
A fitting tribute to the dead:  
A monument, on which we read  
The daring of the great LACLEDE,  
Who, with a small but gallant band,  
Like brothers, voyaged hand in hand—  
Stemmed the wild river's virgin swell  
With manly arms and stout "*cordelle*;"  
And in its cradle rocked the child,  
Since grown a giant, stout and wild.

\* \* \* \* \*

Three cheers, then, for the Pioneer!  
No heart to whom his fame is dear,  
Will dare refuse this humble meed—  
"All honor to our sire, LACLEDE!"

<sup>2</sup> The spot where Laclede was buried is about 200 yards back from the west bank of the Mississippi river, on the second bench, so-called, just above the town of Napoleon, in a deep, heavy grove of timber, in a light sandy soil, and on that account the place became a famous grave yard for sixty or seventy years. There is no stone to distinguish one grave from another; Laclede's grave, therefore, cannot be identified. No doubt, moreover, it was long since washed into the Mississippi river.—[HON. J. F. DARBY of St. Louis.

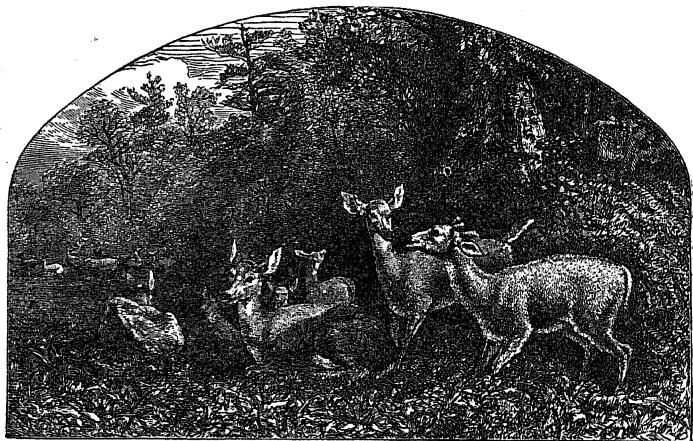
magnificent garden divided into city lots, more than thirty-five years ago ; October, 1841.

It will not be unprofitable to pause at this point and contemplate the remarkable fate of the discoverers of the Mississippi and of the founder of St. Louis—men whose names are historic and immortal. And yet behold their last resting places. There is a melancholy romance about them all. No monumental marble or column of brass or even the rudest head-stone bears testimony that "here lies" the distinguished of earth. DeSoto, a comrade of Pizarro and one of the conquerors of Peru, a man of immense wealth, and the first European whose eyes ever gazed upon the mightiest river of the continent, was stealthily buried at midnight in its waters. Marquette, after returning from his expedition to discover the Upper Mississippi, having been nearly exhausted by the great hardships of his voyage, remained to recuperate his health at the mission of St. Francis Xavier, on Green Bay, until September, 1674. Partially recovering, he went upon his mission among the Illinois Indians but being again taken ill on his way, was compelled to spend the winter in a miserable open cabin on the Chicago river. Sufficiently recovering, in the spring of 1675 he proceeded to his mission. Afterwards, returning along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, he became conscious that death was at hand. Observing an eminence near the mouth of a small river, he caused his companions to land, and there, on that desert coast, May 18, 1675, but thirty-eight years of age, he ended his last expedition and was buried. Two years afterwards, the Indians disinterred his bones, and placing them in a rude box of birch bark, brought them, convoyed by over twenty canoes, to Mackinaw and reinterred them in the middle of the Mission Church. The missionaries abandoned that post in 1706, burning down their church. Another was afterward erected on its site, but that, too, has disappeared. It is not known what became of the bones of Marquette ; and thus the last resting-place of the discoverer of the Upper Mississippi is now as unknown as that of his fore-runner in its exploration, the gallant De Soto, whose corpse was buried in its southern waters.

And Joliet, the companion of Marquette in all his great and singular perils and successes, what of him? After his return he seems to have fallen back into his original obscurity, and became again a trader with the Indians. The French Government rewarded his services by the gift of the island of Anticosti, and all that is known of him is that after

various vicissitudes of fortune he died, as it is vaguely expressed, "some years prior to 1737."

No less melancholy was the fate of Laclede, whose name is rendered immortal by the founding of St. Louis. Buried in a common graveyard at the mouth of the Arkansas, with no stone to distinguish the place of his sleeping dust from the graves of others, his bones long since were invaded by the insidious currents of the Mississippi on whose banks he founded one of the great cities of the continent, and were washed into that stream to join the remains of its great discoverer.



Some Early Inhabitants

## CHAPTER VI.

ST. LOUIS IN 1765 TO 1778.—LOUIS ST. ANGE DE BELLE RIVE MOVES HIS GARRISON FROM FORT CHARTRES TO ST. LOUIS.—IS MADE GOVERNOR.—PONTIAC; HIS VISIT, ASSASSINATION AND BURIAL.—TERMINATION OF FRENCH AUTHORITY.—ARRIVAL OF DON PEDRO PIERNAS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SPANISH RULE.—DEATH OF ST. ANGE.—FRANCISCO CRUZAT.—DON FERDINANDO LEYBA.—DEATH OF LACLEDE.—SALE OF HIS PROPERTY.

Events of thrilling interest occurred in the early history of St. Louis. In order to rescue some of the most important of them from oblivion, and to perpetuate them in enduring form, we resume in this chapter the historical thread at the point of time where it is abandoned by Judge Primm's address.

After the surrender, in 1765, of Fort Chartres to Capt. Stirling, by Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive, the latter moved his small garrison of troops to St. Louis, the recognized capital of Upper Louisiana. Regarding him as a gentleman of great personal worth, and an officer of sound discretion and justice, the people of St. Louis, in some form of expression, designated him as their governing head. Whence the authority thus to distinguish him, his tenure of office, and duties, are unknown; certain it is, however, their confidence was not misplaced, for he administered the responsible trust with wisdom and success. There can also be no doubt that he acted with the approbation of M. Aubry, Commandant-General of New Orleans, and that officer delegated to him the authority to make grants of the royal domain, hoping for the retrocession of the country to France, when the grants would be legalized by confirmation. Grants of land were accordingly made—among them, two to Laclede, August 11, 1766—and recorded in a book called *Livre Terrien*. These embraced the block on which Barnum's Hotel now stands, and the other the tract on which the old Chouteau stone mill stood until it was pulled down.

St. Ange was an inveterate enemy of the English and of English domination, and a warm friend of Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas and the "big brave" of Western savages. Indeed, the French, in all their efforts at settlement and colonization in the northern and western interior of the continent, made efforts to conciliate the Indians, and gave evidence of superior powers in this direction. Their habits of life and thought; their free and easy manners, vivacity of spirit and fondness for display, qualified them for assimilating with the Indians and made them favorites among them.

About the time of the founding of St. Louis the fame of Pontiac was at its climax. His name was on every tongue, and was as familiar from the Mississippi to the Atlantic and along the Northern Lakes as the name of any of the great captains and statesmen of our own day. His prowess in war and distinguished natural abilities enabled him to form a confederation of many of the Indian tribes of the West to resist the encroachments of the English. This fact, together with the distinction he won in the ambushade and defeat of Braddock near Pittsburg (1755), and the massacre at Michilimackinac, invested his name with a romance which excited everywhere intense curiosity to behold the great chieftain.

During the reign of St. Ange, and in the year 1769, this curiosity was gratified so far as it existed among the inhabitants of St. Louis. In response to an urgent invitation from his old friend, St. Ange, the great Ottawa chieftain made him a visit and was received with every mark of respect. He was invited to share his quarters at the house of Madame Chouteau, where the principal citizens of the town met him and welcomed him warmly again and again.

About this time it became evident that all his plans of warfare, well-matured and flattering as they seemed in their inception, and supported by one of the most powerful nations of Europe, had collapsed. His allies among the Indian tribes had forsaken him, and his most trusted friends among the French counseled him to bury the tomahawk and go to war no more. Crushed in spirit by insupportable disappointment, Pontiac sought to drown his sorrows as other great minds, civilized and savage, had often attempted to drown theirs—in strong drink. Debauch after debauch followed. In spite of the kind entreaties of his old friend St. Ange, Pontiac persisted in drunkenness. He had fallen to rise no more.

Very soon he made a visit to Cahokia, dressed in his richest robes and adorned with eagle's feathers and sparkling beads. The observed of all observers, he was received warmly. Stupefied by whiskey, he finally wandered unobserved into a thicket near the village, where he was assassinated by a Kaskaskia Indian, at the instigation of an English trader, the consideration paid being a barrel of whiskey. His remains were brought to St. Louis by St. Ange, and with much pomp and military display were buried near the tower at the intersection of Walnut and Fourth streets, where they yet rest—tradition itself not being able to point out the precise spot. Reposing near them is also the sleeping dust of his dear friend St. Ange de Belle Rive, without a slab or epitaph to mark the place

of its sepulture. Houses are built where both were buried, and but few even among the best read know that these remains repose in the midst of the great city.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcely had the excitement occasioned by the tragic death of Pontiac subsided before intelligence of the arrival at New Orleans of Don Alexander O'Reilly reached St. Louis, producing a thrill of horror. O'Reilly had been made Commandant-General of Louisiana, and landed at New Orleans with three thousand men to enforce his authority. After suppressing threatened resistance to his landing, and executing several of the ringleaders of the meditated revolt and imprisoning others, he proclaimed the supremacy of the Government of Spain in New Orleans and extended the Spanish authority to Upper Louisiana. The latter was accomplished by sending to St. Louis, in 1770, Lieutenant-Governor Don Pedro Piernas, to whom St. Ange delivered possession of the country. Notwithstanding the French inhabitants trembled for their safety and peace on the accession of Piernas, and shed tears when they saw the French flag lowered and the flag of Spain take its place, the mild and prudent sway of the new Governor soon reconciled them to the change. Governor Piernas remained in power for five years, at the end of which time he left for New Orleans amid the tears and benedictions of the people.

During his stay, he and St. Ange sustained towards each other the most amicable and confidential relations. He appointed St. Ange a captain of infantry, appointed a surveyor (Martin Duralde) to establish the boundaries of all his land grants, and in a public manner confirmed them, that they might not rest upon a precarious tenure. In September, 1774, St. Ange died at his quarters at Madame Chouteau's house, then situated on the block between Chestnut and Market and Main and Second streets. Before dying, he made his will in which was shown that his ruling passion, honesty, was strong in death. Declaring himself a good Catholic, and commending his soul "to God, the blessed Virgin, and to the saints of the Celestial Court," he appointed his friend, Pierre Liguist Laclede, his executor—directing in his will that the bill for his board should be paid to Madame Chouteau; that he owed for twenty-five cords of wood, and an account at his tailors. He also ordered that masses be said for the repose of his soul, and that five hundred livres be paid out of his estate to the Catholic Church.

Piernas was succeeded, in 1775, by Francisco Cruzat. He made a mild and amiable Governor, followed very much the policy of his prede-

<sup>1</sup> Elihu H. Shepard's "Early History of St. Louis," p. 18.



cessor, and lived in the same house—one of the first built in St. Louis—situated on the corner of Main and Walnut, and belonging to Laclede.

Cruzat's successor was a drunken, avaricious, feeble-minded Spaniard, by the name of Don Ferdinando Leyba, who came to St. Louis in 1778. During the early part of his administration the sad news of Laclede's death reached St. Louis, occasioning universal regret. Antoine Maxent, his partner, holding a high appointment in New Orleans, under the King of Spain, by showing claims upon Laclede for a great amount, got possession of his large landed and personal property, the most of which was sold for an insignificant sum at the church door, according to the usages of the times. The whole square where Barnum's Hotel now stands was a small portion of his large property, and was the heart of the little town. It was sold for three thousand dollars, Auguste Chouteau being the purchaser; and some years afterward was built upon it the celebrated Chouteau Mansion, which at one time was the palace of the town. The sale took place in 1779.

## CHAPTER VII.

ST. LOUIS IN 1778 TO 1800.—THE VILLAGE FORTIFIED BY A WALL OF BRUSH AND CLAY.—ATTACK OF BRITISH AND INDIANS.—TRAITOROUS CONDUCT OF LEYBA. —HIS DEATH.—FRANCISCO CRUZAT AGAIN APPOINTED GOVERNOR.—NEW AND STRONGER FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED.—MAP OF ST. LOUIS AS IT WAS IN 1780.—THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1785.—MICHAEL PEREZ.—ZENON TRUDEAU.—CENSUS OF 1799.—LAND GRANTS.

During the administration of Leyba (1778) war was declared between Great Britain and her American colonies. The Indians were incited to hostilities and became allies of the English, and throughout the Western country the colonies suffered all the horrors of a savage warfare. Spain sympathized with the colonies, a circumstance which caused the inhabitants of St. Louis to dread an attack from the barbarous tribes of Indians by whom they were surrounded. Col. George Rogers Clark, under the authority of Virginia, captured the settlements of Cahokia, Kaskaskia and other villages near St. Louis, and early in 1779 started on an expedition against St. Vincents (now Vincennes) on the Wabash, then held by the English under Lieut. Governor Henry Hamilton, from Detroit. The post was captured and its commander taken prisoner.

Alarming rumors becoming prevalent that an attack on St. Louis was meditated by the British at Michilimackinack, attention was directed to the defenseless condition of the town and efforts were at once made to fortify it. Therefore a wall of brush and clay, five feet in height, with three gates for ingress and egress, was built encircling the town, the extremes terminating at the river. They also built a small fort, called *La Tour*, which afterwards was used for a prison, and was located on Fourth street near Walnut. At each of the gates a piece of ordnance was stationed and kept in constant readiness for use.

After the completion of the rude and hastily-built fortifications nothing for months was heard of an attack. Winter came and passed without indications of hostilities. But these peaceable appearances were deceptive, for the sequel showed that preparations for the meditated blow were secretly in progress. Inspired by Canadians in the employment of fur traders and under the leadership of the British officer in command of Fort Michilimackinac, numerous bands of Indians, composed of Ojibways, Winnebagos, Sioux, and other tribes, numbering in all nearly 1500, had gathered on the eastern shore of the river, a little above St. Louis, and arrangements were consummated for a general attack on the settlement on the 26th of May.

The day previous—May 25, 1780—was the festival of Corpus Christi, which was celebrated by the Catholic inhabitants with religious ceremonies and rejoicing, and a large number of the citizens left the inclosure of the town and scattered about the prairie—men, women and children—gathering strawberries. A portion of the Indians crossed the river on that day, but fortunately did not make the attack. On the following day, the whole opposing force silently glided across the river and landed in that portion of it now called "Bremen." They then took a circuitous course back of the village, hoping to find some of the inhabitants at work in their fields. Near where the Fair Grounds are now situated, they came to what was, and is yet, known as "Cardinal Spring" and surprised two Frenchmen, one after whom the spring was called, and John Baptiste Riviere. Cardinal was killed and Riviere was taken prisoner and carried to Chicago. The few other citizens outside the fortifications, seeing the approach of the Indians, hastily retreated towards the upper gate, which course led them nearly through a portion of the hostile force. Rapid volleys were fired at the fleeing citizens, and the reports speedily spread the alarm in the town. Arms were hastily seized, and the men rushed bravely towards the wall, opening the gate to their defenseless comrades. There was a body of militia in the town from Ste. Genevieve, which had been sent up, under the command of Silvia Francisco Cartabona, some time before, when the apprehension of an attack prevailed. This company, however, behaved shamefully, and did not participate in the defense, many of them concealing themselves in the houses while the fight was in progress. The Indians approached the line of defense rapidly, and when at a short distance, opened an irregular fire, to which the inhabitants responded with light arms and discharges of grape-shot from their pieces of artillery. The resistance made was energetic and resolute, and the savage assailants seeing the strength of the fortifications and dismayed by the artillery, to which they were unaccustomed, finally retired, and the fight came to a close. When they had left the vicinity, search was made for the bodies of the citizens who had been killed on the prairie, and between twenty and thirty lives were ascertained to have been lost. Several old men and women were among the victims, and all the bodies had been horribly mutilated by their murderers.<sup>1</sup>

During the attack, Governor Leyba so conducted himself as to satisfy the people of St. Louis that he was a traitor and a coward. In a state of debauch he locked himself in his house and permitted the inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> See Reavis' "Future Great City."

the besieged village to defend themselves as best they could. His treacherous conduct was reported in full to Galoez, then Governor of Louisiana, and Leyba was removed from office and Francisco Cruzat again placed in command. Leyba, universally execrated, and his memory covered with obloquy and reproach, died the same year of poison administered by his own hand.

After the removal and death of Leyba and until the arrival of his successor, Cruzat, the lieutenant of Leyba, one Silvio Francisco Cartabona, exercised the functions of Lieutenant-General.

During the administration of Cruzat the town was regularly fortified. To this end he established half a dozen or more stone forts, nearly circular in shape, about fifty feet in diameter and twenty feet high, connected by a stout stockade of posts. The fortifications, as extended and improved by Cruzat, were quite pretentious for so small a settlement. On the river bank, near the spot formerly occupied by the Floating Docks, was a stone tower, called the "Half Moon," from its shape, and westwardly of it, near the present intersection of Broadway and Cherry street, was erected a square building called "The Bastion," and south of this, on the line of Olive street, a circular stone fort was situated. A similar building was built on Walnut street, intended for a fort and prison. There was also a fort near Mill Creek; and east of this another circular fort near the river. The strong stockade of cedar posts connecting these forts was pierced with loop-holes for small arms.

A reference to the preceding map of St. Louis, as that village was known in 1780, will show the course of the stockade of posts, the situation of the forts or towers and bastions, the location and size of Chouteau's pond and mill, and other interesting objects.<sup>1</sup> The efficiency of this well-devised line of defenses was not subjected to the test of another attack, for although during the continuance of the Revolutionary war, and even after the treaty of peace in 1783, other settlements on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers had to contend against the savages, St. Louis was not again molested.

<sup>1</sup> The author of this History first saw St. Louis in 1826; has resided in the State ever since, and often saw both the pond and mill. The pond (lake it deserved to be called) was a beautiful sheet of water of about 100 acres. It has been filled up gradually, and almost all of it since 1863. The old stone mill was torn down since 1863, and its site is now nearly covered by a substantial building of brick, partly sheathed with iron, and used for an ice house, and a store for the sale of agricultural machinery and tools. It is about 300 feet westwardly from the southern half of the Central Market. The railroad grounds, tracks and sheds adjoin it; and the Union Depot is located partly on the old shore and partly on the bed of the pond.

The next most notable event, in chronological order, in the history of St. Louis, occurred in 1785, whereby the inhabitants experienced a serious alarm and loss of property, owing to a sudden and extraordinary rise in the Mississippi river. The American Bottom was covered with water, and Cahokia and Kaskaskia were threatened with complete inundation by the angry flood. Most of the buildings in St. Louis were then situated on Main street, and the rise of the waters above the steep banks spread general dismay. The flood subsided, however, nearly as rapidly as it had risen, averting the necessity of abandoning the houses, which had been commenced. The year received the name of "*L'annee des Grandes Eaux*," or "the year of the great waters." No rise in the river equal to this has since occurred, except the great floods of 1844 and 1851, well remembered by many who will read these pages.

In the year 1788, Cruzat was succeeded by Manuel Perez as commandant-General of the post of St. Louis and of the West Illinois country. His administration embraced a period of five years and was very satisfactory to the people, and prosperous. The population of St. Louis and neighboring settlements reached nearly 1200, while that of Ste. Genevieve was about 800. He brought about a settlement of friendly Indians in the vicinity of Cape Girardeau, where he gave them a large grant of land. They consisted of Shawnees and Delawares, two of the most powerful tribes east of the Mississippi river, and the object was to oppose through them the Osage Indians, a strong Missouri tribe who were constantly making incursions on the young settlements. This scheme is said to have operated satisfactorily.

In 1793, Perez was succeeded by Zenon Trudeau, who also became popular, and instituted various measures for the encouragement of immigration. Trade, the chief of which was the traffic in furs, received a new impetus; and in their efforts to increase exchanges with Indian tribes, traders became more energetic and daring in their excursions and traveled long distances into the interior westward, and forced their rude boats up the Missouri never before visited. St. Louis improved in appearance, and new and neat buildings began to supplant, in many places, the rude log huts of earlier years.

Trudeau closed his official career in 1798, and was succeeded by Charles Dehault Delassus de Delusiere, a Frenchman by birth, but a gentleman who had been many years in the service of Spain. One of the many popular measures of his administration was the order that a census be taken of the Upper Louisiana settlements, from which we extract the following, showing the population of the places named in the

year 1799: St. Louis, 925; Carondelet, 184; St. Charles, 875; St. Ferdinand, 276; Marius des Liard, 376; Meramec, 115; St. Andrew, 393; Ste. Genevieve, 949; New Bourbon, 560; Cape Girardeau, 521; New Madrid, 782; Little Meadows, 72. Total, 6,028. Total number of whites, 4,948; free colored, 197; slaves, 883. It will be seen from these figures that St. Charles then nearly equaled St. Louis in population, while Ste. Genevieve exceeded it.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

RETROCESSION OF LOUISIANA TO FRANCE.—ITS PURCHASE BY THE UNITED STATES.—1800 A NOTABLE YEAR.—TREATY OF ILDEFONSO.—SPAIN FORCED TO RETROCEDE LOUISIANA TO FRANCE.—ITS PURCHASE BY THE UNITED STATES.—TREATY OF 1803.—CAPT. AMO STODDARD.—FRENCH AND SPANISH LAND GRANTS PROTECTED BY TREATY, AND ACT OF CONGRESS.

The year 1800 was one of great events in Europe, events of such magnitude upon the destiny of nations as to influence the political currents of America. With iron hand of power, guided by a wily diplomatic policy, Napoleon Bonaparte, jealous of the growing importance of Spain and England in the new world, forced the former power into the treaty of Ildefonso (October 1, 1800) by which she ceded to France all her territory known as Louisiana west of the Mississippi, in consideration that the Prince of Parma, who was a son-in-law to the King of Spain, should be established in Tuscany.

Accordingly, in July, 1802, the Spanish authorities were directed to deliver possession to the French commissioners, but the act was not consummated until December 20, 1803, when M. Laussat on behalf of France, was placed in control. The supremacy of England on the high seas at this period practically prevented France from instituting any possessory acts by transferring troops to the newly-acquired territory, and she wisely resolved to accept the offer of the United States and sell the vast territory to that Government. This famous purchase, accomplished during the administration of President Jefferson, was formally concluded on the 30th of April, 1803; and on the 17th of October of the same year, Congress met to consider the subject, and on the 21st of October ratified the treaty. In December following, M. Laussat, who had just received control of the Province from the Spanish authorities, transferred it to

the United States, represented at New Orleans for that purpose by Governor Claiborne and General Wilkinson, the commissioners appointed. The sum of money paid by the United States for the territory acquired was about \$15,000,000.<sup>1</sup> The agent of France for receiving possession of Upper Louisiana from the Spanish authorities was Amos Stoddard, a captain of artillery in the service of the United States. He arrived in St. Louis in March, 1804, and on the 9th of that month Charles Dehault Delassus, the Spanish commandant, placed him in possession of the territory, and on the following day he transferred it to the United States.

This memorable event created a wide-spread sensation in St. Louis and the young towns in the vicinity. Most of the people were deeply attached to the old Government, and although they were in sympathy with the vigorous Republic which had sprung into existence in the East, and to some extent appreciated the promise of its future, yet it was with feelings of regret and apprehension that they saw the banner of the new Government unfurled in place of the well-known flag of Spain. There were, however, many of the citizens of St. Louis who rejoiced at the transfer, and their anticipations of its prosperous influence on their town were speedily realized, for business generally became more animated, while the population rapidly increased by an energetic and ingenious class of settlers from the East and other points, mostly representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race, always the most successful in urging forward the prosperity and development of a country.

During the popular administration of Delassus, mentioned in the preceding chapter, there was a large influx of immigrants into the villages and contiguous settlements of Upper Louisiana. This influx was followed by a frenzied spirit of speculation. A mania for land grants seized all classes, and every character of device was adopted to gratify it. It was not the healthful spirit of industry and of genuine progress; and therefore lands were sought, not for the purpose of cultivation and improvement, but to realize immense profits by their sale. Many were very grasping in their desires and obtained grants for immense tracts of the wild domain. For example: James Mackay, for a time a Spanish officer, in command at St. Charles, obtained from Delassus a grant of thirty thousand acres; Francis Xavier, eight thousand eight hundred acres; Maturin Bouvet, because while working a salt-pit the Indians had robbed him of a few inconsiderable articles, twenty arpents square. Two large grants were made for distillery purposes, and

<sup>1</sup> See note on page 87.

then a third to supply fuel for the distilleries, after which there was no more whiskey imported into the province of Upper Louisiana. Home production was equal to home consumption. One of these grants was made to Colonel Auguste Chouteau, who built the first distillery in St. Louis.



Delassus at Home.

It is worthy of remark and remembrance that the French and Spanish governments conveyed lands by grants, and never by sales, and with certain official formalities (now known among us as "red tape") which required months to accomplish.

From the Mississippi river to New Mexico the country was a wilderness of almost boundless extent, and a part of the royal domain. Therefore a grant of a few thousand acres, more or less, was a matter of comparative indifference; for with such an inexhaustible wealth of territory a few thousand acres seemed to the entire body what a grain of sand was to the ocean's beach.



To determine the metes and bounds of the various grants made, surveys extended far into the wilderness in every direction, thus exposing those engaged in them to the attacks of hostile Indians. During one of these surveys, Maturin Bouvet, before mentioned as the recipient of a grant, while accompanying a surveying party to establish the lines of his twenty arpents square west of Ste. Genevieve, was taken prisoner by a band of Osages, subjected to horrid tortures, and then burned at the stake.

Owing in some cases to defective proof of transfer, in others to indefinite description of the local situation and boundaries, and in others to insufficient or doubtful evidence of inhabitation, cultivation or possession, these grants, notwithstanding treaty stipulations and acts of Congress intended to confirm and quiet titles, have proven a fruitful source of protracted and costly litigation. By the treaty between France and the United States for the purchase of Louisiana, and ratified by Congress in October, 1803, our Government agreed, in consideration of the territory lying west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, to protect each inhabitant of the ceded provinces in his property, franchises and religion.

Congress, in fulfillment of that treaty, on June 13, 1812, passed an act confirming in fee simple, absolute on that day, to the inhabitants of St. Louis and other villages according to their several rights, "the town or village lots, out-lots, common-field lots and commons, in, adjoining and belonging to the several towns or villages of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, Village-a-Robert, Carondelet, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, New Bourbon, Little Prairie and Arkansas in the Territory of Missouri, which lots have been inhabited, cultivated or possessed prior to the 20th day of December 1803." The courts have ruled that under this act it is not necessary that the claimant of an out-lot should have had, either under the French or Spanish authorities, or from the United States, any written recognition of his title, or any public survey. Its effect was, to confirm to each man what he had lawfully possessed under the former Government. By act of January 27, 1831, the United States relinquished to the inhabitants of the villages mentioned, all the right, title and interest of the United States in and to the lots confirmed to them by the act of 1812, to be held by them in full property according to their several rights therein.<sup>1</sup>

It is also provided by the act of June 13, 1812, that all town or village lots, out-lots or common field lots, included in the surveys

<sup>1</sup> See Brightly's Digest, p. 551.

authorized under it, which are not rightfully owned or claimed by any private individuals, or held as commons belonging to such towns or villages, or that the President of the United States may not think proper to receive for military purposes, shall be reserved for the support of schools in the respective towns or villages mentioned. And by the act of January 27, 1831, the United States relinquished all their right, title and interest in these school reservations; and provided that they should be disposed of, or regulated for said purposes, as directed by the State Legislature.

Many of these towns and villages are now possessed of school funds independent of and in addition to the general school funds of the State, and these laws show from whence they are derived.

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## CHAPTER IX.

**MISSOURI AS A DISTRICT UNDER UNITED STATES AUTHORITY, 1804.**—AMOS STODDARD SUCCEEDS DELASSUS AT ST. LOUIS.—“TERRITORY OF ORLEANS.”—“DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA.”—GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF THE LATTER.—VISIT OF AARON BURR.—WILKINSON SUCCEEDED BY CAPTAIN MERRIWETHER LEWIS.—HIS SUICIDE.—GENERAL BENJAMIN HOWARD SUCCEEDS HIM.—A REIGN OF SIX DAYS.—CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK APPOINTED GOVERNOR.—FOUR DISTRICTS ESTABLISHED.—STATISTICS OF POPULATION.—ST. LOUIS.—INTERESTING FACTS.

On the 10th of March, 1804, Amos Stoddard, a captain of artillery in the United States Army, succeeded Delassus, the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis; and the authority of the United States in Missouri dates from that day.

On the 26th of March, 1804, some two weeks after Stoddard assumed the functions and prerogatives formerly vested in the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, Congress passed an act dividing Louisiana into two parts—the “Territory of Orleans” (since 1812 the State of Louisiana) and the “District of Louisiana,” the latter popularly known as “Upper Louisiana.” The District of Louisiana embraced all that portion of the old Province of Louisiana north of “Hope Encampment,” a place on the Mississippi river nearly opposite the Chickasaw Bluffs. It therefore included the vast extent of country now known as Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa and Minnesota, and all the western region to the Pacific Ocean, south of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, not claimed by Spain.

The territory now embraced by the State of Missouri being included in the "District of Louisiana" thus defined, Missouri is denominated in this chapter, a "District."

By the act of Congress of March 26, 1804, the executive power of the Government in the Territory of Indiana was extended over that of Louisiana, the Governors and Judges of the former being authorized to enact laws for the new District. General William Henry Harrison, then Governor of Indiana, instituted the authority of the United States under the provisions of this act, his associates being Judges Griffin, Vanderberg and Davis. The first courts of justice were held during the ensuing winter in the old fort near Fifth and Walnut streets, St. Louis, and were called Courts of Common Pleas. On the 3d of March, 1805, by another act of Congress the District was regularly organized into the Territory of Louisiana, and President Jefferson immediately appointed General James Wilkinson, Governor, and Frederick Bates, Secretary. Governor Wilkinson, with Judges R. J. Meigs and John B. C. Lucas, of the Superior Court, formed the Legislature of the Territory—quite a small legislative body for so large an extent of country.

The executive offices were in the old Government building on Main street, near Walnut, just south of the Public Square, called *La Place l'Armes*. Here General Wilkinson was visited, in 1805, by Aaron Burr, when the latter was planning his daring and ambitious conspiracy. When Wilkinson was appointed, there were in each of the Districts of St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, and Cape Girardeau, a civil and military Commandant, as follows: Colonel Meigs for the first, Colonel Hammond for St. Louis, Major Seth Hunt for Ste. Genevieve, and Colonel T. B. Scott for the last-named place. These officers were superseded by the organization of courts, and the names of the districts subsequently became those of counties. This system of legislation was maintained for several years, with occasional changes in officers.

In 1807 Governor Wilkinson was succeeded in the gubernatorial office by Captain Merriwether Lewis of the celebrated expedition of Lewis and Clark. In September, 1809, while passing through Tennessee on his way to Washington on official business, he committed suicide, at the age of thirty-five, by shooting himself with a pistol. After his death President Madison appointed General Benjamin Howard, of Lexington, Kentucky, Governor of the Territory, whose first legislative act was signed October 25, 1810, and his last October 31, of the same year. Governor Howard resigned his office to accept a Brigadier-Generalship of Rangers in the war of 1812, and, after serving with great credit in

three campaigns, died in St. Louis, on the 18th of September, 1814. Howard County was named in honor of him.

On the resignation of Governor Howard in 1810, Captain William Clark, of the well-known expedition of Lewis and Clark, was appointed his successor. He remained Governor till the admission of the State into the Union in 1821, and died in St. Louis in 1838.

The settled portions of Missouri, for the purposes of local government, were divided in 1804 into four districts, as follows:

1. The district of *Cape Girardeau*, including all the territory between Tywappity Bottom and Apple Creek. In 1804 its population was 1,470 whites and a few slaves.

2. The district of *St. Genevieve*, including all the territory from Apple Creek to the Meramec river. Population, 2,350 whites and 520 slaves.

3. The district of *St. Louis*, including all the territory between the Meramec and Missouri rivers. Population, 2,280 whites and 500 slave. This district contained the villages of St. Louis, Carondelet and St. Ferdinand, (now Florissant) with several settlements extending into the present territory of Franklin County. St. Louis contained about 100 houses and a population of 1,080. Carondelet, between 40 and 50 houses and a small population consisting chiefly of Canadian-French. St. Ferdinand, 60 houses. The largest and most populous settlement in the St. Louis District was near the Missouri river, in the northwestern portion of the present county of St. Louis, and was known as St. Andrews.

4. The district of *St. Charles*, including all the inhabited territory between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. Population, 1,400 whites and 150 slaves. It contained two villages—St. Charles and Portage-des-Sioux—the inhabitants of which were French creoles and Canadians. Femme Osage was a large settlement of Anglo-American families.

The total population of the district of Louisiana at the period of the cession in 1803-4 was 10,120—of which 3,760 were French, including a few Spanish families; 5,000 Anglo-Americans and 1,270 blacks, who, with very few exceptions, were slaves.

In the excellent Historical Sketch of Louisiana by Captain Stoddard, these statistics of population are given as well as many other interesting particulars of St. Louis at the time of the transfer to the United States. According to the same authority, the village (see map) then consisted of two long streets running parallel to the river, with a number of others intersecting them at right angles. There were some houses, however,

on the line of the present Third street, which was known as "*La rue des Granges*," or The Street of Barns. The church building, from which Second street then derived its name, was a structure of hewn logs, somewhat rude and primitive in appearance. West of Fourth street there was little else but woods and commons, and the Planters' House now stands upon a portion of the space then used for pasture.

There was no post-office, and indeed no need for one, as there were no official mails. Government boats ran occasionally between New Orleans and St. Louis, but there was no regular communication. The principal building was the Government house on Main street near Walnut. As peltries and lead continued to be the chief articles of export, the cultivation of the land in the vicinity of the town progressed but slowly. There was but one baker in the town, Le Clerc, who lived on Main street between Walnut and Elm; three blacksmiths: Delosier, on Main near Morgan, Rencontre, on Main near Carr, and Valois, also on Main near Elm. Dr. Saugrain was the only physician. He lived on Second street and owned the property now known as "The People's Garden." Two little French taverns, both on the corners of Main and Locust, one kept by Yostic, and the other by Landreville, were the only places of "entertainment" in the village, and these were chiefly patronized by hunters and boatmen. Merchants were numerous, but they held their goods at fabulous prices. Sugar and coffee, when sold at all, brought two dollars per pound and everything else in proportion. The principal merchants and traders were August Chouteau, who resided on Main street between Market and Walnut; Pierre Chouteau, who resided on the corner of Main and Washington avenue, and had the whole square encircled with a stone wall—he had an orchard of choice fruits, and his house and store were in one building—the store being the first story and the family residence the second); Manuel Lisa, who lived on Second street, corner of Spruce, (a part of the building is now occupied as a boarding-house); Labbadie and Sarpy, on Main, between Pine and Chestnut; Roubidoux, who lived at the corner of Elm and Main—(a part of the house is still standing); and Jacques Clamorgan, corner of Green and Main—the foundry of Gaty, McCune & Co. stands on part of what was his property.

It must not be understood that a merchant at that time approximated at all in his business relations to the merchant of to-day. A place occupying but a few feet square would contain all his goods; and, indeed, during the period of the first growth of St. Louis, a merchant kept all his goods in a chest or box, which was opened whenever a purchaser



First Iron Works in St. Louis.

would appear. Sugar, coffee, gunpowder, blankets, paint, spice, salt, knives, hatchets, guns, kitchen-ware, hunting-shirts, and every variety of coarse dry goods, were stored together.<sup>1</sup>

A post-office was found to be a necessity for the new people who were filling up the country, and one was established in 1804—Rufus Easton, postmaster. The beginning of the new age of St. Louis was fairly inaugurated July 12th, 1808, when Mr. Joseph Charless, official printer of the Territory, established the *Missouri Gazette*, the first journal west of the Mississippi, a sheet not larger than a royal octavo page, as is verified by many *fac-simile* copies still extant. This journal was the

<sup>1</sup> "Edwards' Great West," p. 289.

germ of the present *Missouri Republican*, one of the largest in circulation and most influential journals of the country.

On the 9th of November, 1809, the town of St. Louis was first incorporated, upon the petition of two-thirds of the taxable inhabitants and under the authority of an Act of the Territory of Louisiana, passed the previous year.

In 1811, the town is described as containing 1,400 inhabitants, 1 printing office, 12 stores, 2 schools — 1 French and 1 English — and the merchandise and imports of the town were valued at about \$250,000. Peltries, lead and whiskey made a large portion of the currency. During the spring of 1811, the first market was built on Center Square (La Place d'Armes), which was between Market and Walnut, Main and the river.

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## CHAPTER X.

1803-4-5-6.—LEWIS AND CLARK'S EXPEDITION UP THE MISSOURI, ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, DOWN THE COLUMBIA, TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—HOMEWARD JOURNEY.—Z. M. PIERCE'S EXPEDITION TO THE SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND ARKANSAS RIVERS.—HIS RETURN, MILITARY SERVICES AND DEATH.

Very soon after the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, President Jefferson projected an expedition to explore the country from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and recommended to Congress as its commander Merriwether Lewis, his private secretary. In company with Captain William Clark, of the American Army, he set out in the summer of 1803, and encamped for the winter on the bank of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Missouri. Their company was composed of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers, two Canadian boatmen, an interpreter, a hunter, and a negro servant of Captain Clark. They had a keel-boat, fifty-five feet long, accompanied by two open boats, called pirogues. On the 16th of May, 1804, they left their encampment and began their ascent of the Missouri river. Some twenty miles up the river they came to the little French village of St. Charles. Passing the mouth of the Osage, the first large tributary of the Missouri, they proceeded on their journey till they reached the Kansas. Indians of the same name occupied its banks; a small tribe, reduced to three hundred

warriors, for they had been unable to withstand the fire-arms with which their enemies, the Sioux and Iowas, had been supplied by the European traders. Higher up, they came to the great estuary of the Platte, coming from sources far in the West, and rolling a more rapid stream than the Missouri itself. This river was occupied by considerable tribes of Indians: the Pawnees, Ottoes and Kites. Above the Platte, Lewis and Clark had a conference with fourteen of the Ottoe and Missouri Indians. The grand chief, whose name in English signifies Little Thief, was unfortunately absent; but Big Horse, White Horse, and Hospitality, held a most amicable conference.

By the time the expedition reached a point sixteen hundred miles above the mouth of the Missouri, at latitude forty-seven, and very near the present geographical center of Dakota, the symptoms of winter thickened, and Lewis and Clark determined to stop, build a fort and remain till spring, when they would be ready to start for the head waters of the Missouri, and from thence discover a passage through the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific ocean. They called the fort Fort Mandan, in compliment to the Mandan tribe of Indians among whom they now were.

On April 7, 1805, the party left Fort Mandan, thirty-two strong, in six canoes and two large pirogues. Continuing to ascend the river, in due time they reached the mouth of the Yellowstone, where three nearly equal streams concur; to these were given the names of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin, then President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. They ascended the Jefferson, the northermost of the three, to its source. Having, in August, procured horses and a guide from the Shoshone Indians, they traveled through the mountains until September 22, when they entered the plains of the western slope. On October 7 they embarked in canoes on the Kooskoosy, a left branch of the Columbia, and on November 15 reached the mouth of that river, having traveled more than four thousand miles from the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri. They passed their third winter in an entrenched camp on the south bank of the Columbia. On March 23, 1806, they began to reascend the Columbia on their homeward journey; and leaving their boats on May 2, they made a difficult journey on horseback across the mountains to the Missouri river, upon which they re-embarked August 12, and reached St. Louis September 23, 1806, after an absence of two years and four months. Congress made grants of land to the men of the expedition and to their chiefs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> American Cyclopedia, Vol. X, p. 386.



Among the events of 1805, 1806 and 1807 are the expeditions of Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who was born in New Jersey in 1779. The first, in 1805, to the sources of the Mississippi; and the second, in 1806-7, to the sources of the Arkansas, Kansas, Platte and Pierre Jaune rivers, and into the provinces of New Spain. The "journals" of travel kept by Pike were prepared for the press and issued with an atlas of maps and charts, in Philadelphia, in 1810, and are exceedingly interesting. In connection with the explorations of Lewis and Clark they furnished the first reliable information of the resources of Louisiana, and of the value of that purchase. After their appearance all complaints ceased as to the amount paid by the United States for that acquisition.

Lieutenant Pike rose to the rank of Brigadier-General in the war of 1812, and was killed during the attack upon York (now Toronto) in 1813. The county of Pike, in this State, was named in honor of him.

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## CHAPTER XI.

1769.—FIRST SETTLEMENTS WEST OF ST. LOUIS.—ST. CHARLES SETTLED BY BLANCHETTE.—"COMMONS."—FORTS.—PORTAGE DES SIOUX.—INDIAN INCIDENT.—THE MAMELLES.—FEMME OSAGE, PERRUQUE AND OTHER CREEKS.—LOUTRE ISLAND.—INDIAN ATTACK.—W. T. COLE.—ANOTHER ATTACK.—BLOODY FIGHT WITH INDIANS.—CAPTAIN JAMES CALLAWAY AND OTHERS KILLED.—COTE SANS DESSEIN.

In 1769, (five years after the founding of St. Louis,) the first settlement in what is now St. Charles County, and indeed in all northern Missouri, was made. During that year, Blanchette, surnamed "The Hunter"—*Chasseur*, built his log hut on the hills now occupied by the flourishing city of St. Charles, by which name, however, the place was not known till 1784, it being called previous to this *Les Petites Cotes* (Little Hills).

Blanchette located St. Charles by the establishment of a military post under the authority of the Governor of Upper Louisiana. His house was built near a little stream in the upper part of the city, which formerly bore Blanchette's name, but which is now known as "Factory Branch." At this spot was also erected the Government House and prison. Blanchette was Commandant until his death, in 1793, when he

was succeeded by Don Carlos Tayon, who resigned in 1802. His successor was Don Santiago Mackay, who was also commandant of the post of St. Andre, and retained both commands until the change of Government in 1803. This post, afterwards called the "District of St. Charles," embraced all the territory between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers to the Pacific ocean; and this magnificent area, including at this time a dozen States and Territories, was under the control of a single individual, in whom all military and civil authority was vested. The villagers, many of whom engaged in agricultural pursuits, received, with others, each a grant from the Government of a lot 120x150 feet (French measure) in the village, for residence, and a field at a convenient distance for farming purposes. These fields were 1 arpent (192½ feet) wide, and 40 arpents (7,800 feet) long, containing about 34 acres, and each farmer had one or more granted him, according to the number of his family, or his ability to work them. They were to be had free on the condition of their being worked, and were laid off adjoining each other, to save the expense of fencing. Twenty, thirty, and sometimes more were inclosed by one fence, which was built and kept in repair at the common cost of those whose land it protected. These inclosures, one or more of which were to be found near every French village, were known as "common fields" or "commons." Besides these grants to individuals, there were others to the villagers as a community, also called "commons" or "commune lands," which were not cultivated, but used in common by the villagers as pasture for their stock, and also furnished them wood and lumber. These "commons" have long since been sub-divided and sold, or leased for long terms, thus passing into the hands of individuals.

The progress of the settlement at St. Charles was extremely slow, for in 1781 there were only six or seven houses in the village, and in 1791—ten years afterwards—the number had only increased to some twelve to fourteen, at which last mentioned date the "Commons" were for the first time inclosed.

The Indian wars, massacres, and adventures which attended the first settlement of the State west of the Missouri river occurred principally in St. Charles County. Here the Rangers were raised and forts built, and it was in this county that Black Hawk made his first efforts against the white population. Among the forts built in St. Charles County during the war of 1812, was Boone's Fort, in Darst's Bottom. It was the largest and strongest of the entire list and was built by Daniel M. Boone, a son of the celebrated hunter and pioneer. There were also erected in

the county, Howell's Fort, on Howell's Prairie; Pond Fort, the site of which is a short distance southeast of the present town of Wentzville; White's Fort, on Dog Prairie; Kountz's Fort, on the old Boonslick road and eight miles west of St. Charles; Zumwalt's Fort, near the present village of O'Fallon, and Castlio's Fort, near Howell's Prairie.

Kennedy's Fort was near the present town of Wright City, in Warren County, and Callaway's Fort was a short distance from the present town of Marthasville and near the Missouri river. Wood's Fort was built around the big spring which influenced afterwards the location of the present town of Troy, in Lincoln County. Clark's Fort was four miles north of Troy, and Howell's Fort, near the present site of Cap-au-Gris. Fort Clemison was on Loutre Island. The forts were all built after the same general plan, viz: In the form of a parallelogram, with block-houses at the four corners, and the intervening spaces filled with log cabins and palisades. They would not have withstood the fire of artillery, but afforded ample protection against rifles and muskets. None of them, however, were attacked by the Indians, for their number and convenient locations, with the constant watchfulness of the Rangers, afforded the savages no opportunity of doing any serious damage.<sup>1</sup>

At this point it may be interesting to note the origin of a few of the local names of Eastern Missouri:

*Portage des Sioux*, founded soon after St. Charles, is an old French village on the Mississippi, and on the Missouri side, a short distance below the mouth of the Illinois. Captain Pike's expedition to the sources of the Mississippi, on which he sailed from St. Louis in a keel-boat, on Friday the 9th of August, 1805, stopped on the Sabbath afterwards and spent the day opposite this place, where the Mississippi and Missouri rivers are less than a mile apart. The village of *Portage des Sioux* derived its name from the following circumstance: The Sioux and Missouris, two hostile tribes of Indians, were seeking to destroy each other. The Sioux descended the Mississippi in their canoes on a pillaging expedition against the Missouris, who, apprised of their object, laid in ambush—became "bushwackers"—at the mouth of the Missouri river, intending to take their enemies by surprise and capture their entire naval squadron. The Sioux, cunning and strategic in war, instead of descending to the mouth of the Missouri, "rounded to" and disembarked at the Portage, took their canoes on their backs, crossed the narrow peninsula to the Missouri river at a point some distance above the

<sup>1</sup> "Pioneer Families in Missouri," p. 95.

ambuscade of their enemies, accomplished their object, and returned undiscovered with their spoils—leaving the Missouris long and anxiously waiting for them at the mouth of the stream.

A few miles west of the route taken by the Sioux on this expedition and about twenty miles from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers are the *Mamelles*, the termination of the bluffs of the two rivers, and called by this name from their remarkable resemblance to the human breasts. From this elevation, about one hundred feet above the surrounding plain, the visitor can survey a landscape among the most romantic and beautiful in the world.

*Femme Osage* (Osage Woman), a creek which rises on the border of Warren County and runs nearly east through St. Charles into the Missouri river, took its name from the fact that the body of an Osage squaw, supposed to have been drowned, was found in the creek by a French pioneer. Another version is that an Osage woman was found at the creek on its first discovery by the French. Hence the name.

*Perruque Creek* (Wig Creek) derives its name from an accident which happened to one of the early French adventurers whose wig became entangled in the branches of a tree in crossing the creek.

*Cuivre Creek* (Copper Creek). The origin of this name is not known. There is no copper in that region and nothing that indicates its existence there. It has been suggested that the correct name is *Cuvre*, which means a fish pool, but nothing certain is known on this point.

*Dardenne*: According to some of the old settlers, this name is a corruption of *Terre d'Inde*, pronounced *Tare Den* (Turkey Land), so called on account of the abundance of wild turkeys found in its vicinity in early times. However, this is imaginary. In the American State Papers, mention is made of several claimants to land in Missouri of the name of Dardenne, although there is no grant to any one of that name in St. Charles County. *Marais Croche*: Crooked Swamp or Lake—from its shape. *Marais Temps Clair*: Clear Weather Swamp or Lake. At this lake there was once a Kickapoo village, and the name of the principal chief, or *Big Injun*, was *Fair Weather*; in French, *Temps Clair*. This village, in 17—, was nearly depopulated by small-pox, and was immediately afterwards abandoned by the few survivors. The lake takes its name from the Indian chief.

In 1807 a few American families located on Loutre Island, (in the Missouri river a few miles below the present town of Hermann,) at that time, with the exception of the small French settlement at *Cote Sans Dessein*, the "Far West" of the new world. Many exciting incidents

by flood and field are connected with its history, among them the following:

In July, 1810, a band of Pottawatomie Indians made a hostile incursion into this island and stole a number of horses, a species of property for which the Pottawatomies had a singular weakness. The event occasioned great excitement, and recapture and retribution were at once resolved upon. To achieve them a company of six men, composed of Samuel and William T. Cole, Temple, Patton, Murdock, and Gooch, was organized. They entered upon the pursuit and followed the Indians to Bone Lick, a branch of Salt River, and within the present limits of Ralls County, where they came upon them. The fugitives scattered in the woods and escaped. That night they stealthily approached the camp of their pursuers, surprised and attacked them, killing Temple, Patton and Gooch at the first onset. Spencer creek being near by, Murdock, in the darkness, slipped under the bank, leaving William T. Cole to contend with two Indians who engaged him—one in the rear, one in front. The former stabbed him near the shoulder; from the latter Cole wrenched his knife, and then killed him, and from the other Indian made his escape in the darkness of the night.

In March, 1815, the Sac and Fox Indians stole some horses from the settlers in the neighborhood of Loutre Island. Captain James Callaway, with Lieutenant Jonathan Riggs and fourteen men, pursued them to a bend of Loutre Creek, about twelve miles above Prairie Fork, and near the present town of Danville, where they found the horses guarded only by a few squaws. These fled to the woods on the approach of Callaway's men, who secured the horses without trouble. Returning by the same route they traveled in reaching the camp, the party was attacked by the Indians in ambush, at the crossing of Prairie Fork. Parker Hutchings, Frank McDermid and James McMullin were in the advance, leading the recovered horses. After reaching the opposite shore of the creek the Indians fired upon them, and the three men were killed. At the first sound of firing, Callaway, who, with the balance of the company was in the rear, spurred his horse forward into the creek, and had nearly reached the opposite shore, when he was fired upon. His horse was instantly killed, while he received a slight wound in the left arm, and escaped immediate death by the ball lodging against his watch, which was torn to pieces. He sprang from his dead horse to the bank, and throwing his gun into the creek, muzzle down, he ran down the stream a short distance, then plunged into the water and commenced swimming, when he was shot in the back of the head,—the ball passing through

and lodging in the forehead. His body sank immediately and was not scalped or mutilated by the Indians. In the meantime, Lieutenant Riggs and the rest of the men were hotly engaged and forced to retreat, fighting as they went. Several were wounded, but none killed.

The following day a company of men returned to the scene of the fight for the purpose of burying the dead. The bodies of Hutchings, McDermid, and McMullin had been cut to pieces and hung on the surrounding bushes. The remains were gathered up and buried in one grave, near the spot where they were killed.

Captain Callaway's body was not found until several days after his death, when, the water of the creek having receded, it was discovered by Benjamin Howell, hanging to a bush in the stream several hundred yards below the scene of the fight. The body was wrapped in blankets, and buried on the side of an abrupt hill overlooking Loutre Creek. Several months afterward the grave was walled in with rough stones, and a flat slab laid across the head, on which was engraved: "CAPT. JAS. CALLAWAY, MARCH 7, 1815." The slab had been prepared in St. Charles County, by Tarleton Goe, a cousin of the dead ranger.<sup>1</sup> Callaway County was named in honor of the memory of James Callaway.

As early as 1808 the French settled *Cote Sans Dessein*, now called Barkersville, on the Missouri river, in the present territory of Callaway County, and two miles below the mouth of the Osage. Its name (signifying "a hill without design") is derived from an isolated limestone hill, some 600 yards long, and very narrow, standing in the bottom, which, it is thought, some convulsion of nature separated from the Osage bluffs, on the opposite side of the river. *Cote Sans Dessein* was once a village of considerable importance, contained a small blockhouse, and during the war of 1812 was the scene of some hard-fought battles with the Indians, in which were exhibited many instances of woman's bravery and determination. A Frenchman named Baptiste Louis Roi, two other men, and two women, successfully withstood a protracted and determined siege by the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Pioneer Families of Missouri," pp. 98-9.

<sup>2</sup> During this siege the women moulded bullets and cut patches for the men who were kept busy in firing upon the assailants. The consequence was that a good many of them were killed, which so exasperated the remainder that they determined to take by storm or to destroy by fire the block-house. The storming process failing, they fastened combustible matter to their arrows, and, lighting it, shot their missiles into the roof; as often as this was done the women extinguished the blaze by the careful use of portions of the small supply of water in the building. It was with appalling interest the heroic band

observed this supply rapidly lessening as the savage incendiaries repeated their efforts to fire the roof. But the women determined to "hold the fort" and continued to apply the water. Finally, however, the supply was exhausted, the last drop was gone, and the block-house blazed above their heads. One of the women produced a pan of milk and extinguished the flames. Very soon another arrow of fire set the roof ablaze and a demoniac yell arose from the savage foe. Even Roi himself looked aghast and trembled with fear, for he knew of no other means of averting the perils of the awful crisis. But "hold the fort" was the maxim of the women, and just in the nick of time Madame Roi produced from the urinal a fluid that again extinguished the flames, and saved the garrison. When, long after the war, this achievement was talked over in St. Louis, some young men united in the expense of procuring a rifle of fine finish as a present to Monsieur Louis Baptiste Roi in testimony of his gallant defense of Cote Sans Dessein. Some of them also suggested playfully that a silver urinal ought to be presented to Madame Roi for the distinguishing part she bore in the perilous defense of the block-house. Unfortunately, as it afterwards proved, this suggestion came to the ears of Monsieur Roi. When, therefore, the committee waited on him with the rifle and asked him to accept it, he is reported to have replied as follows: "GENTLEMEN:—It is a *fuzee* of beautiful proportions—containing very *much* gold in de pan, and silver *on his breeches*; he is a very *gentleman gun for kill de game*. I *tank* you. I shall not take him. Some gentlemen have consider to give *ma chere amie* one *urinal silvare*! I tell you, sare, I take care of *dem tings myself*—go to h—ll *avec votre dam long gun*! I shall not take him!! Go to h—ll, anybody, by d—n sight!!" And with this expression of resentment for the freedom that the young men had unwittingly taken in the discussion of the affair, he departed with manly indignation, in perfect keeping with his admirable character.

## CHAPTER XII.

"THE BOONE'S LICK COUNTRY."—ITS SETTLEMENT.—IRA P. NASH VISITS IT IN 1804.—EXPEDITION OF LEWIS AND CLARK.—IN 1807 NATHAN AND DANIEL M. BOONE MAKE SALT AT "BOONE'S LICK."—DANIEL BOONE.—POPULAR ERROR CORRECTED.—SKETCH OF DANIEL BOONE.—HIS DEATH.—EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN COOPER AND HOWARD COUNTIES.—STOCKADE FORTS.—TRAGIC DEATH OF SARSELL COOPER.

The next settlement west of St. Louis anterior to 1812, of any considerable size, was in 1810 by a colony of about one hundred and fifty families, chiefly Kentuckians, on the rich alluvial lands in the Missouri bottom about Franklin, in what is now Howard County.<sup>1</sup>

The fact is very well authenticated, however, that even at an earlier day a few Americans had visited the same region of country, but not for the purposes of permanent settlement. A recent publication<sup>2</sup> apparently prepared with much care, and certainly very valuable, discloses the fact that the first Americans who ever set foot within the present limits of Howard County were Ira P. Nash, ( afterwards the founder of Nashville on the Missouri River, in Boone County, ) a Deputy United States Surveyor, Stephen Hancock and Stephen Jackson, who came up the Missouri River in February, 1804, and located a claim on the public lands, within the present limits of Howard County, nearly opposite the mouth of Lamine Creek—doubtless the same land afterwards occupied, in part, by the celebrated "Hardeman's Garden." They employed their time in surveying, hunting and fishing until the March following, when they returned to their homes on the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles above St. Charles. In July of the same year, Ira P. Nash, accompanied by another party—William Nash, James H. Whitesides, William Clark and Daniel Hubbard—returned and surveyed a tract of land near the present site of Old Franklin, opposite where Booneville now stands. On this expedition Nash informed his companions that when in the country the previous spring, he concealed and left in a certain hollow tree a surveyor's compass,

<sup>1</sup> Organized January 23, 1816, and called Howard in honor of General Benjamin Howard, who was a Representative in Congress from the Lexington (Kentucky) district from 1807 to 1810, and who, in October of the latter year, was appointed Governor of Missouri Territory, to succeed Governor Merriwether Lewis. He died in St. Louis, September 18, 1814. (See Chapter IX.)

<sup>2</sup> Levens and Drake's "History of Cooper County."



which he sought and found as represented, thus verifying the fact that he had previously visited the same region.

Between the first and second visits of Nash; that is to say, on the 7th of June, 1804, Lewis and Clark, on their expedition across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, camped for the night with their boats at the mouth of the *Bonne Femme* ("Good woman") creek in Howard County, a few miles below the present city of Boonville. Remaining at the same place the next day, they explored the country and came down the river bottom as far as the mouth of the Moniteau, a creek which empties into the Missouri at the present town of Rocheport, (*Roche Porte*, "point of rocks,") where they found a high bluff from which projected a point of rocks covered with hieroglyphic paintings, but the rattlesnakes which abounded there deterred them from making a more critical examination.

During the summer of 1807, Nathan and Daniel M. Boone, sons of the celebrated hunter and frontiersman, Daniel Boone, together with three other men, Goforth, Baldrige and Manly, left the Femme Osage Creek settlement in St. Charles County, where the elder Boone lived, and came up to Howard County with their kettles to manufacture salt, at what was afterwards known as "Boone's Lick." In the fall of the same year they shipped it down the river in canoes made of hollow sycamore logs, the ends of which were made water proof by being closed with boards and daubed with clay.

The country above Cedar Creek, which now forms the boundary line between Callaway and Boone Counties, and which was regarded as the western boundary of the district (afterwards the county) of St. Charles, was called the "BOONE'S LICK COUNTRY" from its first settlement; and this from the circumstance that Nathan and Daniel M. Boone, as early as 1807, manufactured salt at "Boone's Lick" in Howard County, as above stated.

The popular conviction is, and it has found expression in various forms in carelessly-prepared newspaper articles, that the old Kentucky pioneer, Daniel Boone, made a settlement at an early day within the present limits of Howard County, and manufactured salt at what was known as "Boone's Lick," and that from this circumstance an undefined region in that part of the State was called "The Boone's Lick Country." The truth is, there is no evidence that old Daniel Boone ever owned or worked the salt springs; certainly none that he ever resided, even temporarily, in Howard County. It is probable, and yet the evidence of even this is not conclusive, that while Commandant (in 1800 to 1804)

of the Femme Osage District, under the Spanish Government, he may have gone on a hunting expedition into the territory of Howard County, and discovered the salt springs existing there.

Nevertheless, it is unquestionably true that Boone County, organized November 16, 1820, was called Boone in honor of his name.

Daniel Boone was born in Exeter Township, Bucks County, Pa., July 14, 1732,<sup>1</sup> and has the merit of entering and exploring Kentucky and Missouri at a very early day. On the 1st of May, 1769, he set out with five companions from his farm on the Yadkin, in North Carolina, for *Kain-tuck-ee*, for such was its Indian name, and in June following found himself on the banks of a river flowing westward toward the Mississippi—the Kentucky River. Years afterwards, losing his lands in Kentucky by reason of a defective title, and hearing from some hunters of the wondrous fertility of the country west of the Mississippi River and of the great abundance of game, he finally resolved to emigrate and settle there.

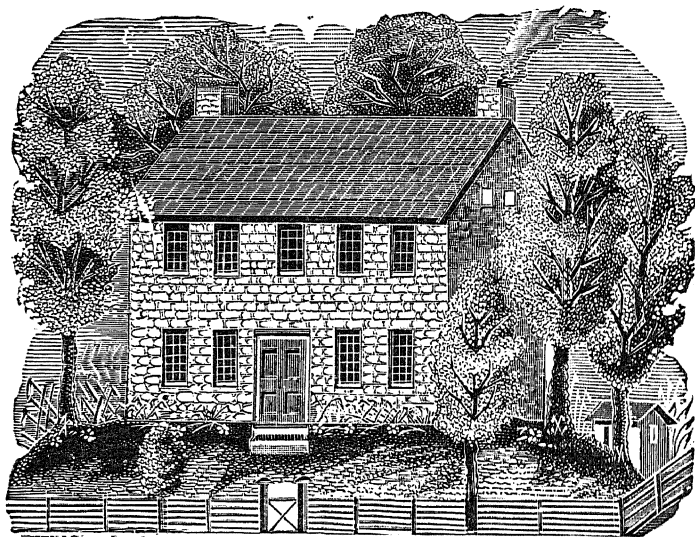
Mr. J. M. Peck fixes the period of his emigration to Missouri in 1795 Perkins, in his "Western Annals," in 1797, and Mr. Thomas J. Hinde in the "American Pioneer," in the same year; Timothy Flint, in 1798.

At that period, and for several years after, the district of Louisiana, which embraced Missouri, belonged to Spain; and Colonel Boone, soon after his arrival, renounced his allegiance to the Government of the United States and became a Spanish subject. His first residence in Missouri was in the Femme Osage settlement, in the District of St. Charles, about forty-five miles west of St. Louis, and about twenty-five miles above St. Charles, on the Missouri River. On June 11, 1800, Delassus, Lieutenant-Governor, appointed him Commandant or Syndic of Femme Osage District, which office he accepted. He retained this command, which included both civil and military duties; and he continued to discharge them with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of all concerned, until the transfer of the government to the United States in 1804.

Colonel Boone received from the Spanish Governor, Delassus, a grant of 1,000 arpents of land in the Femme Osage District. Subsequently a

<sup>1</sup>The date of Boone's birth is not certainly known, and different biographers give different dates. Bogant gives February 11th, 1735, as the date of his birth, and his biographer, C. B. Hartley, (who wrote in 1865) gives the same date. Reverend J. M. Peck gives February, 1735. Another account gives 1746. The family record in the handwriting of Daniel Boone's uncle, James, who was a schoolmaster, gives July 14th, 1732.

grant of 10,000 arpents was made to him, by reason of an agreement with him, which he fulfilled, to bring into Upper Louisiana one hundred families from Virginia and Kentucky. In order to confirm this grant it was necessary to obtain the signature of the direct representative of the Spanish Crown, at that time residing at the city of New Orleans. Neglecting to comply with this requisition, his title was declared invalid. His title to the first grant of 1,000 arpents was also declared worthless, but it was subsequently confirmed by special act of Congress.



The House in which Daniel Boone died.

*(The first stone dwelling-house erected in Missouri.)*

On March 18th, 1813, the old pioneer lost his wife—Rebecca Bryan—by death. Her remains were interred on the summit of a beautiful eminence commanding the Missouri River and about one mile southeast of the town of Marthasville, in Warren County.

On the 26th of September, 1820, the old hero himself died at the residence of his son, Major Nathan Boone, on Femme Osage Creek, in St. Charles County, aged 88 years. The house in which he died is a two-story stone, the first of its character erected in Missouri, and is yet standing, some six miles from the Missouri River.

He was buried in a cherry coffin which he had prepared and kept ready for several years, his remains being interred by the side of his wife. Great respect was rendered the memory of the old pioneer, as was evidenced by the large concourse of people who attended his funeral, and by the adjournment, for a day, of the Missouri Legislature, then in session.

In 1845 the citizens of Frankfort, Kentucky, having established a new cemetery, and being about to dedicate it, resolved to inter in it the remains of Daniel Boone and his wife. Obtaining consent of the surviving members of the family, a committee was sent to Marthasville, Missouri, their remains exhumed July 17th, 1845, and on the 20th of August, 1845, re-interred in the new cemetery. The ceremonies were deeply interesting and largely attended. Honorable John J. Crittenden delivered the address on the occasion; and Mr. Joseph B. Wells, of Missouri, also made a speech.

In 1808, William Christie and John G. Heath came up from St. Louis and manufactured salt at what was known as "Heath's Salt Lick," in what is now Blackwater Township, Cooper County. For many years afterwards Mr. Heath made salt at the same springs.

In the spring of 1808, Colonel Benjamin Cooper and family, consisting of his wife and five sons, moved to the neighborhood of "Boone's Lick," in Howard County; built a cabin, cleared a piece of land, and commenced arrangements for a permanent settlement. Governor Meriwether Lewis, then Governor of the Territory, hearing of Cooper's adventure, sent him an order to remove with his family to some place below the mouth of the Gasconade, as in the event of an Indian war he could not be protected in his far-off home. He thereupon abandoned his settlement and located at Loutre Island, where he remained till 1810. In February of that year, Colonel Benjamin Cooper, wife and sons, with many others, chiefly from Madison County, Kentucky, left Loutre Island for the "Boone's Lick Country," traveling through the trackless forest on the north side of the Missouri River, and arriving in safety in March. The females belonging to these families—Colonel Benjamin Cooper's excepted—did not arrive till the following July or August.

All of those who accompanied Cooper on this expedition settled in Howard County, except Stephen and Hannah Cole, with their families, who crossed the Missouri River where Old Franklin now stands, in canoes, and settled in what is now Cooper County, near the present site of Booneville.

In the spring of 1812, it became evident that some more efficient means should be adopted to protect these frontier settlements from the threatened hostilities of the warlike tribes of Indians by which they were surrounded. They were chiefly disturbed by the Pottawatomies, who were the champion horse-thieves of the frontier. Of more warlike and bloody intent were the Foxes, Iowas, and Kickapoos, whose hostilities exposed the lives of the settlers to great and constant perils. Living as these pioneers did, beyond the organized jurisdiction of any county,

they were a protection and government to themselves; and for two years, unaided by territorial authority, they had sustained the conflict with the Indians with dauntless heroism.

Nevertheless, in 1812, they resolved, in the midst of thickening dangers, to erect five stockade forts, for their protection.

Four of these forts were erected in the present limits of Howard County, and all named in honor of some leading man of the "settlements." There was Cooper's Fort in the bottom prairie near Boone's Lick Salt Works, nearly opposite the present town of Arrow Rock; Kincaid's Fort, only a mile above the site on which Old Franklin was afterwards built; Fort Hempstead, one mile north of Franklin; Cole's Fort, two miles east of Booneville, north of the road to Rocheport, and on the Cooper side; and Head's Fort, a few miles north of Rocheport and near the present crossing of the Old St. Charles road on the Moniteau, a large stream which for some distance from its mouth forms the boundary between the counties of Boone and Howard.

The commanders of these forts were Captain Stephen Cole, after whom Cole County was named; William Head and Sarshell Cooper—Cooper County being called in honor of the latter.

Cornfields, which were cultivated in common, stood near these forts. Sentinels kept guard around them, while others plowed the fields; and if danger was seriously apprehended, horns were blown as signals to rally to the forts. Frequent deaths occurred at the hands of the savages, sometimes by outright assassinations under the cover of night, at other times in conflicts in field or forest.

At different times and places the following well-known settlers were killed by the Indians, namely: Sarshell Cooper, Braxton Cooper, Jr., Jonathan Todd, Wm. Campbell, Thos. Smith, Sam'l McMahan, Wm. McLane, William Gregg, John Smith, James Busby, Joseph W. Still, and Joseph Brown, a colored man. Of the murders committed—says "Peck's Annals of the West,"—none excited so deep a feeling as the tragic end of Captain Sarshell Cooper, who was killed at his own fire-side in Cooper's Fort, April 14, 1814. It was on a dark and stormy night, when the winds howled through the adjacent forest, that a single warrior crept to the wall of Captain Cooper's cabin, which formed one side of the fort, and made an opening between the logs, barely sufficient to admit the muzzle of his gun, which he discharged with fatal effect. Captain Cooper was sitting by the fire, holding his youngest child in his arms, which escaped unhurt; his other children lounging on the cabin floor, and his wife engaged in domestic duties.

## CHAPTER XIII.

EARTHQUAKES AT NEW MADRID, 1811-12.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CATASTROPHE.—HON. LEWIS F. LINN'S LETTER.—THE VENERABLE GODFREY LESIER, AN EYE WITNESS, DESCRIBES IT.—REELFOOT LAKE, TENNESSEE, A RESULT OF ITS VIOLENCE.—“NEW MADRID CLAIMS.”—ACTS OF CONGRESS LOCATING AND CONFIRMING THEM.

Four remarkable events occurred near the close of the year 1811; namely, the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7; the building of the “New Orleans,” the first steamboat constructed west of the Alleghanies; the burning of the Richmond Theater, December 26; and the great earthquakes at New Madrid, December 16, the latter of which will render New Madrid imperishable in history.

This place lies about seventy miles below the mouth of the Ohio, and was one of the old Spanish Forts. It was settled as early as 1780. Seven years after, it was laid out by General George Morgan of New Jersey on an extensive scale. In consequence of some obstacles to his designs, created by the Spanish Government, and the fact that no stone for building or other purpose could be found, he finally abandoned it and retired from the country. Nevertheless, it grew to be a town of considerable importance and population.

The first shock of the earthquake at New Madrid was felt on the morning of December 16, 1811, about two o'clock, and was repeated at intervals, with decreasing violence, for several weeks. The center of its violence was near the settlement of Little Prairie, twenty-five or thirty miles below New Madrid. During the night of December 16th a flotilla of flat boats, laden with provisions for the southern trade, was at anchor some miles below the town, and the boatmen describe the phenomenon as one of terrific grandeur.

Although there have been many exaggerations of the character and extent of this catastrophe, it is admitted by all that the undulations of the earth upheaved the waters of the great river and much of the country adjacent, filling every living creature with indescribable horror. The ducks, geese, swan and other aquatic fowls that were quietly resting in the eddies of the Mississippi gave evidence of the wildest tumult in screams of alarm. A loud roaring sound, which has been likened to subterranean thunder, was accompanied by hissing as if of escaping steam from a pipe, and attended by violent agitation of the adjacent shores.

Sandbars and the points of islands were swallowed in the bosom of

the deep, while the tall cotton-woods crashing against each other and tossing their giant branches to and fro, disappeared in the voracious abyss.

The earth on shore in many places opened in wide fissures, and, quickly closing again, threw jets of water discolored by mud, charcoal and sand, to a considerable height. Traces of these fissures, and of the heaps of sand with which they covered the country, are plainly visible to this day.

This appalling catastrophe invaded the country inland, on both sides of the Mississippi. Hon. Lewis F. Linn, in his letter, February 1, 1836, to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce says that after the subsidence of the principal commotion, "hills had disappeared, and lakes were found in their stead; and numerous lakes became elevated ground, over the surface of which vast heaps of sand were scattered in every direction, while in many places the earth for miles was sunk below the general level of the surrounding country. One of the lakes formed on this occasion is sixty or seventy miles in length, and from three to twenty in breadth. In sailing over its surface in the light canoe, the voyager is struck with astonishment at beholding the giant trees of the forest standing partially exposed amid a waste of waters, branchless and leafless. But the wonder is still further increased on casting the eye on the dark blue profound, to observe cane brakes covering its bottom."

The venerable Godfrey Lesier, but recently deceased, and a resident of New Madrid at the time of the earthquake and an eye-witness of the scene, in 1871 fully describes it in a letter to Professor A. D. Hagar, State Geologist of Missouri. Speaking of the remarkable fissures made by the earth's undulations, he says: "Wide and long fissures were left, running north and south parallel with each other for miles. I have seen some four or five miles in length, four and a-half feet deep on an average, and about ten feet wide. After this, slight shocks were felt at intervals until January 7th, 1812, when the country was again visited by an earthquake, equal to the first two in violence, and characterized by the same frightful results. Then it was that the cry, '*sauve qui peut!*' arose among the people, and all but two families left the country, abandoning all their property, consisting of cattle, hogs, horses, and portions of their household effects.

"Besides these long and narrow fissures, they were sometimes forced up to a considerable height in an oval or circular form, making large and deep basins, some of them one hundred yards across, and deep enough to retain water during the driest season, affording good watering places for stock.

"The damaged and up-torn part of the country was not very extensive, embracing a circumference of not more than one hundred and fifty miles, taking the old town of Little Prairie, now called Caruthersville, as the center. A very large extent of country on either side of White Water, called here Little River, also on both sides of the St. Francis River, in this State and Arkansas, and also on the Reelfoot Bayou, in Tennessee, was sunk below the former elevation about ten feet, thus rendering that region of country entirely unfit for cultivation.

"It is a remarkable fact, and worthy of notice, that so few casualties occurred during those terrible convulsions. Among the citizens there were but two deaths, both victims being women. One, Mrs. Lafont, died from fright while the earth was shaking and rocking. The other, Mrs. Jarvis, received an injury from the fall of a cabin log, from which she died a few days after."

A correspondent of the *New York World*, writing from Cairo (Ill.,) in February, 1877, says of Reelfoot Lake:

Near Union City, in Tennessee, and near the southwestern confines of Kentucky, is Reelfoot Lake. Here the roof of a mighty cavern was shaken down by the earthquake of 1811-12. Lofty forest trees, the tallest that tower above the lowlands, disappeared with the land on which they grew, and a sea, broader and deeper than that of Galilee, was outspread in crystal clearness in the midst of the lowlands. Ducks and geese flock its surface, and trout abound in the modern lake that had never reflected the sun's face in its fathomless depths, till the bridge of soil and trees and cane were broken down by the earthquake's resounding footsteps.

Where the railway from Nashville to Hickman, Ky., on the Mississippi, crosses that from Mobile to Cairo and Chicago, stands the town of Union City. It is ten miles from this lake. It has been stated that when heavy locomotives and heavily-laden trains come rushing by, hotels and station-houses quake, candlesticks are shaken from mantels and tables, and that hollowness in which the forest disappeared which bridged Reelfoot Lake, extends, it has been alleged, beneath the town and railway. The water of this lake is not that of the Mississippi. It is of crystal brightness and clearness, such as distinguishes the river in the depths of Mammoth Cave, while the great river above ground, bearing alluvium from northwestern mountains, is tawny in its yellowness and impervious to vision. When the earthquake of 1811-12 was most violent and the night was of extraordinary darkness, the Mississippi flowed backward, and flatboats in the vicinity of Hickman drifted backwards forty miles towards Cairo. A mighty volume of the river's flood-tide receded into measureless caverns beneath the country's surface, and nowhere were the lowlands submerged.

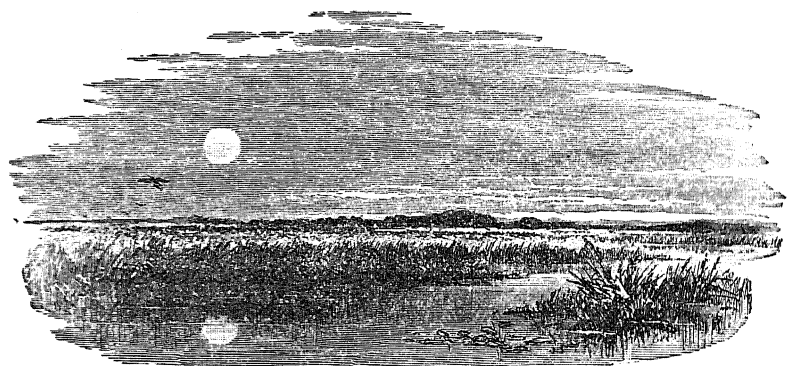
The losses sustained by the inhabitants residing within the circuit of the earthquake at once received the sympathies of the American people. No sooner, therefore, did Congress convene than the great earthquake was felt in that body, and so keenly and with such undiminishing power that before the vibration subsided the earthquake elevated one territorial judge to the bench, delivered the Supreme Court of the United States



of three decisions, passed six acts of Congress, and pronounced ten opinions of attorney-generals.

Among the most important acts of Congress was that of February 17, 1815, for the relief of the inhabitants who sustained losses of real estate, an act which originated the "New Madrid Claims." This was a short act of three sections, and providing that any person owning lands in the county, as it was known on the 10th of November, 1812, and whose lands were materially injured by the catastrophe, were authorized to locate a like quantity on any of the public lands of the territory of Missouri, no location, however, to embrace a larger number of acres than six hundred and forty.

Many of the locations were made on the most fertile lands in Boone, Howard and other counties; and in many instances without regard to the lines and angles of the public surveys. Land pirates and speculators infested the country, and, taking advantage of the wants of the sufferers by the earthquake, bought up and speculated on their "claims." Many claims were manufactured by fraud and perjury, and sustained by whatever proof was needed to establish them, so that in the end the aggregate area of the claims was no doubt larger than the entire surface of New Madrid County.



Swamp near New Madrid.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1812.—MISSOURI TERRITORY ORGANIZED.—FIVE COUNTIES.—GOVERNOR WILLIAM CLARK.—ELECTION FOR DELEGATE TO CONGRESS AND MEMBERS OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—EDWARD HEMPSTEAD CHOSEN DELEGATE.—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND SERVICES.—FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.—CENSUS OF 1814.—RUFUS EASTON.—JOHN SCOTT.—LEGISLATURES OF 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817 AND 1818.—APPLICATION TO FORM A STATE GOVERNMENT.

On the 4th day of June, 1812, Missouri was organized by Congress into a Territory, with a Governor and General Assembly—the latter to meet annually in the town of St. Louis. The legislative power of the Territory was vested in a Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Representatives. The Governor had an absolute veto. The Legislative Council consisted of nine members, and held their office for five years. The House of Representatives nominated eighteen citizens to the President of the United States, and out of that number he selected nine councilors, with the approval of the Senate, to form the Legislative Council. The House of Representatives consisted of members chosen by the people every two years, one Representative being allowed for every five hundred white males. The first House of Representatives consisted of thirteen members, and, under the act of Congress, the number of Representatives could never exceed twenty-five. The judicial power of the Territory was vested in a superior court, inferior courts, and justices of the peace. The Superior Court consisted of three judges, who held their offices for four years, and had original and appellate jurisdiction, in civil and criminal cases. By the same act the Territory was authorized to send one territorial delegate to Congress.

On October 1st, 1812, Governor Clark issued a proclamation, as required by the act of Congress, reorganizing the districts—so-called theretofore—into five counties, viz: St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, and ordering an election to be held on the second Monday in November following for a delegate to Congress and members of the Territorial House of Representatives.

The first Territorial Governor appointed by the President was William Clark—of the expedition of Lewis and Clark—who entered upon his duties in July, 1813, and continued to hold the office till the admission of the State in the Union in 1821.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Governor Clark died in St. Louis on September 1st, 1838.

At the first election for delegate to Congress in November, 1812, there were four candidates—Edward Hempstead, Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond and Matthew Lyon, the first of whom was successful.

Edward Hempstead, thus chosen the first Territorial Delegate to Congress from Missouri, deserves more than a passing notice. He was a man of ability, patriotism and irreproachable life, public and private, and illustrated his brief career in Congress—for he refused to serve a second term—by introducing and influencing that body to pass the act of June 13, 1812, confirming to the people of the District of Louisiana titles to their lands claimed by virtue of the Spanish grants, noticed more at length in a former chapter. By the same act the several towns and villages of the District had confirmed to them, “for the support of schools,” the village lots, out-lots, or common-field lots held and enjoyed by them at the period of the cession of Louisiana to the United States on April 30, 1803.

The estimated value in 1876 of the real estate thus secured to the city of St. Louis, for school purposes, was \$1,252,895.79—yielding an income during that year of \$52,855.75. To Colonel Thomas F. Riddick, who originated the proposition, and who, in 1813 rode on horseback all the way to Washington City to aid in influencing Congress in its favor, and to Edward Hempstead, who carried it through Congress, the people of St. Louis and other towns and villages in Missouri are indebted for these magnificent grants of land.

Such benefactors ought not to be forgotten. Edward Hempstead was born in New London, Connecticut, June 3, 1780; received a classical education from private tutors, and having studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1801. After spending three years in Rhode Island, practicing his profession, he removed in 1804 to the Territory of Louisiana, traveling on horseback, and tarrying for a time at Vincennes, Indiana Territory. He traveled on foot from Vincennes to St. Louis, carrying his scanty wardrobe in a bundle, and first settled in St. Charles in 1805, and soon after removed to St. Louis, where he resided the balance of his life. In 1806, he was appointed Deputy-Attorney-General for the districts of St. Louis and St. Charles, and in 1809, Attorney-General for the Territory of Upper Louisiana, which office he held until 1811, and he was the first delegate in Congress from the Western side of the Mississippi River, representing Missouri Territory from 1811 to 1814. After his service in Congress, he went upon several expeditions against the Indians, was elected to the Territorial Assembly and chosen Speaker. He was a man of ability,

pure and without reproach, and his loss was deeply lamented by all who knew him. He died in St. Louis, August 10, 1817.

The first General Assembly under the act of June, 4, 1812, held its first meeting in the house of Joseph Robidoux, between Walnut and Elm streets, St. Louis, on the 7th of December, 1812, the following being the members of the House:

*St. Charles*—John Pitman and Robert Spencer.

*St. Louis*—David Music, Bernard G. Farrar, William C. Carr and Richard Caulk.

*Ste. Genevieve*—George Bullet, Richard S. Thomas and Isaac McGready.

*Cape Girardeau*—George F. Bollinger and Spencer Byrd.

*New Madrid*—John Shrader and Samuel Phillips.

The oath of office was administered by John B. C. Lucas, one of the Territorial Judges. William C. Carr was elected Speaker, and Thomas F. Riddick, Clerk, *pro tem*. Andrew Scott was elected permanent Clerk before the close of the session.

The House of Representatives then proceeded to nominate eighteen persons, from whom the President of the United States, with the Senate, was to select nine for the Council; and out of the number thus named the President and Senate chose the following:

*St. Charles*—James Flaugherty and Benjamin Emmons.

*St. Louis*—Auguste Chouteau, Sr., and Samuel Hammond.

*Ste. Genevieve*—John Scott and James Maxwell.

*Cape Girardeau*—William Neeley and Joseph Cavenor.

*New Madrid*—Joseph Hunter.

On June 3, 1813, Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Territory and Acting Governor, issued his proclamation announcing the names of the Legislative Council chosen by the President and Senate, and fixing the first Monday in July following for the meeting of the Legislature.

Before the meeting of this body, William Clark (in July, 1813) assumed the duties of the Executive office.

No proceedings of the Legislature were officially published, in any form, yet portions of them appeared in the *Missouri Gazette*. The Legislature passed laws regulating and establishing weights and measures, the office of Sheriff, mode of taking the census, fixing permanently seats of Justice in the counties, compensation to members of the Assembly, crimes and punishments, forcible entry and detainer, establishing courts of common pleas, incorporating the bank of St. Louis, and organizing the county of Washington from a part of Ste. Genevieve.<sup>1</sup>

The second session of the General Assembly began in St. Louis, on the 6th day of December, 1813. The Speaker elect of the House, was

<sup>1</sup> Territorial Laws, Vol. I, pp, 225-290.

George Bullett, of Ste. Genevieve County; the Clerk, Andrew Scott; Door-keeper, William Sullivan. Vacations having occurred, several new members had been elected. Israel McGready appeared from the new county of Washington. Samuel Hammond was President of the Legislative Council.

The Journal of the House, but not of the Council, is to be found in the *Gazette*. After passing various laws, among them one to regulate elections, one for the suppression of vice and immorality on the Sabbath, one creating the offices Territorial Auditor and Treasurer, and County Surveyor, one concerning public roads and highways and one regulating the fiscal affairs of the Territory, the Assembly adjourned, *sine die*, on the 19th of January, 1814. The boundaries of the counties of St. Charles, Washington, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid, were defined and the county of Arkansas created.<sup>1</sup>

The enumeration of the free white male inhabitants of each county, taken under the Act of the Legislature, early in 1814, is as follows:

Arkansas .....	827.	New Madrid.....	1548.
Cape Girardeau.....	2062.	Ste. Genevieve.....	1701.
Washington.....	1010.	St. Louis.....	3149.
St. Charles.....	1096.	Total.....	11,392.

Allowing an equal number of white females, and 1,000 slaves and free blacks, and the population of the Territory was 25,000. The census of 1810, by the United States, gives 20,845 of all classes.

Edward Hempstead, who had discharged his duty faithfully as a Delegate to Congress, declined a re-election. The candidates for his successor were Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond, Alexander McNair and Thomas F. Riddick. The aggregate votes from all counties (excepting Arkansas) was 2,599, of which Mr. Easton had 965; Mr. Hammond, 746; Mr. McNair, 853; and Mr. Riddick, (who had withdrawn his name previous to the election), 35. Rufus Easton was elected.

The apportionment, under the census of 1814, increased the number of Representatives in the Territorial Legislature, to twenty-two.

The first session of the second General Assembly, commenced in St. Louis, on the 5th of December, 1814. Twenty Representatives were present the first day. James Caldwell, of Ste. Genevieve County, was elected Speaker, and Andrew Scott, Clerk. The Council chose William Neely, of Cape Girardeau County, President. The County of Lawrence was organized from the western part of New Madrid and the corporate powers of St. Louis, as a borough, enlarged.

It appears from the journal of the House, in the *Gazette*, that James Maxwell, a member of the Council from the County of Ste. Genevieve, and Seth Emmons, member elect of the House of Representatives from the County of St. Louis, had died, and measures were adopted to fill the vacancies.

The Territorial Legislature commenced its annual session in November, 1815. Only a partial report can be found in the *Gazette*. The County of Howard was organized, at this session, from the western portion of St. Louis and St. Charles Counties, and embraced all that portion of the State north of the mouth of the Osage and south of the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. The session continued until January 26th, 1816, when it adjourned.

The Territorial Legislature of Missouri commenced again in December, 1816, and continued until February 1st, 1817. Among the acts passed, was one to encourage the "killing of wolves, panthers and wild cats"; two or three lotteries were chartered; a charter granted for an academy at Potosi; and a board of trustees incorporated for superintending schools in the Town of St. Louis. This was the starting point in the school system of that city. The old "Bank of Missouri" was chartered and soon went into operation, and by autumn, 1817, the two banks, "St. Louis" and "Missouri," were issuing bills. The one called St. Louis went into operation in 1814. [See Territorial Laws, Vol. 1, pp. 489-553.]

The Territorial Legislature commenced a session in December, 1818. During this session the Counties of Jefferson, Franklin, Wayne, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, Pike, Cooper, and three counties in the southern part of Arkansas, were organized. In the next year (1819) the Territory of Arkansas was formed into a separate Territory.<sup>1</sup>

So rapid had been the increase of population and the number of organized counties, that the Territorial Legislature of 1818-19 made application to Congress for the passage of a law by that body authorizing the people of Missouri to organize a State Government, and an act was accordingly introduced during the same year for that object. John Scott was the delegate from Missouri, he having been chosen at the election of 1817 over Rufus Easton. [For a history of the proceedings of Congress on this subject, see chapter xvii.]

<sup>1</sup> "The Annals of the West," by J. M. Peck, pp. 759-61.

## CHAPTER XV.

THREE CENTRAL COUNTIES—HOWARD, COOPER AND BOONE.—FRANKLIN, BOONEVILLE AND FAYETTE.—THE SANTA FE TRADE.—“MISSOURI INTELLIGENCER.”—HARDEMAN’S GARDEN DESCRIBED.—TOWN OF SMITHTON, IN BOONE COUNTY, ETC., ETC.

Next in importance and population to the settlement of St. Louis, and chronologically next to St. Charles, Femme Osage and Loutre Island, was the settlement of the three central counties of Howard, Cooper and Boone.

Howard County was organized January 23, 1816, and included all that part of the State north of the Osage River, and west of Cedar Creek, and the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. It then embraced the territory since divided into 31 counties, 19 north and 12 south of the river, besides parts of 9 others. The act organizing the county located the seat of justice at Cole’s Fort, where the first court was held July 8th, 1816. The officers of the court, which under the territorial laws discharged the duties now incumbent on the County and Circuit Courts, were David Barton, judge; Gray Bynum, clerk; John J. Heath, circuit attorney; and Nicholas S. Burckhardt, Sheriff. John Monroe was appointed coroner, and the Legislature appointed Benjamin Estell, David Jones, David Kincaid, William Head and Stephen Cole commissioners to chose the county seat, which was first located at Cole’s Fort. On June 16th, 1816, they chose Franklin, to which place it was removed in 1817, and remained there until transferred to Fayette in 1823.

The town of Franklin—now better known as “Old Franklin,” to distinguish it from the newer town of the same name, two miles back from the river on the bluff—was laid off opposite Boonville, in what was then called “Cooper’s Bottom” in the fall of 1816—the same year Howard County was organized. Franklin was laid off on fifty acres of land donated by different individuals. The Public Square contained two acres, and its principal streets were eighty-seven feet wide. It grew rapidly and very soon became a populous and thrifty place, commanding a lucrative trade, and for the whole of the “Boone’s Lick Country,” was the center of wealth and fashion. Indeed for many years Franklin was the most important and flourishing town in the State west of St. Louis. Its early achievements in commerce and wealth during the palmy days of the Santa Fe trade and the Boone’s Lick salt works, achievements

which were accomplished even long before Cooper's Fort, Kincaid's Fort and Fort Hempstead were lost from view, would fill a volume.

A United States land office—Thomas A. Smith Receiver, Charles Carroll Register—was located there at which the first land sales west of Saint Louis were held in November, 1818. Great crowds of citizens and speculators attended this sale, and lands in every part of the district were sold at that time.

Among those who, in its palmiest days, resided in Franklin may be mentioned: Hamilton R. Gamble, Abiel Leonard, Lilburn W. Boggs, Nicholas S. Burekhart, Ben. H. Reeves, C. F. Jackson, Ch. Carroll, T. A. Smith, Drs. James H. Benson, G. C. Hart, N. Hutchinson, and John J. Lowry; Ben. Holladay, A. J. Williams, Richard Gentry, David Todd, W. V. Rector, Giles M. Samuel, Moss Prewitt and many others whose names are historic, and who, although dead, yet speak in the annals of the State.

The first newspaper established west of St. Louis was the "*Missouri Intelligencer*," which was established in Franklin, by Nathaniel Patton, in April, 1819, where it continued to be published till the removal of the seat of justice to Fayette, in 1823, when it was removed to that place. In 1835, Mr. Patton moved the printing materials to Columbia, where he commenced the publication of "*The Patriot*," which was succeeded in 1843 by the "*Missouri Statesman*," by Wm. F. Switzler and John B. Williams. The press—a small hand-press of wooden frame, iron bed, platen and joints, known among "the craft" as the Ramage—on which the "*Intelligencer*" was printed was presented, some years ago, to the Mercantile Library Association of St. Louis, by Wm. F. Switzler, where it can be seen. Some of the walnut printers' stands used in the "*Intelligencer*" office in 1819, and with Mr. Patton's name upon them, are still in daily use in the "*Statesman*" office at Columbia.

On the 28th of May, 1819, the first steamboat which ascended the Missouri as high up as Franklin, the "*Independence*," Captain Nelson, reached that place after a twelve days' voyage from St. Louis.

About three years after the removal of the county seat to Fayette, the Missouri began to make serious encroachments upon the river front of Franklin, and year after year house after house, and street after street yielded to the insidious waters. By 1832 it became evident that the town—or what remained of it—must either be moved to a less exposed location or be washed into the stream. During that year, therefore, the town was re-located on a bluff two miles from the river, and called New Franklin, and many of the houses of the old town moved to it.



Just above the mouth of the Lamine River, in Howard County, and five miles above Old Franklin, there was from about 1820 to 1835 a lovely and famous retreat known as "Hardeman's Garden"—a vine-clad and rose-covered bower, very similar to the renowned "Tower Grove" of that public benefactor, Henry Shaw, of St. Louis.



A Home on the Missouri.

The founder of this celebrated garden, John Hardeman, was a North Carolinian by birth; born in 1776, removed in 1817 to Carondelet, Missouri, from Williamson County, Tennessee, and two years afterward to Howard County. He was a gentleman of wealth and culture, and studied and practiced law in his native State. But, being passionately fond of agricultural and horticultural pursuits, he abandoned his profession and determined to establish in the wilds of Missouri and on the rich alluvial lands in "Cooper's Bottom" the most splendidly-equipped farm and garden west of the Alleghanies. Ambitious to excel in this

attractive industry, he purchased several hundred acres of land, and on a chosen spot immediately on the Missouri River laid off ten acres in an exact square for a botanic garden, sparing neither expense nor labor in adorning it with fruits, flowers and shrubs, indigenous and exotic. Serpentine walks, paved with shells, conducted the admiring visitor through this charming court of Flora, where, amid zephyrs of the richest perfume, flowers of the most beautiful hue greeted the eye and fruits of the most delicious flavor tempted the hand.

No doubt Byron was endeavoring to convey some idea of such a spot when his rich fancy gushed forth in this beautiful rhapsody :

“ Know ye the land of the cedar and vine,  
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine;  
Where the light wings of Zephyr, oppressed with perfume,  
Wax faint o’er the gardens of Gul in her bloom;  
Where the citron and olive are the fairest of fruit,  
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute;  
Where the tints of the earth and the hues of the sky,  
In color though varied, in beauty may vie.”

But “Hardeman’s Garden” is gone! And he, to whose genius and cultivation it was indebted for the adornment and brilliance which made the forest bloom and blossom as the rose, is also gone—having, in 1829, on his way home from Old Mexico, died of yellow fever in New Orleans.<sup>1</sup> And the gay and cheerful groups who once threaded its labyrinthian paths, enchanted by the songs of birds and made happy in the midst of cultivated magnificence, are to be seen no more. Not a tree, or shrub, or vine, or flower of the Garden remains. All are gone—even the very spot on which this Elysium was located! It, as well as the once flourishing town of Franklin, has fallen a victim to the treacherous currents of the river, whose banks they once adorned.

Of Franklin scarcely a vestige is left, for its very foundations were years ago undermined by the waters of the river and washed away. The site of its main business street, where, in the heyday of its prosperity and glory and power, the long caravans for Santa Fe formed in line of march, or busy merchants, adventurers, traders and speculators congregated to grasp the wealth of this new world, is a half a mile or

<sup>1</sup> Hon. G. O. Hardeman, one of the members of the Legislature from Franklin County (1877), is a son of John Hardeman. He informs the writer that the farm and garden remained a part of his father’s unsettled estate for many years—the garden, and best portions of the farm, having disappeared in the Missouri River years before the remaining land was sold in 1865 to Dr. Kingsbury of Howard County.

more from the present shore. Nothing remains of the town except the grave-yard, originally located in the rear of it in a grove of stately cotton-woods, where are interred the remains of many of those who early sought fame and fortune in the wilds of the Boone's Lick—this hallowed spot alone has escaped the mad whirl-pools and insidious eddies of the Missouri.

Population of Howard County in 1821, 7,321; in 1876, 17,815.

On the return of Colonel Ben. Cooper and others from Loutre Island in February, 1810, to Howard County,<sup>1</sup> two of the party—Hannah Cole and Stephen Cole—crossed the river and settled on or near the spot on which Boonville now stands. The families of these two pioneers consisted of seventeen persons, and these at that time were the only white persons living within the present limits of Cooper County. Their only neighbors, south of the river, were the Sauk and Fox Indians, the former of whom, with their chief, Quashgami, occupied the country on the Moniteau Creek in the south part of what is now Cooper County.

In 1811 others came from "Cooper's Bottom" in Howard County and settled near Hannah and Stephen Cole, and during the following year built Cole's Fort, about one and a-half miles east of Boonville, and on what is now known as "the old fort field."

Cooper County was organized December 18th, 1818, and was named in honor of Sarshell Cooper, whose tragic death on the night of April 14th, 1814, is elsewhere noticed.

Booneville was located on land first settled upon and owned by Mrs. Hannah Cole. The original plat was made by Captain Asa Morgan and Charles Lucas, August 1st, 1817, and was called Booneville by Judge J. B. C. Lucas in honor of the great pioneer.

Charles Lucas was a son of Judge Lucas, and was killed by Colonel Benton in a duel on Bloody Island, September 27th, 1817, aged twenty-five years. Booneville became the county seat August 13th, 1819, and was incorporated February 8th, 1839. The first election held May 3d, 1839, made Marcus Williams, Sr., Mayor; J. Rice, President of the Board, and William Shields, J. L. Collins, Jacob Wyan, David Andrews, Charles Smith, J. S. McFarland, and J. H. Malone, Councilmen. The first court was held at the house of William Bartlett, Esq., March 1st, 1819, David Todd presiding, William M. McFarland, Sheriff, and Robert C. Clark, Clerk.

<sup>1</sup> See preceding chapter.

The first Court-House—a small two-story brick—was completed in 1823, on the same spot on which the present Court-House, which was built in 1840, now stands.

Population of Cooper County in 1821, 3,483; in 1876, 21,356.

The first settlement, in what is now Boone County, was made in 1812-13, at what a few years afterwards was called "Thrall's Prairie," by John Berry and Reuben Gentry; the latter the father of Colonel William Gentry, of Pettis County, who was a candidate for Governor in 1874. In 1815, immediately following the treaty by which the Indians relinquished all their country in Missouri Territory, north of the river, Robert Hinkson, William Callaham, William Graham, Reuben and Henry Cave located along the old "Boone's Lick" trail, or old St. Charles Road, leading from St. Louis to Old Franklin, which was made by Benjamin Cooper and others in 1810. In 1816, Augustus Thrall, Dr. George B. Wilcox, Tyre Harris, Overton Harris, Anderson Woods, William Leintz, the Wilhites and others settled on what is now Thrall's Prairie, in the western part of the county.

The years 1817 and 1818 witnessed a great influx of population to the "Boone's Lick Country," as all Central Missouri was then familiarly called. These early settlers were mainly from Kentucky (principally Madison County), Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina. The county was organized from Howard, November 16th, 1820, and named in honor of Daniel Boone. The county seat was first located at Smithton, one mile west of the present Columbia Court-House, and named in honor of General T. A. Smith, receiver of the land office at Franklin, and one of the proprietors of the town site.

On July 23d, 1819, the following advertisement was published in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, at Franklin, giving notice of the wants of the Trustees of Smithton:

The Trustees of Smithton wish immediately to contract for building a DOUBLE HEWED LOG HOUSE, shingled roof and stone chimneys, one story and a half high, in that town. Timber and stone are very convenient. They will also contract for DIGGING and WALLING a WELL. The improvements to be finished by the first of November next, when payment will be made.

July 23, 1819.

TAYLOR BERRY,  
RICHARD GENTRY, } Trustees.  
DAVID TODD,

The first county court was held February 23d, 1821; the first circuit court, at Smithton, beneath the branches of a sugar maple, on April

2d, 1821: David Todd, Judge; Roger N. Todd, Clerk; Overton Harris, Sheriff; Hamilton R. Gamble, Circuit-Attorney.

The county seat was removed from Smithton to Columbia, November 15th, 1821, on account of a failure to find water in the former place by digging wells.

The first circuit court held in Columbia, was December 7th, 1821.

Nashville, on the Missouri River, was laid off in 1821, on a Spanish grant of land owned by Ira P. Nash; and Rocheport in 1825—the latter town on a New Madrid claim.

Population of Boone County in 1821, 3,692; in 1876, 31,923.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

**THE FIRST STEAMBOATS.—ROBERT FULTON, THE PIONEER STEAMBOAT BUILDER.—HIS DEATH IN 1815.—IN 1817 THE "GENERAL PIKE" LANDS AT ST. LOUIS.—IN 1819 THE "INDEPENDENCE" ENTERS THE MISSOURI RIVER, PROCEEDS TO FRANKLIN AND CHARITON, AND RETURNS TO ST. LOUIS.—PUBLIC MEETING AT FRANKLIN.—OTHER STEAMERS NAVIGATE THE MISSOURI DURING THE SAME YEAR.**

The invention of steam as a propelling power is an honor claimed by various nations; but the first extensive employment of it, and the most valuable improvements made upon the steam engine, the world indisputably owes to the Americans and English.

Inseparably connected with the invention of steamboats and the great revolution they effected in the commerce of the world is the name of Robert Fulton, a celebrated American engineer and inventor, who was born near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1765. At the early age of seventeen he evinced remarkable genius as a painter of portraits and landscapes, and opened a studio in Philadelphia. Afterwards he visited London, where he pursued his art under the tuition of his celebrated countryman, Benjamin West. While in England he made the acquaintance of the Duke of Bridgewater and Lord Stanhope, through whose influence and encouragement he turned his attention to mechanics, and developed those remarkable powers which culminated in the invention of the steamboat. He afterwards visited Paris, and Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, appointed a commission to examine the *Torpedo*, a submarine vessel he had invented for naval warfare. In 1801 several experiments were made with it in the harbor of Brest.

Receiving in Paris but little encouragement, he returned in 1806 to the United States, and, being supplied with the necessary funds by Robert Livingston, who had been American ambassador at Paris, Fulton in 1807 conclusively proved that steam could be successfully applied to the propulsion of vessels on water. His first boat was the *Clermont*, which made regular trips between New York and Albany at the rate of five miles an hour. Very soon this speed was increased by improved machinery. Other boats followed, both on the northern and western rivers, exciting the admiration and wonder of the people.

In the midst of his great achievements Fulton died February 24, 1815.

Within three months after the death of Fulton; that is in May, 1815, the steamboat *Enterprise*, Captain Henry M. Shreve, made a trip from New Orleans to Louisville. She left New Orleans on May 6th, and reached Louisville on the 31st of the same month, making the passage in twenty-five days.

The first steamboat which ascended the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio, was the *General Pike*, Captain Jacob Reid, which landed in St. Louis at the foot of Market street, August 2, 1817, and was hailed by the citizens with demonstrations of joy.

The next was the *Constitution*, Captain R. T. Guyard, which arrived October 2, 1817. There were several arrivals during the year 1818.

The *Independence*, Captain John Nelson, from Louisville, Kentucky, was the pioneer steamboat in the navigation of the Missouri, and the first to enter that stream. Colonel Elias Rector and others of St. Louis had chartered her to go up the Missouri as high as the town of Chariton, now a deserted town two miles above Glasgow, near the mouth of the Chariton River. She left St. Louis May 15, 1819, and arrived at Franklin, Howard County, on May 28th, occasioning the wildest excitement and the greatest joy among the people.

The following were some of the passengers on the *Independence*: Colonel Elias Rector, Stephen Rector, Captain Desha, J. C. Mitchell, Dr. Stewart, J. Wanton and Major J. D. Wilcox.

Immediately after its arrival at Franklin, a public dinner was given the passengers and officers of the boat. A public meeting was then held, of which Asa Morgan was elected President, and Dr. N. Hutchinson, Vice-President.

Numerous toasts were offered and speeches were made by Colonel Elias Rector, General Duff Green, Captain Nelson, Dr. J. H. Benson, C. J. Mitchell, Major Thomas Douglass, Stephen Rector, Lilburn W. Boggs, John W. Scudder, Benjamin Holliday, Dr. Dawson, Augustus

Storrs, N. Patten, jr., Major J. D. Wilcox, Dr. J. J. Lowry, Major Richard Gentry, Joseph B. Howard and Lewis W. Jordon.

The *Independence* continued her voyage up to Chariton, as per contract, returned to St. Louis on the 5th of June and took freight for Louisville.

The St. Louis *Enquirer* of the 9th of June, 1819, made the following remarks relative to the first attempt to navigate the Missouri by steam power: "The passage of the steamboat *Independence*, Captain Nelson, up the Missouri to Franklin and Chariton, is an era in the history of that noble river, and has called forth the most lively feelings of joy and triumph all over the country. By referring to the head of Steamboat Intelligence, it will be seen that the banks of the river were visited by crowds of citizens to witness this great event, and to testify their joy and admiration."

In 1818 the Government of the United States projected the celebrated Yellowstone Expedition, the objects of which were to ascertain whether the Missouri River was navigable by steamboats, and to establish a line of forts from its mouth to the Yellowstone. The expedition started from Plattsburg, New York, in 1818, under command of Colonel Henry Atkinson. General Nathan Ranney, a well-known citizen of St. Louis, recently deceased, was an attache of this expedition. Also Captain Wm. D. Hubbell, now (1877) a citizen of Columbia, Missouri. It arrived at Pittsburg in the spring of 1819, where Colonel S. H. Long, of the Topographical Engineers of the United States Army, had constructed the *Western Engineer*, a small steamer to be used by him and his scientific corps in pioneering the expedition to the mouth of the Yellowstone.

In 1874, General Ranney presented to the Missouri Historical Society the following historical memorandum for incorporation in the scrap-book of the association:

"In 1818-19, Major Long, of the United States Topographical Engineers, built a steamboat at Pittsburg for exploring the Western waters to the Yellowstone River. The boat was christened the *Western Engineer*. On its stern,<sup>(1)</sup> running from the keel, was the image of a huge serpent, painted black, with mouth red and its tongue the color of a live coal. The steam exhausted from the mouth of the serpent, which led the Indians to look upon it with astonishment and wonder. They saw in it the power of the Great Spirit, and thought the boat was carried upon the back of the great serpent. Many were afraid to go near it, and looked upon the machinery of the craft with especial awe. The boat was in command of Lieutenant Swift, though his name in no wise applied to the traveling capacity of the steamer. As a means of exploration she proved a success. She was a side-wheeler, and the first boat to ascend the Upper Missouri."

<sup>1</sup> Other authorities, and we believe them correct, say the image of the serpent's head projected from the prow instead of the stern of the vessel.

This boat arrived in St. Louis, June 8, 1819, and on the 21st of the same month, in company with the Government steamers *Expedition*, Captain Craig; *Thomas Jefferson*, Captain Orfort, and *R. M. Johnson*, Captain Colfax, and nine keel boats,<sup>(1)</sup> left on their long and perilous voyage. Their entrance into the mouth of the Missouri River was signalized by music, waking the echoes of the forest wilds, and by the streaming of flags in the breeze.

It was the intention of those in charge of the expedition, out of respect to ex-President Jefferson, who had done so much to acquire Louisiana, to award the honor of the first entrance to the steamer bearing his name; but an accident to her machinery caused a temporary delay, and therefore the entry was made by the *Expedition*, which slowly steamed her way to Fort Belle Fountain, situated about four miles from the mouth of the river.

Afterwards they proceeded on their voyage; the *Jefferson*, however, near Cote Sans Dessein, being wrecked on a snag and lost.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

MISSOURI AS A STATE.—APPLICATION TO BE ADMITTED INTO THE UNION.—THE BEGINNING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.—AN ANGRY DEBATE IN CONGRESS.—THE PROVISIO ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE AND REJECTED BY THE SENATE.—CONGRESS ADJOURNS, REFUSING TO ADMIT THE STATE.—AGITATION AND BITTER CONTROVERSIES ARISE.—INTEGRITY OF THE UNION MENACED.—THE QUESTION BEFORE THE XVITH CONGRESS.—“THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE” PASSED.—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1820.—DAVID BARTON.—CONSTITUTION PRESENTED TO CONGRESS.—RESISTANCE TO ADMISSION.—ANOTHER FEARFUL ANTI-SLAVERY STORM.—MR. CLAY WITH HIS GRAND COMMITTEE OF THIRTY COMES TO THE FRONT.—THEY REPORT A SECOND “MISSOURI COMPROMISE,” WHICH IS ADOPTED.—MISSOURI IS ADMITTED.—POPULAR ERROR CORRECTED RESPECTING MR. CLAY.—QUESTIONS ANSWERED BY PRESIDENT MONROE’S CABINET.

One of the most interesting and instructive periods in the history of Missouri is that which succeeded the application of the Territorial Legislature of 1818–19 to admit the State into the National Union. Questions of the gravest moment engaged the attention of two consecutive sessions of Congress, and excited the people to an alarming degree. Indeed, “The Missouri Question” was fruitful of such violent and bitter discus-

<sup>1</sup> The keel boats had been fitted out with wheels and masts by Aaron Sutton, the father of Richard D. Sutton, now a well-known citizen of St. Louis.



sions in the National Legislature, and so convulsed the country, that for a time the Republic itself was in imminent peril.

In order that those who read these pages may have a proper apprehension of the gravity of the occasion, and of the questions discussed and decided, it is proper that a clear and faithful synopsis of the proceedings of Congress, which cut so prominent a figure in the history of the State, should appear in this volume.

John Scott, having at the general election in 1817 been elected to succeed Mr. Easton, was the delegate of the Territory in Congress; and although under the Constitution he could not vote, he frequently and ably exercised the privilege of debate.

On February 15, 1819,<sup>1</sup> the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole (Mr. Smith, of Maryland, in the chair,) on the bill to authorize the people of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of the same into the Union on an equal footing with the original States. During the progress of the discussion which followed, Mr. Tallmadge of New York moved to amend the bill by adding to it the following proviso:

*"And Provided, That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years."*

The introduction of this amendment and the exciting debate which followed, produced a profound sensation in Congress and throughout the country, especially in Missouri; and it may be referred to as the commencement of the anti-slavery and pro-slavery agitation which for forty years thereafter distracted our public councils.

During the debate, the proviso was supported in speeches by Mr. Taylor of New York and others, and opposed by Mr. Clay of Kentucky, Mr. Barbour of Virginia and others. The debate, which was quite exciting, involved two questions chiefly, as did all subsequent discussions of the subject in both Houses of Congress. On the one hand it was maintained with great spirit and persistency, that the resolutions of the House of Representatives of 1790, in response to the first petition presented asking the abolition of slavery, had adversely settled the question of Constitutional power over the institution; that in the admission of Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama

<sup>1</sup> Benton's Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, Vol. VI., p. 333.

no attempt was made either to revive the slavery agitation or to impose a similar restriction, and that in each of them negro slavery existed; that Congress had no Constitutional right to prescribe to any State the details of its government, any further than that it should be republican in its form; and that such power, if exercised, would be nugatory, since, once admitted into the Union, the people of any State have the unquestioned right to amend their Constitution, etc. On the other hand it was as strongly contended that while it might be true, and was true, that Congress had no Constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in the thirteen original States, it had full power to inhibit it in the Territories; that Congress had the right to annex conditions to the admission of any new State into the Union; that admission or refusal to admit was within the discretion of Congress; that slavery was incompatible with our Republican institutions, and that free and slave labor could not co-exist.

The question being put on the proviso of Mr. Tallmadge, it was adopted, 79 to 67, and so reported to the House, which proceeded on February 16th to its consideration.

Debate followed, Mr. Scott of Missouri being among those who addressed the House in opposition to the proviso, maintaining that the proposed restriction was not only a badge of inequality among States theoretically equal, but inconsistent with the treaty stipulations under which Louisiana (of which Missouri was a part,) was acquired. Louisiana from its earliest colonization, had tolerated and recognized negro slavery on both sides of the Mississippi. Not only this, but the governments of both France and Spain had sustained African slavery; and in the transfer of Louisiana the treaty of cession secured to the inhabitants of the Province of which Missouri was then a part, protection and enjoyment of their property.

Mr. Tallmadge of New York—author of the amendment—followed Mr. Scott, controverting his fundamental propositions of law and policy, right and duty; and a division being demanded, a vote was taken on the first member of the proviso ending with the word "convicted," and it was adopted: ayes 87; nays 76. The second member, being the remainder of the proposition, then passed—ayes 82; nays 78. The bill was then ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, 97 to 56.

On the 17th of February, 1819, the bill was taken up in the Senate, and referred to a committee. Having been reported to the Senate, that body on the 27th proceeded to vote, first, on a motion to strike out the latter member of the amendment—all after the word "convicted"—which

passed: yeas 31, nays 7; and, secondly, on a motion to strike out the first clause, (or remainder) of the restriction, which also passed, yeas 22, nays 16—thus by the two votes rejecting the entire proposition.

On March 2d the House refused, 76 to 78, to concur in the Senate amendment striking out the Tallmadge proviso, and the bill was returned to the Senate; and the Senate refusing to recede and the House to concur, the bill was lost, and on the 3d of March 1819 the xvth Congress adjourned *sine die*.

This left the two Houses geographically divided: the one free and north, the other slave and south, and the same division extended itself with electric speed to the States and the people. It was a period of deep apprehension, filling with dismay the hearts of the steadiest patriots. It would be nine months before Congress would sit again. The agitation, great as it was, was to become greater and fiercer, and the wisest could not forecast its consequences. The movement to put the anti-slavery restriction on Arkansas, also at that time asking admission into the Union as a State, and the close and equivocal votes on the question in Congress, greatly aggravated "The Missouri Question," and seemed to menace the Slave States with total exclusion from the Province of Louisiana. Hence the fearful storm of controversy which succeeded the adjournment, and marred the deliberations of the next Congress.

The xvth Congress convened December 6th, 1819. On the 29th, Mr. Smith, of South Carolina, presented to the Senate the memorial of the Legislative Council and House of Representative of the Missouri Territory, praying to be admitted into the Union as a separate and independent State, signed by David Barton, Speaker of the House, and Benjamin Emmons, President of the Council, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

On January 25th, the House, having on the previous day refused, 88 to 87, to postpone the bill to await the action of the Senate on the same subject, went into committee of the whole on the bill authorizing the people of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, etc.; and from day to day, with an occasional recess, remained in committee discussing the bill and proposed amendments until February 19th, when the House took up the bill from the Senate for the admission of Maine. This had been so amended as to connect it with "The Missouri Question," by the adoption, February 17th, on the motion of Honorable Jesse B. Thomas, Senator from Illinois, of the following: <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Benton's Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, vol. VI, p. 451.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude [*excepting only such part thereof as is*] included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services as aforesaid."

This amendment was adopted by the Senate on February 17; yeas 34, nays 10, and became the basis of the "Missouri Compromise;" modified afterwards by striking out the words in italic and embraced in brackets. On ordering the bill to a third reading in the Senate the vote stood, ayes 24, noes 20. After its passage it was not sent to the House until March 2; and during the interval between its adoption by the Senate and its report to the House, the latter body was engaged in one of the most important and exciting debates which ever occurred in the American Congress. It was during this great debate, and on February 8, 1820, that Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, at that time Speaker of the House, addressed the Committee of the Whole for four hours in one of the most eloquent and masterly speeches of his life against the right and expediency of the proposed restriction. What a loss to mankind that the speech was not reported!

On the same day the bill and amendments were reported from the Senate, the House (March 2d) took them up, and by a vote of 134 to 42 concurred in the amendment, which struck out the slavery restriction on the State of Missouri, and inserted the clause inhibiting slavery in the territory north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude.

And so, all the amendments being concurred in, the bill was passed by the two Houses—the "Missouri Compromise," so-called then and so recognized now, constituting Section 8 of "An act to authorize the people of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain territory." Approved 6th March, 1820.<sup>1</sup>

Under the act of Congress the people of Missouri, then organized into fifteen counties, were authorized to hold an election on the first Monday, and two succeeding days of May, 1820, to choose representatives to a State Convention, which was to meet at the seat of government (then St. Louis) on Monday, June 12th of the same year. When thus

<sup>1</sup> Territorial Laws, vol. I, pp. 628-31.

assembled they were authorized (1.) to adjourn to any other place in the Territory; (2.) to determine by a majority of the whole number elected whether or not it was expedient at that time to form a Constitution; (3.) if expedient, to proceed to discharge the high trust, and (4.) or if more expedient to provide by ordinance for electing representatives to another convention who should perform that duty.

The election was held in May, and the following are the names of the members elected to the Convention, and the counties they represented:

*Cape Girardeau*—Stephen Byrd, James Evans, Richard S. Thomas, Alexander Buckner, Joseph McFerron.

*Cooper*—Robert P. Clark, Robert Wallace, Wm. Lillard.

*Franklin*—John G. Heath.

*Howard*—Nicholas S. Burkhardt, Duff Green, John Ray, Jonathan S. Findlay, Benj. H. Reeves.

*Jefferson*—Daniel Hammond.

*Lincoln*—Malcolm Henry.

*Montgomery*—Jonathan Ramsey, James Talbott.

*Madison*—Nathaniel Cook.

*New Madrid*—Robert D. Dawson, Christopher G. Houts.

*Pike*—Stephen Cleaver.

*St. Charles*—Benj. Emmons, Nathan Boone, Hiram H. Baber.

*Ste. Genevieve*—John D. Cook, Henry Dodge, John Scott, R. T. Brown.

*St. Louis*—David Barton, Edward Bates, Alexander McNair, Wm. Rector, John C. Sullivan, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Bernard Pratte, Thos. F. Riddick.

*Washington*—John Rice Jones, Samuel Perry, John Hutchings.

*Wayne*—Elijah Bettis.

In all forty-one representatives, who met in what was then known as the "Mansion House," (now "Denver House,") on the corner of Third and Vine streets, St. Louis, and concluded their labors by signing the Constitution they formed on the 19th July. David Barton was elected President of the Convention, and Wm. G. Pettis, Secretary. Mr. Barton was one of the ablest and most remarkable men Missouri ever produced. On the admission of the State into the Union, he was elected to the United States Senate, and served with distinction in that body from 1821 to 1831, and died a lunatic at the house of Wm. Gibson, one mile east of Boonville, September 28th, 1837, and was buried in Walnut Grove Cemetery, at Boonville.

The Constitution which the convention formed took effect from the authority of the body itself, no provision having been made to submit it to a vote of the people. It was a model of perspicuity and statesmanship, and withstood all efforts to supplant or materially amend it until the celebrated "Drake Convention" of 1865.

The second session of the xvth Congress met November 13th, 1820, and on the 16th, Mr. Scott, delegate from Missouri, laid before the House a manuscript copy of the Constitution of the State, which was referred to a select committee—William Lowndes of South Carolina, John Sergeant of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Smith of Maryland. On the 23d Mr. Lowndes made a report from the committee, accompanied by a preamble and resolution, the former reciting the title of the act of Congress of March 6th, 1820; the fact that a convention was held and a constitution formed pursuant thereto, and that said constitution "is republican, and in conformity with the provisions of said act;" and the latter to admit the State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

A debate at once arose, which continued for some three weeks, in which a fierce resistance was made to the admission of the State, chiefly on the grounds, first, because the Constitution sanctioned slavery, and, second, because in the article defining the legislative power of the General Assembly there was this injunction:

"It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in this State, under any pretext whatsoever."

It was maintained that this clause, which was the fourth of the thirty-sixth section of the third article of the Constitution, authorized the Legislature to prohibit the emigration of free people of color into the State, it being held that the latter was a breach of that clause in the Federal Constitution which guarantees equal privileges in all the States to the citizens of every State, of which the right of emigration was one.

But the real point of objection with many was the slavery clause, and the existence of slavery in the State, which it sanctioned and seemed to perpetuate.

On December 11th, on motion of Mr. Baldwin of Pennsylvania, the preamble offered by Mr. Lowndes was stricken out—87 to 65—and on the 13th, the House refused—93 to 79—to engross the resolution and order it to a third reading, which was equivalent to its rejection.

In the Senate the application of the State shared a similar fate. On the second day of the session the question was referred to a select committee—William Smith of South Carolina, James Burrill of Rhode Island, and Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, who, on November 29th, reported a resolution in favor of the admission of the State into the Union.

After a two weeks' debate in the Senate, quite similar in spirit and argument to the debate in the House, Mr. Eaton of Tennessee (December 11th) offered an amendment to the resolution, which was agreed to by a rising vote, as follows :

"*Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to give the assent of Congress to any provision in the Constitution of Missouri, if any such there be, which contravenes that clause in the Constitution of the United States which declares that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.'"

After which the resolution, as amended, was adopted—yeas 26, nays 18:

On the 29th of January, 1821, on motion of Mr. Clay of Kentucky, the House, in Committee of the Whole, took up the resolution and *caveat* or proviso, from the Senate. After various unsuccessful attempts to amend it, and an animated debate of three days on the evils of slavery, the rights of the South, the balance of power, the nature of the obligations and benefits of the Union, etc., the Committee—75 to 73—agreed to report the resolution to the House; and the question then being on agreeing to the amendment reported from the Committee of the Whole, the vote in the House was: yeas 79, nays 88. Not agreed to. A second resolution to the same effect afterwards passed the Senate and was again rejected by the House.

The perils of the situation being great and imminent, and anxious to make a last effort to settle this distracting question, Mr. Clay (February 22d) moved that a committee of twenty-three, a number equal to the number of States, be appointed to act jointly with a committee of the Senate, to consider and report "whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original States, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States, within Missouri; and, if not, whether any other, and what provision, adapted to her actual condition, ought to be made a law."

This motion was adopted by a majority of nearly two to one—101 to 55—and the committee of twenty-three, with Mr. Clay as chairman, was then chosen.

The Senate (February 24th), by a vote almost unanimous—29 to 7—agreed to the joint resolution and appointed seven of its members on the joint committee.

On Monday, February 26th, the committee reported to each House the following:

*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:* That Missouri shall be admitted into this Union on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, upon the fundamental condition, that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution submitted on the part of said State to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the States in this Union, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States: Provided, that the Legislature of said State, by a SOLEMN PUBLIC ACT, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof, the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into the Union shall be considered as complete.

The resolution was considered in the House without delay, and, after a brief debate, was adopted—yeas 86, nays 82—and ordered to be sent to the Senate for concurrence. All attempts to amend it in the Senate were voted down, and on February 28th, the resolution passed—yeas 28, nays 14, a vote of two to one.<sup>1</sup>

The reason of referring it to the President to announce the fact, by proclamation, that Missouri had complied with the condition of the resolution, and was thereby admitted, was for the purpose of preventing the question of admission, in any shape whatever, from coming before Congress and the country again, imperiling the harmony of both and the perpetuity of the Federal Union.

Nothing now remained to secure the complete and final admission of the State except its compliance with the conditions of the resolution of Congress; and, therefore, in furtherance of this purpose, Governor Clark, by proclamation, convened the Legislature in special session in St. Charles on the 4th of June, 1821.

On the 26th of the same month,<sup>2</sup> the Legislature adopted "A SOLEMN PUBLIC ACT," declaring the assent of the State to the fundamental condition of admission; without delay transmitted to the President an authentic copy of the same, and on August 10th, 1821, President Monroe, by proclamation,<sup>3</sup> announced the admission of Missouri into this Union to be complete; and the State from that day took rank as the twenty-fourth of the American Republic.

<sup>1</sup> Benton's Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, Vol. VI, p. 711.

<sup>2</sup> Territorial Laws, Vol. 1, pp. 758-9.

<sup>3</sup> Benton's Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, Vol. VII, p. 129,



Thus the portentous struggle of two years and a half came to an auspicious close, and "glad tidings of great joy" were proclaimed to the people.

All who would correctly understand the remarkable history of Missouri's admission into the Union, should specially note the fact that the great event was the joint achievement of two "Compromises," neither of which separately was able to accomplish it, namely: First, the Thomas Proviso of March 6, 1820—better known as "The Missouri Compromise"—which, while it admitted Missouri as a slave State, at the same time forever inhibited slavery in all the territory north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude; and Second, the "Clay Compromise," of March 2d, 1821, whereby the unexpected and continued opposition to her admission with the Constitution she presented was conciliated, and the admission of the State completely effected (August 10th, 1821) on the "fundamental condition" that said State by a solemn public act should declare that no law will ever be adopted by her General Assembly by which any citizen of either of the States of the Union should be excluded from any of the privileges to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States; in other words, that Missouri expunge from her Constitution of June 19th, 1820, the clause making it the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free people of color from emigrating to and settling in the State.

While it is true, therefore, that Mr. Clay performed great and signal services in the adjustment of the Missouri Question, and is the author of the compromise which finally admitted the State into the Federal Union, it is not true, as many have supposed, that he was the author of the territorial line of 36 degrees 30 minutes incorporated in the Act of March 6th, 1820, nor was Missouri admitted under that act. On the contrary, as has been plainly shown, she was not admitted until August 10th, 1821, by proclamation of President Monroe, and upon the "Fundamental Condition" of the Clay Compromise, reported by the Grand Committee of Thirty, which was the keystone of the symmetrical arch.

So great was the excitement which the discussion of this subject engendered throughout the country, and such was the gravity and importance of the constitutional question involved, that, immediately upon the passage of the bill conditionally admitting Missouri into the Union, President Monroe required of each member of his cabinet—consisting of J. Q. Adams, Secretary of State; Wm. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; Jno. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy; John McLean, Postmaster General, and Wm.

Wirt, Attorney General—to give his opinion in writing, to be filed in the Department of State, on the following interrogatories :

"Has a Congress a right, under the powers vested in it by the Constitution, to make a regulation prohibiting slavery in a Territory?"

"Is the 8th section of the Act which passed both houses on the 3d inst., for the admission of Missouri into the Union, consistent with the Constitution?"

According to extracts from the Diary of John Quincy Adams, who was President Monroe's Secretary of State, dated March 3d, 5th and 6th, 1820, it is established, first, that it was unanimously agreed by the cabinet, in answer to the first question, that Congress had the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories; and, second, that they differed only, as they assigned their reasons, in thinking the 8th section of the Missouri bill consistent with the Constitution. President Monroe, having received an affirmative answer in writing from all of his cabinet, to the two questions, approved the bill on March 6th, 1820.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

FIRST ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR AND OTHER STATE OFFICERS.—ALEXANDER MCNAIR ELECTED GOVERNOR.—FIRST LEGISLATURE UNDER THE STATE CONSTITUTION.—GOVERNOR MCNAIR'S MESSAGE.—SUPREME AND CIRCUIT JUDGES APPOINTED.—ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.—EXCITING CONTEST.—DAVID BARTON AND THOMAS H. BENTON ELECTED.—REMARKABLE INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH BENTON'S ELECTION.—COUNTIES ORGANIZED.—CAPITAL MOVED TO ST. CHARLES.

In anticipation of the admission of the State into the Union with the constitution and form of government adopted by the convention on the 19th of July, 1820, the General Assembly was required to meet in St. Louis on the third Monday in September of that year. A general election was also ordered to be held on Monday, August 28th, for the election of a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Representative for the residue of the xvth Congress, and one for the xviith; Senators and Representatives to the General Assembly, and Sheriffs and Coroners. The number provided by the Constitution for the first legislature was fourteen Senators and forty three Representatives.

Although, as was seen in the last chapter, the State was not admitted until August 10th, 1821, the election was held and the General Assembly met pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution.

For Governor there were two candidates, namely, William Clark (who for eight years had been Governor of the Territory), and Alexander McNair. The total vote of the State was 9,132, as follows: For McNair, 6,576; Clark, 2,556; McNair's majority, 4,020. For Lieutenant-Governor there were three candidates, with the following result: William H. Ashley, 3,907; Nathaniel Cook, 3,212; Henry Elliott, 931; Ashley's majority over Cook, 695.

John Scott was elected without opposition to both Congresses, and at the time was Territorial Delegate. He was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1782; graduated at Princeton College in 1805; moved with his parents to Indiana, and soon after graduation settled at Ste. Genevieve, Missouri; was delegate to Congress, from Missouri Territory, from 1817 to the admission of the State in 1821, and a Representative of the State in Congress to 1827. He died in Ste. Genevieve in 1861, aged 79 years. He was a man of education and talents, and made his mark in the public councils.

The General Assembly elected in August met in the "Missouri Hotel," corner of Main and Morgan streets, St. Louis, on Monday, September 19th, 1820, and proceeded to organize by the election of James Caldwell of Ste. Genevieve, Speaker, and John McArthur, Clerk, of the House. William H. Ashley, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate; Silas Bent of St. Louis, President *pro tem*.

In his message, Governor McNair congratulated the General Assembly and the people upon the auspicious change which had been accomplished in the political condition of the State; and claimed that the Constitution, in spite of a few imperfections, incident to its human origin, was a statesman-like instrument and did honor to its framers and to the infant State for which it had been framed. He anticipated the full admission of the State into the Federal Union, without serious delay or difficulty, notwithstanding the resistance with which the proposition met in both houses of Congress; and in contemplation of the event, and of the approaching Presidential election, reminded the General Assembly that it would be necessary for them to make provision for the choice of three electors to represent the State in the electoral college.

Among the first duties of the Legislature were the election of two United States Senators and the appointment of three Supreme and four Circuit Judges.

The Supreme Judges appointed, each to hold his office until sixty-five years of age, were Mathias McGirk, of Montgomery County, who resigned in 1841; John D. Cook, of Cape Girardeau, who resigned in 1823; and John R. Jones, of Pike, who died in April 1824.

Governor McNair, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, made the following appointments:

For Secretary of State, Joshua Barton; State Treasurer, Peter Didier; Attorney-General, Edward Bates; Auditor of Public Accounts, Wm. Christie, all of St. Louis. Each of them resigned the following year.

During the same session of the Legislature, David Barton and Thomas H. Benton were elected United States Senators, but were not admitted to their seats until the first Monday of December, 1821, because the State was not admitted into the Union until the 10th of August, 1821, at which time, as has been shown, she was admitted upon the proclamation of President Monroe.

The contest for United States Senator was attended by great excitement, and some interesting incidents of unusual occurrence. We are indebted to the Honorable John F. Darby, of St. Louis, for many interesting facts connected with the contest, which we propose to recite. David Barton was an exceedingly popular candidate, and was elected on the first ballot by a unanimous vote of both Houses. For the remaining Senator there were several aspirants: Thomas H. Benton, John B. C. Lucas, Henry Elliott, John R. Jones and Nathaniel Cook. The balloting continued through several days without success, and the excitement that prevailed has not been excelled by any Senatorial election which has since occurred in this or any other State. There is no evidence, however, of the employment of any of the modern appliances which, in the form of corrupt intrigues, manipulations and slush money, are now used to secure seats in the American Senate. In the embarrassing dilemma in which the Legislature found itself, several active and influential members, with the hope of opening a way of escape, importuned David Barton to aid them in bringing the contest to a close by intimating whom he would prefer as his colleague. Barton fixed upon Benton, although he had not been prominently mentioned as a candidate. It was found, however, that so great was the unpopularity of Benton at that time it was impossible to elect him, although the active support of his friends was supplemented by the able and powerful support of David Barton. Judge Lucas, who had been Land Commissioner and afterwards Chief Justice of the Superior Court, under the Territorial Government, and a man of acknowledged ability, was Benton's most formidable opponent, and we

might add, his most inveterate personal enemy, for on September 27th, 1817, Benton had killed his son, Charles Lucas, United States Attorney for Missouri, in a duel on Bloody Island.

There was a Frenchman by the name of Marie Philip LeDuc, who was a member of the Legislature from St. Louis County. He was connected with some of the most powerful and influential families in the city, having been Secretary of Don Carlos De Lassus, the last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana at the time of the transfer of that Territory to the Government of the United States. LeDuc had asseverated that he would lose his right arm before he would vote for Thomas H. Benton for United States Senator.

Nevertheless, the contest was so close and the popular interest so intense that the friends of Benton, including David Barton, selected LeDuc as the objective point of the tremendous influences which they sought to wield in the accomplishment of Benton's election. Some of Benton's friends consisted of the earliest and most influential settlers of St. Louis; for example, Colonel Auguste Chouteau, the patriarch and founder of the town with Laclède, aided by such men as Bernard Pratte, Sylvester Labadie, George Sarpy, and others—all gentlemen of intelligence, wealth and social position.

They called on LeDuc, and knowing that the darling project of his legislative ambition was to secure the confirmation by Congress of the French and Spanish land claims, informed him that if Lucas was elected to the Senate no one of these claims ever would be confirmed, but that Benton was their ardent and unswerving friend. It was a tremendous struggle with LeDuc, and the argument and importunities with him occupied the entire night, he about the break of day yielding and consenting to vote for Benton.

Yet it was ascertained that even with his vote one more was lacking, and Benton's friends bethought themselves of the *dernier ressort* of bringing to the joint session a sick member, who was confined to his bed in an upper room of the hotel in which the Legislature sat. No time was to be lost lest Daniel Ralls, one of the representatives from Pike County, who was a friend of Benton, should die before the election. Therefore, as soon as the two houses assembled, the friends of Benton carried a motion to resume the balloting. The sick member up stairs, unable to raise himself in bed, and indeed too ill to be lifted into a chair, was brought down on his bed to the dining room where the joint session was held—brought down by four negro men, one at each corner of the bed, and when his name was called voted for Thomas H. Benton, and

elected him. Mr. Ralls died in a few days, and for his vote for Benton, the last official act of his life, the Legislature complimented him by calling Ralls County, which was organized during that session, after his name.

Daniel Ralls was a native of Virginia, emigrated with his father, (Nathaniel W. Ralls,) when quite young, to Kentucky, and settled in what is now Bath County. From there he moved to the Territory of Missouri in October 1817; lived in the County of St. Louis one year, and in October, 1818, moved to, settled and improved a farm near the town of New London, where he resided in 1820, when he died. His remains were interred near the city of St. Louis, but at what spot his son, Colonel John Ralls, now a citizen of Ralls County, has never been able to learn.

Acts organizing the following counties were passed at this session: Boone, Callaway, Chariton, Cole, Gasconade, Lillard, (which was changed to Lafayette in 1834,) Perry, Ralls, Ray and Saline.

Among the acts also passed at this session was one fixing the seat of government at St. Charles until October 1st, 1826, when it was moved to Jefferson City.

On December 9th, 1822, the town of St. Louis was incorporated as a city, with a mayor and nine aldermen. Population, 4,800.

Wm. Carr Lane was elected Mayor, and therefore was the first mayor of the city.

## CHAPTER XIX.

FROM 1824 TO 1830.—FREDERICK BATES ELECTED GOVERNOR TO SUCCEED GOVERNOR MCNAIR, DEFEATING GENERAL WILLIAM H. ASHLEY.—BATES' DEATH.—JOHN MILLER ELECTED HIS SUCCESSOR.—VISIT OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO ST. LOUIS IN 1825.—DEMONSTRATIONS OF RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.—HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON CITY.—ACTION OF CONGRESS.—GRANTS OF LAND AND MONEY.—HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.—FIRST LEGISLATURE AT JEFFERSON CITY IN 1826.—BURNING OF THE STATE HOUSE.—CANVASS OF 1828.—WHIGS AND DEMOCRATS ORGANIZE.—SLAVERY EMANCIPATION PROGRAMME.—SINGULAR INCIDENT FRUSTRATES IT.—ALEXANDER BUCKNER ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR IN 1829 IN PLACE OF DAVID BARTON.

As the official term of Governor McNair drew to a close, and the general election in August, 1824, approached, public attention was directed to the choice of his successor. The presidential election of that year also excited more or less interest, and the people of the State for the first time gave earnest heed to national politics. Owing to a multiplicity of candidates for the Presidency—Adams, Clay, Jackson, and Crawford—it was thought probable from the first that the electoral college would fail to make a choice, and that therefore the election would devolve (as it did) upon the House of Representatives. Hence the canvass for member of Congress, Missouri having but a single representative, was the center of much interest. The result was the election of John Scott, he receiving 5,031 votes, George Strother 4,528, Robert Wash 1,125. Whole number of votes cast, 10,684.

For Governor, to succeed McNair, there were two candidates—Frederick Bates and William H. Ashley. Each had strong and earnest friends who were confident of success. Mr. Bates was an old citizen of St. Louis and had filled acceptably many positions in the Territory, City and State; and among them the office of Lieutenant-Governor. General Ashley was the well-known leader of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, a man of daring intrepidity, who had advanced with unflagging industry a great enterprise into the remotest regions of the West, and who therefore had invested his character with much of the romance of a cavalier. Mr. Bates was elected, but died of pleurisy, very suddenly, August 1st, 1825, after which Abraham J. Williams of Columbia,<sup>1</sup> President of the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Williams was a bachelor, and one of the merchants of Columbia. Some years before his death he bought and improved a farm—now known as the Payne or Jennings Farm—six miles south of Columbia on the Providence road. He died on this farm December 30, 1839, aged 58 years, and was buried in the old grave-yard in Columbia, where his tomb is yet to be seen.

Senate and *ex-officio* Governor, served as Governor until the special election in September to fill the vacancy. There were several candidates for Governor to succeed Governor Bates, the most prominent of whom were General John Miller, Judge David Todd, William C. Carr, and Colonel Rufus Easton. A very exciting and bitter canvass followed, during which the political antecedents and personal characters of the several aspirants were criticised, misrepresented, denounced and eulogized with relentless vigor and enthusiasm. The vote stood: Miller, 2,380; Carr 1,470, Todd 1,113. Whole number of votes cast 4,963. Population of the State 62,000.

General Miller was elected Governor and Colonel Benjamin H. Reeves of Howard County, Lieutenant-Governor.

The Legislature of 1824-5 was the first revising session under the Constitution. Previous to its assembling, the entire code had been revised with great care by Henry S. Geyer, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Rufus Pettibone, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, who had been appointed for that purpose. Very few changes in the revision of these distinguished citizens were made by the General Assembly, and the laws were published in two volumes by authority of an act passed February 11th, 1825.

The most notable event in Missouri in 1825, was the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to St. Louis. Accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, and on an invitation from the President of the United States, he arrived in this country in 1824, after an absence of forty years. He came to revisit the friends and comrades with whom he associated during our revolutionary struggle, and to gaze once more upon the scenes of his youthful exploits. He visited each of the twenty-four States of the Union, and was everywhere received with cordial demonstrations of honor and gratitude. Indeed, his journey from State to State was a triumphal march—an ovation, for he was everywhere hailed as the Nation's guest. "To the survivors of the Revolution"—says Colonel Benton—"it was the return of a brother; to the new generation, born since that time, it was the apparition of an historical character, familiar from the cradle. He visited every State in the Union, doubled in number since, as the friend and pupil of Washington, he had spilt his blood and lavished his fortune for their independence. Many were the happy meetings he had with old comrades, survivors for near half a century, of these early hardships and dangers. Three of his old associates, (Adams, Jefferson and Madison,) he found ex-Presidents, enjoying the respect and affection of their country, after having reached its highest



honors. Another, and the last one that Time would admit to the Presidency, (Mr. Monroe,) now in the Presidential chair, and inviting him to re-visit the land of his adoption. Many of his early associates seen in the two Houses of Congress, many in the State Governments, and many more in the walks of private life, patriarchal sires, respected for their characters and venerated for their patriotic services."

He visited the national capital and was received in both Houses of Congress, then in session, with distinguished marks of respect and gratitude. To these, Congress added something more substantial than wordy testimonials of regard—rewards for long past services and sacrifices.

During our Revolutionary struggle, Lafayette expended out of his own fortune, in six years, from 1777 to 1783, the sum of 700,000 francs (\$140,000.) He equipped and armed a regiment for our service, and freighted a vessel to us, loaded with arms and munitions of war.

In testimony of the appreciation in which these services and sacrifices were held by the American people, and as a grateful remembrance of them, Congress, during his visit in 1824, made an appropriation for his benefit of two hundred thousand dollars in money, and twenty-four thousand acres of land in Florida.

Having visited New Orleans, Lafayette, on invitation of the citizens, came to St. Louis, reaching Carondelet on the 28th of April, 1825, and the next morning came up to the city. He was tendered a most enthusiastic reception, as many of the citizens were not only of the same nationality, but all were familiar with his name and fame. He landed opposite the old Market House, where half the town were assembled awaiting his arrival and received him with cheers, took his seat in a carriage, accompanied by William Carr Lane, Mayor, Stephen Hempstead, an officer of the Revolution and father of Edward Hempstead, and Colonel Auguste Chouteau, one of the companions of Laclede. Apart from private hospitalities, a splendid banquet and ball were given the distinguished visitor at the Mansion House, then the prominent hotel, and situated on the northeast corner of Third and Market streets. After dinner he visited Missouri Lodge No. 1, of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, of which fraternity he had long been a member, and was received by about sixty brethren and welcomed by the late Archibald Gamble. Both Lafayette and his son were elected honorary members of that Lodge.

Lafayette was at this time sixty-eight years of age, but still active and strong.

The next morning he left for Kaskaskia, and was escorted to the boat by crowds of citizens who manifested their esteem and respect by the

wildest demonstrations of enthusiasm, cheer after cheer following him as the boat left the shore.

Returning to Washington during the session of Congress, the frigate "Brandywine," just completed, was appointed to convoy him back to France—a very befitting compliment, as the vessel was named after the stream on whose banks Lafayette fought his first battle (September 11, 1777), and was wounded, in the cause of American Independence. Lafayette died May 20, 1834, leaving one son and several daughters.

On November 20, 1826, the Legislature for the first time met in Jefferson City, and it was numerically the fourth general assembly. At the time of the admission of Missouri into the Union, Congress granted four sections of land for the location of the seat of government. The Constitution fixed the location of the capital upon the Missouri River within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage. At the first session of the Legislature, commissioners were appointed who, after a tedious examination, selected the present site of Jefferson City, which Major Elias Bancroft laid off into lots in 1822. The first sale of lots took place in May, 1823, under the supervision of Major Josiah Ramsey, Jr., Captain J. P. Gordon and Adam Hope, Esq., trustees on the part of the State. At this time there were but two families residing in the place, Major Josiah Ramsey, Jr., and Mr. William Jones. This year (1823) the building of a brick State-house was let to the lowest bidder, Daniel Colgan, and afterwards transferred to James Dunnica, of Kentucky, who built the capitol at the bid of \$25,000. The State-house was completed at the time stipulated in the contract, and the Legislature assembled for the first time in the new State capitol on Monday, November 20, 1826, as before stated. The building was a rectangular brick structure, two stories high, without any architectural beauties. The Representatives occupied the lower story, the Senators the upper. An anecdote is told of a Representative who presented his credentials to the Secretary of the Senate. "This belongs to the Lower House," said the Clerk. "Where is that?" asked the gentleman. "Down stairs." "Why," said the man, "I saw them fellows there, but I thought it was a grocery."

On Wednesday night, November 17, 1837, the State-house, which occupied the same site now occupied by the Governor's Mansion, accidentally caught fire and was consumed, with all the records in the office of the Secretary of State. The whole of the furniture of the office and about one-half of the State Library were destroyed, involving a loss that could not be replaced. The bonds, original acts of the Legislature, and

other important State records—the accumulations of seventeen years in that important office—were suddenly swept away. The building was of brick, erected at a cost of \$25,000, and was designed originally for the Governor's residence when the capitol, then in progress of construction on Capitol Hill, should be completed.

The Legislature met a few days after the fire and held its sessions in the Cole County Court-house, the same stone building now used as a court-house. The Representatives occupied the present court-room, and the Senators the second story, which was at that time unobstructed by partitions. In 1840, the Legislature and the State officers took possession of our present Capitol.

The present State Capitol was commenced in 1838, and occupied by the Legislature of 1840-41, and cost about \$350,000. The stone for the building was taken from the bluffs near by, along the line of the Pacific Railroad, in front of the city. The limestone for the pillars was from Callaway county. Mr. Stephen Hills, afterwards architect of the State University at Columbia, was the architect of the Capitol, which is one of the most substantial and beautiful buildings in the West.

On December 29, 1826, the Legislature re-elected Thomas H. Benton United States Senator for six years; and thrice afterwards he was re-elected to the same office, which he filled thirty consecutive years, from the organization of the State government in 1821 to March 4, 1851.

Of the State Senate at this session, Felix Scott was chosen President *pro tem.*, and J. S. Langhorn, Secretary; of the House, Alexander Stewart was made Speaker and Samuel C. Owen, Clerk. Forty-six acts were passed, among them acts organizing Jackson and Marion Counties. Also a memorial to Congress for the selection of 25,000 acres of lands donated for "A seminary of learning." Adjourned January 3d, 1827.

Political parties did not assume definite form in Missouri until the Presidential and State elections of 1828. During this canvass, national issues and national leaders occupied much of the public attention, and the people very naturally disclosed their Whig or Democratic predilections by avowals of confidence in Adams or Jackson.

Early in the year—sometime in January—the friends of Jackson met in Jefferson City, and nominated an electoral ticket of three, to be supported by the Jackson party at the Presidential election on November 3d. Dr. John Bull of Howard, Benj. O'Fallon of St. Louis, and Ralph Dougherty of Cape Girardeau, were nominated. During the month of March following, the Whigs, or Adams party, met in Jefferson City for a similar purpose, and placed on their electoral

ticket Benj. H. Reeves of Howard, Joseph C. Brown of St. Louis, and John Hall of Cape Girardeau.

Not only did the Presidential election of 1828 divide and distract the people of Missouri, but the State, Congressional and Legislative elections as well.

For Governor, various distinguished members of the Adams party were spoken of, and for a time some of them were candidates; but John Miller, then the Chief Executive of the State, was the only candidate who continued in the field till the election. Of course he was re-elected. The canvass for Lieutenant-Governor was closely contested by five candidates, and Daniel Dunklin was the successful aspirant. For Representative in Congress there were three candidates—Edward Bates, Whig, and Wm. Carr Lane and Spencer Pettis, Democrats, the two latter of whom so equally divided the strength of the party that the election of Bates was inevitable if both continued in the field. Finally, the question as to which of the two should retire was submitted to Colonel Benton. He, without hesitation, decided that Lane should withdraw and Pettis continue before the people; and the fact being proclaimed by handbills throughout the State—for at that time there were no lines of telegraph and but few newspapers—Pettis was elected. The Adams party polled 3,400 votes and the Jackson party 8,272—the total vote of the State being 11,672.

Notwithstanding the virulence with which the canvass of 1828 was prosecuted, and the slavery agitation which attended the admission of the State into the Union, and from which the people had scarcely emerged, there seems to have been in the minds of some leading men on both sides a growing repugnance to the institution of slavery, and they desired to rid the State of it by gradual emancipation. That they did not fully disclose their purposes during the incipient stages of this canvass and organize an effort to achieve success, are referable—according to recently-discovered testimony—to a very singular and interesting incident.

At the February session, 1877, of the Missouri Historical Society, Hon. Albert Todd, of St. Louis, presented an autograph letter written by Hon. John Wilson, formerly a distinguished lawyer and politician of Fayette, Missouri, (but for many years a citizen of San Francisco, California, where he died in his eighty-seventh year, February 2, 1877,) to Hon. Thomas Shackelford, of Glasgow, Howard County, wherein he records the first effort made in this State for the destruction of slavery,—it being in the year 1827 or 1828, and by Thomas H. Benton, David

Barton and others, including himself,—and the curious cause of its failure. The following is a portion of the letter :

"In 1827 (I believe it may have been in 1828) I was one of those who attended a private meeting in that good old State, when about twenty of us, claiming at least to be party leaders, about equally representing every district of the State, of about equal numbers of Democrats and Whigs. Colonel Benton and Judge Barton were present, the two latter, however, not being on speaking terms. One object that brought us together was to consider how we should get rid of slavery in Missouri. We unanimously determined to urge upon *all candidates* at the approaching election, and resolutions were drawn up and printed (in secret) and distributed amongst us, with an agreement that on the same day these resolutions, in the shape of memorials, were to be placed before the people all over the State, and *both* parties were to urge the people to sign them. Our combination, too, then had the power to carry out our project. Unfortunately, before the day arrived it was published in the newspapers generally that Arthur Tappan of New York had entertained at his private table some negro men, and that, in fact, these negroes had rode out in his private carriage with his daughters. Perhaps it was not true, but it was believed in Missouri, and raised such a furor that we *dare* not nor *did* not let our memorials see the light! And, as well as I can call to mind, of the individuals who composed this secret meeting, I am the only one left to tell the tale; but for that story of the conduct of the great original fanatic on this subject we should have carried, under the leadership of Barton and Benton, our project, and began in future the emancipation of the colored race that would long since have been followed by Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, etc. Our purpose further, after we got such a law safely placed on the statute book, was to have followed it up by a provision requiring the masters of those who should be born to be free to teach them to read and write. This shows you how little a thing turns the destiny of nations."

These are new and deeply interesting facts, well calculated to arrest the attention of reflecting men, as affording another illustration of the truth that a leaf sometimes changes the incipient course of great streams.

The vrth General Assembly met November 17, 1828. George Bolinger, of Cape Girardeau,—after whom Bolinger County was called—was elected President *pro tem.* of the Senate; John Thornton, of Clay, Speaker of the House, and James H. Birch, of Howard, Chief Clerk. Governor Miller, in his message, made a synoptical statement of the financial affairs of the State, and informed the Legislature that seventy-two sections of lands for a seminary of learning had been selected.

The vrth General Assembly convened in November, 1829, and on the first ballot Alexander Buckner was chosen United States Senator in place of David Barton. The vote stood: Buckner, 34; John Miller, 27; W. H. Ashley, 2.

## CHAPTER XX.

FROM 1830 TO 1840.—CHOLERA IN ST. LOUIS IN 1832.—THE ALARM IT OCCASIONED.—DEATHS.—THE BLACK HAWK WAR.—THE FIRST RAILROAD CONVENTION IN MISSOURI.—“THE HETHERLY WAR.”—“THE PLATTE PURCHASE.”—ORIGIN OF THE MEASURE AND ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT.—DANIEL WEBSTER’S VISIT TO ST. LOUIS IN 1837.—RECEPTION, BANQUET AND SPEECH.—THE FLORIDA WAR.—COLONEL RICHARD GENTRY RAISES A REGIMENT IN CENTRAL MISSOURI.—THEIR MARCH FROM COLUMBIA.—ARRIVAL IN FLORIDA.—BATTLE OF OKEE-CHO-BEE.—COLONEL GENTRY’S HEROIC DEATH.—BRAVERY OF THE MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS.—REPORT OF COLONEL ZACHARY TAYLOR.—ACTION OF THE MISSOURI LEGISLATURE THEREON.

Nothing in the previous history of the city of St. Louis occasioned more consternation and alarm, not only in the city itself but in all the region of country whose trade it commanded, than the appearance there, in the summer of 1832, of the Asiatic cholera. The news of the desolation which this dreadful scourge of the human race had caused in the cities of Europe, and those on our Atlantic seaboard, had reached the people of the “Far West,” and they stood in awe of its appearance among them. Finally it came, first attacking a soldier at Jefferson Barracks; but its advent was not without warning. The pestilence had previously invaded New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and the Southern cities. The first indication of its presence in St. Louis was followed by the enforcement of sanitary measures to arrest its progress. All unhealthy matter, everything which could contribute to render the air impure, was removed by order of the city authorities. But it was of little avail. “The abomination of desolation” nestled on the wings of the breeze, and alike set at defiance the ripest professional skill and the strictest sanitary ordinances. First visiting the outskirts of the city, it invaded the most populated streets, carrying death to the homes of the rich and the poor alike, and swelling the daily interments in the churchyards alarmingly.

The population of the city at that time, including those who had fled the town to escape the pestilence, was 6,918. Yet the number of deaths for two weeks or more was from twenty to thirty per day, destroying about four per cent. of the population during the five weeks of its continuance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The pestilence re-appeared in St. Louis in the summer of 1836, and again in 1849. During the latter year the mortality reached, some days, as high as 160 deaths—the total number during its prevalence, more than 4,000; among them, two eminent physicians of the city, Drs. Hardage Lane and Thomas Barbour.

The Black Hawk War occurred during the same year, (1832)—called "The Black Hawk War" because the Indians engaged in it were led by a *brave* by the name of Black Hawk.<sup>2</sup> Whatever may be his designation in the public mind, he never was a chief either by Indian authority or by recognition of the United States. He cannot rank in intelligence or heroism with Pontiac or Tecumseh, for he showed no special intellectual power; was simply a desperate savage, and fought only for revenge.

In 1832 several tribes on the northwestern frontier, who had made common cause with the British in 1812, became restless and appeared bent on hostilities. These tribes were the Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes. After the peace of 1815 they maintained their intercourse with the British in Canada, the consequence of which was the influence over them by the United States was greatly weakened. In fact, in 1816, Black Hawk, having gathered around him a small band of disaffected spirits, refused to attend the negotiations of that year, went to Canada, proclaimed himself a British subject, and received presents from that quarter.

They were therefore in no state of mind to recognize the obligations of the treaties of 1815, 1822 and 1825, or properly to appreciate the efforts of the United States to maintain peaceable relations with them. Moreover the Sacs and Foxes possessed no original right, even in contemplation of Indian ideas of justice, to any portion of the Rock River country or any other portion of Illinois. They were simply intruders on the country of the Santeurs and Iowas.

Nevertheless, blinded by prejudice and fired by a spirit of revenge for imaginary wrongs, the Sacs and Foxes claimed the right to occupy a part of the country on Rock River, although by a treaty made "with the chiefs, warriors and head men of the Sac and Fox tribes" at Fort Armstrong, [Rock Island,] on September 3d, 1822, the country for a valuable consideration was transferred to the United States, and had been settled by its citizens.

Frequent collisions with the inhabitants were the consequence. In 1831 these aggressions were so serious, and preparations for open hostilities so threatening, that a considerable force of Illinois militia were called into the field. This formidable array alarmed the savages into an agreement to retire to their own lands west of the Mississippi.

It was not long however before a party of the same Indians committed a flagrant outrage, almost under the guns of Fort Crawford, upon a band of friendly Menomonie Indians encamped in the village of Prairie du

<sup>2</sup>"Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiah" or Black Hawk.

Chien. Twenty-five of these friendly Indians were wantonly murdered and many others wounded.

Fearing that the Sacs and Foxes would renew their attacks upon the settlements on our frontier, and determined that the murderers of the Menomonies should be surrendered or captured for punishment, on the 7th of March, 1832, Brigadier-General Atkinson was ordered to ascend the Mississippi with a large detachment of the regular troops at Jefferson Barracks to chastise the Indians, who, under Black Hawk and the Prophet, had violated their treaty with the United States by removing east of the Mississippi, and invading with fire and scalping-knife the unprotected frontier settlements of Illinois.

To the demand for the surrender of the murderers of the Menomonies, no attention was paid; on the contrary, the murderers and their adherents under Black Hawk re-crossed the Mississippi, and in hostile array established themselves on Rock River. This was in May, 1832.

A bloody engagement near Dixon's Ferry on the 14th of the month rendered peace hopeless. Keokux was the legitimate chief of the tribe; but, although he controlled a majority, the temptations of war and plunder were too strong for those who followed the track of Black Hawk.

The proximity of these hostilities to the Missouri frontier caused Governor John Miller to adopt precautionary measures to avert the calamities of an invasion which seemed imminent. Therefore, in May, 1832, he ordered Major-General Richard Gentry, of Columbia, Missouri, (of whom James S. Rollins, Caleb S. Stone and Calvin L. Perry were Aids-de-Camp,) to raise without delay one thousand volunteers for the defense of the frontiers of the State, to be in readiness to start at a moment's warning.

Accordingly, on the 29th of May, 1832, orders were issued by General Gentry to Brigadier-Generals Benjamin Miens, commanding the seventh, Jonathan Riggs, eighth, and Jesse T. Wood, ninth brigade, third division, to raise the required quota, the first named four and each of the last three hundred men, each man "to keep in readiness a horse with the necessary equipment and a rifle in good order, with an ample supply of ammunition," etc.

Five companies were at once raised in Boone County and others in Callaway, Montgomery, St. Charles, Lincoln, Pike, Marion, Ralls, Clay<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Several companies were ordered out in Clay; marched northward to the Iowa line, and thence into the Grand River country. They were absent about four weeks. It is not known to the writer who commanded them. Two companies were raised in Ralls—one, commanded by Captain Richard Matson, was in active service; the other, John Ralls in command, was held in reserve, but was never ordered into service.



and Monroe. Two of them, Captain John Jamison's of Callaway and Captain David M. Hickman's of Boone, in July, 1832, were mustered into service for thirty days and placed under command of Major Thomas W. Conyers, with orders to march to the mouth of the Des Moines and to range from thence to the head waters of Salt River and on towards the main Chariton. This detachment, accompanied by General Gentry in person, at once took up the line of march for the northern frontier; arrived at Palmyra July 10th, and at Fort Pike five days afterwards. This fort was built by Captain Richard Mace, of the Ralls County "Volunteer Rangers," and was situated ten miles from the mouth of the Des Moines, in what is now Clark County.

Finding "the wars and rumors of wars" much exaggerated, and that no hostile Indians had crossed into Missouri, General Gentry ordered work to be discontinued on Fort Matson, sixty-five miles from Fort Pike and within eight miles of the Chariton, and left for Columbia, where he arrived on the 19th of July. Major Conyers' detachment was left at Fort Pike, (to quote General Gentry's report to the Governor,) with "something like 40 barrels of flour, 2 hogsheads of bacon, 4 barrels of whiskey and 100 bushels of corn."

On August 5th, Major Conyers' command was relieved by two other companies under Captains Sinclair Kirtley, of Boone, and Patrick Ewing, of Callaway. Colonel Austin A. King marched the detachment to Fort Pike and conducted those who were relieved to their homes. Major Conyers was retained in command of the Fort. In September the Indian troubles having seemingly subsided, all the troops on the northern frontier were mustered out of service; and thus ended "The Black Hawk War" in Missouri.<sup>1</sup>

But it did not thus, or at this time, end in Illinois. For nearly a year afterwards it was continued at various points in the territory now occupied by the States of Iowa and Illinois, till the decisive battle on the Mississippi near the mouth of Bad-ax River, August 2d, 1833, when the troops under Generals Atkinson, Dodge, Henry, Posey and Alexander overtook and defeated Black Hawk with great slaughter, entirely broke his power and ended the war. While the battle waxed warm Black Hawk stole off up the river, but on the 27th of August, 1833, he was captured by two Winnebagoes and delivered to the United States officers at Prairie du Chien. He was well treated and carried in triumph

<sup>1</sup>For most of the facts here detailed the writer is indebted to the orders as recorded at the time by Major J. S. Rollins, aid-de-camp to General Gentry, in a book kept for that purpose, and which he now has in his possession.

through a great part of the United States, after which he was permitted to return to his people.

Black Hawk died at the village of his tribe on the Des Moines River, in Iowa, October 3d, 1838, aged about 70 years.

About 1835, the railroad mania seized upon the older States, on the Atlantic seaboard, and in due time attacked the Western States. Other portions of this volume record what has been accomplished in this direction since that time; suffice it to say, in this place, that the first railroad convention ever held in Missouri assembled in the Court-House in St. Louis on April 20th, 1836, from the proceedings of which we make this extract:

“ST. LOUIS, Saturday, April 23, 1836.

“The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

“The President (Dr. Samuel Merry) proceeded to appoint a committee, in accordance with the provisions of the last resolution adopted yesterday, to memorialize Congress for land, and appointed the following gentlemen: Messrs. J. S. Rollins, Edward Bates, and H. R. Gamble.

“The following propositions, upon the subject of routes, etc., ordered on yesterday to be engrossed, were taken up, read and agreed to.

“1st. It is now expedient to adopt measures for the construction of a railroad from St. Louis to Fayette, with the view of ultimately extending the road in that general direction as far as public convenience and the exigences of trade may require.

“Also, a railroad from St. Louis, in a southwestern direction, to the valley of Bellevue, in Washington County, so as to traverse the rich mineral region in that part of the State, with a view to its indefinite extension in that direction, when and as far as public interest may require.

“And, also, a branch from some convenient point on the last-mentioned road, to the Merrimac Iron Works in Crawford County, with a view to its ultimate extension through Cooper County to a point on the Missouri River in Jackson County.

“2d. That the proposed railroad from St. Louis to Fayette ought to cross the Missouri River at the town of St. Charles, and through or within one mile of the several towns of Warrenton, Danville, Fulton and Columbia, the said towns being points most acceptable to the people of the counties through which the road is proposed to pass.”

#### MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION.

*From St. Louis County*—Edward Tracy, Major J. B. Brant, Colonel John O’Fallon, Dr. Samuel Merry, Archibald Gamble, M. L. Clark, Colonel Joseph C. Lavelle, Thornton Grimsley, H. S. Geyer, Col. Henry Walton, Lewellyn Brown, Henry Von Phul, George H. McGunnegle, Colonel B. W. Ayres, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Hamilton R. Gamble.

*From Lincoln County*—Colonel David Bailey, Hans Smith, Emanuel Block, Benjamin W. Dudley and Dr. Bailey.

*From Washington County*—Dr. J. H. Relfe, Philip Cole, John S. Brickey, Jesse H. McIlvaine, Myers H. Jones, James Evans and W. C. Reed.

*From Cooper County*—Benjamin E. Ferry, N. W. Mack and Dr. William H. Trigg.

*From Warren County*—Carty Wells, Nathaniel Pendleton and Irvin S. Pitman.

*From St. Charles County*—Edward Bates, Moses Bigelow, William M. Campbell, and W. L. Overall.

*From Montgomery County*—Dr. M. M. Maughs, S. C. Ruby and Nathaniel Dryden.

*From Boone County*—Dr. James W. Moss, John B. Gordon, John W. Keiser, David M. Hickman, James S. Rollins, William Hunter, R. W. Morris and Granville Branham.

*From Howard County*—Dr. John Bull, Major Alphonso Wetmore, Weston F. Birch, Joseph Davis, General John B. Clark, T. Y. Sterns and John Wilson.

*From Jefferson County*—James S. McCutchen.

This convention, as will be seen by the lines of railroad projected, foreshadowed the system of roads as now existing in the State, and inaugurated the net-work of intercommunication which at this day encompasses the whole State.

The memorial to Congress for a grant of land, in aid of the railroads mentioned, was written after the adjournment of the Convention by Hon. J. S. Rollins, of Boone, was afterwards signed by Messrs. Bates and Gamble, and is the first memorial on that subject ever transmitted to Congress from Missouri.

In the month of June, 1836, a band of desperadoes, composed principally of men by the name of Hetherly, living in that part of Carroll County then known as the "Upper Grand River Country," and now included in Mercer and Grundy Counties, availed themselves of a pretext to carry on their nefarious profession of stealing Indian horses and plunder the few pioneers who had ventured to seek homes in that fine portion of Missouri. This family could be classed neither as wholly civilized nor savage. Early in the month of June of the year mentioned, a number of Indians of the Iowa tribe made a friendly incursion into Missouri for the purpose of hunting along the State border. As soon as they arrived, the Hetherlys began to steal Indian ponies. Taking with them James Dunbar, Alfred Hawkins, and a man named Thomas, they managed to capture a lot of ponies and escaped with them. The Indians followed in pursuit and overtook the desperadoes in the forks of Grand River. A skirmish ensued. In the conflict Thomas was killed by the Indians and the others escaped. A difficulty now broke out between the desperadoes themselves, to which James Dunbar and the Hetherlys were parties. The Hetherlys apprehended, if arrested, that Dunbar would turn State's evidence against them, and therefore resolved upon his murder, which was accomplished. The Hetherlys, availing themselves of the alarm consequent upon the approach of the Indians, fled to the settlements near the Missouri River, with the report that the Iowa Indians were making a murderous and thieving incursion on the frontier settlements, and that they were fleeing from them for life.

Brigadier-General James T. V. Thompson, (then of Ray,) commanding the militia force in the district, ordered out several companies and moved toward the scene of trouble. Among these were two companies from Clay, commanded respectively by Captains David R. Atchison and Smith Crawford, the former of which was well-known as the "Liberty Blues." There was also a battalion under the personal command of Colonel Shubael Allen, who, in 1817 planned and constructed the first bridge across the Kentucky River, at Frankfort. He died in Clay County, January 18, 1841.

At the period of this difficulty with the Hetherlys, Carroll County, as then constituted, did not contain a population of more than fifteen hundred. The whole county was scoured by the military, and no hostile Indians found, whereupon, the falsity of the alarm being discovered, the soldiers returned home.

The depredations and murders were subsequently traced to the Hetherlys, and a warrant for their arrest was issued by Jesse Newlin, a Justice of the Peace, living at Knavetown, now Springhill, in Livingston County, and placed in the hands of Lewis N. Rees, then Sheriff of Carroll County. On the 17th of July, 1836, the arrest was made, and the whole gang brought before Jesse Newlin. After several days' examination, the Hetherlys, together with Alfred Hawkins, were found guilty of the murder of Dunbar, and on the 27th of July, the parties so charged were given over to the Sheriff of Ray County for safe keeping, till the October term of the Carroll Circuit Court, with the exception of the old man Hetherly and wife and their daughter, Ann Hetherly, who gave bond for their appearance. At the October term, a true bill for the murder of Dunbar was found against them, and the case set for the March (1837) term of the court. At the March term some of the Hetherlys turned States' evidence; a *nolle prosequi* was entered and the Hetherlys dismissed, whereupon they turned witnesses against Alfred Hawkins, who was found guilty and sent to the penitentiary for ten years.

The affair was known as the Hetherly war, and occasioned great excitement at the time. The Hetherlys were known and dreaded for their notorious character by all who traveled in the Grand River country. Old Mrs. Hetherly was a sister to the notorious Kentucky brigands, Big and Little Harp.<sup>1</sup>

The accomplishment, in 1836, of what is known as the "Platte Purchase" deserves special mention in this place. Intelligent and inquisitive citizens

<sup>1</sup> See Alex. C. Blackwell's History of Carroll County, 1876.

have often propounded the inquiry, without having it answered—When, where and by whom was the suggestion first made that Missouri, a State already among the largest in territorial area in the Union, should extend her boundary so as to embrace what is now known as the "Platte Purchase?" The idea originated in the summer of 1835, at a regimental militia muster at Dale's farm, three miles from the town of Liberty, in Clay County.

After the morning parade and during the recess for dinner, the citizens present were organized into a mass meeting, which was addressed, among others, by General Andrew S. Hughes, who came to Clay from Montgomery Co., Kentucky, in 1828, and who soon afterward was appointed Indian Agent by President John Quincy Adams. General Hughes was a lawyer by profession, a gentleman of acknowledged ability, and in wit and sarcasm almost the equal of John Randolph.<sup>1</sup> At this meeting, and in this public address, he proposed the acquisition of the Platte country; and the measure met with such emphatic approval that the meeting proceeded at once, by the appointment of a committee, to organize an effort to accomplish it. The committee was composed of the following distinguished citizens: William T. Wood, now Judge of the Lexington Circuit; David R. Atchison, ex-United States Senator; A. W. Doniphan, a distinguished lawyer of Richmond, Missouri, and commander of "Doniphan's Expedition;" Peter H. Burnett, afterwards one of the Supreme Judges of California, and Edward M. Samuel, afterwards President of the Commercial Bank in St. Louis, and who died there in September, 1869—all of them, at the time of the appointment of this Committee, residents of Clay County.

An able memorial to Congress was subsequently drafted by Judge Wood, embracing the facts and considerations in behalf of the measure, which all the Committee signed, and it was forwarded to our Senators and Representatives at Washington.

Pursuant to the prayer of this memorial, in 1836 a bill was introduced into Congress by Senator Benton, and ardently supported by his colleague, Senator Linn, namely, an act to extend the then existing boundary of the State so as to include the triangle between the existing line and the Missouri River, then a part of the Indian Territory, now comprising the counties of Atchison, Andrew, Buchanan, Holt, Nodaway and Platte, and known as the "Platte Purchase." The difficulties encountered were

<sup>1</sup> General Andrew S. Hughes died while attending Court at Plattsburg, Missouri, December 14th, 1843, aged 54 years.

three-fold: 1. To make still larger a State which was already one of the largest in the Union. 2. To make a treaty with the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians whereby they were to be removed from lands which had but recently been assigned to them in perpetuity. 3. To alter the Missouri Compromise line in relation to slave territory and thereby convert free into slave soil. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the two first-mentioned serious and the last formidable, the act was passed and the treaties negotiated, and in 1837 the Indians removed west of the Missouri River, thus adding to our State a large body of the richest land in the world.

The advent of no distinguished personage into St. Louis, since the visit of Lafayette in 1825, occasioned such a sensation as the visit of Daniel Webster in 1837. It was hoped that he would be accompanied by another of the great statesmen of the country, Henry Clay, whose name, like his own, was honored in all lands as a synonym of spotless patriotism and genuine eloquence. The friends and admirers of both were very numerous in St. Louis, and their respect for them fell little short of adoration itself; so that the expectation of a visit excited in the public mind a delirium of excitement and joy. But Mr. Clay, on account of an important business engagement, could not come.

In anticipation of Mr. Webster's arrival, a public meeting was held, and presided over by Robert Wash, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, which passed resolutions and appointed committees to secure such a reception of the distinguished visitor as befitted his fame and the rising importance of the city of St. Louis.

As soon as it was ascertained that the steamer *Robert Morris*, on which Mr. Webster was a passenger, had passed the mouth of the Ohio, the committee of reception and many citizens proceeded on the *H. L. Kenney* down the river to meet him, which they did a little below Jefferson Barracks. The *Kenney* came alongside of the *Robert Morris*, which the committee boarded, and were introduced to the great statesman. As soon as the steamer hove in sight of the city the national flag was displayed from the Court House; and on the steamboats at the levee, and dwellings and places of business throughout the city, the star-spangled banner was displayed and gaily kissed the breeze.

The *Robert Morris* landed at the foot of Market street, where admiring thousands were gathered to welcome the great "Expounder of the Constitution," together with his wife and daughter. On landing, the distinguished guests were conducted to the "National Hotel," corner of Third

and Market streets—now “St. Clair Hotel”—where they spent several days, and where they were visited by large numbers of the leading citizens of the city and country, who vied with each other in efforts to make their stay agreeable.

The day after his arrival a sumptuous banquet, or in popular Western parlance, a “barbecue,” was tendered him by the citizens, in a woodland near the spot where Lucas Market now stands, and west of Ninth street, then a beautiful grove of timber of natural growth, belonging to Judge J. B. C. Lucas. The objects of this banquet were to afford the people a sight of the great patriot and orator, and to hear him speak.

The late Colonel Charles Keemle, as marshal of the day, and numerous assistants, escorted the procession and Mr. Webster to the grove, where General William H. Ashley presided as President, and Messrs. Richard Graham, William Carr Lane, John B. Sarpy, John Perry, James Clemens, Jr., and James Russell, as Vice-Presidents. Mr. Webster made a speech of more than an hour's duration—a political and financial speech—distinguished for statesmanship and massive eloquence, and which elicited frequent outbursts of applause. It was published in the newspapers at the time, and the writer of this well recollects reading it.

There were about five thousand persons present, many of them from the surrounding country—a concourse which outnumbered the entire population of the city of St. Louis at the time of the visit of LaFayette, twelve years previous.

The Florida or Seminole War grew out of the opposition of the Seminole Indians to their removal from Florida west of the Mississippi River. This attempt was first made in 1835, but the Seminoles were unwilling to relinquish their lands, and rallying under the leadership of their great chief, Osceola, organized a determined resistance to the efforts of the general government. In May, 1836, the Creeks joined the Seminoles and the war spread into Georgia. The Creeks were soon conquered and sent beyond the Mississippi. The Seminoles continued the war, and as often as defeated in the open field would take refuge in the swamps and everglades, where it was difficult for the United States soldiers to follow them. In October, 1837, Osceola was captured by General Jessup, and sent a prisoner to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, where he died of a fever. Nevertheless, the war continued for several years, and Missourians took part in it.

Sometime in the fall of 1837, and during the administration of Governor Boggs, the President of the United States, Mr. Van Buren, asked Colonel Benton, one of our Senators in Congress, whether Missourians







BILLY BOWLEGS.

could be induced to travel so far as the swamps of Florida and assist in chastising the Seminole Indians. Colonel Benton answered: "The Missourians will go wherever their services are needed," and went immediately to Joel R. Poinsett, then Secretary of War, and urged him to issue an order for raising volunteers in Missouri for that purpose. The Secretary being assured of a favorable response, issued a requisition on Governor Boggs, for two regiments of mounted volunteers. The following is a copy (made from the original) of the letter of the Secretary of War to Colonel Richard Gentry, of Columbia:

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 8th, 1837.

Sir:—You are hereby informed that a regiment of six hundred volunteers from the State of Missouri will be accepted by this Department, for service in Florida, during the next campaign against the Seminoles, provided they can be raised by you in season to reach Tampa Bay by the middle of October, or the 1st of November, at latest. General Atkinson has been instructed to dispatch an officer of the army to muster these troops into the service, and to render such other aid as may be necessary to expedite their movements towards Florida.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

J. R. POINSETT.

COLONEL GENTRY, *Columbia, Boone County, Missouri.*

The first regiment was raised chiefly in Boone and neighboring counties by Colonel Gentry, of which he was elected Colonel, John W. Price, of Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Harrison H. Hughes, also of Howard, Major; — Parks, of Ray, Quartermaster, and William McDaniel, of Marion, Commissary. The regiment was composed of the following companies:

From Boone County: Captains John Ellis and Thomas D. Grant; Callaway, Captain William H. Russell; Howard, Captain Congreve Jackson; Chariton, Captain James Flore; Ray, Captain John Sconce; Jackson, Captain Jas. Chiles; Marion, Captain John Curd.

Four companies of the second regiment were also raised and attached to the first. Two of these companies were composed of Delaware and Osage Indians.

On October 6, 1837, Col. Gentry's regiment left Columbia for the field of danger and duty, but before taking their departure were presented by the ladies of Columbia with a beautiful regimental flag, the presentation address being made by Miss Lucy Wales, a very cultivated and accomplished lady, at that time preceptress of Columbia Female Academy. This flag was borne by the regiment throughout the campaign in Florida, and floated at its head in battle, and after its return to Missouri was

delivered to the widow of Colonel Gentry, October 26th, 1842, by Captain William Henry Russell, and it is now in the possession of the family.

After the regiment left Columbia, they marched by land to Jefferson Barracks, below St. Louis, where they were detained for several days and were addressed by Hon. Thomas H. Benton. They were there mustered into service by General Henry Atkinson, the commander of this department. They were taken by boats from there to Jackson Barracks, New Orleans, from which point they were transported in brigs across the gulf to Tampa Bay, Florida.

Mr. Elihu H. Shepard, in his "Early History of St. Louis and Missouri," says, on the voyage they were overtaken by a violent storm and several of the vessels stranded. Many horses were lost, but no lives, and they disembarked on the 15th of November at the place of destination. On the 1st of December they received orders from General Zachary Taylor, then commanding in Florida, to march to Okee-cho-bee Lake, one hundred and thirty-five miles inland by the route traveled, in the vicinity of which the whole force of the Seminoles was said to have collected, under their four most redoubtable leaders, Sam Jones, Tiger Tail, Alligator and Mycanopee, prepared for battle.

Having reached the Kissemme River, seventy miles distant, the cavalry scouts captured several Indians who were guarding grazing stock, by which the Colonel learned the Indians were near at hand; and immediately crossing the river, he formed the Missouri volunteers in front and advanced, supporting them at a proper distance by the regular army on either flank.

The Indians appeared to have noticed all the surroundings of the place, and commenced the attack at the point affording them the best position for prolonging a battle, and continued it with a pertinacity they seldom exhibit.

Colonel Gentry fought on foot, as did all his command, and had repulsed the Indians after several hours of severe fighting. He was gradually pushing them across a swamp, and had nearly reached the dry soil, when a bullet pierced his abdomen, inflicting a fatal wound. He knew its extent, yet he stood erect an hour afterward, and cheered his men to victory; until at last being compelled to yield, he was borne from the fight and expired the same night.

The fall of their leader did not relax the exertions of the Missourians. They made good all their Senator had said of them, and continued to fight several hours longer, until the Indians were entirely vanquished.

The loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and thirty-eight, most of whom were Missourians.

There being no further service required of the Missourians, they were returned to their homes early in 1838, and the name and fame of Colonel Gentry placed where it will never perish. His remains, as well as those of Captain Vanswearingen, and Lieutenants Brooke and Center, 6th Regular United States Infantry, were afterwards brought to Jefferson Barracks and buried, the Government of the United States erecting over them a suitable monument. The County of Gentry, organized February 12th, 1841, was named in honor of his memory.<sup>1</sup>

The official report to the War Department by General Zachary Taylor, U. S. A., in regard to the battle of Okeechobee, occasioned much excitement and adverse criticism in Missouri, because it was claimed that he not only did great injustice to the Missouri volunteers under Colonel Gentry, but that on one occasion he treated Colonel Gentry himself with a degree of insulting hardship and violence wholly unmerited by that gallant officer. Therefore, during the session of the Legislature of 1838-9, a special committee was appointed, David R. Atchison, chairman, to investigate the facts and make report of them to the General Assembly. This committee caused about twenty of the officers of the

<sup>1</sup>The following is a copy of a letter from Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, U. S. Army, to Mrs. Ann Gentry, widow of Colonel Gentry, in regard to the receipt and interment of his remains:

St. Louis, 7th May, 1839.

MY DEAR MADAM:—I have the satisfaction to inform you that I have received the remains of the late Major General Gentry, your lamented husband, from Florida, mingled in the same box with the remains of Captain VanSwearingen and Lieutenants Brooke and Center, 6th Regiment U. S. Infantry. The whole will be this day taken from the box and placed in a suitable coffin and carried to the Episcopal Church, where at half past two o'clock, the funeral service will be performed by the reverend clergy; after which all appropriate military honors will take place, by the military and civil authorities of the city. The remains will then be taken to Jefferson Barracks, where they will be deposited for final interment as soon as the 6th Regiment returns to that post. It is intended to inter all the remains in the same grave, over which a monument, with suitable inscriptions, will be erected.

I hope this disposition of the remains of Major General Gentry, will be agreeable to you and your family. It would now be difficult, if not impossible, to designate the separate remains of either individual; therefore, should you wish to have the General's bones, it would be impossible, I think, to select them.

With the kindest regards, madam, I am most respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

H. ATKINSON, Brigadier General U. S. Army.

MRS. GENTRY, relict of the late Major General Gentry, Columbia, Mo.

Missouri Volunteers, who had served in the Florida campaign, to be examined before them, among whom were individuals who were engaged during the battle in every part of the line, and others who were posted at the baggage on the opposite side of the swamp. After the examination of these witnesses, Mr. Atchison made a report, in which it was maintained that General Taylor's report did the Missouri troops great injustice; among other reasons because it charged that the Missouri Volunteers mostly broke and fell back to the baggage, and that the repeated efforts of his Aids could not rally them. Mr. Atchison's report states, in substance, that the battle commenced between nine and ten o'clock A. M., December 25th, 1837; that the Missouri Volunteers first attacked the enemy, led the charge, and bore the brunt of the battle along the whole line; that they had to march through a deep, miry swamp for about half a mile in order to approach the Indians, who were concealed in the edge of the hummock ready to receive them, on ground which they had chosen and prepared for that purpose; that the Indians were protected by the heavy timber and thick underbrush, while the Volunteers, mostly unsupported by the Regulars, were exposed in open line, uncovered, in the swamp, standing up to their knees in mud and water, when they received the first deadly fire of the enemy. Nevertheless, they fought bravely till the heat of the battle was over, and it was principally by their fire that the Indians were first dispersed. Although a large number of the Volunteers were killed or wounded by a concealed enemy, they heroically stood their ground or pressed forward to the attack, until the hummock was taken and the victory gained. None of the witnesses examined knew of any attempt on the part of General Taylor's staff to rally the Volunteers, or of any necessity for such attempt; and the fact is established that after the heat of the battle was over, a considerable portion of the Volunteers, instead of being dispatched in pursuit of the retreating enemy, were, by order of the Regular officers, detailed to make a causeway across the swamp, upon which to carry out the dead and wounded. To the committee it was manifest that General Taylor entertained strong prejudice against the Volunteers, and a most contemptuous opinion of that description of troops, and they reported it probable, that, owing to this prejudice, he could not do justice to the Volunteers from Missouri. Also, that "Colonel Gentry fell at the head of his troops, in a manner worthy of the commander of Volunteers, and the conduct of the Volunteer officers and soldiers generally was such as ought to have elicited praise and commendation, instead of censure and reproach."

The committee concluded their report by recommending the adoption of the following joint resolutions :

1st. *Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives*, that the conduct of the Missouri Volunteers and spies, in the Florida campaign, was such as only could be expected from *good soldiers and brave men*.

2d. *Resolved*, that so much of Colonel Z. Taylor's report of the battle of Okeechobee, which charges that the Missouri Volunteers and spies mostly broke and fell back to the baggage, and that the repeated efforts of his staff could not rally them, is proved to be unfounded, not to say *intentionally false*, and that so much of said report which states that the Regular troops were joined by Captain Gilliam and Lieutenant Blakey with a few men, but not until they had suffered severely, is incorrect in this,—that Gilliam and Blakey were in *advance* of the Regular troops during the most of the fight and *never in the rear*.

3d. *Resolved*, that so much of said report, which states that the Missouri Volunteers and spies behaved themselves as well or better than troops of that description usually do, is not so much a compliment to them, as a *slander upon citizen soldiers generally*.

4th. *Resolved*, that Colonel Taylor, in his report of the battle of Okeechobee, has done manifest injustice to the Missouri Volunteers and spies, and that said report was not founded upon facts as they occurred.

5th. *Resolved*, that a commanding officer who has *wantonly* misrepresented the conduct of men who gallantly sustained him in battle, is *unworthy a commission* in the Army of the United States.

6th. *Resolved*, that the Governor of the State be required to lay before the President of the United States, the evidence reported to this House, in relation to the conduct of the Missouri volunteers and spies in the Florida campaign, and Colonel Z. Taylor's report of the battle of the Okeechobee, and that he solicit on the part of this State a *court of inquiry* into the conduct of the Missouri volunteers and spies, and the truth of said report.

7th. *Resolved*, that the Governor of the State be required to lay before the President of the United States, a statement of facts relative to the treatment of the spies under Colonel Morgan and Captain Sconce: 1st, as it regards the fact of the organization of said command into a spy battalion, under the order of Colonel Taylor. 2d. His subsequent acknowledgment and recognition of said corps. 3d. The performance of arduous duty by the officers of said battalion under the requisition of Colonel Taylor. 4th. Their subsequent discharge as privates and the pay that they received as such. 5th. The necessity of adopting some course to obtain redress.

The resolutions passed both houses of the Legislature unanimously, and there the matter rested, no court of inquiry having been called by the President of the United States to investigate the truth of Colonel Taylor's report.

## CHAPTER XXI.

FROM 1830 TO 1840 CONTINUED.—THE MORMONS AND THE MORMON WAR.—SKETCH OF MORMONISM AND OF JO. SMITH.—“THE BOOK OF MORMON”—ITS ORIGIN.—MORMONS SETTLE AT INDEPENDENCE IN JACKSON COUNTY.—ARE DRIVEN OUT AND ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AT FAR WEST IN CALDWELL COUNTY.—DESCRIPTION OF FAR WEST AND OF THE MORMON TEMPLE.—THE MORMONS AT DEWITT, CARROLL COUNTY.—THEY ORGANIZE UNDER COLONEL G. W. HINKLE.—THE CITIZENS FLY TO ARMS AND ELECT GENERAL CONGREVE JACKSON TO COMMAND THEM.—BLOODSHED IMMINENT.—JUDGE JAMES EARICKSON OF HOWARD NEGOTIATES A PEACE.—THE MORMONS ABANDON DEWITT AND GO TO FAR WEST.—FALSE ALARM AT CARROLLTON.—MISSOURI MILITIA MARCH AGAINST THE MORMONS IN 1838.—THEIR SURRENDER AND DISPERSION.—THE TRAGICAL DEATHS OF JO. SMITH AND PARLEY P. PRATT.—ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF GOVERNOR LILBURN W. BOGGS BY PORTER ROCKWELL, A MORMON LEADER.

Unquestionably one of the most striking features in the history of modern fanaticism is the progress of Mormonism in the United States. That an uneducated youth, without wealth or social standing, indeed without the prestige of common morality, and in fact notorious only for a vagrant and dissolute life, should excite a revolutionary movement in the religious world, and be able to operate on the public credulity by means of the most absurd pretensions to the divine and prophetic character, and that too in an age boastful of its intelligence, is a paradox difficult to be accounted for on any known laws of the human mind.

Joe Smith, their prophet, priest and king, assumed to act by divine appointment, and claimed that his mission was of both a temporal and spiritual character. He was to radically and essentially change all the features of divine worship, and herald the millennial reign of Christ on earth. In addition to this he was to establish a temporal kingdom, in which “the Saints” were to reign, and crush the unbelieving world beneath their righteous rule. When he came to Missouri, in 1831, it was claimed that the foundations of this kingdom were laid at Independence, which Smith named “The New Jerusalem.” From this nucleus it was to be extended by a series of supernatural incidents and brilliant conquests, more miraculous, dazzling and complete than the rapid march of the Moslem prophet under his crescent banner.

To accomplish his designs, he proposed to concentrate all the Indian tribes of the West, and incite them to avenge the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of their white oppressors. The blood-thirsty Comanches, the cruel Sacs and Foxes, still smarting under the defeat and capture of their celebrated chieftain, Black Hawk; the Winnebagoes, the Pawnees, the Omahas, and all the wild tribes of the deep valleys

and lofty crags of the Rocky Mountains, were to hear the voice of the prophet, heed his counsel, and subordinate all their savage energies to the establishment of Mormon supremacy on the American Continent.

"The Book of Mormon" (a copy of which, once the property of Jo. Smith's mother, is now before the writer) contains a pretended history of the ancient aborigines of the country, from whom it is claimed the modern tribes have descended. This "Book" was to be used for the conversion of the Indians. From the pages of this blundering fiction the red man was to be taught of his high origin; of an ancestry which had peopled a vast continent, and established a civilization even superior to that of their European enemies who had robbed them of their homes and hunting grounds.

The truth is, there is something so remarkable about this strange infatuation and its pretensions as to justify, in this place, a brief reference to the history of Joseph Smith, the founder and apostle of Mormonism. He was born December 23d, 1805, at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, and in 1815, removed with his father and family to Palmyra, Wayne County, New York. A few years afterwards, many revivals of religion occurred in Western New York, and Smith professed to have become seriously impressed on the subject. In April, 1820, while praying in the woods, he pretends to have received his first remarkable vision and revelation, and asserts that God appeared to him in the forest, and, like Mohammed's Gabriel, informed him that his sins were forgiven; that all of the then existing denominations of Christians were in error and enemies of the Covenant of Grace, and that he was the chosen of God to reinstate his Kingdom, and re-introduce his Gospel on earth. Three years afterwards, Smith fearfully backslided; became oblivious of his pretended revelation and conversion, and relapsed into his old habits of swearing, swindling and drunkenness. Nevertheless he pretends that about this time (September 21st, 1823) an angel came to him while in bed and revealed to him the existence and preservation of the history of the ancient inhabitants of the American continent, engraved on plates of gold, and directed him where to find them. The next day he obeyed the angelic injunction and discovered the gold plates, in a stone box, buried in a hillside—"Cumorah"—between Manchester and Palmyra, New York. He attempted to take them, but the devil and his angels prevented him for a time, by hostilities waged with carnal weapons, but they were finally vanquished and retreated. The angel of the Lord then safely delivered to him the plates—plates of gold, bell-shaped, seven by eight inches in size and six inches thick, and



fastened through the ends with rings. The engraving below represents one of the plates.

These plates, as can be seen, contained all kinds of characters, arranged in columns like Chinese writing, and presented a singular medley of Greek, Hebrew and all sorts of hieroglyphics, with sundry figures of half-moons and stars, the whole ending in a rude representation of the Mexican zodiac. He at once set about translating them; but in July, 1828, the translation was suspended in consequence of Martin Harris, one of the scribes, stealing 118 pages of manuscript, which have never been recovered. In April, 1829, the translation was resumed, Oliver Cowdery, whom John the Baptist came to the earth and ordained, acting as clerk. The ensuing year the "Book of Mormon" was published as a revelation from Heaven.



The Book of Mormon.

Mr. Thurlow Weed, late of the Albany (N. Y.) *Journal*, says in a letter published in the N. Y. *Herald* of July 29, 1858, that "the original impostor, Joe Smith, come to the writer only thirty-two years ago with the manuscript of this Mormon Bible to be printed. He then had but one follower, a respectable and wealthy farmer of the town of Macedon, who offered himself as security for the printing. But after reading a few chapters, it seemed such a jumble of unintelligible absurdities that we refused the work, advising Harris not to mortgage his farm and beggar his family. But Joe crossed over the way to our neighbor, Elihu F. Marshall, and got his Mormon Bible printed."

Without going farther into the history of this wonderful delusion, there is very good evidence for the statement that the real author of the "Book of Mormon" was Solomon Spalding, a Presbyterian clergyman of Ashford, Connecticut, who graduated at Dartmouth in 1785, and was ordained and preached for three or four years. Relinquishing the ministry, he engaged in mercantile business in Cherry Valley, New York, when, in 1809, he moved to Conneaut, Ohio, and finally, in 1814, to Amity, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1816. He wrote several novels, which he was in the habit of reading to his friends in manuscript, among them (in 1810-12) a romance of the migration of the ten lost tribes of Israel to America, maintaining the hypothesis that the American Indians are descended from the Hebrews.

Mr. Spalding intended to publish this fiction in book form, and placed it before his death in a printing office in Pittsburgh, with which Sidney Rigdon was connected, who copied it. The book was never published, and the original manuscript was returned to Spalding. After the appearance of "The Book of Mormon," Mr. Spalding's widow recognized its paternity, and on May 18th, 1839, in a card in the *Boston Journal*, published a statement in regard to its history.<sup>1</sup>

Having made a number of converts, Smith in 1831 moved to Kirtland, Ohio, and during the same year made a visit to Missouri in search of a location for "Zion"; found it at Independence, Jackson County; named the place "The New Jerusalem," and returned to Kirtland.

In 1832 Smith returned with many followers to Jackson County. They entered several thousand acres of land, mostly west of Independence, professed to own all things in common, though in reality their bishops and leaders owned everything (especially the land titles) and established a "Lord's Storehouse" in Independence, where the few monopolized the trade and earnings of the many. They published *The Evening Star*, (the first newspaper in the county) in which appeared weekly installments of "revelations" promising wonderful things to the faithful, and denouncing still more wonderful things against the ungodly Gentiles. The result was that the Gentiles threw the press and type into the Missouri River, tarred and feathered the Bishop and two others, on the public square at Independence, and otherwise maltreated the Saints, who retaliated upon their adversaries, "smiting them hip and thigh" at every good opportunity. On October 31st, 1833, a deadly encounter took place two miles east of Westport, in which two citizens and one

<sup>1</sup> See *American Encyclopedia*, 1875, Vol. XI, p. 833.

the deceased were turned over to an old acquaintance and neighbor, William O. Blanchard, of Boone County, who sent them to his widowed mother in that county.

Early in December, 1864, General Rosecrans was relieved of the command of the Missouri Department, and General Granville M. Dodge, of Iowa, appointed to succeed him.

The military operations in Missouri for the year 1864 were closed by the execution, in the old jail yard of St. Louis, (on the site of which now stands the Laclede-Bircher Hotel) on Monday, December 26th, 1864, of James M. Utz. He had been tried by a Military Commission, of which Colonel W. A. Barstow, of the Third Regiment of Cavalry, Wisconsin Volunteers, was president, and found guilty of "being a spy," "recruiting men for the Rebel army," and "carrying correspondence to Rebel enemies," and condemned to be hanged by the neck until dead, at such time and place as the General commanding the Department, (then General G. M. Dodge), might direct. General Dodge approved the sentence, and ordered it to be carried into execution at the time and place above stated, and it was done—Lieutenant-Colonel Gustavus Heinrichs, Superintendent and Inspector of Military Prisons, officiating at the solemn scene. Utz was born and raised near Bridgeton, St. Louis County, and at the time of his execution was twenty-six years old.

We have not space for an account of the closing conflicts of the rebellion in 1865. Suffice it to say, that on the 29th day of March, a terrific struggle of three days began between the two great armies before Petersburg, Virginia, at the close of which Lee's army was compelled to evacuate that place. On the night of April 2d, the Confederate forces and the members of the Confederate Government fled from Richmond, and on the following morning that city, as well as Petersburg, was entered by the Federal army. The warehouses of the Confederate capital were fired by the retreating soldiers, and a large part of the city was reduced to ashes. At length, on the 9th of April, finding escape from the hot pursuit of the Federal troops impossible, Lee surrendered what remained of the Army of Northern Virginia, about 26,000 men, to Grant, at Appomattox Court-house. This was the death-blow to the rebellion, and after four years of blood-shed, devastation and sorrow, the CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES WAS AT AN END.

On the 4th of April, President Lincoln, who had been at the headquarters of Grant for more than a week, made his appearance in Richmond, and, in the mansion of Jefferson Davis, the retreating President of the Southern Confederacy, publicly received many army officers and citizens.

Christ of Latter Day Saints. We give a faithful picture as it now stands to-day. It is a rude, old-fashioned, one-story frame building, with two rooms, situated about a quarter of a mile southwest of the temple site, which was in the middle of the town. An unusually large and clumsy stone chimney at the north end of the building is its distinguishing characteristic. Otherwise the structure is an exceedingly ordinary and common-place building, suggestive of anything rather than the residence of the founder of a mighty sect whose wonderful rise and progress constitute an era in the history of Missouri.

Under the influence of their missionaries, who were canvassing all the Eastern States and many parts of Europe, the young city of Far West promised much. Converts settled all over the county, and especially along the streams and belts of timber. Farm houses sprang up as if by magic, and the wilderness was in a few months transformed into an industrious and promising community. Their settlements extended into Livingston, Daviess and Clinton Counties, but Far West, their only town, was their commercial center, and became their county seat. In 1837, the Mormons began work on what was intended to be one of the most magnificent temples in the United States.

The town was laid out in blocks 396 feet square, and the streets were on a grand scale. The four principal avenues were each 132 feet wide, and all the others 82½ feet wide. These diverged at right angles from a public square in the center, designed as the site of a grand temple, which, however, was never built. In 1837, the cellar under the prospective temple was dug. The excavation, 120 by 80 feet in area, and 4 or 5 feet deep, was accomplished in about one-half of a day, more than 500 men being employed in the work, with no other means of removing the earth than hand-barrows. It is generally believed that on the 4th of July following, which was duly observed as a national holiday, the corner-stone of the temple was laid. This, however, is a mistake.

The prosperity of the Mormon settlement had drawn thither many good and industrious men, and also many desperadoes and thieves, who soon obtained full sway in their councils. They boldly declared that "the Lord had given the earth and the fullness thereof to His people," and that they were "His people," and consequently had the right to take whatsoever they pleased from the Gentiles. In pursuance of this declaration, bands of the more lawless of them strolled about the country, taking what they pleased. As they largely outnumbered the Gentiles, and as the county officers were mostly Mormons, they were

enabled to act with impunity until their lawless course excited the indignation of the other settlers, who, not being able to obtain justice in a lawful manner, also resorted to mob violence and retaliation in kind, until many a dark and unlawful deed was perpetrated on both sides.

It will be a matter of interest to many to know that among the Mormon residents at Far West was the widow of Morgan, the so-called exposé of the mysteries of Masonry, whose sudden disappearance from his home in New York, in the year 1826, created the suspicion of his having been abducted and murdered by certain over-zealous members of the craft. The excitement in that day, in reference to this mythical murder, was of a sufficiently grave and extensive character to result in the inauguration of a short-lived party in national politics, the leading characteristic of which was its opposition to Free Masonry.

The Mormons not only had a sad experience in the counties of Jackson and Caldwell, but also in Carroll, in the neighborhood of DeWitt, near the Missouri River. During the summer of 1838, a citizen of this village, by the name of Root, then a merchant there, and now a banker in Quincy, Illinois, sold a large number of lots to G. W. Hinkle and ——— Murdock, whom it was afterwards discovered were Mormon leaders, who came to Carroll county to establish a settlement of their order. De Witt being a good landing on the river, they regarded it as a convenient point from which to forward goods and immigrants to Far West. No sooner was it known that these new comers were Mormon leaders, coming into the country with the view of planting a colony, than great excitement arose in the sparse settlements then existing there. The settlers became alarmed for their own safety, and in July, 1838, a public meeting was held in Carrollton, which was addressed by Dr. W. W. Austin, Alex. C. Blackwell, Rev. Abbot Hancock, Rev. Sarchel Woods, Hiram Wilcoxson and others. No definite measures were adopted at this meeting, but at another held a few days afterward, it was with difficulty that portions of the people were restrained from making an immediate advance on the Mormon settlement at DeWitt. Assistance from neighboring counties was proffered to expel the Mormons from Carroll, and it was finally determined that their expulsion was a necessity. A committee of citizens was appointed, of which Sarchel Woods was made chairman, to notify Col. Hinkle of the course the people intended to pursue. Accordingly, on the following Monday, the committee visited DeWitt, where they met Col. Hinkle and a large number of his adherents. On being informed of their mission, Col. Hinkle drew his sword, and, defiantly flourishing it the air, threatened extermination to those who should attempt to disturb the

peace of himself and the Saints. To all of which the chairman, Rev. Mr. Woods, replied: "Colonel, put up your sword. I am an old pioneer, have heard the Indians yell, the wolves howl and the owls hoot, and am not alarmed at such demonstrations."

Before decisive measures were adopted for the expulsion of the Mormons at DeWitt, troubles broke out in Daviess County, and the people of Carroll were called upon for aid. During the existence of these troubles, and while the attention of the people was directed to the suppression of disorders in Daviess, Mormon recruits, by land and by water, poured into the town of DeWitt, and their wagons and tents completely filled the grove of timber below the town. An attack on this encampment and settlement was fixed for the 21st of September, 1838, and on that day, about 150 armed men bivouacked near the town. A conflict between the forces ensued, during which several scattering volleys were fired, but no serious casualty occurred. Nevertheless, a laughable incident happened to a Mr. Williams, who was struck in the mouth by a passing ball. Williams was of the Gentile force and an inveterate tobacco chewer, who was in the habit of always keeping a large quid between his under lip and teeth. A ball from the gun of one of the Saints entered the right side of his lip, and coming out on the left, carried with it the huge quid of tobacco, without breaking the skin in front of the mouth. The Mormons finally evacuated their works and fled to some log houses, in which they were comparatively safe from attack. The Carroll County forces likewise returned to their camp to await re-inforcements. Troops from Ray, Howard and Clay Counties soon arrived. Hiram Wilcoxson, who had been sent to Jackson County for a piece of artillery, arrived in due time with it on a wagon, and it was properly mounted ready for service. By this time the attacking force had increased to four or five hundred men. Congreve Jackson, of Howard County, was chosen Brigadier-General; Ebenezer Price, of Clay, Colonel; Singleton Vaughn, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Sarchel Woods, Major. Thus officered, the brigade, after ten days' discipline, were preparing for an assault upon the Mormon force.

Before the line of battle was formed and the onslaught made, however, Judge James Earickson and William F. Dunnica, two influential and reputable citizens of Howard County, reached General Jackson's camp and asked permission to intercede, with the view of adjusting the troubles without bloodshed. After a long parley, it was finally agreed that Judge Earickson might make the Mormons this proposition: That the citizens of Carroll County would purchase from the Mormons, at first cost, their

lots in DeWitt, and one or two tracts of land joining the town; that the Mormons should pay for all the cattle killed by them belonging to citizens; that the Mormons should load their wagons during the night and be ready to move by ten o'clock next morning, and that they agree to make no further attempt on their part at a settlement in Carroll County. Judge Earickson very properly thought the terms of pacification rather stringent; but as they were the best that could be obtained from the excited citizens, agreed to undertake the mission. He accordingly waited upon Colonel Hinkle and informed him of the object of his visit, and of the terms upon which a peaceful and bloodless settlement could be made. Colonel Hinkle was indignant, and expressed a determination to die on the hill rather than accede to such terms. Judge Earickson expostulated. Hinkle protested, the interview resulting in Earickson agreeing to remain during the night and hear his final answer in the morning.

A little after dark, Colonel Lyman Wight reached DeWitt with about a hundred Mormons. Their coming strengthened Hinkle's conviction that he could "hold the fort." Nevertheless, Judge Earickson called a council of the principal Mormons and informed them of the perils with which they were threatened. If one citizen of Carroll County should be killed, a hundred would fly to arms to avenge his blood. In the event of hostilities, so exasperated would be the people that he would not be responsible for the safety of the women and children. Colonel Hinkle becoming better informed of the dangers which threatened him, began to consider more dispassionately the force of the arguments, but Lyman Wight was opposed to any terms, and wanted to "fight it out on that line if it took all summer."

The forces under Jackson were determined to carry the Mormon position at all hazards the next morning; and before Judge Earickson returned next morning, Jackson's forces were in line and ready to advance. Despairing of peaceable settlement, a messenger was about to leave to notify Judge Earickson of the determination of the opposing force, and that all non-combatants must be moved by the Mormons to a place of safety. Just at this time, Judge Earickson made his appearance with the intelligence that Colonel Hinkle had accepted the terms, and that if commissioners should be sent to DeWitt to settle the manner in which the property would be paid for, they would be received in friendship. Commissioners were accordingly appointed—W. W. Austin, A. Hancock, A. C. Blackwell, Col. Vaughn, David Walker, and Benjamin Cooper on the part of the citizens; and James Earickson, William D. Swinney, and W. F. Dunnica of Howard County, to represent the Mormons.

In conformity to the agreement, the Mormons without delay loaded their property on wagons, and a long procession filed out of town for Far West, in Caldwell County—men, women, and children casting a sorrowful look behind them as they left forever the spot on which they hoped to build a large and prosperous city.

In less than a week the commissioners met at Glasgow and were ready to make a final settlement of all questions pertaining to the property. They were about proceeding to business, when a messenger reached them from Messrs. Joseph Dickson, Hiram Wilcoxson and others of Carrollton, bearing a letter to the effect that on the arrival of Col. Hinkle at Far West, the Mormon leaders of that place set aside his agreement, and avowed a determination to maintain possession of their property in Carroll County. The commissioners at once left Glasgow and reached Carrollton at midnight, it having been reported—which, however, turned out to be untrue—that a Mormon force was moving from Far West southward; and Carrollton, being unprotected, everything was in confusion there. Apprehending an attack upon the town, the merchants had packed their goods and books and sent them to places of safety. Many families were preparing to leave, and had moved their furniture and other household effects and concealed them in the adjacent woods. Col. William Claude Jones was endeavoring to organize two companies for home protection, but his efforts, in consequence of the demoralization which prevailed, were in vain.

Peace was finally restored. Whether the commissioners ever carried out the object of their appointment and adjusted the property balances between the citizens and the Mormons at De Witt, is not recorded.<sup>1</sup>

In 1838 the discord became so great, and the clamor for the expulsion of the Mormons from the State so imperative, that Governor Boggs issued a proclamation, ordering Major-General David R. Atchison to call out the militia of his division to put down the insurgents and enforce the laws. He called out a part of the 1st brigade of the Missouri State Militia, under command of General Alexander W. Doniphan, who proceeded at once to the seat of war. The militia were placed under the command of General John B. Clark, of Howard County. The Mormon forces, numbering about 1,000 men, were led by G. W. Hinkle. The first skirmish took place at Crooked River, in the south-western part of the county, where David Patten—"Captain Fear-not," as he called himself—the leader of the Danite Band or United Brothers of

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Blackwell's History of Carroll County, 1876.



Gideon, was killed. But the principal engagement was fought at Haughn's Mills, five miles south of the present site of Breckenridge. The Mormons of the eastern portion of the county had concentrated there and entrenched themselves in the mill and in the blacksmith shop, where the militia, numbering about 125 men, attacked and captured them. One militia man was wounded and 18 of the Mormons killed—some of them after their surrender,—and their bodies were thrown into a neighboring well on a farm owned at that time by Haughn. This land is now the property of James C. McCrary, Esq., of Kingston, to whom it was sold for a St. Louis party, by Nathan Cope, Esq., of Kingston. It was about fifteen and a half miles east of Far West. This bloody and sepulchral well was filled up by Charles Ross, Esq., now a resident of Kingston, who arrived on the spot just ten days after the tragic occurrence.

When the militia appeared at Far West, October, 1838, where the principal Mormon forces were gathered, Joe Smith surrendered, agreeing to General Doniphan's conditions, viz.: That they should deliver up their arms, surrender their prominent leaders for trial, and the remainder of the Mormons should, with their families, leave the State.

The leaders were taken before a court of inquiry at Richmond, Judge Austin A. King presiding. He remanded them to Daviess County, to await the action of the grand jury on a charge of treason against the State, and murder. The Daviess County jail being poor, they were confined at Liberty. Indictments for various offenses—treason, murder, robbery, receiving stolen goods, arson, resisting legal process, etc.,—were found against Joe Smith, Hiram Smith (Joe Smith's brother), Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, G. W. Hinkle, Caleb Baldwin, Parley P. Pratt,<sup>1</sup> Luman Gibbs (the basket-maker), Maurice Phelps, King Follett, Wm. Osburn, Arthur Morrison, Elias Higbee, J. Worthington, W. Voorheis, Jacob Gates and others. Sidney Rigdon was released on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The others requested a change of venue, and Judge King sent their cases to Boone County for trial. On their way to Columbia, under a military guard, Joe Smith effected his escape. It is claimed, and generally believed, that the guard was bribed.

On July 4th, 1839, P. P. Pratt and perhaps others, while the citizens of Columbia were attending some sort of an old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration on the opposite side of the town, knocked down

<sup>1</sup> Pratt was a Mormon Elder and a man of education. In 1856 he met a tragic death, near Fort Gibson. For an account, of it see conclusion of this chapter.

John M. Kelly, the jailor, when he opened the door to serve them with dinner, and escaped. Gibbs and some others were tried before David Todd, Circuit Judge, and acquitted. Hon. J. S. Rollins of Boone, and General A. W. Doniphan of Clay, defended them. The indictments were dismissed against all the others, by Circuit Attorney James M. Gordon, at the August term of the Court, 1840. In connection with the removal of the remainder of the Mormons, and according to the terms of the surrender, there were many terrible scenes. Many of the Mormons were poor, and had invested their all in lands from which they were about to be driven. Valuable farms were traded for an old wagon, a horse, a yoke of oxen, or anything offered that would furnish means of transportation. In many instances conveyances of lands were demanded and enforced at the muzzle of the pistol or the rifle. At this time there were about 5,000 inhabitants in Caldwell County, nearly 4,000 being Mormons, most of whom went to Nauvoo (meaning "The Beautiful"), in Illinois, where they afterwards built a magnificent temple.

In July, 1843, Jo. Smith pretended to receive a "revelation" authorizing polygamy. When the "revelation" became public, considerable indignation was felt in Nauvoo, and serious disturbances occurred, the ultimate result of which was that the Prophet and his brother Hiram, William Richards and John Taylor, were arrested on a charge of treason against the State and lodged in the Carthage, Illinois, jail. A short time after, it began to be rumored that some of the State officials were really desirous the two Smiths should escape, whereupon an armed mob of about one hundred men was organized, and near sunset was seen advancing stealthily, in single file, from the Nauvoo road, in the direction of the jail. Arriving at the jail, a conflict ensued with the guard during which several shots were fired. The guard was repulsed, and the victorious mob forced their way to the front door of the prison, and into the lower room. There was no hesitation; the excited and determined crowd instantly poured in a dark and threatening mass up the stairway which led to the room where the prisoners were confined. A volley was fired through the door, one shot of which inflicted a wound on Hiram Smith from which he instantly expired. The door was now forced, and the infuriated mob precipitated itself into the room, shouting and firing volley after volley. The contest was too fierce to continue long. Taylor was severely, and it was thought at the time, mortally wounded. The Prophet, Jo. Smith, was armed with a six-barreled pistol, with which he defended himself with a bravery inspired by desperation. Three times did he discharge his weapon, and every shot was effectual, wounding one

of his assailants mortally and two others slightly. A volley from the mob finally brought him lifeless to the floor.

Thus fell (June 27th, 1844) a martyr to licentiousness and ambition, the most corrupt, successful and wicked impostor of modern times. After Jo. Smith's death the "Council of Twelve Apostles" unanimously elected Brigham Young as his successor.

Parley P. Pratt, heretofore mentioned as escaping from the Columbia, Missouri, jail on July 4th, 1840, was a man of education, an author and a poet, and a Mormon elder of great influence among the "Saints." His violent death near Fort Gibson in 1856, was as tragic as Smith's, and under circumstances of thrilling interest. In the spring of 1856, Pratt seduced from her home the wife of Mr. H. H. McLean, a merchant of San Francisco, to make her his seventh wife. After her flight, the deserted husband sent his two children, a very interesting boy and girl, to his father-in-law in New Orleans. Some time afterward, the mother left Salt Lake, went to her parents in New Orleans, professed repentance and regret, and promised amendment, and by these means obtained possession of the children, and fled back to Utah with them. On discovering this, the doubly-injured father started in pursuit. He came to New York, heard of Pratt there and tracked him thence to St. Louis. There he lost him. Then he left for New Orleans, where he heard that his wife and children were going through Texas to Salt Lake: so he started to Texas. In his search he learned that his wife had assumed the name of Mrs. H. P. Parker. While traveling through Texas he contrived to intercept some letters which he found bearing the superscription of Mrs. Parker. Although written in cipher, Mr. McLean succeeded in discovering the key, and found the letters were from Pratt, and contained a request that the caravan with which Mrs. McLean and her children were traveling should go to the neighborhood of Fort Gibson, in the Cherokee nation. McLean started for Fort Gibson, assuming the name of Johnson. He made known his secret to the officers of the fort only. Here his vigilant and energetic pursuit of the fugitives was soon rewarded. He captured not only his wife and children, but the Mormon "Saint" who, in the name of religion, had enticed them from their home. The United States Marshal took them before Commissioner John B. Ogden for trial. The case awoke intense excitement at the time, and the populace clamored for vengeance on the wretch who had deliberately plotted the ruin of a prosperous and happy family.

The cyphered letters were produced in court, and Mr. McLean told such a pathetic story of his wrongs that Pratt only escaped lynching by

being concealed in the jail. Even the complainant himself became so enraged at one time during the trial, that, in the very court to which he had come for justice, he clutched his pistol to shoot Pratt then and there. Early next morning, the Mormon elder was dismissed, and left the place secretly, but McLean watched and pursued him, overtook him on the road, and killed him in his tracks. With his children McLean returned to New Orleans, and the wife having meanwhile become a raving maniac, was sent to an insane asylum.

It was this event, combined with the apprehended appointment of new territorial officers by the Government, and a desire to possess the valuable property of the train, that is reported to have led to the horrible massacre of more than one hundred Arkansas immigrants at Mountain Meadow, Utah, on September 15th, 1857, and for participation in which crime John D. Lee was tried, and on March 23d, 1877, shot to death on the very spot of the bloody slaughter. He lived with the Mormons during their residence at Far West.

The conduct of Governor Boggs in taking measures forcibly to drive the Mormons from the State in 1839, greatly exasperated them, and some of the leaders determined upon his assassination. With this view, Porter Rockwell, one of their number, came to Independence, the place of Governor Boggs' residence, in 1841, and under a false name engaged himself to groom a horse for Mr. Ward, where he remained for several months reconnoitering the situation and waiting for an opportunity to accomplish his diabolical purpose. Finally it came. Rockwell, as it was alleged and believed at the time, armed himself with a pistol, and stealthily made his way after night to the residence of Governor Boggs in the suburbs of the town, and, while the Governor was sitting in his family room with his back to a window, fired through it at the head of his unsuspecting victim. Fortunately, the bullet did not penetrate the skull, and although it inflicted a stunning and dangerous wound, it did not prove fatal.

Circumstances strongly pointing to Rockwell, *alias* Brown, as the would-be assassin, he was arrested on the charge, but the grand jury of Jackson County failed to find an indictment against him for this offence, but did indict him on the charge of attempting to break jail while under arrest, and in prison awaiting the action of the grand jury. Under a change of venue to Clay County, he was afterwards tried and acquitted, and left for Nauvoo, and now lives in one of the Southern Counties of Utah. Geo. W. Dunn, of Richmond, then circuit attorney, now circuit judge, prosecuted Rockwell, and Col. A. W. Doniphan defended him.

Some years after this event Governor Boggs moved to Napa City, California, where he now resides.

By the act of Congress of March 6th, 1820, to authorize the people of Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, it was provided that thirty-six sections or one entire township of land (46,080 acres), which should be designated by the President of the United States, shall be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning, and vested in the Legislature of said State to be appropriated solely to the use of such seminary by the Legislature. The President having designated the lands mentioned, in conformity to the act of Congress, the General Assembly, on December 31st, 1830, passed an act making provision for the sale of the seminary lands, after six months' previous notice in the several newspapers published in the State; upon the condition, however, that the same should not be sold for a less price than two dollars per acre. Land districts were established, and sales of the public and seminary lands were made at Independence, Palmyra and Benton, during the fall of 1831. By an act passed January 17th, 1831, 80 acres of the seminary lands adjoining Independence, Jackson County, were laid off in lots and annexed to said town. And in December, 1832, said lots were offered for sale, to the highest bidder; on the condition, however, that no lot of one acre or less should be sold for less than \$10.00, nor any lot of more than one acre, for less than \$5.00, per acre. Sales of the seminary lands in the various districts were also made in 1833, and after May 1st, 1835, by private entry, in the same manner, at the same price, and under the same regulations as the United States lands were then disposed of, at private sales. The commissioners appointed to superintend the sales of the seminary lands were obligated by law to pay into the State Treasury all moneys received by them from said sales, the Treasurer to keep the same as a distinct fund for the purposes for which said lands were accepted by the State.

The moneys arising from the sales of seminary lands, and on deposit in the State Treasury, having reached, independent of expenses, the sum of about \$70,000, the Legislature of 1838-9 entered upon the responsible duty of providing by law for the location of a State University, or seminary of learning, and for its institution, government and support. Accordingly, by an act approved February 8th, 1839,<sup>1</sup> five commissioners were appointed to select a site for the State

<sup>1</sup> Introduced by Hon. James S. Rollins, a member of the House from Boone County.

University, the said commissioners being Peter H. Burnett of Clay, Chancey Durkee of Lewis, Archibald Gamble of St. Louis, John G. Bryan of Washington, and John S. Phelps of Greene. The act provided the site should contain at least fifty acres of land, in a compact form, within two miles of the county seat of the county of Cole, Cooper, Howard, Boone, Callaway or Saline.

It was made the duty of the commissioners to meet in the city of Jefferson on the first Monday of June, 1839, and thereafter at such times as they might appoint at the county seat of each county mentioned, to receive conveyances of land and subscriptions of money, to be void if the University was not located at the county seat of the county in which they were made.

After visiting all the county seats and receiving bids as aforesaid, the commissioners were to return to the seat of government and open the bids; "and the place presenting most advantages to be derived to said University, keeping in view the amount subscribed and locality and general advantages, shall be entitled to its location."

In three of the six counties mentioned, to-wit, Boone, Callaway and Howard, the contest for the location of the University was very spirited and exciting. With a view of arousing the people to the importance of the subject, frequent public meetings were held in each township, and addresses made by the most influential and popular orators. Subscriptions of land and money were freely and generally made, and on the 24th of June, 1839, the commissioners met at Jefferson City, opened all the bids, and located the University of Missouri at Columbia, in the county of Boone, the bid of said county amounting to \$117,921, or \$18,767 larger than any other county. The following is a copy of the award:

"The commissioners appointed by law to select a site for the State University have agreed unanimously in the choice of Boone County for its location. Given under our hands at the City of Jefferson this 24th day of June, in the year 1839.

JOHN GANO BRYAN,	CH. DURKEE,
ARCHIBALD GAMBLE,	PETER H. BURNETT,
JOHN S. PHELPS.	

The corner stone of the University edifice at Columbia was laid on the 4th of July, 1840, with imposing ceremonies, and an address by Hon. James L. Minor, then and now (1877) an honored citizen of Jefferson City.

## CHAPTER XXII.

FROM 1840 TO 1850.—THE ELECTIONS FROM 1840 TO 1850.—CHARACTERISTICS AND ENTHUSIASM OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1840.—ROCHEPORT CONVENTION.—RESULT OF THE ELECTION.—SUICIDE OF GOVERNOR REYNOLDS.—THE GREAT FRESHET OF 1844.—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1845.—THE MEXICAN WAR.—“THE ST. LOUIS LEGION.” COLONEL A. R. EASTON.—PUBLIC MEETING.—“ARMY OF THE WEST,” GENERAL S. W. KEARNEY.—FIRST REGIMENT MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS UNDER COLONEL A. W. DONIPHAN.—BATTLES OF BRAZITO AND SACRAMENTO.—TRIUMPHANT ENTRANCE INTO CHIHUAHUA.—COLONEL STERLING PRICE’S REGIMENT.—HIS MARCH TO SANTA FE.—BATTLES OF CANADA, EL EMBUDO AND TAOS.—COLONEL JOHN RALLS’ REGIMENT.—BATTLE OF SANTA CRUZ DE ROSALES.—GREAT ST. LOUIS FIRE OF MAY 1849.—TWENTY-THREE STEAMERS BURNED AND \$3,000,000 OF PROPERTY DESTROYED.—“THE JACKSON RESOLUTIONS” PASS THE LEGISLATURE.—VOTE ON THEM IN EACH HOUSE.—COLONEL BENTON’S APPEAL FROM AND CANVASS AGAINST THEM.—EXCITEMENT HIS COURSE PRODUCED.

For the sake of conciseness and convenience, we give in tabular form below a record of the various elections held in the State from 1840 to 1850:

### *Election of 1840—For Governor—*

Thomas Reynolds, Democrat.....	29,625
John B. Clark, Whig.....	22,212

Reynolds’ Majority over Clark.....	7,413
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M. M. Marmaduke elected Lieutenant-Governor.

Whole number of votes cast.....	51,837
Total population of the State in 1840.....	381,102
Total population of St. Louis in 1840.....	16,469

### *Election for President, 1840—*

Martin Van Buren, Democrat.....	29,760
Wm. H. Harrison, Whig.....	22,972

Van Buren’s Majority.....	6,788
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### *Election of 1844—For Governor—*

John C. Edwards, Democrat.....	36,978
Charles H. Allen, Independant.....	31,357

Edwards’ Majority over Allen.....	5,621
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James Young elected Lieutenant-Governor.

Whole number of votes cast.....	78,335
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### *Election for President, 1844—*

James K. Polk, Democrat.....	41,369
Henry Clay, Whig.....	31,251

Polk’s Majority over Clay.....	10,118
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*Election of 1848—For Governor—*

Austin A. King, Democrat.....	48,921
James S. Rollins, Whig.....	33,968
King's Majority over Rollins.....	14,953
Thomas L. Price, elected Lieutenant-Governor.	
Whole number of votes cast.....	82,889

*Election for President, 1848—*

Lewis Cass, Democrat.....	40,077
Zachary Taylor, Whig.....	32,671
Cass's Majority over Taylor.....	7,406

The Presidential canvass of 1840, Martin Van Buren of New York being the Democratic, and William Henry Harrison of Ohio the Whig candidate, excited unexampled interest and enthusiasm in every State in the Union. In the closely contested States the people seemed to abandon all business, and devote their entire time and energies to the pending election. Mass conventions of unprecedented numbers were held, in some instances remaining in session for several days, which were addressed by distinguished speakers whose object seemed to be to influence the popular enthusiasm and carry the election by music, banners, processions and stump oratory. Some of the Whig out-door meetings in the Ohio Valley numbered a hundred thousand and were addressed by General Harrison in person. At these monster assemblages miniature log cabins and veritable coons and hard cider were displayed, and campaign songs sung, exciting the wildest enthusiasm; so that the contest took the name of the "Log Cabin, Coon Skin and Hard Cider Campaign."

To counteract the influence of these meetings and the party paraphernalia employed to captivate the masses, the friends of Mr. Van Buren held their conventions also, and, invoking the name and influence of "Old Hickory," who ardently supported him for the presidency, adopted hickory boughs and the chicken-cock as their party emblems, the former gracefully waving and the latter defiantly crowing everywhere.

The Whigs and Democrats of Missouri caught the prevailing enthusiasm and conducted the canvass with unusual spirit. Mass conventions, accompanied by the splendid pageantry of processions, brilliant banners and martial music, to say nothing of political discussions unexcelled in fervid eloquence, abounded everywhere. The State was wild with excitement, and many and interesting and graphic are the scenes which our older citizens are able to recall of the campaign of 1840.



The most memorable, because the largest and most elaborately prepared convention of the contest in Missouri, was the Whig convention, held at Rocheport, in Boone County, in June of that year. Its place of meeting was on the hill east of the town, in a dense grove of sugar trees, where three speakers' stands were erected, and where for three days and nights the friends of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" held high carnival, and bid defiance to the absent hosts of Van Buren and Johnson. During its session, the assembled thousands were addressed by Chilton Allen of Kentucky, Fletcher Webster (a son of Daniel Webster), General A. W. Doniphan, James H. Birch, Abiel Leonard, James S. Rollins, Colonel John O'Fallon, James Winston, George C. Bingham and others.

Nevertheless, the Democrats—as usual—carried the State, electing Thomas Reynolds Governor over John B. Clark, and the Van Buren over the Harrison Electors, by about 7,500 majority. John Miller and John C. Edwards were also elected to Congress over E. M. Samuel and George C. Sibley.

The xith General Assembly met November 16th, 1840, and organized by electing Sterling Price Speaker of the House, by a majority of 14.

The xiiith General Assembly met in November, 1842, M. M. Marmaduke, Lieutenant-Governor, being President of the Senate, and Hampton L. Boone, Secretary. Sterling Price was re-elected Speaker. Lewis F. Linn was re-elected to the United States Senate, but did not long survive the election, for on October 3d, 1843, he died suddenly at his residence in Ste. Genevieve, aged 48 years. Governor Reynolds appointed David R. Atchison to fill his place.

In February, 1844, the State was startled by the intelligence that on Friday morning the 9th of that month, in his office in the Executive Mansion in Jefferson City, Governor Reynolds committed suicide by shooting himself through the head with a rifle. After breakfasting with his family as usual, except that for the first time in his life he asked a blessing at table, he went into his office in the northern wing of the Mansion, locked the door and closed the shutter, where he was discovered a few minutes afterwards, by one of the servants, lying on the floor dead and weltering in his own blood. A rifle, with a string tied to the trigger, was lying beside him, with the end of the string clenched in his right hand. The ball entered his forehead between the eyes, and he died almost instantly. For several months he had been in very poor health, but was much better within the previous week, yet his illness and domestic troubles had affected his mind to a considerable extent and seated a

deep melancholy upon him. The following note, addressed to Colonel W. G. Minor, in the Governor's own handwriting, was found on his table sealed with a wafer :

"In every situation in which I have been placed, I have labored to discharge my duty faithfully to the public, But this has not protected me for the last twelve months from the slanders and abuse of my enemies, which has rendered my life a burden to me. I pray God to forgive them and teach them more charity.

"My will is in the hands of Jas. L. Minor, Esq. Farewell.

"February 9, 1844.

TH. REYNOLDS."

Governor Reynolds was a native of Kentucky, and previous to his removal to Fayette, Howard County, in 1828, resided in Illinois, where he was elevated to the Supreme bench. In Missouri he was successively a member of the Legislature, Speaker of the House, Circuit Judge and Governor, which offices he filled with marked ability, for he was a man of far more than ordinary talents.

A most remarkable and disastrous rise in the Missouri, Mississippi and Illinois Rivers occurred in 1844. About the 8th or 10th of June, the river commenced to rise rapidly at St. Louis, while intelligence was received of the rising of the Illinois and Missouri rivers. The levee was soon covered, and by the 16th the curbstones of Front street were under water, and the danger to property and business became quite alarming. At first it was regarded as merely the usual "June rise," but the continued expansion of the flood soon convinced the inhabitants of its unprecedented and alarming character. Illinoistown and Brooklyn (now known as East St. Louis) were nearly submerged, the occupants of the houses being driven to the upper stories. The American Bottom was a turbid sea. The town of Naples, Illinois, was inundated, boats plying in the streets; and from all places on the rivers came intelligence of heavy losses of stock and property, and the surface of the Mississippi was nearly covered with immense masses of drift, trees and other substances torn from the shores.

All the lowlands along the Missouri River were overflowed and many farms were ruined. Houses, barns and fences were swept away, and in many instances human lives were lost. In others, human beings clung to floating dwellings or immense piles of drift-wood, and some of them were rescued by passing boats or by aid improvised specially to save them. The front streets of many of the towns were completely submerged. As reports reached St. Louis that the inhabitants of the

towns and villages, and other places on the rivers, were in danger, active measures were taken for their relief. Captain Saltmarsh, of the steamer *Monona*, particularly distinguished himself by offering the use of his boat gratis. Between four and five hundred persons in St. Louis and vicinity were driven from their homes, and great distress prevailed. To procure means to alleviate this, a meeting of citizens was held in front of the Court-House, and several committees appointed to obtain subscriptions, and quite a large amount was collected. The river reached its greatest height in St. Louis on the 24th of June, when it was seven feet seven inches above the city directrix. A few days before this, the glad intelligence was received that the Upper Missouri and Illinois were falling, but the effect was not immediately evident in St. Louis, and the water did not reach the city directrix in its abatement until the 14th of July. The rise of 1844 obtained a greater elevation than any previous similar event. The great flood of 1785, known as *L'annee des Grandes Eaux*, was surpassed, as were also the floods of 1811 and 1826.

At the August election of 1845, sixty-six members were chosen by the people to a convention to remodel the Constitution. Representation under the old Constitution, which allowed each county at least one representative, and limited the whole number to one hundred members in the lower branch of the General Assembly, had become very unequal. Chiefly to remedy this irregularity, but at the same time for other purposes, the convention was called.

It convened at Jefferson City, on November 17th, 1845, and organized by the election of Robert W. Wells as President; Claiborne F. Jackson, Vice-President; and R. Walker, Secretary. The following is a list of members of the Covention:

- 1st District.—Edwin D. Bevitt and John D. Coalter.
- 2d.—Ezra Hunt and James O. Broadhead.
- 3d.—Joshua Gentry and Thomas L. Anderson.
- 4th.—James S. Green and James L. Jones.
- 5th.—John C. Griffin and Moses H. Simonds.
- 6th.—Joseph B. Nickel and James M. Fulkerson.
- 7th.—Jonathan M. Bassett and Robert M. Stewart.
- 8th.—John E. Pitt, Daniel Branstetter, Thompson Ward, and Roland Brown.
- 9th.—William Y. Slack and Hiram Wilcoxson.
- 10th.—Claiborne F. Jackson and Lisbon Applegate.
- 11th.—Hancock Jackson and Elias Kincheloe.
- 12th.—David M. Hickman and John F. Stone.
- 13th.—Benjamin Young and A. O. Forshey.
- 14th.—Robert W. Wells and James W. Morrow.

- 15th.—Charles Jones and Joseph B. Wells.
- 16th.—James Farquhar, Philip Pipkin, William B. Pannell, and William M. Davis.
- 17th.—Thomas M. Horine and Corbin Alexander.
- 18th.—David Porter and Franklin Cannon.
- 19th.—Abraham Hunter and Robert Gibbony.
- 20th.—John Buford and Theodore F. Tong.
- 21st.—Thomas B. Neaves and Burton A. James.
- 22d.—William C. Jones and Benjamin F. Massey.
- 23d.—Robert E. Acock and Samuel H. Bunch.
- 24th.—John McHenry and Aaron Finch.
- 25th.—Duke W. Simpson, Nathaniel C. Mitchell, Thompson M. Ewing, and Samuel H. Woodson.
- 26th.—M. M. Marmaduke and William Shields.
- 27th.—F. W. G. Thomas and Charles M. Brooking.
- 28th.—William M. Campbell, Frederic Hyatt, Truett Polk, Miron Leslie, Joseph Foster and Uriel Wright.

The convention, as will be readily seen by the above, was composed of some of the most able and distinguished men of the State.

It continued in session from November 17th, 1845, to January 14th, 1846, during which time the whole organic law was reviewed and in many material respects remodeled. The convention adopted—ayes 49, nays 13—a new constitution, and submitted it to the people for their ratification or rejection. During the canvass it was very generally discussed by the newspapers and candidates; and finally, at the August election, rejected by about 9,000 majority, the whole number of votes cast being about 60,000.

The annexation of Texas was the alleged cause of the declaration of war by Mexico against the United States in April 1846; but the more immediate cause of it was the occupation by the American army of the disputed territory lying between the rivers Nueces and Rio Grande.

The declaration of war by Mexico was soon followed by a counter-declaration by the American Congress, that "a state of war exists between Mexico and the United States." Soon after this counter-declaration, the Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande in strong force, headed by their famous Generals Arista and Ampudia, and on the 8th and 9th of May, at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, were met and repulsed with great slaughter by General Taylor, of the "Army of Occupation." This fact created great excitement in St. Louis and the surrounding country. Volunteers flocked to the standard of the United States, and the "St. Louis Legion," a military organization under command of Colonel A. R. Easton, quickly prepared for the field of action. In the meantime supplies were being raised for them by liberal subscriptions all over the city. At a public

meeting, Colonel J. B. Brant subscribed \$1,000, and James H. Lucas, Bryan Mullanphy, Benjamin Stickney and many others made generous additions to the amount already donated. In a few days the "Legion" departed for the seat of war, under the command of Colonel Easton. Prior, however, to the final farewells, they received a grand public ovation, which clearly demonstrated the deep interest of all the citizens in their welfare.

About the middle of May, 1846, Governor Edwards of Missouri called for volunteers to join the "Army of the West,"—an expedition to Santa Fe—under command of General Stephen W. Kearney. Corps of mounted volunteers were speedily organized, and early in June began to arrive at Fort Leavenworth, the appointed rendezvous. By the 18th of the month, the full complement of companies to compose the first regiment having arrived from the counties of Jackson, Lafayette, Clay, Saline, Franklin, Cole, Howard and Callaway, an election was held, which resulted in the choice of Alexander W. Doniphan, Colonel; C. F. Ruff, Lieutenant-Colonel; and William Gilpin, Major.

The battalion of light artillery from St. Louis was commanded by Captains R. A. Weightman and A. W. Fischer, with Major M. L. Clark as its field officer; battalions of infantry from Platte and Cole Counties commanded by Captains Murphy and W. Z. Augney, respectively; "Laclede Rangers," from St. Louis, Captain Thomas B. Hudson—in all, 1,658 men, 16 pieces of ordnance (12 six-pounders and 4 twelve-pound howitzers), under the command of General Kearney. We cannot follow this command through the great solitudes between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe, which place it reached on August 18th; nor in its heroic and successful descent upon Chihuahua under the command of Colonel Doniphan,—General Kearney having left for the Pacific coast. Suffice to say that the battles of Brazito and Sacramento will ever be remembered in history for the valor displayed by the "Army of the West" from Missouri.

The battle of Brazito, or "Little Arm" of the Rio Del Norte, December 25th, 1846, on a level prairie bordering on that stream, was very disastrous to the Mexicans. Colonel Doniphan commanded the Missouri troops in person, numbering only about 800 men. The Mexicans, under General Ponce de Leon, mustered, cavalry and artillery, 1,100 strong. The Mexicans were defeated with a loss of 61 killed—among whom was their General—five prisoners, and 150 wounded. The Americans had eight wounded, none killed. Two days after the battle of Brazito, that is, on Sunday, December 27th, 1846, the United States

forces under command of Colonel Doniphan took possession of the city of El Paso, in the department of Chihuahua.

On the 28th of February, 1847, Colonel Doniphan, with 924 men and ten pieces of artillery, fought and vanquished in the pass of the Sacramento, 4,000 Mexicans under Major-General Jose A. Heredia, aided by General Garcia Conde, former Minister of War in Mexico. The battle lasted more than three hours, resulting in a Mexican loss of 304 men killed on the field, 40 prisoners, (among whom was Brigadier-General Cuilta,) and about 500 wounded. Also, 10 pieces of artillery, \$6,000 in specie, 50,000 head of sheep, 1,500 head of cattle, 100 mules, 20 wagons, etc. The American loss was one killed—Major Samuel C. Owens of Independence—and 11 wounded; among the latter, severely, J. S. Fleming, of Columbia.

Colonel Doniphan did not, like Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ, loiter on the plains of Italy, when he might have entered Rome in triumph, but immediately followed up his success. Therefore, early on the next morning, (March 1st, 1847,) he dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel D. D. Mitchell with 150 men, under Captains Reid and Weightman, and a section of artillery, to take formal possession of the city of Chihuahua, the capital, and occupy it in the name of the Government. On the approach of this force the Mexicans fled from the city, leaving it undefended, and Colonel Mitchell entered it without the slightest resistance. On the morning of the next day, Colonel Doniphan, with all his military trains, the merchant caravan, and colors gaily glittering in the breeze, triumphantly entered the city to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia," and fired in the public square a national salute of 28 guns.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the summer of 1846, Hon. Sterling Price, a member of Congress from Missouri, resigned, and was designated by President Polk to command another regiment of Volunteers from Missouri, to reinforce the "Army of the West." This force consisted of a full mounted regiment, one mounted extra battalion, and one extra battalion of Mormon infantry. The complement of men was soon raised, consisting of companies from the counties of Boone,<sup>2</sup> Benton, Carroll, Chariton, Linn, Livingston,

<sup>1</sup> "Doniphan's Expedition," by John T. Hughes, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> The number of troops ordered from Boone County, was seventy-four. Eighty-three, however, were raised. A few of the volunteers from Boone had previously gone with Doniphan's expedition, under Captain Rogers, from Callaway. The following are the names of the officers of the Boone company: Captain, Samuel H. McMillin; First Lieutenant, William B. Royall; Second Lieutenant, Robert B. Todd; Third Lieutenant, George

Monroe, Randolph, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis; and about the first of August rendezvoused at Fort Leavenworth. Notwithstanding the President had named Sterling Price as a suitable commander of this (the 2d) regiment, many of the volunteers thought, if he commanded at all, it ought to be by virtue of their free suffrages, choosing him as Colonel. An election was accordingly held. Sterling Price was elected Colonel, and D. D. Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel.

With this force, Colonel Price took up the line of march for Santa Fe, over the same route pursued by Kearney and Doniphan, and on September 28th, three days after General Kearney's departure for California, arrived in very feeble health.

On January 24, 1847, Colonel Price encountered the enemy at Canada, numbering about 2,000 men, under Generals Tofaya, Chavez and Montaya, and repulsed them with a slight loss on both sides. The Mexicans retreated toward Taos, their stronghold. He again encountered them at El Embudo on the 29th, totally routing them. On February 3d, he found the Mexicans and Indians strongly fortified at Taos, and on the following day engaged them with shot and shell, the battle raging from early morning until night, when the Mexicans struck their colors. The total loss of the enemy in the three engagements is estimated at 282 killed. Price's loss, 15 killed and 47 wounded—among the former Captain Burgwin, of the dragoons, a gallant officer, whose remains were afterwards exhumed and interred at Fort Leavenworth, September 22d, 1847.

In August, 1847, Governor Edwards made another requisition for one thousand men, to consist of infantry, to be ready to march close in the rear of Colonel Price's command. It was raised in an incredibly short time, and chose Major John Dougherty, of Clay, for Colonel; but before the receipt of marching orders, the President countermanded the order under which the force was mustered.

E. Lackland. The company left Columbia on July 20th, 1846. On the day of their departure they were presented with an elegant flag by the ladies of Boone County, the presentation address being made by Colonel Samuel A. Young, and responded to by Lieutenant Robert B. Todd, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens.

Returning from the war, Captain McMillin's company arrived in Columbia on September 22d, 1847, having been absent about fourteen months. They were appropriately and enthusiastically received. On October 9th, 1847, a public dinner was given them, when a procession was formed and a display of military made, and an address of welcome delivered by Dr. John J. Atkinson, which was replied to by Mr. James P. Fleming, one of the volunteers.

W. B. Royall, Second Lieutenant, has been in the U. S. Army ever since, and is now Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3d Cavalry, U. S. A.

"Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri," in its article on Ralls County, (p. 464) says that a company of mounted volunteers was raised in Ralls, by authority of Governor Edwards, to serve during the Mexican War. It was commanded by Captain Wm. T. Lafland, mustered into the United States service at Independence, Missouri, about May, 1847, and served during the entire war. They operated as far into the Mexican States as El Paso, Chihuahua, and Santa Cruz De Rosales, at which latter place, March 16th, 1848, this and six other companies of the 3rd regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, Colonel John Ralls<sup>1</sup> commanding, and two companies of United States Dragoons under the command of Major Beal, also the Santa Fe Battalion under the command of Major Walker, constituting a force of about six hundred men, fought a battle with the Mexicans under General Freas, who were in the town and sheltered by breastworks. The engagement lasted from nine o'clock A. M. until about sundown, when the place was charged, and the Mexicans defeated with a loss of three hundred and thirty killed, many wounded, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, wagons, teams, etc. The United States troops and volunteers then occupied the town, the Mexicans having surrendered a large number of prisoners, who were released the next day on parole.

In a few days after this battle, all the American forces returned to Chihuahua, where they remained until the close of the war, except seven companies of the 3d Regiment, who were stationed at Santa Cruz de Rosales, and occupied that post until the end of the war. In July, 1848, these companies were ordered to Independence, Missouri, and mustered out in October, 1848. The other three companies of that regiment were stationed at Taos, in New Mexico, during their term, and never joined their regiment until they were mustered out with it at Independence, Missouri. These three companies had been under the command of Major Reynolds, who died on his return, in October, 1848, at Fort Mann, below the crossing of the Arkansas River.

May, 1849, will long be remembered as the month of the great fire in the city of St. Louis. On the evening of the 19th of that month, a fire broke out on the steamer "White Cloud," lying on the wharf between Vine and Cherry streets, and set at defiance every effort to arrest its progress. The flames very soon communicated to four other

<sup>1</sup> Son of Daniel Ralls, by whose vote on his death-bed, in the Legislature of 1820, Colonel Benton was first elected to the United States Senate. See page 168.



boats lying contiguous. By the action of the fire, the "White Cloud" became loosened from her fastenings, and drifted out into the stream and among the other steamers in port. In a short time the spectacle presented itself of twenty-three boats on fire. The immense conflagration was a mile in length. The levee being covered with combustible materials—bales, barrels, boxes, etc.,—the fire reached the city and whole blocks were swept away. The area of the burnt district will be understood by the statement that Front street, from Locust to Market, was entirely destroyed, with the exception of two or three houses on Commercial street. Between Commercial and the levee, there was not one left. In this immense conflagration there were twenty-three steamboats, three barges and one canal boat destroyed, whose total value with their cargoes was estimated at \$439,000. The whole value of property destroyed amounted to over \$3,000,000.

The xvith General Assembly, which convened at the capitol December 25, 1848,—Thomas L. Price, President of the Senate, Alexander M. Robinson, Speaker of the House—made a record which will not soon be forgotten. Not that there was anything unusual in the internal improvement, bank, educational, revenue or taxing policy it adopted, but that it was distinguished, and will only be remembered, for breaking up the great deep of public feeling in the State by the passage of the "Jackson Resolutions," a proceeding which professed to have been inspired by the introduction of the famous Wilmot-Anti-Slavery Proviso into the preceding Congress.

As the passage of these Resolutions occasioned a serious breach in the dominant political party in the State, and gave rise to the most exciting and acrimonious public discussions up to that time known in its history, it is proper the record should be preserved in this enduring form.

"The Wilmot Proviso," so called because introduced into the previous Congress by Hon. David Wilmot, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, interdicted the introduction of slavery into the recently-acquired territories. The Proviso revived with much violence, in Congress and out of Congress, the slavery agitation. The people of the Southern States were much alarmed for the security of their "peculiar institution," and felt the keenest apprehensions that by the future admission of new States, devoted forever to free soil, they would lose their dominance in the National Legislature, and thus become an easy prey to the designs of the Abolitionists. It was quite natural that a large portion of the people of Missouri, without regard to political party distinctions, should

share these convictions with varying degrees of intensity. Some, it is true, were so wedded to the institution of slavery that rather than abandon it in Missouri, even through the process of gradual emancipation, or submit to an act of Congress prohibiting it in the territories, they seemed willing to abandon, and even to adopt measures to disrupt, the National Union itself.

The agitation of the vexed question in the xvith General Assembly was inaugurated by the introduction, January 1, 1849, by Carty Wells, a Democratic Senator from Marion, of a series of resolutions, seven in number, on the subject of the power of Congress over slavery in the territories, the nature and object of the Federal Government, and the Wilmot Proviso; which was referred to the Senate Committee on Federal Relations.

On January 15th, Claiborne F. Jackson, Senator from Howard, reported from this committee to the Senate the following, being a modification of the series introduced by Mr. Wells, namely:

RESOLUTIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

*"Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri:* That the Federal Constitution was the result of a compromise between the conflicting interests of the States which formed it, and in no part of that instrument is to be found any delegation of power to Congress to legislate on the subject of Slavery, excepting some special provisions, having in view the prospective abolition of the African slave trade, made for the securing the recovery of fugitive slaves; any attempt, therefore, on the part of Congress to legislate on the subject, so as to affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories, is, to say the least, a violation of the principles upon which that instrument was founded.

2. That the Territories, acquired by the blood and treasure of the whole nation, ought to be governed for the common benefit of the people of all the States, and any organization of the Territorial governments, excluding the citizens of any part of the Union from removing to such Territories with their property, would be an exercise of power, by Congress, inconsistent with the spirit upon which our federal compact was based, insulting to the sovereignty and dignity of the States thus affected, calculated to alienate one portion of the Union from another, and tending ultimately to disunion.

3. That this General Assembly regard the conduct of the Northern States on the subject of Slavery as releasing the slave-holding States from all further adherence to the basis of compromise fixed on by the act of Congress of March 6th, 1820; even if such act ever did impose any obligation upon the slave-holding States, and authorizes them to insist upon their rights under the Constitution; but for the sake of harmony and for the preservation of our Federal Union, they will still sanction the application of the principles of the Missouri Compromise to the recent territorial acquisitions, if by such concession future aggressions upon the equal rights of the States may be arrested and the spirit of anti-slavery fanaticism be extinguished.

4. The right to prohibit slavery in any Territory, belongs exclusively to the people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their Constitution for a State Government, or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State.

5. That in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri will be found in hearty co-operation with the slave-holding States, in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism.

6. That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives be requested to act in conformity to the foregoing resolutions."

On the 26th of January, the resolutions were taken up in the Senate, severally read, and acted upon separately. Resolution No. 1 was passed: yeas 24, nays 6; the nays being, John H. Bean of Macon, William M. Campbell of St. Charles, Miron Leslie and Alton Long of St. Louis, Preston B. Reed of Callaway, and James S. Rollins of Boone. No. 2 was passed—yeas 25, nays 5, Mr. Bean changing his vote to aye. No. 3 was passed—yeas 23, nays 7, Mr. James M. Gatewood of Henry, voting with nays as on No. 1. No. 4 was passed—yeas 23, nays 6; the nays being the same as on No. 1. Nos. 5 and 6: the vote same as on No. 4, as follows:<sup>1</sup>

*Ayes*—Messrs. Abernathy, Burns, Chiles, Edwards, Ellison, Flournoy, Hancock, Hudspeth, Jackson, Jones of Cooper, Jones of Franklin, Jones of Newton, Nickel, Norris, Owens, Polk, Price, Priest, Stewart, Wells, Williams, Woolfolk and Wyatt—23.

*Noes*—Messrs. Bean, Campbell, Leslie, Long, Reed and Rollins—6.

*Absent*—Messrs. Gatewood and White—2.

*Absent on Leave*—Messrs. Burtis and Lowe—2.

The resolutions having passed the Senate were reported to the House for its concurrence, and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. On the 26th of February, George C. Bingham,<sup>2</sup> from a majority of said committee, namely: George C. Bingham of Saline, Isaac N. Jones of Andrew, Henry M. Woodyard of Lewis, and H. B. Duncan of Mercer, reported a substitute for the Senate resolutions, in which there was a reiteration of the patriotic sentiments of Washington as to the sacredness of the duty to cherish an immovable attachment to the National Union; to watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, to discountenance even the suggestion that it could in any event be abandoned, and indignantly to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest. The resolutions conceded the Constitutional authority of Congress to inhibit slavery in the Territories, but believed that in exercising such power they should have a due regard to the rights and interests of every section of the Union, and should be

<sup>1</sup> (See Senate Journal, 1848-9, pp. 175, 176.)

<sup>2</sup> Well known as the distinguished Missouri artist, and Adjutant-General during Governor Hardin's administration.

governed by the same wise and patriotic spirit of compromise which actuated the framers of the Constitution. They denied the power of Congress to enact laws affecting the institution of slavery as it exists in any of the States of the Union, and denounced all attempts by persons, factions or parties, to interfere with the internal policy or institutions of any of the States of which they are not citizens, as unwarrantable intermeddling with matters over which they had no legitimate control.

Benjamin F. Robinson of Polk, from a minority of the same committee, made a report recommending the adoption of the Senate (Jackson) resolutions.

On March 5th, the House proceeded to consider the reports from the committee, whereupon Mr. Jones of Andrew offered, as a substitute for the Senate resolutions, those reported by Mr. Bingham from a majority of the committee. Rejected—ayes, 62, nays, 20; the nays being Messrs. W. H. Bailey of Callaway, D. W. Baker of Montgomery, George C. Bingham of Saline, Thomas E. Birch of Clinton, Joseph Bogy of St. Francois, J. P. Campbell of Lafayette, M. S. Cerre of St. Louis, H. B. Duncan of Mercer, John W. Fitzhugh of Henry, I. N. Jones of Andrew, Robert H. Jordan of Cedar, William Newland of Ralls, David E. Perryman of Washington, John C. Price of Dade, Walter Robinson of Monroe, S. T. Rhodes of Marion, Thomas G. Sweatnam of Clay, Wm. F. Switzler of Boone, Benjamin Thompkins of Cooper, H. M. Woodyard of Lewis—20, all Whigs except Mr. Jones. Various other substitutes were offered and rejected.

On the next day (March 6th) a vote was taken on the adoption of the Senate resolutions, each separately. No. 1 was adopted—ayes 59, nays 25. No. 2—63 to 21. No. 3—57 to 27. No. 4—62 to 20. No. 5—53 to 29. No. 6—52 to 27. Messrs. Bailey, Baker, Birch, Bogy, Cerre, Duncan, C. H. Gregory of Osage, I. N. Jones of Andrew, R. W. McNeil of Bates, Newland, P. T. Oliver of Randolph, Perryman, Rhodes, Sweatnam, Switzler, Thompkins and Woodyard voted against all the resolutions from first to last. Messrs. Gregory and Jones, Democrats; the balance Whigs. Mr. Bingham voted against the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th resolutions, and was absent when the vote was taken on the 5th and 6th. Messrs. Orson Bartlett of Stoddard and J. C. Price of Dade, voted for the 2d and against the balance. Messrs. Campbell and Fitzhugh voted for the 4th and against the balance. Mr. Isaac N. Lewis of Clark voted against the 1st, for the 2d and 3d, was absent when the vote was taken on the 4th, and voted against the 6th. Mr. G. W. Poage of Daviess was absent when the vote was taken on the 4th, and voted

against the balance. Messrs. T. F. Risk of St. Louis (Democrat), Edwin French of Schuyler and James Walker of New Madrid (Whigs), voted for the 1st, 2d and 4th, and against the 3d, 5th and 6th. Mr. Robinson of Monroe voted for the 2d and 4th, and against the rest. Messrs. Charles Simms of Van Buren (now Cass) and A. B. Tinsley of Audrain (Democrats), voted for the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th, against the 5th, and were absent when the vote was taken on the 6th. Messrs. T. Bass of Taney, John Bretz of Buchanan, William T. Cole of Morgan, James C. Goode of Adair, M. C. Hawkins of Camden, C. B. Hinton of Franklin, Robert H. Jordan of Cedar, T. J. Kirk of Livingston, Samuel Melugin of Jasper, Joseph Sale of St. Louis, G. A. Shortridge of Macon, R. B. Taylor of Lawrence and W. L. Walton of Gasconade (Democrats), and Simeon Connelly of Knox, James Livingston of Grundy, and J. B. Greer of Johnson (Whigs), were absent on all the ballotings.

On the final adoption of the resolutions as a whole, the vote stood — ayes 53, nays 27, as follows: <sup>1</sup>

AYES—Messrs. Aull, Ballou, Bowles, Brockman, Caruthers, Chilton, Clardy, Cock, Compton, Crenshaw, Darnes, Dyer, Edmonston, Enloe, Ewing, Foster, Fristoe, Frost, Gibson, Gwinn, Halbert, Harbin, Harris, Henderson of Pike, Henderson of Pulaski, Henson, Heyer, Hicks, Higgins, Horner, Howell, Johnson, McAfee, Miller, Morelock, Montgomery, Neaves, Richardson, Roberts, Robinson of Polk, Sayers, Shelby, Smith of DeKalb, Smith of Howard, Smith of Jackson, Thompson, Vanderpool, Walton of St. Louis, Welsh, Wilkerson, Wommack, Woodward, and Mr. Speaker Robinson of Platte—53.

NOES—Messrs. Bailey, Baker, Bartlett, Birch, Bogy, Campbell, Cerre, Duncan, Fitzhugh, Gregory, Jones, Lewis, Newland, Oliver, Perryman, Poage, Price, Risk, Robinson of Monroe, Rhodes, Simms, Sweatnam, Switzler, Tinsley, Tompkins, Walker, and Woodyard—27.

Absent—Messrs. Bingham, French, Jordan, McNeil, Melugin, Sale, and Saunders—7.

Sick—Messrs. Bass, Cole, Hinton, Kirk, Shortridge, and Taylor—6.

All the nays were Whigs, except Messrs. Gregory, Jones, Risk, and Tinsley. Among the ayes may be mentioned the following gentlemen, who have attained distinction in the State: E. B. Ewing of Ray, John B. Henderson of Pike, Alexander M. Robinson of Platte, Reuben Shelby of Perry, and others. Mr. Ewing died a few years ago a much-esteemed citizen and Judge of the Supreme Court. Mr. Henderson was a prominent Union man during our civil war, and United States Senator of distinguished abilities. Mr. Robinson was Speaker of the House at

<sup>1</sup> See House Journal, 1848-9, p. 283.

the time the resolutions were adopted, and Mr. Shelby attained that distinction afterwards.

So persistent and uncompromising was the opposition of the minority to the resolutions, that they resisted a supplementary one introduced by Mr. Ewing of Ray, instructing the Secretary of State to transmit copies of them to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress and to the Executive of each of the several States, with the request that the same be laid before their respective Legislatures. This resolution was adopted—ayes 59, nays 20.

The discussion in the Legislature and in the public prints which preceded the passage of these resolutions, and which immediately followed among the people of the State, occasioned very great excitement, threatening not only the accustomed repose and fellowship of the people, but the disruption of political parties.

The popular ferment was much increased by the subsequent course of Colonel Benton. He opposed the resolutions, appealed from the Legislature to the people, and on the 26th of May, 1849, in the hall of the House at Jefferson City, opened a canvass against them which set the State ablaze. He maintained that the spirit of nullification and disunion, of insubordination to law, and of treason, lurked in the Jackson Resolutions, especially in the fifth; that they were a mere copy of the Calhoun Resolutions offered in the United States Senate February 19th, 1847, and denounced by him at the time as fire brands and intended for disunion and electioneering purposes. He could see no difference between them but in the time contemplated for dissolving the Union, Mr. Calhoun's tending “directly” and the Jackson-Missouri Resolutions “ultimately” to that point. He maintained they were in conflict with the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and with the resolutions passed by the Missouri Legislature February 15th, 1847, wherein it was declared that “the peace, permanency and welfare of our National Union depend upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit” of that compromise; also instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress on all questions which may come before them in relation to the organization of new Territories or States, to vote in accordance with its provisions. He denounced them as entertaining the covert purpose of ultimately disrupting the National Union, and of misleading the people of Missouri into co-operation with the slave holding States for that purpose.

In prosecuting his appeal from the Legislature to the people, Colonel Benton made an extensive canvass during the spring and summer in 1849, during which he delivered some of the ablest and most exhaust-

ive speeches of his long public life ; and if they were at times embittered by personal invective and denunciation, it will not now be denied by his most inveterate enemies, or the opponents of his views, that they were relieved by an ardent patriotism and a far-reaching statesmanship.

It is not to be inferred, however, that Col. Benton prosecuted this canvass, able and distinguished as he was, without strong opposition and resistance, for all over the State there were gentlemen of great ability and influence who controverted his positions and denounced his course. Among the most distinguished and talented of his opponents, gentlemen who ably addressed the people in various places in condemnation of his views of public duty and policy, and of his refusal to obey the instructions of the Legislature, we may mention James S. Green, David R. Atchison, James H. Birch, Louis V. Bogy, John B. Clark, Sr., Truisten Polk, Claiborne F. Jackson, Robert M. Stewart, Carty Wells, Robert E. Acock, William Claude Jones, and others—men whom it must be admitted had a strong hold upon the public confidence and wielded immense power in the State.

The next chapter will more definitely disclose the progress of the campaign—for it extended into the next decade—and the results of it.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM 1850 TO 1860.—GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION RETURNS FOR 1852, 1856, AND 1857.—THE XVIIITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATOR.—COLONEL BENTON BEATEN FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR BY HENRY S. GEYER, A WHIG.—EXPLOSIONS OF THE STEAMERS “GLENCOE” AND “SALUDA.”—MEETING OF THE XVIIITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN EXTRA SESSION.—WAR OF THE FACTIONS OVER THE SPEAKERSHIP.—FREE-SOIL AND SLAVE-SOIL.—THE REGULAR SESSION.—ANOTHER BATTLE OVER THE SPEAKERSHIP.—STERLING PRICE INAUGURATED GOVERNOR.—THE XVIIIITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATOR TO SUCCEED DAVID R. ATCHISON.—THE SLAVERY QUESTION AND THE KANSAS AND NEBRASKA BILLS.—APPALLING DISASTER AT THE GASCONADE BRIDGE.—THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA AGITATION OF 1856.—MISSOURIANS CROSS THE BORDER.—BLOODY COLLISIONS BETWEEN THE “PRO-” AND “ANTI-SLAVERY” PARTIES.—THE XIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—JAMES S. GREEN AND TRUSTEN POLK ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATORS.—GOVERNOR POLK RESIGNS.—ROBT. M. STEWART ELECTED GOVERNOR.

### *Election of 1852—For Governor—*

Sterling Price, Democrat.....	46,245
James Winston, Whig.....	32,784
Price's majority over Winston.....	13,461
Wilson Brown elected Lieutenant-Governor.	
Whole number of votes cast.....	79,029
Total population of the State in 1850.....	682,044

### *Election for President, 1852*

Franklin Pierce, Democrat.....	38,353
Winfield Scott, Whig.....	29,984
Pierce's majority over Scott.....	8,369

### *Election of 1856—For Governor—*

Trusten Polk, Democrat.....	46,993
Robert C. Ewing, American.....	40,589
Thomas H. Benton, Independent.....	27,618
Polk's majority over Ewing.....	6,404
Hancock Jackson elected Lieutenant-Governor.	
Whole number of votes cast.....	115,200

### *Election for President, 1856—*

James Buchanan, Democrat.....	58,164
Millard Fillmore, American.....	48,524
Buchanan's majority over Fillmore.....	9,640

### *Special Election, 1857—For Governor—*

Robert M. Stewart, Democrat.....	47,975
James S. Rollins, Whig.....	47,641
Stewart's majority over Rollins.....	334



In a former chapter we recorded Colonel Benton's entrance into the United States Senate. In this we shall record his exit from that body, after a service of thirty consecutive years.

On December 30th, 1850, the xvth General Assembly met at the Capitol: Thomas L. Price (Democrat), Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate; R. R. Rees, Secretary; Nathaniel W. Watkins (Whig), Speaker of the House; George W. Houston, Clerk. Austin A. King, Governor.

Receipts into the State Treasury for the two years ending September 30th, 1850, \$787,088.71; Expenditures, \$532,585.82. Amount of State debt, exclusive of surplus revenue deposited with the State, \$922.26—the exact amount of the State bonds then outstanding.

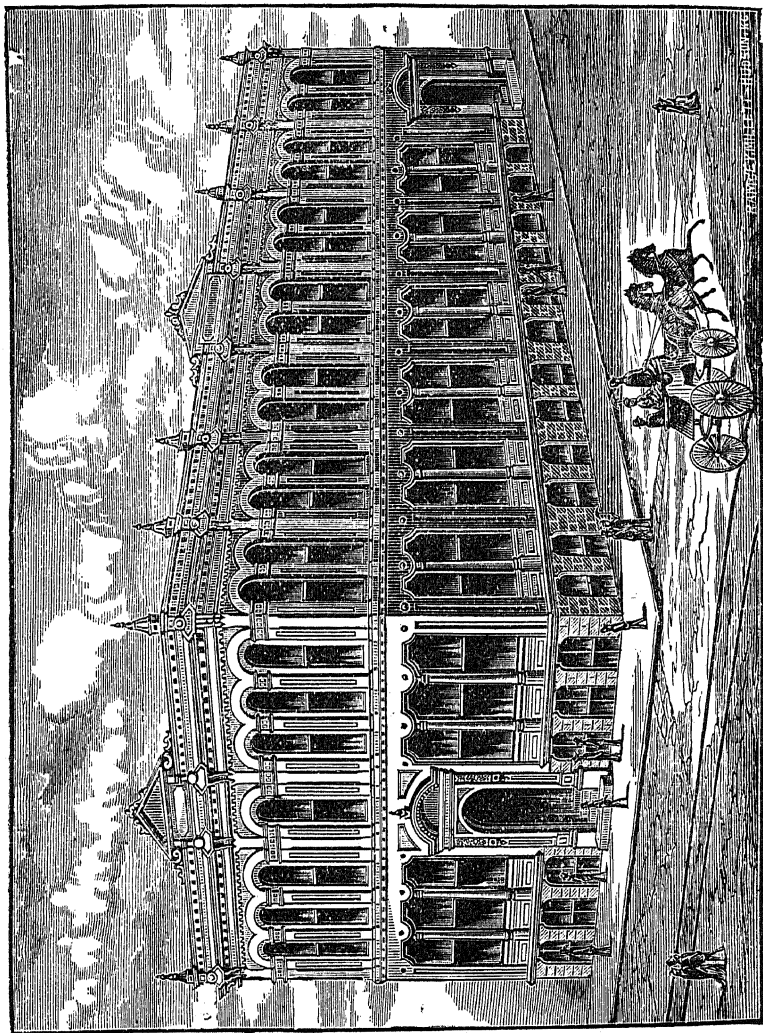
As an outgrowth of "Benton's Appeal" from the Jackson Resolutions, noticed in the last chapter, and of the agitation which followed on the subject of slavery, nullification and secession, unexampled interest was awakened at this session of the General Assembly in regard to the election of United States Senator. Colonel Benton's term was soon to expire, and he was a candidate for re-election. His speeches to the people in justification of his "Appeal," while marked by signal ability and power, were at the same time characterized by the bitterest denunciation and the most caustic invective—elements of oratory in which he was a master, and which under the circumstances were well calculated to stir popular feeling from its profoundest depths.

Hence, during the Legislative canvass of 1850, which was to result in a judgment upon the issues he presented, the whole State flamed with intense excitement.

One of the immediate consequences of his "Appeal" and remarkable canvass to expound and defend it, was a division of the political party to which Colonel Benton belonged, and which for thirty years had adhered to his fortunes with a loyalty seldom exhibited in the career of any public man.

The Whigs, at all times in a minority in the State, claimed to occupy a position of "armed neutrality" touching the distracting questions which threatened the unity and power, if not the very existence of their Democratic opponents. It is not to be denied, however, that, quite naturally, they sought to foment the prevailing discord, and, in reference to the Jackson Resolutions themselves, sympathized with Colonel Benton. Their representatives in both branches of the General Assembly, as we have seen, had opposed them by speech and vote at the time of their adoption, and for similar reasons to those afterwards presented by Colonel Benton in his warfare upon them.





MERCHANTS EXCHANGE, KANSAS CITY.

The interest culminated in the election of United States Senator; and its culmination found the Legislature divided into three political parties—Anti-Benton Democrats (or “Hards”), Benton Democrats (or “Softs”), and Whigs. And the Whigs themselves were to some extent divided into Benton and Anti-Benton Whigs, designations which attached to the one segment or the other according to the intensity of its pro-slavery or anti-slavery sentiments.

The joint convention to choose a United States Senator met on January 10, 1851, and from day to day till the 22d. Its deliberations, and the debates of which they were fruitful, were not well calculated to allay the excitement of the previous State canvass, or to harmonize the discordant elements which for the first time in thirty years had disturbed the serenity of the Democratic sky. In these discussions the Anti-Benton members—fierce, aggressive and unyielding—were led by such men as Claiborne F. Jackson, Robert M. Stewart, John F. Benjamin, Ferdinand Kennett and Lewis W. Robinson; while the friends of Benton—sharing the spirit of their great leader, were defiant, heroic and immovable—rallied to the onset with such chieftains as John D. Stevenson, Miron Leslie, Thomas A. King, Charles Jones, George W. Miller and Charles Sims. The Whigs, the wily Whigs,—reinforced by increased numbers over any former Legislature, self-poised, and on the alert for opportunity—occasionally emerged from ambuscade headed by James O. Broadhead, Joseph B. Crockett, William Newland, James Winston, N. W. Watkins, Robert A. Hatcher, John P. Campbell, Benjamin Tompkins and others.

The war of the factions raged furiously, each “wing” of the Democratic party preferring the success of the Whigs to the success of the opposing division in their own party. Finally—exhausted by the labors and excitement of the conflict, weary of the long and frequent and stormy caucuses at night and balloting by day, and the fruitless efforts at conciliation and compromise—a portion of the line of each of the opposing forces gave way, and victory perched upon the banner of the Whigs. The balloting reached the fortieth, and on that ballot Henry S. Geyer, of St. Louis, Whig, and an eminent lawyer of pronounced abilities, was elected United States Senator for six years from March 4, 1851; the vote being H. S. Geyer, 80; <sup>1</sup> Thomas H. Benton, 55; B. F. Stringfellow, 18; scattering, 4.

This defeat terminated the career of Colonel Benton as a Senator from Missouri—a career embracing a period of six Roman lustrums, and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Geyer died at his residence in St. Louis, of disease of the heart, on Saturday, March 5, 1859.

one which, whatever faults he had, was distinguished by great and important services to the country, and by a patriotism and statesmanship which render his

‘One of the few, the immortal names,  
That were not born to die.’

During the year 1851, forty-five miles of the St. Louis and Pacific railroad—from St. Louis to Washington—were put under contract, and about one thousand laborers placed upon the track.

Two steamboat explosions occurred during the spring of 1852, which are worthy of record,—the first at St. Louis, on Saturday, April 3d, and the second at Lexington, on Friday, April 9th. The first, the *Glencoe*, having on board a large number of passengers, had just arrived from New Orleans, and at eight o'clock in the evening was effecting a landing at the foot of Chestnut Street. Before she had entirely succeeded in landing, and while the deck hands were hauling in the boat with the hawser at the capstan, two of the boilers exploded with terrific force, tearing the boat almost into fragments. The whole front of the cabin, as far back as the wheels, was literally torn to pieces and fell with a crash on the deck below. The steamer *Cataract*, which was lying alongside, suffered severely, her upper works and a portion of the ladies' cabin being demolished. A portion of the flue of one of the boilers of the *Glencoe* was thrown with great velocity, and penetrated the "texas" of the *Western World*. A short time after the explosion, the *Glencoe* was discovered to be on fire; when the hawser which held her to the levee became detached and the boat floated down the stream, her decks revealing, amid the glare of the flames, the horrible sight of human beings eagerly looking for safety, and the still more horrible sight of the scalded and injured, with outstretched arms imploring for help. Many were rescued and many more were lost.

On Friday, April 9th, an appalling disaster occurred at Lexington landing, to the steamer *Saluda*, laden with Mormon emigrants destined for Utah. The river was swollen from spring rains, and the current thickly studded with floating ice. For two or three days the steamer had fruitlessly attempted to stem the flood and round the point at Lexington. About nine o'clock in the morning, the captain of the *Saluda*, Francis T. Belt, impatient of the delay, ordered on an extra pressure of steam for a final effort. The furnaces were filled with glowing inflammables; the guards crowded with passengers eagerly watching the result. The signal was given for starting the engine; when, at the second revolution of the

wheels, both boilers exploded simultaneously, with fearful effect, tearing away all the boat forward of the wheels, causing her to sink immediately. Captain Belt and Jonathan F. Blackburn, the second clerk, were standing between the chimneys on the hurricane roof, and were blown over the warehouses on the shore and half way up the bluff. Both were killed outright. The iron safe, weighing 500 or 600 pounds, and with a dog chained to it, was blown from the office over the warehouses, and fell near the body of Captain Belt. Josiah Chancy, second engineer, was also blown ashore and died. Charles Labarge and Lewis Garrett, pilots, were blown in an opposite direction into the river and killed or drowned. Heavy fragments of machinery fell at incredible distances from the boat. It was never known how many lives were lost by the explosion, but eighty three persons were buried from the wreck at Lexington. Among the lost, was James N. McAlister, aged eighteen, a son of Brightberry McAlister of Columbia, *en route* from that place to Liberty, Missouri, with the household goods and carpenter's tools of his father, who had contracted to aid in the erection of William Jewell College.

On August 30th, 1852, in pursuance of a proclamation by Governor King, the xvii<sup>th</sup> General Assembly met in special session, for the purpose of considering the subject of internal improvements, and of passing such measures as would make available, speedily and economically, the grant of lands made by Congress to aid in the construction of the Pacific and of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroads.

Deeply exciting as was the subject of internal improvements generally, and great as was the particular interest everywhere felt in the early completion of our railroads, nothing could obscure the light of the camp-fires of the political factions, or smooth the ragged edge of their conflicts. Fresh from the turbulence of the State canvass, which had closed on the first Monday of the month, the Senators and Representatives of the people, supplemented by a large and active lobby, assembled at the capital, and at the very threshold confronted the questions of Benton and anti-Benton, Free-soil and Slave-soil, Whig and Democrat, Hard and Soft. Therefore, a most bitter and protracted struggle ensued in the organization of the House, during which the special objects for which the session had been called were entirely forgotten. Political caucuses were held nightly by the three parties into which the members were divided, each plotting and counter-plotting to gain the mastery over the others. The bone of contention was the Speakership of the House, and, subordinately, the various clerkships.

Robert E. Acock of Polk, was the nominee of the Anti-Bentons for Speaker; Charles Sims, of Cass, of the Bentons, and Samuel H. Woodson, of Jackson, of the Whigs. After two days' balloting and nineteen ballots, Colonel Acock was withdrawn and C. F. Jackson, Anti-Benton, of Howard, was put in his place. On the 26th ballot the vote stood: Sims 44, Woodson 39, Jackson 37, scattering 6; after which Jackson was withdrawn and Acock again placed in front of the Anti-Benton column. Four more ballots disclosed a similar result, when an adjournment was carried till the next day—Thursday. On re-assembling, Joseph A. Hay, Whig, of Lewis, offered the following resolution, which the chairman decided out of order:

*Resolved*, That a veil be hung over the portrait of Colonel Benton, now hanging in the Representative Hall; that Claib Jackson be requested to absent himself from the House, and that the members drink no more grog till a Speaker is elected.

And thus the conflict raged, the "Jackson Resolutions" being the real element of discord: the Benton Democrats avowing the purpose to expunge them from the Journal; the Anties to keep them there; the Whigs securely poised on the pedestal of "armed neutrality."

On the 31st ballot, Mr. Sims was withdrawn and A. C. Marvin, Benton Democrat, of Henry substituted, but still no choice was made. Francis P. Blair, Jr., of St. Louis was then offered by the Benton men as "an olive branch of peace." The result was war, a fierce renewal of hostilities between the belligerent factions, and the substitution of J. W. Kelly, of Holt, for Mr. Blair, and of Abram Hunter, of Scott, for Colonel Acock. Still no choice. Finally, on Saturday afternoon, by resolution offered by William O. Maupin of Saline, a Whig, Dr. Reuben Shelby, of Perry, a Benton Democrat, was made Speaker for the extra session only—thus for the time tiding over the shoals and quicksands of the intestine feud. The clerkships were divided between the three parties.

After passing resolutions accepting the grant of lands from Congress to aid in the construction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph and other railroads in the State, and bills to expedite the building of the North Missouri railroad, the Legislature adjourned on the 25th of December, only two days before the time fixed by law for the meeting of the regular session.

The regular session of the xvii<sup>th</sup> General Assembly met on Monday, December 27th, 1852. The struggle for the Speakership was again renewed with increased violence. The Anti-Benton leaders—C. F. Jackson, R. M. Stewart, J. F. Benjamin, Ferdinand Kennett and others

—threw themselves into the breach; while Frank P. Blair, B. Gratz Brown, John D. Stevenson, Walter B. Morris and others directed the action of the friends of Benton. The old Whig leaders,—James O. Broadhead, Thomas Allen, Jsoph B. Crockett, Samuel H. Woodson, Charles H. Hardin and others—marshaled the Whig forces.

For Speaker, the Anti-Bentons nominated James H. Britton, of Lincoln; the Bentons, J. W. Kelly of Holt; the Whigs, William Newland of Ralls. After various ballotings, and many changes of candidates, and bitter debate, Reuben Shelby, of Perry, the Speaker of the extra session, was re-elected.

Governor King, in his farewell message, congratulated the State on our "growing prospects," assuring the General Assembly that "our march is onward and upward to that high destiny which we believe awaits our noble State in the future." The taxable wealth of the State was placed at \$112,465,653.75. It is now (1877), in round numbers, six hundred millions!

Sterling Price and Wilson Brown, the newly-elected Governor and Lieutenant-Governor for four years, were duly inaugurated, and the business of legislation commenced. After a stormy session—storms in both Houses over the Jackson Resolutions, and the questions of slavery, secession and disunion—a final adjournment was voted on the 24th of February.

The xviii<sup>th</sup> General Assembly met December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1854. On the 5<sup>th</sup> ballot, William Newland, of Ralls (Whig), was elected Speaker, and Samuel A. Lowe, of Benton, Chief Clerk. The irrepressible "Jackson Resolutions," the powers of Congress over slavery in the territories, and the Kansas and Nebraska bills, claimed much attention during this session, the animus of the discussion foreshadowing to many the terrible catastrophe in which our national troubles culminated in 1861.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of January, 1855, the two Houses met in joint session for the purpose of electing a United States Senator to succeed David R. Atchison, whose term expired March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1855; and the following nominations were made: D. R. Atchison (anti-Benton), Thomas H. Benton, and A. W. Doniphan (Whig). The ballotings generally were about as follows: Atchison 56, Benton 40, Doniphan 59. On the twenty-fifth ballot Atchison was withdrawn and William Scott, of the Supreme Court, nominated; but the voting was the same. Finally, Scott was displaced by Sterling Price, then Governor of the State, with the same result; whereupon Atchison was again placed upon the tapis.



After forty-one unsuccessful ballots, the joint session, 88 to 63, adjourned until again convened by concurrent resolution of the two Houses. On March 5th, the Legislature adjourned to meet on the first Monday of the ensuing November. It met on that day and adjourned *sine die* on December 13th, but without holding a joint session. Hence no United States Senator was elected. During the joint sessions above mentioned, long and angry debates arose on the slavery question in all its political phases, which were distinguished by great ability and at times by great violence. When it is recalled that these discussions were chiefly conducted on behalf of the Anti-Benton Democrats by Messrs. Robert M. Stewart, Lewis V. Bogy, George C. Medley, A. L. Gilstrap, William C. Price and John W. Reid; on behalf of the Benton Democrats by F. P. Blair, B. Gratz Brown and John D. Stevenson; and for the Whigs by James S. Rollins, A. W. Doniphan, Albert Todd, S. M. Breckinridge, Joseph Davis, Henry T. Blow, George W. Goode, C. H. Hardin, C. C. Zeigler and Robert Wilson—it cannot be questioned that legislative bodies rarely exhibit more genuine statesmanship and true oratory.

On November 1st, 1855, one of the most appalling disasters occurred at the new railroad bridge across the Gasconade River, resulting in the instant death of a large number of well-known citizens and the serious wounding of many others. The Pacific Railroad having been completed from St. Louis to the State Capital, a distance of 125 miles, a celebration of the great event was resolved upon, by an excursion over the road, and a grand public dinner in the State House. At nine o'clock, therefore, of the day named, a train of ten passenger cars, crowded with guests specially invited to participate in the commemorative festivities of the occasion, left the depot at St. Louis, and at twelve o'clock reached the Gasconade River, twelve miles above Hermann and forty miles below Jefferson City. The bridge across the Gasconade was in six spans, two of 120 feet each, two of 140 and two of 92—the abutment spans being each 130 feet. The abutments were of stone, 32 feet high, and the five piers were also of stone. The piers and abutments were completed, but the superstructure of the bridge was not finished. In order, however, to serve the purpose of commemorating the opening of the road, the contractors for the superstructure had undertaken to build the scaffolding on which to rear it, of such strength as to pass the excursion train in safety. This was sought to be accomplished by the erection of trestle-work on piles and mud-sills, in the line of the intended structure, the piles being about 14 feet apart and stay-braced longitudinally and

traversely. The embankment on the east side not being complete, trestle-work some 80 feet in length was built, between the finished bank and the finished abutment. The approach to the bridge from the east (from St. Louis) was on a curve of near 1,500 feet radius, which terminated at the end of the bank, there being some 80 feet of tangent line before coming to the bridge. The excursion train, some 600 feet long, came to the bridge by this approach. When the engine reached the first pier, the forward part of the train covering the first span of 130 feet, the span gave way, thus precipitating the engine, baggage car and several passenger cars to the watery abyss below, some 30 feet, causing an immense loss of life and the utter wreck of the cars. The President of the road, the late Hudson E. Bridge of St. Louis, and Thomas S. O'Sullivan, Chief-Engineer, together with a number of employes of the road, were on the locomotive at the time of the catastrophe, and all were killed except Mr. Bridge, who miraculously escaped unhurt. Among the well-known citizens who were also killed and whose unexpected and deplorable death spread a pall of gloom and lamentation over the city of St. Louis, were Reverend Dr. Bullard, of the Second Presbyterian Church; Reverend John Teasdale of the Third Baptist Church; E. Church Blackburn, a well-known lawyer, and chairman of the City Council; Mann Butler, author of a History of Kentucky; Henry Chouteau, of the firm of Chouteau & Valle; Calvin Case, owner of a line of omnibusses, E. C. Yosti, of the firm of Shields & Yosti; E. B. Jeffries, member of the Legislature from Franklin County, and many others. So frightful and appalling was this disaster, that no train, even at this distance of time, crosses the Gasconade without its horrors being recalled.

The people of Missouri took unusual interest, in 1854-5-6, in the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and were moved by the most intense excitement. The region of country embraced in these Territories formed a part of the Louisiana purchase, and extended westward from Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and from the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude to British America. Very little was known of this vast domain, except that it was a region of great fertility; yet, even previous to 1854, the tide of emigration was pouring into it, and it became necessary to provide organized governments for the security and protection of the people.

In December, 1852, Hon. Williard P. Hall, of Missouri, introduced a bill into the United States House of Representatives, to organize the

Territory of Platte, which was designed to embrace the country above mentioned. Having been referred to the Committee on Territories, that committee, in February, 1853, reported a bill to establish a Territorial Government in the Territory of Nebraska. As this bill did not contemplate a repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, whereby slavery was inhibited in all the country north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, it was opposed in the House by the entire Southern delegations; and the only Senators from the South who voted for it were those from Missouri.<sup>1</sup> On January 16th, 1854, the subject again came before the Senate, when Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, gave notice that whenever the Nebraska bill should be called up, he would move an amendment to the effect that the Missouri compromise line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, forever prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude north of said line, should not be so construed as to apply to the Territory contemplated by the act, or to any other Territory of the United States; but that the citizens of the several States or Territories should be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the Territories or States to be formed therefrom. That is to say, in plain and terse language, that the Missouri Compromise should be repealed. The announcement of this amendment in Congress was immediately followed by the most intense excitement throughout the country. Indeed, the introduction, in 1848, of the Wilmot Proviso did not startle or stir up the people in a greater degree.

On January 23d, 1854, Senator Douglas, of Illinois, reported from the Committee on Territories a bill which provided for the organization of the region of country embraced by Mr. Hall's bill—known as the Platte country, from the Platte River, which flows through it—into two Territories, namely, Kansas and Nebraska. Senator Douglas' bill contained the following, among other provisions:

“SECTION 21. *And be it further enacted*, That, in order to avoid misconstruction, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this act, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles, established by the compromise measures of 1850, to-wit:

“*First*.—That all questions pertaining to slavery in the Territories, and in the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, through their appropriate representatives.

“*Second*.—That all cases involving title to slaves and questions of personal freedom, are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

“*Third*.—That the provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, are to be carried into faithful execution in all the ‘organized Territories,’ the same as in the States.”

<sup>1</sup> David R. Atchison and Henry S. Geyer.

The section of the bill which prescribed the qualifications and mode of election of a delegate to Congress from each of the Territories was as follows :

"The Constitution and all laws of the United States, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States, except the section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6th, 1820, which was *superseded* by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, and is declared inoperative."

On the next day after the introduction of this bill, the discussion of it opened in the Senate and continued with great ability through several weeks ; those engaged in the discussion being divided by the designations pro-slavery and anti-slavery. On February 6th, Hon. S. P. Chase, a Senator from Ohio, moved to strike out so much of the bill as declared the Missouri Compromise of 1820, "*superseded*" by the compromise of 1850, but the motion was defeated. On February 15th, Mr. Douglas moved to strike out the clause objected to by Mr. Chase, and insert the following :

"Which being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850 (commonly called the Compromise Measures,) is hereby declared inoperative and void ; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

This amendment embodied what was afterwards called, in Congress and the country, the doctrine of squatter sovereignty. It was at once adopted by the Senate ; but Mr. Chase and others, not having full faith in the fidelity of the declaration that it was not the true intent and meaning of the act to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, moved to add, after the words "United States," the following :

"Under which the people of the Territories, through their appropriate representatives, may, if they see fit, prohibit the existence of slavery therein."

Mr. Chase's amendment was voted down, and the bill passed—ayes 37, nays 14 ;—and being reported to the House, after a fierce debate in that body it also passed—ayes 113, nays 100 ; and on May 31st, 1854, received the approval of President Pierce and became a law.

The Territory of Kansas now became the theater of a bitter war between the contending parties ; one side strenuously maintaining that

slavery should be prohibited by her organic law, the other as stoutly that it should be established and protected.

The people of Missouri shared in the general excitement, and during the State canvass of 1854, and especially during the Presidential election of 1856, evidenced the wildest excitement. Whether the new State should admit slavery or prohibit it now depended upon the vote of the people. Wherefore both parties, free-soil and slave-soil, from the States north and south, rushed into the Territory in order to secure a majority. Angry controversy succeeded in Missouri. Antagonisms of opinion everywhere prevailed. At times these approached scenes of violence and bloodshed; and good men of all parties stood in awe of the consequences, not only as they might affect the peace and prosperity of the commonwealth, but the repose and perpetuity of the republic itself. The triangular contest for the presidency, a legitimate outgrowth of the repudiation of the Missouri Compromise by the Territorial act of May 31st, 1854, precipitated upon the country, and upon the people of Missouri in a perilous degree, the bitter waters of the slavery agitation—agitation of the powers of Congress over the institution in the Territories, of the question of squatter sovereignty, and the kindred issues of nullification and secession. Apprehensive that Kansas would become a free State, and that Missouri, a slave State, would in the future occupy the position of a slave peninsula jutting out into a sea of free soil, with Illinois and Iowa on the one side and Kansas and Nebraska on the other, many of our citizens, especially on the Kansas border, became seriously alarmed for the safety of their slaves, and in the excitement of the conflict were induced, without authority of law, to cross over into Kansas with arms and with ballots to coerce the new State into the Union with a pro-slavery constitution. Meanwhile the friends of free soil in the north and emigration societies in the New England States, projected active measures to fill the new State with anti-slavery settlers. Violent collisions of course followed, and bloodshed was often imminent. The struggle between the hostile parties in Kansas and on the Missouri border resulted in a series of desultory but bloody encounters, some of which assumed the proportions of battles. Large and fiercely-excited public meetings were held in Missouri, and at times, in some localities, a reign of intolerance and proscription prevailed. This was intensified in that portion of the State bordering on Kansas; and in one instance resulted, April 14th, 1855, at Parkville, Missouri, in the destruction of the *Industrial Luminary* newspaper, owned and published by George S. Park and W. J. Patterson, whom a public meeting threatened to throw into the

Missouri River if found in that town three weeks from that day, and to hang if they went to Kansas to reside.

In November, 1854, an election was held in Kansas, which resulted in the choice of a pro-slavery delegate to Congress; and in the general Territorial election of the following year the pro-slavery party also triumphed, and their delegates thus chosen assembled at Lecompton and formed a constitution permitting slavery. Whereupon the anti-slavery or free-soil party, declaring the election to have been carried by fraudulent votes, assembled at Topeka, to form a constitution excluding slavery, and organized a rival government. Civil war broke out between the factions; and from the autumn of 1855 until the final settlement of the question, during the military governorship of John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, the Territory was the scene of constant turmoil and violence. Not to attempt a recital of these scenes, or a statement in detail of all that occurred, suffice it to say that the anti-slavery party finally triumphed, and Kansas, and Nebraska also, came into the Union as a free State; and on that basis peace was permanently established.

It is due to the truth of history to say, that in the final adjustment of these questions in Congress, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and James S. Green, who was elected in January 1857, to succeed Colonel Benton in the United States Senate, played a prominent part. Senator Green antagonized the views of Mr. Douglas in that body, and, as the acknowledged leader of the pro-slavery party, maintained his ground with an ability and eloquence rarely, if ever, excelled in the American Senate. Coming into that body during the pendency of the question of the admission of Kansas with the Lecompton Constitution, he supported the policy of Mr. Buchanan's administration in speeches distinguished not only by great perspicuity of style, but power of argument, which called forth the commendations of even those who did not share his convictions.

The ninth General Assembly met December 29th, 1856. Robert C. Harrison, Speaker, James H. Britton, chief clerk. On January 12th, 1857, the two houses met in joint convention to elect two United States Senators. James S. Green, (Anti-Benton) received 89 votes; Thomas H. Benton, 33; Luther M. Kennett, (American) 32. Mr. Green was elected for the short term. To succeed Senator Geyer, Trusten Polk, (Governor elect) received 101; T. H. Benton, 23; Hamilton R. Gamble, (American) 34. Polk was elected for the long term, ending March 4th, 1863. Governor Polk resigned the executive chair to accept the United States Senatorship; and, until the special election in August, 1857, to

tier of counties in Southeast Missouri was settled. For examples: What is now known as Bollinger County, near as it is to Ste. Genevieve and the first settlements on the Mississippi, and Stoddard, Butler, Wayne, Madison, Crawford, etc., were not even partially reclaimed from the dominion of the Indian and buffalo until the year 1800, and some of them at a much later period. Stoddard was not settled until after the admission of the State into the Union in 1821, and was not organized as a county until 1835. Its population as late as 1840 was only about 3,000; 1860 about 8,000, and in 1876, 10,883. What is now Butler County was a favorite hunting ground for the Indians, and it was not until about the year 1800 that a few white men, as hunters rather than settlers, built cabins there to prolong their visits to the territory. The region of country known as Wayne contained very few white settlers at the time of the declaration of war in 1812, and was not organized as a county until 1818, and then was called, from her vast territory, "the State of Wayne," and now "the Mother of Counties." Population in 1820 only about 1,500; in 1876, 7,006. As early as 1722 or '23 there was a small settlement in what is now Madison County, at Mine La Motte lead mines, which were discovered a few years previous by a Frenchman whose name they bear. The Indians and Spaniards worked these mines as early as 1765-70. To aid in the development of the mines and the colonization of the country, in the year 1800 the Spanish government granted 5,000 arpents of land to fifteen French families "for settlement and cultivation". About this time a few American families, from Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky and Virginia, settled about the mines, but the Indians were so numerous and troublesome that they could not till the soil to any extent. In 1818, Madison County was formed of portions of Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau, and in 1820 contained only about 2,000 inhabitants; in 1876, 8,750. It is a county of mines, and quite a number of iron banks are found in it. St. Francois County was almost unknown to the white man previous to 1800; was not organized until 1821, and in 1830 did not contain 3,000 inhabitants; in 1876, 11,621. Miners of lead first settled Washington County; and although organized in 1813 it did not contain more than 3,000 inhabitants seven years afterwards; in 1876, 13,100. Jefferson and Franklin, from their proximity to St. Louis, were settled at an early period.

The fertile lands in the region of country bordering on the Mississippi, above St. Louis—now embraced by the counties of Lincoln, Pike, Ralls, Marion, Lewis and Clark—attracted an agricultural population, and

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1860.—REVIEW OF FORTY YEARS' PROGRESS.—TIDE OF POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHEAST AND SOUTHERN MISSOURI, ALONG THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI, AND THE MISSOURI VALLEY.—MANUFACTURES.—IMPROVED LANDS AND THEIR CASH VALUE.—REVELATIONS OF THE CENSUS OF 1860.—LIVE STOCK.—FARM PRODUCTS.—DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.—RAILROAD ENTERPRISES.—GOVERNMENT AND STATE AID.—THE FIRST WHISTLE OF THE LOCOMOTIVE.—TELEGRAPH LINES.—ST. LOUIS AS A RAILROAD CENTER.—PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.—OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.—ST. LOUIS IN 1821 AND 1860.—GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS AND DESTINY OF THE STATE.

1860—Ten and thirty years have elapsed since Missouri was admitted into the Union; and at the period at which we now pause to contemplate the State, we are on the eve of the bloody and fratricidal civil war into which, during the following year, our country was unhappily plunged. Of the war itself—its causes, events and consequences—we shall speak in subsequent chapters. But before invoking the pen of history to record the prominent events of the war, as they more directly concern the commonwealth of Missouri, we diverge at this point to mark the progress we have made in population and wealth, and to chronicle what we have accomplished during the preceding forty years in the varied interests and industries which distinguish the civilization of our time.

Radiating from the earlier centers of settlement—St. Louis being the chief or pivotal point from which emigration spread out like a great fan—the tide of population and colonization flowed along the valleys of our larger rivers, and thence inland until it covered the whole State. And it is worthy of record and remembrance as something remarkable, and yet as a fact which can be accounted for on well known laws of pioneer life, that after the settlements on the western bank of the Mississippi, below St. Louis, no considerable settlements in Southeast or Southern Missouri were made for a number of years; and these for the most part were projected to discover and develop mines of silver and lead. Permanent settlements for agricultural purposes were not contemplated; whereas the settlements on the west bank of the Mississippi above St. Louis, and on both sides of the Missouri, made many years after, were chiefly inspired by a purpose to cultivate the soil. Some of them, it is true, were made in the interest of the fur trade, which in the earlier history of the State was an important and lucrative industry.

Marking the tide of colonization as we see it disclosed in our early history, it is found that more than half a century elapsed, after the settlement of Ste. Genevieve, before the country now embraced by the second



tier of counties in Southeast Missouri was settled. For examples: What is now known as Bollinger County, near as it is to Ste. Genevieve and the first settlements on the Mississippi, and Stoddard, Butler, Wayne, Madison, Crawford, etc., were not even partially reclaimed from the dominion of the Indian and buffalo until the year 1800, and some of them at a much later period. Stoddard was not settled until after the admission of the State into the Union in 1821, and was not organized as a county until 1835. Its population as late as 1840 was only about 3,000; 1860 about 8,000, and in 1876, 10,883. What is now Butler County was a favorite hunting ground for the Indians, and it was not until about the year 1800 that a few white men, as hunters rather than settlers, built cabins there to prolong their visits to the territory. The region of country known as Wayne contained very few white settlers at the time of the declaration of war in 1812, and was not organized as a county until 1818, and then was called, from her vast territory, "the State of Wayne," and now "the Mother of Counties." Population in 1820 only about 1,500; in 1876, 7,006. As early as 1722 or '23 there was a small settlement in what is now Madison County, at Mine La Motte lead mines, which were discovered a few years previous by a Frenchman whose name they bear. The Indians and Spaniards worked these mines as early as 1765-70. To aid in the development of the mines and the colonization of the country, in the year 1800 the Spanish government granted 5,000 arpents of land to fifteen French families "for settlement and cultivation". About this time a few American families, from Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky and Virginia, settled about the mines, but the Indians were so numerous and troublesome that they could not till the soil to any extent. In 1818, Madison County was formed of portions of Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau, and in 1820 contained only about 2,000 inhabitants; in 1876, 8,750. It is a county of mines, and quite a number of iron banks are found in it. St. Francois County was almost unknown to the white man previous to 1800; was not organized until 1821, and in 1830 did not contain 3,000 inhabitants; in 1876, 11,621. Miners of lead first settled Washington County; and although organized in 1813 it did not contain more than 3,000 inhabitants seven years afterwards; in 1876, 13,100. Jefferson and Franklin, from their proximity to St. Louis, were settled at an early period.

The fertile lands in the region of country bordering on the Mississippi, above St. Louis—now embraced by the counties of Lincoln, Pike, Ralls, Marion, Lewis and Clark—attracted an agricultural population, and

were settled with a view to permanency of location, and for the development of the arts and industries of the husbandman. With the exception of Lincoln county, all the settlements were made after the close of the war of 1812. In order that some idea may be formed of the progress since made in this region of the State, it is proper to note that in 1821 its aggregate population was only about 8,000, whereas in 1860 the six counties named, greatly reduced as they had been in area by that time, contained about 84,000 souls.

Returning to the mouth of the Missouri river, and traversing that stream to the western boundary of the State, we find that with the exception of the settlements in St. Louis, St. Charles, Howard, Cooper and Boone counties, and a small settlement at Loutre Island, the entire region was under the bloody sway of the Indians until after the peace of 1815. Colonization then rapidly followed, and the star of empire took its course inland to various portions of the State; so that years anterior to 1860 the tide of conquest and colonization overspread the commonwealth from the Kansas border to the Mississippi, and from Iowa to Arkansas.

This statement is verified by the fact that at the time of the admission of Missouri into the Union in 1821, the State contained only 25 organized counties, with a total population of 70,647; whereas nine years afterwards the population was twice as great, being 140,304, and in 1860 had reached the grand aggregate of one million one hundred and eighty-two thousand and twelve (1,182,012) souls, and 113 counties. As the territorial area of the State is 65,350 square miles, each of the 25 counties in 1821 contained an average of 2,614 square miles; the 113 in 1860 an average of only 578.46 square miles.

We come now to contemplate the progress and condition of the State from another and more interesting point of view.

If in 1821 there was a manufactory of any considerable size in the State, or capital to any respectable amount invested in the production of any of the fabrics of utility or ornament worn, or the implements or machinery used by man, the writer is uninformed of the fact. But in 1860, according to the returns of the Federal census, the number of manufactories in the State was 2,800, with a capital of \$20,500,000, consuming annually fuel and raw material worth \$24,000,000, and employing more than 2,000 hands—the annual product reaching the large sum of \$43,500,000.

We have no available means at hand of ascertaining either the number of acres of improved land in the State or the cash value of the

farms in 1821; but in 1860, although the State had only been organized ten and thirty years, it contained 6,246,871 acres of land reduced to the uses of the husbandman and 13,737,938 acres unimproved, the aggregate value of which was \$230,632,126, to which for value of farming implements \$8,711,508 must be added. Not to weary the reader with statistics, which after all convey information embodied in no other forms of speech, it will be profitable to study the remarkable and valuable disclosures of the following table of the animals and productions of the State in 1860:

## ANIMALS—1860.

Horses.....	361,874	Sheep.....	937,445
Working oxen.....	166,588	Milk cows.....	345,243
Mules and asses.....	80,941	Swine.....	2,354,445
Total value of live stock.....\$53,693,673			

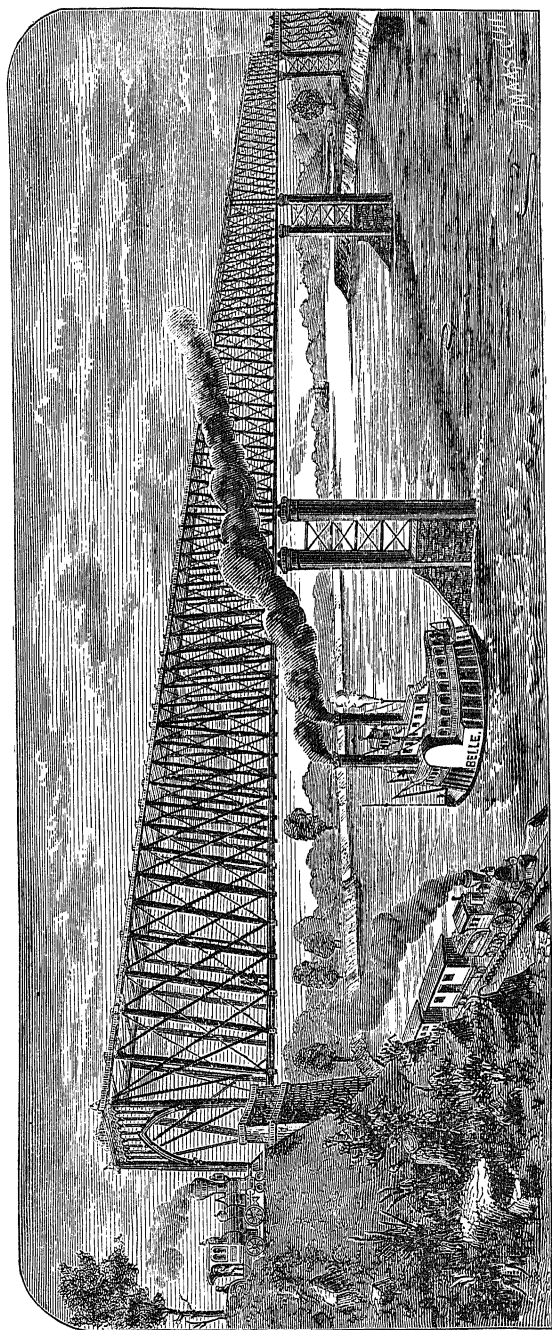
## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS—1860.

	BUSHELS.		POUNDS.
Wheat.....	427,536	Butter.....	12,704,837
Oats.....	3,680,870	Flax.....	109,237
Barley.....	228,502	Maple sugar.....	142,430
Grass seed.....	55,713	Rice.....	9,766
Rye.....	44,263	Cheese.....	259,633
Irish potatoes.....	1,990,850	Flax seed.....	4,656
Buckwheat.....	182,292	Tobacco.....	25,086,196
Peas and Beans.....	107,999	Cotton.....	100 bales.
Indian Corn.....	72,892,157	Hay.....	401,070 tons.
Sweet potatoes.....	355,102	Hemp.....	19,268 tons.
Clover seed.....	2,216		GALLONS.
	POUNDS.	Wine.....	27,827
Wool.....	2,069,778	Cane molasses.....	22,305
Hops.....	2,265	Sorghum molasses.....	776,101
Silk cocoons.....	127	Maple molasses.....	18,289
Beeswax and honey.....	1,665,173		

## RECAPITULATION.

Capital invested in manufactures.....	\$ 20,500,000
Value of fuel and raw material used.....	24,000,000
Annual product of manufactures.....	43,500,000
Value of land—improved and unimproved.....	230,632,126
Value of farming implements.....	8,711,508
Value of live stock.....	53,693,673
Value of orchard products.....	810,975
Value of garden products.....	346,405
Value of home made manufactures.....	1,984,262
Value of animals slaughtered.....	9,844,449
Total cost of railroads (about).....	42,500,000
Number of newspapers and periodicals.....	173
Total annual circulation (copies).....	30,000,000





BRIDGE OVER THE MISSOURI AT LEAVENWORTH.

Wonderful activity was developed in 1835-6-7, in the older States north and east, in the projection and building of lines of railroad. It seemed, indeed, to be a mania; and it attacked our people with no inconsiderable force, awaking public attention to their want of improved means of intercommunication and their value as agencies of development. The railroad convention held in St. Louis in April, 1836, elsewhere noted as the first ever held in the State, and the incorporation of numerous railroad companies by the legislature of 1836-7, were outgrowths of the popular feeling on the subject.

It will not be unprofitable to note in this place the several railroad lines, if, indeed, some of them can be truthfully called *lines*, projected at this session and seriously urged upon the attention of the people and tax-payers of the various localities: (1) Bailey's Landing Railroad, beginning at Troy, in Lincoln county, thence to Bailey's Landing on the Missouri river; capital stock \$50,000. (2) Carondelet and St. Louis Railroad, for horse or locomotive engines; capital \$100,000. (3) Florida and Paris Railroad, from Florida, in Monroe County, to Paris, in the same county; capital, \$100,000. (4) Hannibal, Paris, and Grand River Railroad from Hannibal to the mouth of Grand River, in Chariton County, *via* Florida and Paris in Monroe and Huntsville and Keytesville, in Randolph and Chariton. (5) Liberty Railroad, from Liberty, in Clay County, to the Missouri river; capital \$25,000. (6) Livingston and Independence Railroad, from Livingston, on the Missouri river in Jackson County, to Independence, in the same county; capital, \$100,000. (7) Louisiana and Columbia Railroad, from Louisiana in Pike County to Columbia, in Boone, thence to Rocheport; capital \$1,000,000.<sup>1</sup> (8) Marion City and Missouri River Railroad, from Marion City, on the Mississippi river in Marion County, to Boonville, on the Missouri river, *via* Palmyra, Marion College, New York (in Shelby county), and New Franklin in Howard county; capital \$600,000. (9) Mine a LaMotte and Mississippi Railroad, from Mine a LaMotte, in Madison County, to a point on the Mississippi river not lower down than Pratte's Landing; capital \$300,000. (10) Monticello and LaGrange Railroad,

<sup>1</sup> The track of this road was surveyed, Hon. J. S. Rollins of Columbia assisting in the field work and being one of the managers of a ball given in Gentry's Hotel in Columbia to commemorate the completion of the survey. Col. A. B. Chambers, at that time editor of the *Salt River Journal*, published at Bowling Green, and subsequently of the *St. Louis Republican*; and Edwin Draper, Phineas Block, and John S. McClune, of Pike County, and J. S. Rollins, Richard Gentry, Sinclair Kirtley, Wm. Cornelius and David M. Hickman, of Boone, were great friends of the enterprise.

from LaGrange to Monticello in Lewis County; capital \$100,000. (11) Paynesville and Mississippi Railroad, from Paynesville, in Pike County, to the Mississippi at Jackson's Landing; capital \$50,000. (12) Rochepoort Railroad, from Rochepoort to Columbia, in Boone County; capital \$150,000. (13) Mineral Railroad, from St. Louis to Caledonia, in Washington County, *via* Potosi; capital \$2,000,000. (14) St. Charles Railroad, from St. Charles to a point on the Mississippi nearly opposite Grafton; capital \$100,000. (15) Southeastern Railroad, from New Madrid to Commerce, in Scott County; capital \$200,000. (16) St. Louis Railroad, from St. Louis to the Missouri river; capital \$500,000. (17) Southern Railroad, from Caledonia, in Washington County, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi, *via* Iron Mountain, Mine a LaMotte and Jackson; capital \$1,000,000. (18) Washington and Ste. Genevieve Railroad, from Washington to Ste. Genevieve; capital \$——.

Such was the formidable array of railway enterprises projected at the session of the General Assembly of 1836-7. All of them were railroads on paper, and really had no other existence than in the acts incorporating them. The companies possessed neither credit, money, bonds nor lands, all of great utility in the construction and equipment of lines of railway, and some of them of indispensable value. Nevertheless the several charters, although then and now dead letters on the statute books, were not without wholesome influence on the people and future legislatures. The Louisiana and Columbia and the St. Louis and Bellevue charters were almost literally copied, in 1848-9. and in 1850-51 in the acts incorporating the Hannibal and St. Joseph and the St. Louis and Iron Mountain railways. The same pen drafted both of the former, the Columbia and Louisiana charter in 1836-7, and the Hannibal and St. Joseph in 1848-9—namely, that of Hon. J. S. Rollins, of Columbia, who prepared the latter charter at the request of Hon. Robert M. Stewart, who is regarded as the father of the road, and was its first president.

Sixteen years elapsed after the St. Louis Railroad Convention of 1836, before the "iron horse" and the steam whistle were heard west of the Mississippi on a Missouri railroad. Meanwhile, however, not being able, owing to their great cost, to construct any part of the numerous lines of railroads chartered, and intelligently alive to the value and importance of improved methods of intercommunication, the people of many of the counties constructed rock, gravel, or plank roads. Indeed, the plank road mania in Missouri succeeded the railway mania, and, largely proving a failure, intensified the feeling in favor of more enduring and rapid means of transportation, although more costly.

The Pacific Railroad Charter was approved March 12, 1849; and in May following, surveys commenced; and on July 4, 1850, the ground was broken as initatory to the work of construction, on which occasion Hon. Luther M. Kennett, then Mayor of the city of St. Louis, cast the first shovel of earth on the new track. In December, 1852, the road was opened to Cheltenham for passengers, five miles; in 1853, to Franklin (now called "Pacific"), in 1855, to Jefferson City, and in 1865, to Kansas City, 283 miles distant from St. Louis.

The starting of the Pacific road was closely followed by the Hannibal and St. Joseph, North Missouri, Iron Mountain, and the Southwest Branch of the Pacific, now known as the St. Louis & San Francisco. All these roads received a large amount of aid from the State, and the Hannibal & St. Joseph, Pacific, and Southwest Branch, large grants of land from the general government, namely, to the Pacific road, 127,000 acres; to the Southwest Branch, 1,040,000 acres; and to the Hannibal & St. Joseph, 600,000 acres. And State aid—bonds of the railroad companies guarranteed by the State—as follows:

Pacific Railroad - -	\$7,000,000	Southwest Branch -	\$4,500,000
Iron Mountain - - -	3,600,000	North Missouri - -	4,350,000
Hannibal & St. Joseph - -		\$3,000,000. <sup>1</sup>	

Lines of telegraph are built along the track of each of these roads, and of all others in the State. The first line of telegraph which connected St. Louis with the East, reached East St. Louis on Dec. 20, 1847.

No system of railroads in the world embraces a larger and richer territory than that which has a common and natural center in St. Louis. Probably no city in the world now (1877) sends through freight and passenger trains over a greater extent of railway mileage than St. Louis. This is mainly due to the fact that St. Louis is nearer the geographical center of the United States than any other large commercial city, a point from which radiating lines extend one to two thousand miles east, west and south, and five hundred miles north. These roads carry passengers without change of cars, or freight without breaking bulk, from five hundred to two thousand miles.

As a significant fact bearing upon this subject, it may be mentioned that a late examination of the yards and depots, in and about the city,

<sup>1</sup> For many of the facts in regard to railroads, see Chapter 11, Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture for 1875, by Geo. C. Pratt, of Columbia, Secretary of the Board of Railroad Commissionees.



showed the presence of cars from one hundred and sixty-two railroads and twenty-three States. The trunk-lines centering in St. Louis as a terminal point, send daily trains of cars over routes aggregating 25,640 miles in length, or more than the circumference of the globe. No city in America or Europe has a wider field of railroad connection than this.

The fifteen trunk-lines radiating from St. Louis send over their roads daily (counting both ways) not less than three hundred passenger and freight trains, containing in the aggregate more than four thousand cars. A careful but approximate estimate gives to this service for 1876 the transportation of 8,000,000 tons of freight, and more than 3,000,000 passengers.<sup>1</sup>

But productions of the field, pasture, garden and orchard; progress in manufactures; in railroad and telegraph lines; in the development of mineral deposits unexcelled in quantity and richness in the world, nor yet increased population and taxable wealth, are not all we have accomplished during the last ten and thirty years now passing under review.

No less rapid and gratifying than the growth of the State has been that of the system of public education. The first utterance of the people on the subject, in the constitution of 1820, and in each of the constitutions adopted since that period, was unmistakably in favor of a system of public instruction that shall afford the blessings of knowledge to all the children of the State, the poor as well as the rich. And if the systems enacted from time to time by our legislators, and the policy of some who were high in official authority, have not at all times reached the greatest measure of attainable good in this direction, it has certainly not been for the lack of the most emphatic injunction by the people in the organic laws of the State.

More than thirty years elapsed after the organization of the State government, although each Legislature was biennially confronted with the constitutional provision that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this State," before a law was passed appropriating any portion of the taxes paid by the people to educational purposes. During the whole of this period our public school system rested for its maintenance solely on the small revenues annually accruing from the interest on the State and township school funds, and the voluntary sums paid teachers by parents or guardians. From this and other causes incident to a new and sparsely settled State, the system of

popular education languished. School-houses were often nothing more than log huts, unplastered and unceiled, with chimneys constructed of sticks, mud and straw, and without school furniture, unless long, backless benches, made of inverted puncheons, and a wide plank fastened to the wall for a writing desk, can be called "furniture."

Happily, however, a few years before the war, and during the session of the General Assembly of 1852-3,<sup>1</sup> a law was passed against tremendous opposition appropriating 25 per cent. annually of the State revenue to common-school purposes, which being added to the annually accruing interest from the other school funds before mentioned, was distributed to the several counties according to the number of children of the school age, to be faithfully applied to the maintenance of the free public schools. This law imparted a new impulse to the cause of education in the State; so that, as the official statistics show, while in 1853, at the twelfth apportionment, the amount distributed for the support of common schools was only about \$65,000, the next year it reached in round numbers, \$172,000; and at the nineteenth apportionment, in 1860, the sum of \$262,000. Also that—while in 1856 there were only about \$33,000 raised (partly by self-imposed tax) to build and repair school houses, \$380,000 paid teachers; 302,126 children reported and 98,000 taught—in 1859 more than \$192,000 were raised for school houses, \$691,000 paid teachers, 385,639 children reported and 171,000 taught during the year.

The summary of the school apportionments, from the first in 1842 to the thirty-first in 1877, inclusive, and for which we are indebted to the last report of Hon. R. D. Shannon, State Superintendent of Common Schools, will be read with interest and can be studied with profit, as follows:

First, in 1842.....	\$ 1,999 60	Eleventh, in 1852.....	\$ 58,411 08
Second, in 1843.....	6,043 80	Twelfth, in 1853.....	65,425 83
Third, in 1844.....	11,892 42	Thirteenth, in 1854.....	172,565 32
Fourth, in 1845.....	16,481 70	Fourteenth, in 1855.....	178,089 60
Fifth, in 1846.....	23,720 02	Fifteenth, in 1856.....	217,674 40
Sixth, in 1847.....	48,770 74	Sixteenth, in 1857.....	240,287 74
Seventh, in 1848.....	56,959 20	Seventeenth, in 1858.....	245,280 64
Eighth, in 1849.....	59,456 01	Eighteenth, in 1859.....	254,951 12
Ninth, in 1850.....	27,751 52	Nineteenth, in 1860.....	262,234 52
Tenth, in 1851.....	69,895 20	1861.....	Nothing.

<sup>1</sup> See section 1, article 11, of school law, approved February 24th, 1853, Session Acts 1852-3, p. 151, said section being the following: "Hereafter twenty-five per centum of the State revenue shall be annually set apart and become State school moneys, and should be distributed annually for the support of organized school townships."

1862.....	Nothing.	Twenty-fourth, in 1870.....	\$517,159 99
1863.....	Nothing.	Twenty-fifth, in 1871.....	339,567 82
Twentieth, in 1864.....	\$169,685 56	Twenty-sixth, in 1872.....	355,681 80
1865.....	Nothing.	Twenty-seventh, in 1873.....	351,876 41
Twenty-first, in 1866.....	42,698 81	Twenty-eighth, in 1874.....	410,269 28
1867.....	Nothing.	Twenty-ninth, in 1875.....	466,305 52
Twenty-second, in 1868.....	263,726 54	Thirtieth, in 1876.....	470,120 61
Twenty-third, in 1869.....	308,369 43	Thirty-first, in 1877.....	539,697 71

The appropriations from the revenue fund were first made in 1854, being one-fourth of the State revenue collected from November 1st, 1853, to January 31st, 1854, and afterward, by another act of the Legislature, 25 per cent. of the revenue collections, proper, as follows :

First, in 1854.....	\$ 74,178 57	1866.....	Nothing.
Second, in 1855.....	108,962 01	1867.....	Nothing.
Third, in 1856.....	119,353 33	Eighth, in 1868.....	\$217,011 10
Fourth, in 1857.....	143,488 38	Ninth, in 1869.....	218,740 64
Fifth, in 1858.....	165,626 75	Tenth, in 1870.....	228,629 64
Sixth, in 1859.....	194,026 88	Eleventh, in 1871.....	243,197 33
Seventh, in 1860.....	203,732 82	Twelfth, in 1872.....	255,475 11
1861.....	Nothing.	Thirteenth, in 1873.....	215,669 90
1862.....	Nothing.	Fourteenth, in 1874.....	254,770 55
1863.....	Nothing.	Fifteenth, in 1875.....	310,809 49
1864.....	Nothing.	Sixteenth, in 1876.....	311,552 25
1865.....	Nothing.	Seventeenth, in 1877.....	365,515 80

In 1821, St. Louis, compared to what it now is, was a straggling village without commerce, without manufactures, without regular steamboat communication, without rail or rock roads, without telegraphs, without street cars or gas, without schools, and with the common wooden flat for ferry crossing, instead of the magnificent tubular bridge which now spans the Mississippi. In 1821, her total population was about 12,000; in 1860, nearly 200,000; and in 1876, more than 500,000. In 1821, there were only 429 tax-payers in the city of St. Louis, the taxable wealth of no one of whom was larger than \$20,000, very few of them as high as \$10,000, and a large majority of them under \$5,000. The total taxes levied for that year in the city was \$3,823.80. For the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1860, the city of St. Louis paid into the State Treasury taxes and licenses to the amount of \$932,027.33. In 1872, the tax-rolls exhibit the names of 400 tax-payers, only 29 short of the list of 1821, no one of whom pays on assessed valuations of less than \$50,000, several of them over *a million*, and all of them together more than *sixty millions*.

From these meagre beginnings, behold the colossal proportions we have attained as a State, our wonderful achievements in the arts, in commerce, in wealth and population, and in all the varied industries which distinguish the civilization of our eventful era. Mark the potential influences which have opened the rich fountains of individual and incorporated enterprise; which have vivified and expanded the fields of knowledge; which have quickened the spirit, by enlarging the means, of State and international commerce.

Neither at the time of the settlement at Ste. Genevieve, nor for several years after the acquisition of Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson, was the steamboat known; and therefore no steam vessel of any kind navigated any of the waters of the world. Even as late as the war of 1812, railroads for the transportation of freight and passengers had not been invented; and the electric telegraph, as a means of communicating intelligence, did not occur to the wildest fancy for a generation afterward. Now the telegraph encircles the globe, scaling the highest mountains and spanning the deepest and broadest seas, annihilating intervening space and bringing continents together, and making next-door neighbors every kindred and tongue, nation and tribe on the face of the earth. Missouri then had not a mile of railway. Now it has more than three thousand miles; and the shrill whistle of the locomotive is heard on its mountain tops and reverberating with mellowed music along its richest valleys.

In 1821, Missouri was a frontier State, unknown even by name to a large majority of the people of our own seaboard. Now it contains a population of two millions of people, owning a taxable wealth of nearly six hundred millions of dollars; is entitled to fifteen votes in the electoral college, and in the number of its inhabitants proudly ranks as the fifth State in a sisterhood of thirty-eight States.

Who, then, can doubt or deny that Missouri has achieved, and is achieving, a distinguished destiny?

It can now be truthfully said of it, there is no speech nor language where its voice is not heard. Its line is gone out through all the earth, and its words to the end of the world. It possesses more of the elements of wealth and prosperity than any other State, old or new, inland or seaboard; and, blessed with a wise administration of its government and the smiles of a gracious Providence, will become one of the cherished spots of earth, consecrated as the home of religion and liberty, and the keystone of the arch of an indestructible Union.

## HISTORY OF MISSOURI.

We cannot more befittingly portray the influence which Missouri is destined to exert in the moral and political regeneration of our country than by quoting the glowing lines of Bryant :

“Who shall place

A limit to the giant's unchained strength,

Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?

Far, like the comet's way through infinite space,

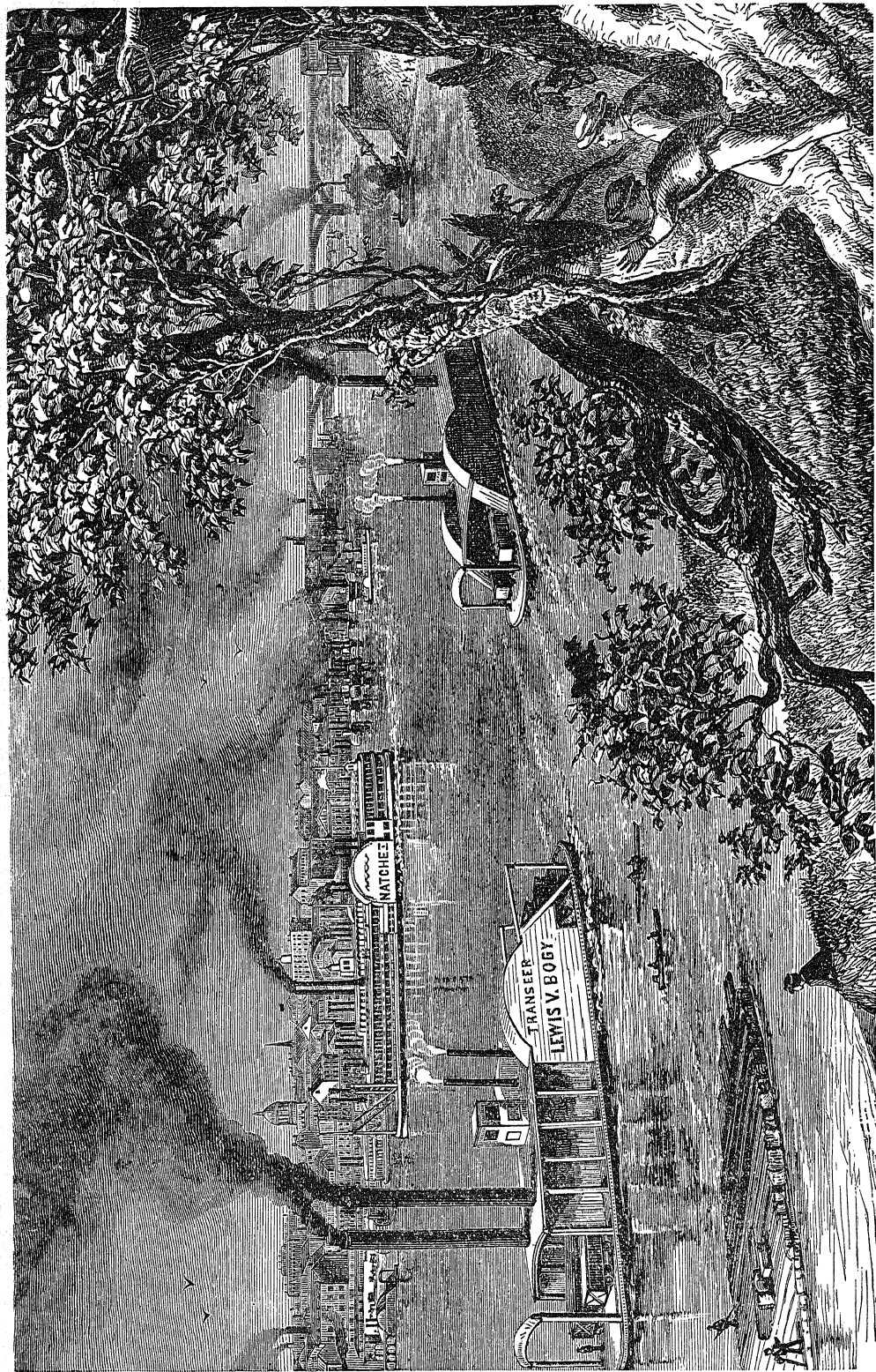
Stretches the long, untraveled path of light,

Into the depths of ages; we may trace

Afar, the brightening glory of its flight,

'Till the receding rays are lost to human sight.





SAINT LOUIS FROM THE ILLINOIS SHORE.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1860.—RETURNS OF ELECTIONS FROM 1860 TO 1870.—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860.—UNEXAMPLED EXCITEMENT ATTENDING IT.—NATIONAL CONVENTIONS TO NOMINATE, CANDIDATES.—FOUR CANDIDATES, DOUGLAS, BRECKENRIDGE, BELL AND LINCOLN, NOMINATED—A QUADRANGULAR CONTEST.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN ELECTED PRESIDENT.—GUBERNATORIAL CANVASS IN MISSOURI.—CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON, HANCOCK JACKSON, JAMES B. GARDENHIRE AND SAMPLE ORR CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR.—AN EXCITING AND BITTER CONTEST OVER THE SLAVERY ISSUES.—C. F. JACKSON ELECTED GOVERNOR.

### ELECTION OF 1860—FOR GOVERNOR—

Claiborne F Jackson, Douglas

Democrat ..... 74,446

Sample Orr, American..... 64,583

Hancock Jackson, Brecken-

ridge Democrat ..... 11,415

James B. Gardenhire, Repub-

lican..... 6,135

Jackson's majority over Orr, 9,863

Thomas C. Reynolds elected

Lieutenant Governor.

Whole number of votes cast for

Governor..... 158,579

Total population of State in

1860.....1,182,012

### ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT—1860—

Stephen A. Douglas, Demo-

crat ..... 58,801

John Bell, Union..... 58,372

John C. Breckenridge, Demo-

crat ..... 31,317

Abraham Lincoln, Republican 17,028

Douglas' majority over Bell... 429

Douglas' majority over Breck-

enridge ..... 27,484

Whole number of votes cast for

President..... 165,518

### ELECTION OF 1864—FOR GOVERNOR—

Thomas C. Fletcher, Republi-

can..... 71,531

Thomas L. Price, Democrat 30,406

Fletcher's majority over Price 41,125

Whole number of votes cast.. 101,937

### ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT—1864—

Abraham Lincoln, Republican 71,676

Geo. B. McClellan, Democrat 31,626

Lincoln's majority over McClel-

lan ..... 40,050

For constitutional convention 89,215

Against constitutional conven-

tion..... 51,422

Majority for convention .... 37,793

### ELECTION OF 1865—ON NEW

CONSTITUTION—

For new constitution ..... 43,670

Against new constitution..... 41,808

Majority for new constitution 1,862

### ELECTION OF 1866—STATE SUPERIN-

TENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS—

T. A. Parker, Republican..... 62,187

John F. Williams, Democrat 40,958

Parker's majority over Williams 20,859

Total number of votes cast.... 104,775

### ELECTION OF 1868—FOR GOVERNOR—

Joseph W. McClurg, Republican 82,107

John S. Phelps, Democrat.... 62,780

McClurg's majority over Phelps 19,327

Whole number of votes cast.... 144,887

### SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT TO THE CON-

STITUTION—

Against striking out the word

"white"..... 74,053

For striking out the word

"white"..... 55,236

Majority against negro suffrage 18,817

### ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT—1868—

U. S. Grant Republican..... 85,671

Horatio Seymour, Democrat... 59,788

Grant's majority over Seymour 25,883



In some respects the Presidential election of 1860 was the most remarkable in the history of the Republic; remarkable for the events which preceded and attended, as well as those that followed it. It is destined, therefore, long to live in our public annals with the freshness and vigor of a new event.

It had been immediately preceded by the most notable and exciting, if not the most important political proceedings in Congress, and among the people, which up to that period had occurred since the adoption of the Constitution. Among these may be mentioned, as of the greatest significance, the renewal with unexampled violence of the slavery agitation, the repeal of the Missouri compromise of 1820, the Kansas-Nebraska controversy, the passage of the Personal Liberty bills by several of the northern States, the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, and the belligerent and disunion utterances of various distinguished and trusted leaders of the South.

While the popular excitement occasioned by these events was at its height, the Presidential canvass of 1860 was opened. In the number of the parties to it, and the character of the gentlemen composing the tickets presented for the support of the American people, the canvass was a faithful reflex of popular sentiment; for while it is true the slavery question was the chief issue in the struggle, it assumed a multiplicity of forms, and separated the people of the United States into four grand divisions, each represented by its national convention and nominees for President and Vice President. It was, therefore, a quadrangular contest; and could not fail, on account of the inflammable nature of the questions discussed and the highly respectable character of the tickets presented, to excite the profoundest interest in every State in the Union.

As this contest greatly influenced the course of political events in Missouri, it is proper that a summary of the proceedings of the several National Conventions should be given at this point.

The Democratic party was the first to march from its tents to the open field, and to organize for the struggle. As early as April 23d, its National Convention met in the great hall of South Carolina Institute, in the city of Charleston. About six hundred delegates, representing thirty-two States, assembled. On the second day, Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was chosen permanent president—a selection which was very befitting and significant under the circumstances, and one that gave universal satisfaction to the violently-discordant elements which were now brought face to face in close contact.

All through the immediately preceding years, in Congress, in the

public press and in the primary assemblies of the people, and notably in many of the conventions to elect delegates, there had been premonitions of the coming storm which threatened the unity and success of the Democratic organization, a venerable political fabric whose foundations, it was claimed, were laid by Jefferson sixty years before.

Mr. Cushing made an able, a powerful address to the convention, and as conciliatory in spirit as the rugged character of the issues it was called upon to confront would justify. Yet he was bold and uncompromising in his hostility to the policy, as he understood it, of the Republicans, the most formidable enemy of the party in whose name his utterances were delivered. He declared it to be the mission of the Democratic party to "reconcile popular freedom with constituted order," and to maintain "the sacred reserved rights of the sovereign States;" that the Republicans were "laboring to overthrow the Constitution," and "to produce in this country a permanent sectional conspiracy—a traitorous sectional conspiracy of one-half of the States of the Union against the other half;" and that, "impelled by the stupid and half insane spirit of faction and fanaticism, they would hurry our land on to revolution and to civil war." He declared it to be the "high and noble part of the Democratic party of the Union to withstand—to strike down and conquer" these "banded enemies of the Constitution."

To these utterances there was an universal response of approval in the convention. Nevertheless, when that body came to construct its platform of principles, serious bickerings arose on the subject of slavery; and on the evening of the fourth day of its session, three reports were presented from the committee on resolutions: the majority report by William W. Avery, of North Carolina; the minority report by H. B. Payne, of Ohio, and a resolution endorsing the Cincinnati platform of 1856, without alteration, by Ben. F. Butler, of Massachusetts. These reports were debated amidst a tempest of excitement for several days. The vote being finally taken, Mr. Butler's resolution was rejected by an emphatic majority, and the minority report—the Douglas platform—adopted. This result disrupted the convention. Most of the southern or ultra pro-slavery delegates withdrew, organized in Military Hall by choosing James A. Bayard, of Delaware, as president, and proceeded to adopt the resolutions presented by Mr. Avery from the majority of the committee—the anti-Douglas platform. Without nominating a Presidential ticket, they adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia, on Monday, June 11th. Assembling at that place on that day, they adjourned to Baltimore, with the view of re-entering the convention, which had

adjourned to meet in that city on June 18th, and defeating, if possible, the nomination of Mr. Douglas.

No sooner had the convention re-assembled in Baltimore, Mr. Cushing again in the chair, than bitter controversy arose as to the admission of the "seceders," as they were called, to seats. This question greatly disturbed the harmony and good feeling of the body, and threatened (let it be settled as it might) to rend the convention in pieces.

On the fourth day of the session, the committee to whom the subject had been referred made two reports: the majority recommending the admission of the Douglas delegates, in place of the "seceders," from Louisiana and Alabama, and parts of delegations from other States. The minority report was against the admission of any new delegates.

On Friday, June 22, the majority report was adopted, and this occasioned another explosion. The whole or parts of the delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Maryland, California, Delaware, and Missouri withdrew, and on the following morning a majority of the Massachusetts delegates, headed by Mr. Cushing himself, the president, also withdrew. On the retirement of Mr. Cushing, David Tod of Ohio, one of the vice-presidents, was called to preside, whereupon the convention proceeded to the nomination of a Presidential ticket. On the second ballot, of the 194½ votes cast, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, received 181½, and was declared the nominee for President; James Fitzpatrick of Alabama was nominated for Vice-President; but declining, the national committee filled the vacancy with Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia.

At noon on Saturday, June 23, the "seceders," new and old, met in the hall of Maryland Institute, and permanently organized by the election of Mr. Cushing as president—he thus having the honor of presiding over both conventions. A platform having been previously adopted, and nothing remaining except the nomination of a Presidential ticket, the business of the convention proceeded with the utmost harmony. For candidate for President, the ballot stood: John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, 81; Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, 24. Joseph Lane, of Oregon, was nominated for Vice-President. Then the convention adjourned.

And thus ended the two national nominating conventions of the Democratic party in 1860. From these focal centers of political excitement there went out with electric speed, to all parts of the Union, a wave of bitterness which threatened to engulf the entire party in disaster, and to involve the country in the throes of civil revolution.

The week succeeding the adjournment of the Democratic conventions at Charleston, a National Convention of the Constitutional Union party, composed almost entirely of the old Whig and American parties, met in the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore. Although this convention was highly respectable for its numbers and talents, and very enthusiastic in its deliberations, there were ten of the States not represented, namely : California, Florida, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Oregon, South Carolina and Wisconsin. John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, chairman of the National Constitutional Union committee, called the convention to order, and on his motion Washington Hunt, of New York, was made permanent president. The proceedings of this body were very harmonious. After adopting with great unanimity and enthusiasm, as its platform, "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS," the convention proceeded to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President. Two hundred and fifty-four votes were cast. John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, were nominated for President and Vice-President. The convention adjourned on the second day, and the night succeeding a grand ratification meeting was held in Monument Square, in Baltimore, which was addressed by some of the most distinguished orators of the country.

During the following week the representatives of the Republican party met in the Wigwam in Chicago. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, was made permanent president. A platform composed of seventeen resolutions was adopted, which sought to make explicit declarations upon the subject of slavery, at that time largely occupying public attention. This platform declared each State had the absolute right of the control and management of its own domestic concerns ; that the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into the territories of the United States was a dangerous political heresy, revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country ; that the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom, and that neither Congress, nor a territorial legislature, nor any individuals, have authority to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States ; and that the re-opening of the African slave trade, under cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, was a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, were made the nominees for President and Vice-President, and the convention adjourned with nine cheers for the ticket.

This quadrangular contest for the Presidency—substantially only triangular in Missouri—deeply moved our people, and engendered a bitterness of party spirit and a popular turbulence unknown to former elections. On account of their comparative numerical weakness, the Republicans of the State did not play a very prominent part in the passing drama. But the war between the Douglas and Breckenridge "wings" of the Democratic party was fierce beyond measure, and exceedingly personal. Taking advantage of these intestine feuds in the dominant party in the State, the friends of Bell and Everett hoped not only to carry their State ticket in August, but their Presidential electors in November; and to this end directed the best powers of their organization. Their policy was to foment the prevailing discord and thus achieve a triumph over both "wings" of their opponents. Before the August election, however, the Douglas and Breckenridge Democrats, notwithstanding each had a candidate for Governor in the field, agreeing to disagree in regard the Presidential nominees, united in the support of a common State ticket, and elected C. F. Jackson governor over Sample Orr by nearly ten thousand majority. Still the Presidential canvass was prosecuted with great vigor and enthusiasm, resulting in November in the choice of the Douglas over the Bell electors by only 429 votes.

It was quite natural that Missouri, being the only border slave-holding State west of the Mississippi river, and lying contiguous to Kansas, should be deeply involved in the agitation and interested in the settlement of the territorial complications connected with the subject of slavery. Her people were very largely emigrants from, or descendants of, Kentucky, Virginia, and other southern States, and therefore very naturally sympathized with the people of those States in the maintenance of their peculiar institution. Nevertheless much of the leaven of an intelligent conservatism pervaded the popular mind, and as a people they were not, in the language of Governor Stewart's last message, "to be frightened from their propriety by the past unfriendly legislation of the North, or dragooned into secession by the restrictive legislation of the extreme South." Yet they were fearfully agitated by the slavery issues of the times, and quite a large number of their public men were apparently ready for the adoption of extreme if not revolutionary measures.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

1861.—XXIST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—C. F. JACKSON INAUGURATED GOVERNOR.—SYNOPSIS OF HIS INAUGURAL.—THE LEGISLATURE ENVIRONED WITH EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS.—IT CALLS A STATE CONVENTION.—IMPORTANT PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.—THE PROBLEM OF SECESSION.—THE FUNCTIONS OF CONVENTIONS DISCUSSED.—DANIEL R. RUSSELL, COMMISSIONER OF MISSISSIPPI, ADDRESSES THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—HIS MISSION A FAILURE.—“THE PEACE CONGRESS” AT WASHINGTON CITY.—RESOLUTION OF JOHN HYER, OF DENT, AGAINST COERCION.—CONTEST FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR TO SUCCEED JAMES S. GREEN.—A TRIANGULAR STRUGGLE.—WALDO P. JOHNSON ELECTED.—SENATORS JOHNSON AND POLK EXPELLED FROM THE SENATE.—A “RELIEF LAW” PASSED BY THE LEGISLATURE AND DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BY THE SUPREME COURT.—AN EXTRA SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE CALLED MAY 2, 1861.—EXTRAORDINARY “WAR MEASURES” ADOPTED.—PANIC CAUSED BY THE CAPTURE OF CAMP JACKSON.—BEFORE-DAY SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE.—BURNING OF THE OSAGE RAILROAD BRIDGE.—STERLING PRICE APPOINTED MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE STATE FORCES.—FLIGHT OF GOVERNOR JACKSON FROM THE CAPITAL.—HE CALLS THE LEGISLATURE TO MEET AT NEOSHO.—A FRAGMENT OF IT ASSEMBLES.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.—SECESSION ORDINANCE PASSED.—ISAAC N. SHAMBAUGH’S CIRCULAR.—GOVERNOR JACKSON’S MESSAGE APPOINTING OFFICERS OF “THE STATE GUARD.”—THE NEOSHO-CASSVILLE LEGISLATURE ADJOURNS TO MEET AT NEW MADRID.—THE SESSION NEVER HELD THERE.

The Twenty-first General Assembly met in Jefferson City on December 31st, 1860, under peculiarly embarrassing circumstances. Ten days before it convened, South Carolina had passed an ordinance of secession, and before the 20th of January four other southern States—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama and Georgia—added to the complications and difficulties of the situation by following South Carolina’s example. But these were not all of the embarrassments which environed the Legislature. The preceding national and state canvass, discussed more at length in the last chapter, resulted in returning to the Legislature representatives of the four political parties or fragments of parties into which the people were divided. Three of these were of nearly equal strength in the General Assembly, and neither of them singly had controlling power in either branch. The Senate consisted of 33 members, divided as follows: Breckenridge Democrats, 15; Douglas Democrats, 10; Union or Bell-  
Everett men, 7; Republicans, 1. The House, containing 132 members, was divided as follows: Breckenridge Democrats, 47; Union or Bell-  
Everett men, 37; Douglas Democrats, 36; Republicans, 12.

The exciting character of the public questions which divided and distracted the people, and the fearful imminence of a bloody civil war, were well calculated to agitate the currents of legislation, and so deeply to disturb them as to render their outflow historical. No one need marvel, therefore, that the proceedings of the xxist General Assembly

were of the most turbulent character, and withal of unusual importance to the people. The outgrowth of a revolutionary period, they left their impress upon the State, and were of such significance and import as to justify a brief historical summary in this place.

The Legislature was organized by the election of John McAfee, of Shelby, as Speaker of the House, the vote being: John McAfee, 77; Marcus Boyd, of Greene, 43; Thomas L. Price, of Cole, 4; Samuel Hyer, Jr., of Dent, 1. Mr. McAfee was a representative of the extreme pro-slavery wing of the Democratic party. Thomas H. Murray, (Douglas Democrat), of Benton, was elected Chief Clerk. Warwick Hough, of Cole—now one of Supreme Court Judges—was chosen Secretary of the Senate.

On January 4th, 1861, Claiborne F. Jackson, of Howard, who had been elected, as a Douglas Democrat, Governor Stewart's successor, was inaugurated as Governor. While Governor Stewart's farewell message concluded with a thrilling appeal for the maintenance of the Union, in which he depicted the horrors of secession, revolution and war, Governor Jackson's inaugural insisted (as did his celebrated resolutions of 1849) that the destiny of the slave-holding States in this Union is one and the same; that it will be impossible to separate Missouri's fate from that of her sister States who have the same social organization; that in the event of a failure to reconcile the conflicting interests which now threaten the disruption of the existing Union, interest and sympathy alike combine to unite the fortunes of all the slave-holding States; that Missouri will not shrink from the duty which her position upon the border imposes, but determine her "to stand by the South"; that the State was in favor of remaining in the Union so long as there was any hope of maintaining the guarantees of the Constitution; and that he was utterly opposed to the doctrine of coercion, in any event, as leading to consolidation and despotism. Believing that Missouri was entitled to a voice in the settlement of the questions then pending in the country, he recommended the immediate call of a State convention "that the will of the people may be ascertained and effectuated"—adding, "it may soon become necessary to send delegates to a convention of the southern States, or of all the States."

No time was lost by the Legislature in entering upon the consideration of Governor Jackson's recommendation in regard to calling a State convention; for on January 6th, on motion of Samuel B. Churchill, a Senator from St. Louis, the committee on Federal Relations was instructed to report a bill for that purpose. Three days

thereafter a bill was reported to both Houses, as the joint work of the committee of both Houses; and, after debate and amendments in each House, it finally passed—in the House (yeas 105, nays 18,) on January 17th; in the Senate (yeas 30, nays 2,) on the following day.

During the pendency of the bill some proceedings were had of sufficient importance to merit special mention, that they may be reclaimed, imperfectly and partially it may be, from the great sea of forgetfulness in which too many of the transactions of our public bodies are engulfed.

In the House, on January 14th, Mr. Virginus Randolph, of St. Charles, (Union-Bell-Everett), proposed so to amend the bill as to provide, for taking the sense of the people at the time of electing delegates, whether any action of the Convention relative to a separation of the State from the Federal Union should be finally submitted to them at the polls for their ratification or rejection.

This was one form, but not the most direct, of circumventing the efforts of those who would hastily and inconsiderately sever the ligament which bound the State to the Union, and thus plunge it into the bloody vortex of secession and civil war. Yet it was a tender to the extreme men in the Legislature, of "the rugged issue," and they so accepted and opposed it.

Not satisfied with the comparative indirectness of the method proposed by Mr. Randolph, and inspired by the discussion which supervened to a bolder step, Mr. Alfred T. Lacey, of Cape Girardeau, (also Union-Bell-Everett), on the 16th of January, offered the following substitute for Mr. Randolph's amendment:

SEC. 10. But said Convention, when so assembled, shall have no power to alter or change the existing relations of the State of Missouri with the Government of the United States or any State thereof, until the act, ordinance or resolution making such change be submitted to the people of this State and approved by a majority of the qualified voters voting at said election.

This brought the House directly to confront two important questions: 1.—The consideration of the two theories, each widely differing from the other, of the nature and functions of conventions, and of the authority of the General Assembly, in the act creating them, to restrict or in any manner to control their action; 2.—The policy of the State seceding at that time from the Union.

The general conception of a convention is, that it is a body of delegates, chosen by the voters of a State, to perform certain legislative duties connected with the enactment of the fundamental law—that is,



to amend, remodel, or form anew a constitution for the government of the constituency it represents. In the general definition of a convention here given, the term "delegates" is employed in its legal sense, as distinguished from the term "representatives," which is defined by Lord Brougham to be a body of persons, chosen by the people, to whom the power of the people is parted with, and who perform the part in the government which, but for this transfer, would have been performed by the people themselves.<sup>1</sup> But the convention proposed to be authorized by the act before the Missouri Legislature was not intended to frame, amend, or put in operation what is popularly known as a constitution, but "to consider the then existing relations between the government of the United States, the people and governments of the different States, and the government and people of the State of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions, as shall appear to them to be demanded." (See section 5 of the Act.) Nevertheless the two general theories of conventions were discussed; *First*, that the convention called would be a strictly representative body, acting for and in the name of the sovereign people, and would be possessed, by actual or constructive transfer, of all the powers inherent in the people; and therefore its action could not be restricted by the law calling it together: *Secondly*, that the convention would be a collection of delegates appointed by the people, through the agency and by the adoption of an act of the General Assembly, to perform certain determinate functions and duties, which are defined in the commission under which it convenes.

Mr. Lacey's substitute propounded the latter theory, and hence immediate steps were taken to dispose of it unfavorably; and with this view Mr. John C. Watkins (Breckenridge Democrat), of Ste. Genevieve, moved to lay it on the table, which was disagreed to—yeas 47, nays 68. After which it was adopted—yeas 81, nays 40—the vote politically classified being: *Yeas*—Union-Bell-Everett, 27; Douglas Democrats, 23; Breckenridge Democrats, 18; Republicans, 12. *Nays*—Union-Bell-Everett, 3; Douglas Democrats, 12; Breckenridge Democrats, 25; Republicans, none.

On January 16th, Mr. John D. Stevenson (Republican), of St. Louis, introduced a substitute for the entire bill, entitled an act making application to Congress for the call of a convention to propose amendments to the Federal Constitution. It was preceded by a preamble which

<sup>1</sup>Jameson's "Constitutional Convention," p. 290.

recited, among other things, that the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States to Congress for the call of a convention for the purposes mentioned, is a means provided in the fifth article of the Constitution for the redress of all grievances within the Union; and, having the fullest confidence in this peaceful mode of settling national difficulties, therefore it was proposed to enact, (1) that the General Assembly make application to Congress for the call of said convention; and, (2) upon the passage of this act the Governor of the State should transmit copies of the same to the governors of the several States, to be laid before their respective Legislatures, and a like copy to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be presented to their respective Houses.

Mr. Stevenson addressed the house at great length in explanation and defense of the bill, and in vindication of the principles of the party that elected Mr. Lincoln to the presidency; predicting that Mr. Lincoln would administer the government according to the Constitution and in a manner that would maintain the rights of the South.

The vote being taken, the substitute was rejected—yeas 12, nays 105; those voting for the substitute being Messrs. John C. Cavender, Felix Coste, Randolph Doehn, John Doyle, Meyer Friede, R. M. Hanna, Madison Miller, George M. Moore, N. G. Murphy, James W. Owens, George Partridge and John D. Stevenson—all from St. Louis, and Republicans, except Mr. Murphy, Douglas-Democrat, of Dunklin, and Mr. Owens, Union-Bell-Everett, of Franklin.

The original bill, as reported from the Committee on Federal Relations and as afterwards amended by the House, was then adopted—yeas 105, nays 18; the nays being Messrs. Stephen C. Allen, of Harrison; John C. Cavender, of St. Louis; Felix Coste, of St. Louis; Wm. J. Devol, of Crawford; Randolph Doehn, of St. Louis; John Doyle, of St. Louis; W. C. Duvall, of McDonald; Meyer Friede, of St. Louis; James M. Gordon, of Boone; R. M. Hanna, of St. Louis; W. K. Harman, of Newton; Madison Miller, of St. Louis; George M. Moore, of St. Louis; James W. Owens, of Franklin; George Partridge, of St. Louis; James Peckam, of St. Louis; Wm. S. Pollard, of Caldwell; and John D. Stevenson, of St. Louis. *Republicans*—Cavender, Coste, Doehn, Doyle, Friede, Hanna, Miller, Moore, Partridge, Peckam and Stevenson—11. *Douglas Democrats*—Allen and Duvall—2. *Breckenridge Democrats*—Harman—1. *Union-Bell-Everett*—Devol, Gordon, Owens and Pollard—4.

The bill was immediately reported to the Senate, where Mr. C. H. Hardin (Union-Bell-Everett), from the Boone and Callaway district, and

Governor of the State in 1874-76, introduced an amendment to strike out the 10th section, inserted in the House bill on motion of Mr. Lacy, and insert the following :

“Sec. 10. No act, ordinance or resolution of said Convention shall be deemed to be valid to change or dissolve the political relations of this State to the Government of the United States or to any other State, until a majority of the qualified voters of this State, voting upon the question, shall ratify the same.”

Mr. Hardin, in explanation of his amendment, maintained that the section, as it stood in the House bill, was a very awkward affair. He desired a plainer provision on the subject; one which could not be misunderstood or misinterpreted. He was quite anxious to make it sure that any action of the convention changing the relations between Missouri and the Government of the United States should be submitted to the people and receive their sanction before becoming valid. And if the House shared his desires and convictions on the subject, (and from its action he supposed it did,) there would be no delay in concurring in the amendment if the Senate adopted it.

Considerable debate ensued, participated in by M. M. Parsons, of Cole; M. C. Goodlett, of Johnson; Charles Jones, of Franklin; John Scott, of Buchanan; Samuel B. Churchill, of St. Louis; Robert Wilson, of Andrew, and others, during which the authority of a legislature to limit the powers of a Convention was denied and affirmed, and the policy of a more explicit declaration on the subject than the House bill provided, was discussed. Mr. Churchill was prominent in the maintenance of the doctrine that the General Assembly had no power over the acts of the convention; that that body when it assembled could do as it pleased, and that all the enactments of the Legislature could at best be but advisory. The vote being taken on Mr. Hardin's amendment, it was adopted by a very close vote—yeas, 17; nays, 15—as follows :

*Yeas.*—B. J. Brown, of Ray; Joshua Chilton, of Shannon; Robert G. Coleman, of St. Louis; F. T. Frazier, of Greene; John Gullett, of Lawrence; Westley Halliburton, of Sullivan; Charles H. Hardin, of Callaway; John Hyer, of Dent; Thomas C. Johnson, of St. Louis; H. W. Lyday, of ———; W. B. Morris, of St. Louis; M. M. Parsons, of Cole; R. L. Y. Peyton, of Cass; James S. Rains, of Cedar; Preston P. Raid, of Audrain; J. T. V. Thompson, of Clay; and Miles Vernon, of Laclede—17.

*Nays.*—Thornton P. Bell, of Saline; Luke Byrne, of New Madrid; Samuel S. Churchill, of St. Louis; Thomas B. English, of Cape Girardeau; Wm. S. Fox, of ———; M. C. Goodlett, of Johnson; Major Horner, of Randolph; Charles Jones, of Franklin; J. H. McIlvaine, of Washington; Thomas Monroe, of Morgan; William Newland, of Ralls; Joseph O'Neil, of St. Louis; John Scott, of Buchanan; Samuel H. Stewart, of ———; and John Wilson, of Andrew.—15.

*Absent on leave.*—H. C. Wright, of Warren.

The bill as amended then passed the Senate—yeas, 30; nays, 2; Messrs. Gullett and Morris.<sup>1</sup> It was, without delay, reported to the House, where the same evening, on motion of Mr. George G. Vest, of Cooper, the Senate amendment was taken up and concurred in *nem. con.*

During the afternoon sessions of the Senate and House—January 18th, 1861—a communication was received from Governor Jackson, informing each body that Hon. Daniel R. Russell, who had been appointed a Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, was then in Jefferson City, desirous of executing the trust with which he had been charged by that commonwealth; to-wit: to inform the people of Missouri “that the Legislature of Mississippi had passed an act calling a convention of the people of that State to consider the present threatening relations of the northern and southern sections of the United States, aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the States of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that Missouri would co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the slave-holding States.” Governor Jackson concluded his communication with the assurance that Mr. Russell would embrace “the earliest opportunity” to confer with the General Assembly in regard to the important objects of his mission; whereupon Mr. Churchill offered a concurrent resolution, which passed both Houses without delay, the same evening, appointing committees of each House to wait upon the Commissioner and inform him that he was invited to address the members of the General Assembly that evening in the hall of the House of Representatives. The following committee was appointed under the resolution; *Senate*—Samuel S. Churchill, of St. Louis, R. L. Y. Peyton, of Cass, and Robert Wilson, of Andrew. *House*—George G. Vest, of Cooper; Alfred T. Lacey, of Cape Girardeau; J. P. Ament, of Marion; DeWitt C. Ballou, of Benton, and A. H. Conrow, of Ray.

A very large audience assembled in the hall of the House to hear Mr. Russell. As Mississippi had formally seceded from the Union some ten days previously, there could be no mistaking the object of Mr. Russell’s mission, nor what was meant when he in the name of his State expressed the hope, in various and artful forms of speech, that Missouri would co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the slave-holding States. “Efficient measures” were but milder words for secession and war; and to prepare the General

<sup>1</sup>See Senate Journal, p. 96.

Assembly and people of Missouri for both events, and to take such action as to precipitate them, were evidently the objects of Mr. Russell's mission.

But the adoption by both branches of the Legislature, only a few hours previous to the delivery of his address, of the act calling a State Convention, with an explicit provision that no ordinance of secession could be valid unless submitted to a vote of the people of the State and ratified by them at the polls, did not to any remarkable extent brighten the prospects of such a consummation, how devoutly soever some may have desired it. In short, Mr. Russell's "mission" was a failure, and, to a large extent, his address also.

"The Peace Congress," as it was called, which was proposed to be held in Washington City, on February 4th, 1861, attracted much attention and elicited much favorable comment in Missouri; its object being to agree, if possible, upon some plan of adjustment of existing difficulties, so as to preserve the honor and equal rights of the slaveholding States, and avert the threatened storm of secession and war.

On January 29th, Mr. Thomas C. Johnson, of St. Louis, introduced into the Missouri Senate a joint resolution appointing as Commissioners to said Convention or "Congress" the following distinguished citizens: Waldo P. Johnson, of St. Clair; A. W. Doniphan, of Clay; John D. Coalter, of St. Charles, and Aylett H. Buckner, of Pike. Said Commissioners "always to be under the control of the General Assembly, except when the Convention shall be in session, during which time they shall be under the control of the Convention;" a very unique provision, and one which at the time of its introduction caused people to put on their studying-caps. Amendments were at once proposed to the substance, but not to the phraseology of the resolution. Mr. Parsons, of Cole, moved to add the name of David R. Atchison, and Mr. Johnson that of Ferdinand Kennett; whereupon Mr. Scott moved to strike out Ferdinand Kennett and insert N. W. Watkins. Mr. Scott's motion failed—yeas, 11; nays, 16. Mr. Parsons' passed, 17 to 10, and the resolution as amended was agreed to. Being reported to the House for its concurrence, Mr. Aikman Welch, of Johnson, moved to strike out the Commissioners named by the Senate and insert the following, viz: Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan; John F. Ryland, of Lafayette; Sterling Price, of Chariton; John B. Henderson, of Pike; John D. Coalter, of St. Charles, Hamilton R. Gamble, of St. Louis, and Ferdinand Kennett, of St. Louis. After discussion, Mr. Welch's amendment, together with the original resolution from the Senate, was (on motion of Mr. McAfee,

the Speaker), to the surprise of everybody, laid on the table—yeas, 57; nays, 50. On the following day, however, on motion of Mr. Ament, of Marion, the vote was reconsidered, 75 to 30, and the substitute of Mr. Welch disagreed to, 49 to 61; after which the original resolution, having been amended in phraseology, was again laid on the table. On the following day, on motion of Mr. Nat. C. Claiborne, of Jackson (now of St. Louis), Messrs. Waldo P. Johnson, John D. Coalter, A. W. Doniphan, Harrison Hough, and A. H. Buckner, were appointed Commissioners, and the Senate concurred. The gentlemen appointed left without delay for Washington City, and met “The Peace Congress,” of which Ex-President John Tyler, of Virginia, was elected President.

As a part of the legislative war-history of the State, the following resolutions, introduced into the Senate, March 9th, 1861, by John Hyer, of Dent, are inserted here, together with the vote on each:

1. *Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to oppose the passage of all bills or acts granting supplies of men or money to coerce the seceded States into submission or subjugation.

2. *Resolved,* That should any such acts or bills be passed by the Congress of the United States, our Senators are instructed, and our Representatives requested, to retire from the halls of Congress.

3. *Resolved,* That the Governor of this State is hereby requested to transmit to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, respectively, a copy of these resolutions.

The question being on the passage of the resolutions, Mr. English called for a division of the question, and the first resolution was agreed to by the following vote, the ayes and noes having been demanded by Mr. Halliburton:

*Ayes.*—Messrs. Bell, Byrne, Chilton, Churchill, English, Goodlett, Gullett, Halliburton, Hardin, Horner, Hyer, Lyday, Monroe, O’Niel, Stuart, and Vernon—16.

*Noes.*—Messrs. Morris and Newland—2.

*Absent on leave.*—Messrs. Coleman, Fox, Johnson, Jones, McIlvaine, Parsons, Peyton, Rains, Read, Scott, Thompson, Wilson and Wright—13.

*Sick.*—Mr. Frazier—1.

The question then being on agreeing to the second resolution, it was agreed to by the following vote, the ayes and noes having again been demanded by Mr. Halliburton:

*Ayes.*—Messrs. Brown, Byrne, Chilton, Churchill, English, Goodlett, Halliburton, Hardin, Horner, Hyer, Lyday, Monroe, O’Neil, Stuart and Vernon—15

*Noes.*—Messrs. Bell, Morris and Newland—3.

*Absent.*—Mr. Gullett.

*Absent on leave and sick.*—As before.

The question then being on agreeing to the third resolution, it was agreed to. No action was ever had upon the resolutions in the House.

The contest for United States Senator during this session of the Legislature was attended with unusual interest and excitement, a condition largely due to the embarrassments and perplexities of the national situation and the triangular nature of the contest itself. There were, as we have already seen, three political parties represented by an almost equal number of members in the Legislature, neither of the divisions, unaided by one of the others, possessing the numerical strength to elect a Senator or control legislation.

The joint session met on Wednesday, March 13, 1861, and, with varying fortunes, the several aspirants and their friends waged fierce battle till the Monday following; at which time, on the 15th ballot, Waldo P. Johnson, a Breckenridge Democrat, was declared elected for the term of six years from March 4, 1861, the time at which James S. Green's term expired.

During the ballotings a large number of distinguished citizens, representing the different subdivisions into which the people of the State were politically divided, were voted for without success. Prominent among these were James S. Green, of Lewis, Breckenridge Democrat and incumbent of the office; A. W. Doniphan, Union-Bell-Everett, of Clay; John S. Phelps, Douglas Democrat, of Greene; Thomas B. English, Douglas Democrat, of Cape Girardeau; Robert Wilson, Union-Bell-Everett, of Andrew; with scattering votes for Willard P. Hall, John B. Henderson, William Scott of the Supreme Court, Sterling Price, Robert M. Stewart and others. The whole number of votes cast vibrated between 145 and 156, and the vote for Mr. Green from 68 on the first ballot to 76 on the eighth, which was the highest vote he received. The successful candidate, Mr. Johnson, was not voted for till the 14th ballot, the first cast on Monday morning. A. W. Doniphan's smallest vote was 25. His largest (on the 11th ballot) was 43. The final ballot, the 15th, stood: Johnson 87, Doniphan 36, English 28. Whole number of votes cast 146. Necessary to a choice 74.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On December 10th, 1861, Solomon Foote, of Vermont, offered a resolution to the U. S. Senate, expelling Mr. Johnson from that body for sympathy with and participation in the rebellion against the Government of the United States, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee. On January 10th, 1862, Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, chairman, made a report from the committee in favor of the resolution of expulsion, and it was adopted—yeas 35, nays none. (See *Congressional Globe*, p. 263.) On December 18th, 1861, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, introduced a resolution expelling Truett Polk,

Much angry debate preceded the election of United States Senator, as angry debate and sectional rancor at all periods of our history, and in every place, attended the discussion of the slavery question. While the debate was pending in the State Senate, Mr. Churchill, of St. Louis, recalled the fact that he had heard Hon. James S. Green charged with being a secessionist, and believing him misrepresented, he had telegraphed to him at Washington, and the following was his reply:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29, 1861.

*Dear Sir:* You are right; my remarks in the *Globe* prove it. I am for every effort, even that of Crittenden, but when we fail to get justice and security, I am for separation. Let us now have permanent adjustment or pacific division.

JAMES S. GREEN.

The financial stringency of the times, added to the fact that the country was rapidly approaching the perilous verge of civil war, induced the Legislature—March 7, 1861,—to pass a "Relief Law," which provided (1) that all executions issued upon any judgment by a court of record should be returnable to the second term of said court after the date of the execution; (2) all executions already issued from any court of record should be returnable to the second term after the date of writ; (3) all executions issued by justices of the peace should be returnable twelve months after date, and (4) no property should be sold by virtue of any execution until within fifteen days of the return day therefor; the law to remain in force until January 1, 1863. The bill passed the House—ayes 89, nays 26; the Senate—ayes 17, nays 9. Notwithstanding these large majorities in both Houses in favor of it, the "Relief Law" was very short-lived, for on the 26th of the same month the Supreme Court, in the case of *Wm. S. Buxley vs. Richard H. Stephens*, decided it unconstitutional and void.

After a much disturbed and stormy sitting, the first session of the Twenty-first General Assembly adjourned *sine die* on March 28, 1861.

It was not long, however, before it was reconvened in extra session by proclamation of Gov. Jackson, dated April 22, "for the purpose of enacting such laws and adopting such measures as may be deemed necessary and proper for the more perfect organization and equipment

also a Senator from Missouri, for the same reasons given in the case of Mr. Johnson. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and on January 10th, 1862, Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, chairman, reported in favor of it to the Senate, and it was adopted—yeas 36, nays none. (See *Congressional Globe*, p. 264.) The vacancies thus occurring were filled by Lieut. Governor Willard P. Hall, in the absence of Gov. Gamble, by the appointment of Robert Wilson, of Andrew, and John B. Henderson, of Pike.



of the militia of the State, and to raise money and such other means as may be required to place the State in a proper attitude of defence." Pursuant to this proclamation the Legislature convened in extra session at the Capital on May 2, 1861, and adjourned on the 15th, to the third Monday in September following.

Gov. Jackson's message was a brief, but serious and momentous paper. It recited the fact that since the adjournment in March, events affecting the peace and safety of the country had transpired almost with the rapidity of thought, and of a nature well calculated to awaken, in the bosom of every patriot, the most gloomy apprehension. That these events indicated but too plainly that our whole country, its constitution and laws, were in imminent danger of disorder and destruction. He dwelt upon the nature and object of the Federal Constitution and the Union of the States of which it was the bond; on "the progress of the fanaticism, sectionalism and cupidity of the Northern States, culminating in the triumph of a purely sectional faction;" on the dangerous and monstrous perversions of authority by President Lincoln, and of the fidelity to the Constitution and the Union preserved by the people of Missouri, and the many and great injuries to which, for the sake of peace, they had submitted. He concluded by reciting that the interests and sympathies of Missouri are identical with those of the slave-holding States, "and necessarily unite our destiny with theirs." Therefore he recommended the policy of "arming our people and placing the State in an attitude for defense;" of revising and rendering more efficient the militia law, and the adoption of a good system of drill and discipline, "for the protection of our people against the aggression of all assailants."

The session of the Legislature, although brief, and from its commencement to conclusion seriously embarrassed by extraordinary excitement, and apprehensions for the personal safety of its members, was not unfruitful of very important proceedings. In the midst of fearful wranglings, wide-spread terror on account of the capture of Camp Jackson, and a turbulence ill-fitted to promote deliberation or harmony, the Legislature passed an act suspending the apportionment of the State school money for 1861; one to authorize counties to loan money, not exceeding \$30,000 each, to the State; to authorize the banks of Missouri to issue one, two and three dollar notes to the amount of one million five hundred thousand dollars in lieu of the same amount of larger notes; to authorize the Governor to purchase or lease David Ballentine's foundry at Boonville for the manufacture of arms and munitions of war; to authorize the Governor to appoint one major-general, who in time of

insurrection, invasion or war should command the entire military force in the field; to authorize the Governor, whenever in his opinion the security and welfare of the State may require it, to take possession of the railroad and telegraph lines within the State; to place twenty thousand dollars at the disposal of the Governor to maintain the peace and safety of the State, and—having just heard of the capture of Camp Jackson—a short act with a long preamble, the preamble reciting that information had been received “that the City of St. Louis had been invaded by the citizens of other States, and a portion of the people of said city were in a state of rebellion against the laws of the State,” etc., therefore enacting that the Governor be authorized “to take such measures as in his judgment he might deem necessary or proper to repel such invasion or put down such rebellion.” Certainly a very short, but sweeping delegation of authority. Also an act of more than two hundred sections, supplemented by about fifty “Articles of War,” to provide for the organization, government, and support of the military forces (called in the act the “MISSOURI STATE GUARD”) of the State. Also an act authorizing the Governor to borrow one million of dollars to arm and equip the militia of the State to repel invasion and protect the lives and property of the people.<sup>1</sup> The act also created a “Military Fund,” to consist of all the money then in the treasury or that might thereafter be received from the one-tenth of one per cent. on the hundred dollars levied by the act of November 19, 1857, to complete certain railroads; also the proceeds of a tax of fifteen cents on the hundred dollars of the assessed value of the taxable property of the several counties in the State, and the proceeds of the two mill tax heretofore appropriated for educational purposes. All these various funds were diverted from their original uses and made to contribute to the “Military Fund.”

The “Missouri State Guard” bill was before the Legislature, and encountering serious resistance, at the time news was received of the attack on Camp Jackson by Capt. Lyon, and of its surrender to his command. The intelligence so excited that body,—if indeed “excitement” be not too tame a word to typify the panic and convulsion which ensued—that in less than fifteen minutes the act had passed, and was in the hands of the Governor for his approval. This commotion had scarcely been allayed before a new and greater cause of excitement arose. About 11 o’clock on the night of May 10th (the night succeeding the capture of Camp Jackson) the whole city of Jefferson was aroused by the ringing of

<sup>1</sup>Passed the House May 10th, 1861—Yeas 96, Nays 9. (Page 52.)

bells and shouts of men summoning the Legislature to the Capitol. They hurriedly assembled there, went into secret session to consider the demands and perils of the crisis, and thus continued until past 3 o'clock in the morning.

The immediate cause of this panic, and of the extraordinary session of the Legislature after midnight, was the reception late that night of a telegram, asserted afterwards to be bogus, stating that 2,000 Federal troops would leave St. Louis that night for Jefferson City, to capture the Governor, State officers, and members of the Legislature.<sup>1</sup> To prevent the anticipated raid upon the State Capital, the railroad bridge across the Osage river, some forty miles distant, was burned, by order of Gov. Jackson, as is supposed. The next day 12,000 kegs of powder were sent off in wagons to safe places in the neighboring country, and secreted, and the money in the State Treasury was moved out of town to prevent its capture.

The condition of affairs being better known the next day, because the truth was better understood, comparative quiet was restored.

By virtue of the power vested in him by one of the acts of the Legislature, above named, Gov. Jackson appointed Sterling Price Major General of the "State Guard."

On the day before the final adjournment, Mr. George G. Vest, of Cooper—now a well-known lawyer and politician of Sedalia, Mo.—made the following report to the House of Representatives, from the Committee on Federal Relations (House Journal, pp. 73, 74 and 75):

*Whereas*, We have learned with astonishment and indignation, that troops in the service of the Federal Government have surrounded and taken prisoners of war, the encampment of State militia lately assembled near the city of St. Louis, in pursuance of law, and by command of the Governor, for the purpose alone of military instruction; and whereas, the United States troops aforesaid, assisted by a mob armed under Federal authority, have also murdered with unparalleled atrocity, defenseless men, women and children, citizens of Missouri, lawfully and peacefully assembled: Now, therefore,

*Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein:* That we, the representatives of the people of Missouri, in General Assembly convened, do hereby protest to the civilized world, and especially our sister States against this illegal,

<sup>1</sup> Both Houses met in "extraordinary session" at 11:30 o'clock P. M. on May 10th, 1861. —67 Representatives answering to their names. Number of Senators not stated. The following communication from Gov. Jackson was read to each House (House Journal, p. 55; Senate Journal, p. 77):

*To the Senate and House of Representatives.*

I have received information that two regiments of Mr. Blair's troops are now on the way to the Capital.

C. F. JACKSON.

unchristian and inhuman violation of our rights by the capture of our militia, assembled under the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this State, and the murder of our defenseless people.

*Resolved*, 2nd. That whilst Missouri has been loyal to the Government, struggling for its reconstruction, and is now sincerely desirous of an honorable adjustment of existing difficulties, she has received as reward for her fidelity, from persons assuming to act under Federal authority, unparalleled insult and wrong. An armed despotism, under infuriated partizan leaders, has been inaugurated in our midst, controlled by no law but passion, and actuated by the deepest hate against the people of Missouri and their institutions. Our railroads are now under military occupation. The steamboat C. E. Hilman, engaged in transporting goods from the City of St. Louis to the city of Nashville, has been seized by Government troops within the jurisdiction of this State, and the cargo taken out. The Capital of the State is openly threatened with capture, and our session is now being held in the midst of armed citizens hastily assembled for defense.

*Resolved*, 3rd. That it is the unquestioned constitutional right of the State to arm, equip and organize her militia for defense against aggression from any quarter; and the attempt by Capt. Lyon, acting, as he says, under authority from Washington, to use the exercise of this right as an excuse for his conduct, evinces but too clearly a disposition upon the part of the authorities at Washington to disregard and trample upon the sacred rights of the people of Missouri.

*Resolved*, 4th. That the charge of Capt. Lyon, in his letter to Gen. Frost, that the proceedings of the State authorities or of this General Assembly, at any time, furnished a pretext for the course pursued by him is entirely gratuitous and false.

*Resolved*, 5th. That the Governor of the State be hereby directed to make demand of the President of the United States, whether these outrages have been authorized by the Government, and for the immediate return of the arms, camp equipage and other property belonging to this State, lately taken from our military near St. Louis, and for the unconditional release of our State troops.

*Resolved*, 6th. That the Governor be requested to take instant action by calling forth the militia of the State, for the purpose of defense; and that the people of Missouri should rally as one man to perish, if necessary, in defending their constitutional rights.

*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to furnish a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the President of the United States, and to the Governor of each of the States.

The resolutions were read a first and second time, and unanimously adopted by the following vote, Mr. Randolph, of St. Charles, demanding the ayes and noes.

AYES—Messrs. Abernethy, Abington, Allen, Ashbaugh, Austin, Ballou, Blount, Bohannon, Boyd, Brown, Buford, Byrd, Campbell, Cloud, Conrow, Cunningham, Daugherty, Deatherage, Duvall, Eads, Feters, Freeman, Gordon of Boone, Gordon of Lafayette, Graves, Green, Hagan, Hale, Hall, Hand, Hardin, Harman, Harris of Marion, Headlee, Hyer, Jennings, Johnson, Jones, Lacey, Lawson of Platte, Lipscomb, Maughs, McConnell, McIlhany, Meriwether, Moore of Chariton, Moore of Laclede, Murphy, Neill, Parcels, Porter, Powell, Price, Randolph, Rathbun, Rhodes, Richardson of Linn, Richardson of Miller, Riley, Roberts of Schuyler, Russell, Shambaugh, Shultz, Steele, Swink, Vance, Vest, Walker of Cedar, Walker of Cooper, Waltman, Watkins, Weatherford, Welch of Lincoln, White, Williams of Daviess, Williams of Hickory, Williams of Phelps, Wyatt, and Mr. Speaker—79.

NOES—None.

*Absent*—Messrs. Arnold, Bailey, Baughman, Beall, Breck, Briscoe, Burris, Caldwell of Perry, Caldwell of Ralls, Cavender, Dale, Devol, Doeht, Dorris, Doyle, Ellis, Freide, Gatewood, Giddings, Graham, Hanna, Harris of Boone, Harris of Montgomery, Hickox, Kennedy, Lathin, Maguire, Miller, Moore of St. Louis, Morgan, Owens, Part-ridge, Peckham, Pollard, Robinson, Scholl, Sexton, Sheffield, Spedden, Stevenson, Taylor, Tutt, Welch of Johnson, and Woodside—44.

The unanimity with which these resolutions passed the House—yeas 79, nays none—leaves on record not only a testimony to the prevailing feeling of the hour, but to the extraordinary excitement by which the Legislature and the people were stirred.

The Legislature having adjourned to Monday, September 16th, Gov. Jackson and a majority of the State officers abandoned the State Capital, believing that if they remained there longer they would be arrested as prisoners of war by the militia forces of the United States.

On September 26th, 1861, at Lexington, Gov. Jackson issued a proclamation convening the General Assembly in extra session at the Masonic Hall in Neosho, Newton County, on the 21st of October following. This official act was performed notwithstanding he was then a fugitive from the Capital of the State, and the State Convention, on the 31st of July, had declared his seat vacant, together with those of the members of the Legislature, and on the same day had invested Hamilton R. Gamble with all the powers and duties of Governor of Missouri.

Gov. Jackson's proclamation recited that the Federal authorities had for months previous,

“—in violation of the Constitution of the United States, waged a ruthless war upon the people of the State of Missouri, murdering our citizens, destroying our property, and as far as in their power lay, desolating our land. I have in vain endeavored to secure your constitutional rights by peaceable means, and have only resorted to war when it became necessary to repel the most cruel and long-continued aggressions. War now exists between the State of Missouri and the Federal Government, and a state of war is incompatible with the continuance of our Union with that government. Therefore, for the purpose of giving to the representatives of the people of Missouri an opportunity of determining whether it be proper now to dissolve the constitutional bond which binds us to the Government of the United States, when all other bonds between us are broken, I, Claiborne F. Jackson,” &c.

How many members of the Legislature, or which of them, responded to the proclamation, will perhaps never be fully known, because (1) the roll of the Senate, on assembling, was not called, and (2) the proceedings of the House have not been found, and of course have not been published.

On January 21st, 1862, Isaac N. Shambaugh, a Representative in the

Legislature from Dekalb County who responded to Gov. Jackson's call, published an address to his constituents in which he said :<sup>1</sup>

"It is doubtless known to most of you that the House of Representatives of our State consists of 133 members, and that in order to constitute a quorum constitutionally competent to the transaction of any business, there must be present at least 67 members of the House and 17 members of the Senate. Instead of this there were present at the October Session (at Neosho) but 39 members of the House of Representatives and 10 members of the Senate. A few days afterward, when we had adjourned to Cassville, one additional Senator and five additional Representatives made their appearance; and these being all that were at any time present, it need scarcely be added that all the pretended legislation at either place was a fraud, and not only upon the State, but upon the Government of the Confederate States, as well as the United States."

Mr. Shambaugh also says in his address that the Journal of neither House gives the names or the number of the members present, nor the names of the members who voted upon the passage of any bill, but simply states that the bill was passed, &c. In the House, Mr. Shambaugh was the only member who voted against the secession ordinance and the other measures which followed its train.

The proceedings of the Senate, which were captured in Alabama by the 49th Missouri Infantry Volunteers, and which were printed by order of the 23d General Assembly, confirm Mr. Shambaugh's statement. According to this publication "the Senate" met on October 21st, 1861, and on motion of Mr. Goodlett, Mr. Vernon was called to the chair. The body adjourned from day to day without attempting to do anything until the 28th except (on motion of Charles H. Hardin, of Callaway,) to request the President of the Senate to appoint messengers to bring to the Senate absent members, and (on motion of M. M. Parsons, of Cole,) to request Maj. Gen. Sterling Price to furnish the messengers with "the necessary outfit."

On Monday, October 28, on motion of James S. Rains, John T. Crisp, of Johnson County, was elected Secretary, and John T. Tracy, of Cole, Assistant Secretary; James McCoun, of Johnson, Enrolling Clerk, and M. R. Johnson, Sergeant-at-arms.

A short message from Gov. Jackson was read, in which are briefly recounted "a series of outrageous acts" committed by "a brutal soldiery with the connivance of government officers"—concluding with the statement that "it is idle to speak of preserving the mere paper bonds of union with a government whose licentious rulers have cut into shreds all other bonds between us." In view of these considerations, and of

<sup>1</sup> See "The Rebellion Record," Supplement, by Frank Moore, p. 54.

the sympathy manifested towards us by the Confederate States, he recommended the passage of an ordinance of secession and an act of provisional union with the Confederate States. Also the passage of a law authorizing an election to be held for Senators and Representatives to the Confederate Congress; and an act authorizing the Governor to have engraved, and from time to time issued, bonds of the State of Missouri, not exceeding ——— dollars.

The message being read, on leave, Mr. Goodlett introduced a bill entitled "An act to dissolve the political connection between the State of Missouri with the United States of America," which was read a first time, rule suspended, read a second and third time and passed, all the Senators voting in the affirmative except Mr. Hardin, the Senator from Callaway. Adjourned until 2 o'clock p. m. On re-assembling at 2 o'clock, Mr. Peyton moved that the House be requested to return the above bill. Passed: very soon after which the bill was returned by the House, by the hands of Mr. Murray, chief clerk, who at the same time reported the passage by the House of "An act declaring the ties heretofore existing between the State of Missouri and the United States of America dissolved," which was at once taken up, amended, adopted, and reported to the House for its concurrence. The House at once concurred; and therefore, so far as this body could effect it, the ligament which bound Missouri to the Federal Union was severed and the State floated out into the turbulent sea of the Confederate States Government. After the passage of an act notifying the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, the Senate adjourned to meet at Cassville, Barry County, on Thursday October 31st, 1861. A session was held there accordingly, meeting from day to day till the Thursday evening following, (November 7th,) when it adjourned. Quite a number of bills and resolutions were passed, copies of which appear in full in the "Appendix" to the published Journal. They need not be transcribed here, nor epitomized. It is, however, worthy of record in this place that on November 2d, by consent of the Senate, Mr. Goodlett offered the following resolution:

*Resolved* by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring therein, That Senators and members of the House be requested to sign a copy of the rolls of the Acts of Secession and of Annexation, and the same be filed by the Secretary of the Senate in the office of the Secretary of State,

—which was agreed to. Also that on Monday morning, November 4th, the President of the Senate laid before that body the following communication from the Governor:

CASSVILLE, MO., November 4, 1861.

*To the President of the Senate:*

Sir: Since your last session, I have appointed Sterling Price Major General of Missouri State Guards, and have also appointed the following named gentlemen brigadier generals of the same, viz.: N. W. Watkins, in the first division; Thomas A. Harris, in the second division; John B. Clark, in the third division; W. Y. Slack, in the fourth division; A. E. Steen, in the fifth division; M. M. Parsons, in the sixth division; J. H. McBride, in the seventh division; James S. Rains, in the eighth division; and very respectfully ask the advice and consent of the Senate to the same.

Respectfully, C. F. JACKSON.<sup>1</sup>

All of the appointments were confirmed in secret session. After the transaction of many matters of legislation, touching the organization, government and support of the militia forces of the State, to encourage enlistments, &c., the Senate adjourned, November 7th, 1861, to meet at New Madrid on the first Monday in March, 1862.

That session was never held.

<sup>1</sup>Gov. Jackson died at a farm house on the Arkansas river, opposite Little Rock, Dec. 6, 1862, of cancer of the stomach. After the close of the war his remains were exhumed and brought to Saline County, and reinterred there in the family burying ground of Dr. Wm. B. Sappington, his father-in-law.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

1861.—THE "GAMBLE" STATE CONVENTION.—IT MEETS ON FEB. 28, 1861.—NAMES OF MEMBERS ELECTED.—STERLING PRICE ELECTED PRESIDENT.—THE CONVENTION HOLDS FREQUENT SESSIONS AT THE STATE CAPITOL AND IN ST. LOUIS.—FINALLY ADJOURNS SINE DIE, ON JULY 1, 1863.—LUTHER J. GLENN, COMMISSIONER FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA, ATTENDS THE CONVENTION.—HIS RECEPTION AND ADDRESS.—ADDRESS REFERRED TO A COMMITTEE.—TWO REPORTS PRESENTED.—NEITHER EVER DISPOSED OF.—COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL RELATIONS.—THEIR REPORTS.—ACTION THEREON.—COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO RE-CONVENE THE CONVENTION WHEN NECESSARY.—DELEGATES ELECTED TO THE BORDER STATE CONVENTION.—ROBERT WILSON ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION, VICE STERLING PRICE. EXPELLED FOR DISLOYALTY.—ORDINANCE DECLARING THE OFFICES OF GOVERNOR, LIEUT. GOVERNOR AND SECRETARY OF STATE VACANT ADOPTED.—HAMILTON R. GAMBLE ELECTED GOVERNOR; WILLARD P. HALL, LIEUT. GOVERNOR, AND MORDECAI OLIVER, SECRETARY OF STATE.—ORDINANCES PASSED CHANGING GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION FROM AUGUST TO NOVEMBER; ALSO ABOLISHING CERTAIN CIVIL OFFICES, AND PRESCRIBING AN OATH OF LOYALTY FOR CIVIL OFFICERS, AND FOR ISSUING UNION DEFENCE BONDS.—RESOLUTION ADOPTED EXPELLING STERLING PRICE AND OTHERS FROM THE CONVENTION.—MR. BRECKINRIDGE'S EMANCIPATION ORDINANCE LAID ON THE TABLE.—CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS REMODELED.—OATH OF LOYALTY FOR VOTERS, OFFICIALS, JURYMEN AND ATTORNEYS ADOPTED.—THE YEAS AND NAYS.—COMMITTEE ON EMANCIPATION ELECTED.—THEY REPORT AN ORDINANCE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES, WHICH IS ADOPTED.—THE YEAS AND NAYS.—CONVENTION ADJOURNS SINE DIE.

The bill which passed the General Assembly early in January, 1861, calling a State Convention, provided for the election, on Monday, February 18th, 1861, from each Senatorial district, of three times as many delegates as said district was entitled to members in the State Senate and that the delegates thus chosen should meet in Convention in Jefferson City on the 28th of the same month—

"—to consider the then existing relations between the government of the United States, the people and the governments of the different States, and the government and people of the State of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded."

The 10th Section of the bill, under the circumstances of its adoption, was one of more than ordinary import and significance, and is in the following words:

"No act, ordinance, or resolution of said Convention shall be deemed to be valid to change or dissolve the political relations of this State to the Government of the United States, or any other State, until a majority of the qualified voters of this State, voting upon the question, shall ratify the same."

This section was introduced as an amendment to the original bill by Charles H. Hardin, then a Senator from the Boone and Callaway district,

and in 1874-'76, Governor of the State. It was adopted in the Senate by a very close vote—yeas 17, nays 15.

The bill having become a law, Governor Jackson, in conformity with its requirements, directed the sheriffs of the several counties to give notice of the election of delegates on Monday, February 18th, 1861. A very active, and in some localities a very exciting canvass ensued, wherein the issue was made for and against the passage by the Convention of an ordinance declaring in favor of the immediate secession of Missouri from the Union—said ordinance, of course, to be submitted to the qualified voters for their ratification or rejection. During this canvass the then existing relations between Missouri and the government of the United States; the question of slavery and secession; the rights of the States, the authority of the Federal government to coerce a State, and the duty of Missouri in the existing crisis, were very exhaustively discussed by the candidates for the Convention and by the public press. The election resulted in the choice of a large majority of delegates opposed to secession, and in disclosing a popular preponderance of some eighty thousand votes in favor of the Union. It cannot be denied that this result greatly disappointed many of the most prominent advocates of the Convention. They hoped and expected that the people of the State would respond to their extreme views by electing to the Convention a majority of delegates who would declare it the duty of the State to co-operate with South Carolina by following her out of the Union.

On Thursday, February 28th, 1861, the Convention assembled in the court house in Jefferson City, and the following gentlemen presented certificates of election:

- 1st District.—St. Charles, etc.—R. B. Frayser, J. G. Waller, and Dr. G. Y. Bast.
- 2d District.—Pike, etc.—Jno. B. Henderson, G. W. Zimmerman, and Robt. Calhoun.
- 3d District.—Boone, etc.—Warren Woodson, Eli E. Bass, and Joseph Flood.
- 4th District.—Marion, etc.—Wm. J. Howell, Jno. T. Redd, and J. T. Matson.
- 5th District.—Lewis, etc.—E. K. Sayer, Henry M. Gorin, and N. F. Givens.
- 6th District.—Howard, etc.—Wm. A. Hall, Sterling Price, and Thos. Shackelford.
- 7th District.—Macon, etc.—Frederick Rowland, Jos. M. Irwin, and John Foster.
- 8th District.—Livingston, etc.—Alex. M. Woolfolk, Jacob Smith, and William Jackson.
- 9th District.—Daviss, etc.—Jacob T. Tindall, James McFerran, and J. S. Allen.
- 10th District.—Ray, etc.—G. W. Dunn, R. D. Ray, and J. H. Birch.
- 11th District.—Andrew, etc.—Robt. Wilson, Prince L. Hudgins, and Ellzy Vanbuskirk.
- 12th District.—Buchanan, etc.—Willard P. Hall, Robt. M. Stewart, and R. W. Donnell.
- 13th District.—Clay, etc.—A. W. Doniphan, James H. Moss, and E. H. Norton.
- 14th District.—Jackson, etc.—J. K. Sheeley, Abram Comingo, and Robt. A. Brown.
- 15th District.—Benton, etc.—Akeman Welch, A. C. Marvin, and C. G. Kidd.
- 16th District.—Lafayette, etc.—J. F. Philips, Samuel L. Sawyer, and Vincent Mar-  
maduke.

- 17th District.—Dade, etc.—J. J. Gravelly, Nelson McDowell, and J. R. Chenault.  
 18th District.—Newton, etc.—A. S. Harbin, R. W. Crawford, and M. H. Ritchie.  
 19th District.—Green, etc.—Sample Orr, Littleberry Hendricks, and R. W. Jamison.  
 20th District.—Polk, etc.—M. W. Turner, J. W. Johnson, and W. L. Morrow.  
 21st District.—Franklin, etc.—Amos W. Maupin, Chas. D. Eitzen, and Zackariah Isbell.  
 22d District.—Texas, etc.—W. G. Pomeroy, V. B. Hill, and Jno. Holt.  
 23d District.—Washington, etc.—C. L. Rankin, M. P. Cayse, and Joseph Bogy.  
 24th District.—Ripley, etc.—Samuel C. Collier, Philip Pipkin, and W. T. Leeper.  
 25th District.—New Madrid, etc.—Harrison Hough, R. A. Hatcher, and O. Bartlett.  
 26th District.—C. Girardeau, etc.—N. W. Watkins, James C. Noell, and Dr. J. R. McCormick.  
 27th District.—Cole, etc.—J. Proctor Knott, J. W. McClurg, and John Scott.  
 28th District.—Cooper, etc.—Wm. Douglass, J. P. Ross, and Charles Drake.  
 29th District.—St. Louis—Sam. M. Breckenridge, John How, Dr. M. L. Linton, Hudson E. Bridge, Thos. T. Gantt, Hamilton R. Gamble, John F. Long, Uriel Wright, Ferdinand Meyer, Henry Hitchcock, Robt. Holmes, James O. Broadhead, Sol. Smith, Isador Bush, and John H. Shackelford.

In all ninety-nine members; who proceeded upon the evening of the second day to permanently organize by the election of the following officers: For President, Mr. Broadhead nominated Sterling Price, of Chariton County. Mr. Hatcher, of New Madrid, nominated Nathaniel W. Watkins, of Cape Girardeau. The vote stood: Price 75; Watkins 15. Mr. Price, who was regarded as a decided Union man, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected President of the Convention.

Robert Wilson, of Andrew, also a Union delegate, was elected Vice-President; Samuel A. Lowe, of Pettis, Secretary; Robert A. Campbell (at this time a distinguished lawyer and politician of St. Louis), Assistant Secretary; C. P. Anderson, of Moniteau, Door-keeper; B. W. Grover, Sergeant-at-Arms.

On the second day of the Convention, no important business having been transacted, it adjourned to meet in Mercantile Library Hall, in the City of St. Louis, on Monday, March 4th. The Convention met pursuant to adjournment; continued in session until Friday, March 22d, when it adjourned until the third Monday in December following; but before the arrival of that day a majority of the committee charged with the duty of convening the Convention prior to the third Monday in December, at such place as they thought the public exigencies required, notified the members to assemble at Jefferson City on July 22d.

The Convention met pursuant to this notification, remained in session until the 31st of the month, and adjourned until the third Monday in December.

It was however reconvened in Mercantile Library Hall, St. Louis, by

a proclamation of Governor Gamble, on October 10th, and after a session of eight days adjourned subject to call of the Governor.

On Monday, June 2d, 1862, it met again, at Jefferson City, in response to a proclamation of Governor Gamble, and on the 14th of the month adjourned until July 4th, 1863.

Previous to that day, however, Governor Gamble, by proclamation, reconvened the body at Jefferson City, on June 15th, 1863. After remaining in session until July 1st it adjourned *sine die*.

On the first day of the session of the Convention in St. Louis, March 4th, 1861, Mr. Gamble, of St. Louis, offered a resolution, which was adopted, for the appointment of a committee of seven, to be called the Committee on Federal Relations, which shall consider and report on the relations existing between the government of the United States, the government and people of the different States, and the government and people of this State; and that all propositions or resolutions that may be introduced by any member, touching the relations of Missouri with the Federal government, shall be referred to said committee. The President appointed the following gentlemen members of the committee, viz.: Hamilton R. Gamble, of St. Louis; John B. Henderson, of Pike; John T. Redd, of Marion; William A. Hall, of Randolph; Jacob T. Tindall, of Grundy; A. W. Doniphan, of Clay; Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan; N. W. Watkins, of Cape Girardeau; Harrison Hough, of Mississippi; Samuel L. Sawyer, of Lafayette; William Douglass, of Cooper; John R. Chenault, of Jasper; and William G. Pomeroy, of Crawford.

Luther J. Glenn, Commissioner from the State of Georgia, being in attendance upon the Convention, Mr. Redd, of Marion, moved the appointment of a committee of three to wait upon him, and inform him the Convention would receive him at 12 o'clock that day, and hear what he may choose to communicate in regard to the object of his mission. This motion was adopted—yeas 62, nays 35. Mr. Glenn briefly addressed the Convention in the name of the State of Georgia; submitted the ordinance of secession adopted by that State, and earnestly urged Missouri to pass a similar ordinance and unite with her in forming a Southern Confederacy. A large number of citizens were present in the lobby, and by mingled applause and hisses testified their pleasure or dissatisfaction. These demonstrations continued for some time, and were with difficulty subdued by the presiding officer.

On motion of Mr. Henderson, of Pike, a committee of seven—Henderson, Birch, Howell, Stewart, Wright, Marvin and Knott—was appointed, to whom was referred the communications made by Mr.

Glenn, said committee being required to report such action as they may deem a respectful and suitable response on the part of this State.

A large number of resolutions, presented by various members of the Convention, were introduced and referred to this committee. On March 21st, Mr. Henderson, Chairman, presented a report in writing from a majority of the committee, embracing a long and earnest argument against secession and in favor of the maintenance of the Union, and concluding with a series of resolutions which declared in substance that so far as the communication made to the Convention by Mr. Glenn asserts the constitutional right of secession, it meets with their disapproval; that whilst they reprobated, in common with Georgia, the violation of constitutional duty by northern fanatics, they could not approve the secession of Georgia and her sister States, as a measure beneficial either to Missouri or to themselves; that in their opinion a dissolution of the Union would be ruinous to the best interests of Missouri; hence no effort should be spared on her part to preserve its continued blessings, and she will labor for an adjustment of all existing differences on a basis compatible with the interests and honor of all the States; and that the Convention exhorts Georgia and the other seceding States to desist from the revolutionary measures commenced by them, and unite their voice with ours in restoring peace and in cementing the Union of our fathers.

Mr. Birch, of Clinton (of the same committee), offered a series of resolutions as a substitute for the resolutions of the majority, declaring that, whilst denying the legal right of a State to secede from the Union, we recognize, in lieu thereof, the right of revolution, should sufficient reason arise therefor; that whilst, in common with the State of Georgia, we deplore and reprobate the sectional disregard of duty and fraternity so forcibly presented by her commissioner, we do not despair of future justice, nor will we despair until our complaints have been unavailingly submitted to the northern people; that the possession of slave property is a constitutional right, and as such, ought to be recognized by the Federal government; that, if it shall invade or impair that right, the slave-holding States should be found united in its defence, and that in such events as may legitimately follow, this State will share the danger and destiny of her sister slave States, and that the president of the Convention communicate to each of the seceding States a copy of its resolves.

On motion of Mr. Welch, of Johnson, the reports of the majority and minority were laid on the table, and by a vote of 56 to 40 were made the special order for the third Monday in December following. Here they slept a sleep that knew no waking, for neither report was ever heard of afterwards.

Intense interest was felt in the Convention and among the people of the State, not to say of the whole Union, in the report which the committee on Federal Relations was expected to make. This committee was composed of some of the oldest and most sagacious statesmen belonging to the body, and their report was looked to as denoting the position which Missouri would assume in regard to the embarrassing complications besetting the whole country. No unnecessary delay therefore was had in its presentation. On the ninth of March, Mr. Gamble, chairman of the committee, presented a report from the majority. It was a short but incisive, statesmanlike and conservative paper, and was designed to allay popular apprehension and excitement, and plant Missouri irrevocably against secession, revolution and war. The opinions and wishes of the committee were summarized in the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union, but on the contrary she will labor for such an adjustment of existing troubles as will secure the peace, as well as the rights and equality of all the States.

2. *Resolved*, That the people of this State are devotedly attached to the institutions of our country, and earnestly desire that by a fair and amicable adjustment, all the causes of disagreement that at present unfortunately distract us as a people, may be removed, to the end that our Union may be preserved and perpetuated, and peace and harmony be restored between the North and South.

3. *Resolved*, That the people of this State deem the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Hon. John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, with the extension of the same to the territory hereafter to be acquired by treaty, or otherwise, a basis of adjustment which will successfully remove the causes of difference forever from the arena of national politics.

4. *Resolved*, That the people of Missouri believe the peace and quiet of the country will be promoted by a convention to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and this Convention therefore urges the Legislature of this State to take the proper steps for calling such convention in pursuance of the fifth article of the Constitution, and for providing by law for an election of one delegate to such convention from each electoral district in this State.

5. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, the employment of military force by the Federal government to coerce the submission of the seceding States, or the employment of military force by the seceding States to assail the government of the United States, will inevitably plunge this country into civil war, and thereby entirely extinguish all hope of an amicable settlement of the fearful issues now pending before the country; we therefore earnestly entreat, as well the Federal government, as the seceding States, to withhold and stay the arm of military power, and on no pretence whatever bring upon the nation the horrors of civil war.

6. *Resolved*, That when this Convention adjourns its session in the city of St. Louis, it will adjourn to meet in the hall of the House of Representatives at Jefferson City, on the third Monday of December, 1861.

7. *Resolved*, That a committee of ——— be elected by this Convention, a majority of which shall have power to call this Convention together at such time prior to the third Monday in December, and at such place as they may think the public exigencies require,

and the survivors or survivor of said committee shall have power to fill any vacancies that may happen in said committee by death, resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of this Convention.

Mr. Redd, of Marion, on behalf of himself and Mr. Hough, of Mississippi, presented a minority report in which he maintained that the Anti-Slavery people of the North were actuated by a single cohesive principle—bitter hostility to the slave institutions of the Southern States and hatred to slave-holders; that political demagogues and sensation preachers had employed the politics, press, pulpit, books, literature and schools of the North for the purpose of inflaming and strengthening the prejudices against Southern institutions and Southern men. He maintained that they had violated the compact which united them to their sister States of the South; that by that compact they had covenanted to deliver up fugitive slaves found within their borders; that they had violated this by failing to enact laws providing for their delivery, by refusing the master aid and permitting their lawless citizens to deprive him of his property by mob violence; and when Congress interposed for his relief by the Fugitive Slave Law, they trampled it under foot and nullified it by deliberate State legislation. Also that they have permitted their citizens to invade the soil of the Southern States, steal the slaves, and incite them to insurrection; and when the felon has been indicted and demanded, they have refused to give him up. This Anti-Slavery party, through its chosen leader, proclaimed the dangerous heresies that our government cannot continue as our fathers made it, part slave and part free; that it must become all one or all the other; that an irrepressible conflict is progressing between freedom and slavery, and that it must continue until the public mind rests in the belief that slavery is in the process of extinction, and that hereafter the slave property of Southern men shall be taken away from them by Congressional legislation, if they take it with them into the territories, the common property of all the States. That, deaf to the warning voice and remonstrances of the people of the South, they have elevated to the Presidential chair a leader who endorses their doctrines, thus placing the Federal government in the hands of the enemies of the South, and dissolving the Union. The report concludes with four resolutions: the *first*, inviting the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Delaware, to send commissioners to meet in convention those appointed by Missouri, at Nashville, Tennessee, on ———day of ———next, to agree upon a basis of settlement, by constitutional amendments that will preserve the Union, and afford an

adequate guarantee for the preservation of their slave institutions and the constitutional rights of their citizens; the *second*, naming the commissioners to represent Missouri; the *third*, appointing a commissioner to visit each of the States above named; the *fourth*, directing the Missouri commissioners to said convention, as a basis of settlement, to present the resolutions known as the "Crittenden Compromise."

The resolutions from the committee on Federal Relations being under consideration, Mr. Moss, of Clay, moved to amend the fifth of the majority (Gamble) series by adding the following:

*And further*, Believing that the fate of Missouri depends upon a peaceable adjustment of our present difficulties, she will never countenance or aid a seceding State in making war on the general government, nor will she furnish men or money for the purpose of aiding the general government in any attempts to coerce a seceding State.

Which was rejected—yeas 30, nays 61;—after which the first resolution of the Gamble series was adopted—yeas 89, nays 1: Mr. Bast, of Montgomery. The second resolution was adopted—yeas 90, nays 0. Third resolution—yeas 90, nays 4: Broadhead, Hill, Hitchcock and How. For the fourth resolution of the committee, Mr. Gamble offered the following substitute:

4. *Resolved*, That the people of Missouri believe the peace and quiet of the country will be promoted by a convention to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and this Convention therefore urges the Legislature of this State, and the other States, to take the proper steps for calling such a convention in pursuance of the fifth article of the Constitution; and for providing by law for an election by the people of such number of delegates as are to be sent to such convention.

Adopted—yeas 83, nays 9: Brown, Chenault, Doniphan, Hatcher, Hill, Hough, Hudgins, Redd and Watkins. The fifth resolution coming up for consideration, several amendments were proposed. Mr. Shackelford, of Howard, offered the following—afterwards changed in phraseology at the suggestion of Mr. Gamble—as an addition to the fifth resolution, which was adopted 57 to 36:

And in order to the restoration of harmony and fraternal feeling between the different sections, we would recommend the policy of withdrawing the Federal troops from the forts within the borders of the seceding States where there is danger of collision between the State and Federal troops.

The question then recurring upon the adoption of the original fifth resolution, as amended, it was agreed to—yeas 89, nays 6: Broadhead, Bridge, Bush, Eitzen, Hitchcock and How,—the fifth resolution as adopted being as following:



5. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, the employment of military force by the Federal government to coerce the submission of the seceding States, or the employment of military force by the seceding States to assail the Government of the United States, will inevitably plunge this country into civil war, and thereby entirely extinguish all hope of an amicable settlement of the fearful issues now pending before the country; we therefore earnestly entreat, as well the Federal government as the seceding States, to withhold and stay the arm of military power, and on no pretense whatever bring upon the nation the horrors of civil war. And in order to the restoration of harmony and fraternal feeling between the different sections, we would recommend the policy of withdrawing the Federal troops from the forts within the borders of the seceding States where there is danger of collision between the State and Federal troops.

The sixth resolution was adopted—yeas 76, nays 19.

Numerous amendments having been introduced to the seventh resolution, it, together with the amendments, was referred to the committee on Federal Relations, who, through Mr. Gamble, reported the following substitute, which was adopted *nem. con.*:

7. *Resolved*, That there shall be a committee, consisting of the President of this Convention, who shall be ex-officio chairman, and seven members, one from each Congressional District of the State, to be elected by this Convention, a majority of which shall have power to call this Convention together at such time prior to the third Monday in December next, and at such place as they may think the public exigencies require; and in case any vacancy shall happen in said committee by death, resignation, or otherwise during the recess of this Convention, the remaining members or member of said committee shall have power to fill such vacancy.

Said committee was made to consist of the following members: Sterling Price, chairman; Thomas T. Gantt, J. T. Matson, J. T. Tindall, Robert Wilson, J. Proctor Knott, J. W. McClurg and James R. McCormack.

During the pendency of the resolutions from the Committee on Federal relations, one of the most able and exhaustive debates of the Convention occurred—a debate which took a wide range and embraced discussions of the origin, structure, and object of the Federal Constitution; the rights of the States and of the People; secession, nullification and revolution, coercion, and the causes which it was claimed by the extremists justified Missouri in withdrawing from the Federal Union and throwing herself into the embrace of the Southern Confederacy. This debate is a valuable contribution to the political literature and learning of our State, and, fortunately, was reported and published in full by order of the Convention in the volume of its proceedings. Among those who prominently participated in these discussions, by the delivery of able arguments in enforcement of their views, the following may be mentioned: Broadhead, Birch, Breckenridge, Doniphan, Foster, Dunn, Gamble, Gantt, Hall of

Randolph, Hall of Buchanan, Henderson, Hitchcock, Hudgins, Linton, Moss, Norton, Orr, Redd, Shackelford and Wright.

It is not important at this time, and perhaps improper in this place, to review all the resolutions adopted. To record them, and the action of the Convention thereon, must suffice. Nevertheless, two of them, even at this remote period of time, will attract the attention of intelligent readers: the first and fifth,—the first containing the explicit declaration that there was no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union; the fifth, wherein the Convention took unmistakable ground against the employment of military force by the Federal government to coerce the seceding States, or the employment of military force by the seceding States to assail the government of the United States. This was at that period of our civil war the position generally occupied by the Union men of all the border slave States; that is to say, that whilst they were opposed to secession and in favor of the maintenance of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our liberties and the richest heritage of our fathers, they were at the same time opposed to coercion by the general government against the seceding States or the employment of military force by the States against the general government.

This doctrine was, at that incipient stage of the war, sought to be justified and defended on the ground that an attempt by military force, by either side, to coerce the other, would inevitably plunge the country into the bloody vortex of revolution and war. Therefore, with the earnest hope and patriotic purpose of averting the calamities of civil war, the Union men of Missouri, and of Kentucky, Tennessee and other slaves States, entreated the Federal government, even after the secession of South Carolina and other States, to withhold and stay the arm of military power. It is due to the truth of history, however, to say that after the firing upon Fort Sumter and the culmination of the rebellion—in short, after the question unmistakably became one of arms, and no longer one of argument or diplomacy,—they assumed more extreme views.

Mr. Gamble reported, from the Committee on Federal Relations, a resolution in favor of the election, by the Convention, of seven delegates—one from each Congressional district—to attend the Border State Convention proposed by the State of Virginia, to be held at an early day, for the purpose of devising some plan for the adjustment of our national difficulties; which, after voting down several amendments, was adopted—yeas 93, nays 3,—and the following named gentlemen were elected as

delegates: Hamilton R. Gamble, of St. Louis; John B. Henderson, of Pike; William A. Hall, of Randolph; James H. Moss, of Clay; William Douglass, of Cooper; Littleberry Hendricks, of Greene; and William G. Pomeroy, of Crawford.

On the call of a majority of the Committee, the Convention met in Jefferson City, on Monday, July 22d, 1861, and was called to order by Mr. Wilson the Vice-President—the President, Sterling Price, having since the adjournment made his place vacant by accepting the position of Major General in the Confederate army or State Guard. Robert Wilson, Vice-President, was elected to fill the vacancy, and Akeman Welch, of Johnson, was chosen Vice-President.

On motion of Mr. Broadhead, of St. Louis, a committee of seven, one from each Congressional district, was elected by the Convention for the purpose of reporting what action was necessary to be taken by the Convention in the present condition of public affairs in Missouri. The following named gentlemen were elected as members of the Committee:

James O. Broadhead, of St. Louis; William A. Hall, of Randolph; Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan; William Douglass, of Cooper; Littleberry Hendricks, of Green, and Joseph Bogy, of Ste. Genevieve.

On the fourth day of the session, Mr. Broadhead, chairman of the Committee, made a report reciting that the brief interval since the adjournment of the Convention, on the 22d of March, had been filled with the most startling events; that “the horrors of a civil war, inaugurated by the most gigantic and causeless rebellion of which modern history affords any example,” had visited the State; that the Governor and other high officers of State had deserted the Capital and formed a conspiracy to dissolve the connection of Missouri with the Federal Government, and in conjunction with a large portion of the members of the Legislature, had attempted, through the forms of legislation, to establish a military despotism over the people. The Committee, therefore, recommended that certain amendments to the Constitution be ordained as follows: 1. That the offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and members of the General Assembly should be vacated. 2. That the three first officers named should be appointed by the Convention, and continue in office until the first Monday in August, 1862, when a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary of State should be elected by the qualified voters of the State. 3. That the Supreme Court should consist of seven judges, four of whom should be appointed by the Governor to be chosen by this Convention, and should hold their offices until the first Monday of August, 1862, when

four judges of the Supreme Court should be elected by the people.

The Committee also recommended the adoption, by the Convention, of an ordinance repealing "certain odious laws" enacted by the last Legislature, namely, the militia law, the law to create a militia fund to arm the State; also a joint resolution to suspend the apportionment of the State school money for the year 1861, &c. ; also the revival and re-enactment, in full force, of the volunteer militia law of December 31st, 1859.

The report having been submitted and ordered to be printed, Hamilton R. Gamble, of St. Louis, was by a vote of the Convention added to the Committee.

The report of the committee of seven, now made to number eight by the addition of Mr. Gamble, and thereafter known as "the committee of eight," was re-committed to said committee, on motion of Mr. Broadhead, for the purpose of enabling it to perfect their report. On the next day a new report was presented, differing in no material respect from the other except by the substitution of the first Monday of November, 1861, for the first Monday of August, 1862, as the day of the election, and the omission of the proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for the additional judges of the Supreme Court. The committee supplemented this second report by an ordinance, submitting the action of the Convention to a vote of the people at an election to be held on the first Monday of November, 1861.

The report of the committee of eight coming up for consideration, the first clause of the ordinance, providing for certain amendments to the Constitution, viz. : declaring the offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State vacated, was adopted—yeas 56, nays 25. The clause vacating the offices of the General Assembly was also adopted—yeas 52, nays 28. The clause providing for the appointment, by the Convention, of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State, was adopted—yeas 54, nays 27. The remaining portions of the ordinance were then adopted by substantially the same vote, and the ordinance as a whole by yeas 73, nays 0.

By this action the Convention vacated the places of the State officers named, and provided for their appointment; and of the members of the General Assembly, and provided for their election; repealed "certain odious laws" named, and provided for submitting the action of the Convention to a vote of the people.

On the 31st of July, 1861, the Convention proceeded to the appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State, in place of Claiborne F. Jackson, Thomas C. Reynolds, and Benj. F.

Massey, whose seats had been declared vacant. For Governor, Mr. Hall, of Randolph, nominated Hamilton R. Gamble, who was elected, 69 members voting for him—8 excused from voting and 20 absent. Those who were excused from voting were Eli M. Bass, of Boone; George Y. Bast, of Montgomery; Robert B. Frayzer, of St. Charles; Prince L. Hudgins, of Andrew; Phillip Pipkin, of Jefferson; Joseph G. Waller, of Warren; Warren Woodson, of Boone; and Uriel Wright, of St. Louis.<sup>1</sup> Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan, was elected Lieutenant Governor, and Mordecai Oliver, of Greene, (now a well known lawyer of St. Joseph,) Secretary of State.

After the adoption of an address to the people of the State, presented by Mr. Gamble from the committee appointed to prepare it, the Convention adjourned.

Another session of the Convention was held in Mercantile Library Hall, in the City of St. Louis, commencing on October 10th, 1861, in response to a proclamation by Gov. Gamble. A communication from the Governor having been read to the Convention, that body proceeded to the election of a Doorkeeper and Sergeant-at-Arms. To the first named office, Henry C. Warmoth (since Governor of Louisiana) was elected, and to the last Josiah H. Alexander. Mr. Hendricks, from the Committee on Elections, reported an ordinance changing the time of holding the gubernatorial election, and the election submitting to a vote of the people the action of the Convention, from the first Monday of November, 1861, to the first Monday of August, 1862, and for continuing in office until that time the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary of State appointed by the Convention—which was adopted—yeas 49, nays 1 (E. R. Sayre, of Lewis). Afterwards Mr. Wright, of St. Louis, obtained leave to record his vote in the negative.

Mr. McFerran, from the Committee on Civil Officers, reported an ordinance abolishing certain offices, reducing salaries, and providing an oath to test the loyalty of civil officers in this State. It abolished the offices of Board of Public Works, State Superintendent of Common Schools, County School Commissioner, State Geologist and Assistant State Geologist, and provided that the clerks of the respective County Courts should discharge the duties of County School Commissioners. Also that the salaries of all civil officers should be reduced 20 per cent. during the year ending Sept. 30th, 1862. Also that each civil officer in this State, including County Court clerks, within sixty days after the passage

<sup>1</sup>See Journal of Proceedings, page 25.

of the ordinance, should take an oath "to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State, and that he will not take up arms against the government of the United States, nor the provisional government of this State, nor give aid or comfort to the enemies of either, during the present civil war." Also that the offices of all persons failing to take, subscribe and file said oath within the sixty days mentioned, should be declared vacant; and any civil officer who should falsely take said oath or wilfully violate it shall be deemed guilty of perjury and punished accordingly.

An amendment by Mr. Broadhead, vacating the offices of judges of Supreme, Circuit and Probate Courts, sheriffs and clerks, clerks of Courts of Record, Recorders of deeds, Registers of lands, State Auditor, Treasurer and Attorney General, and providing that the Governor should fill most of the vacancies so created, failed to pass—yeas 10, nays 40.

Mr. McFarren offered an amendment, by way of a new section, providing that any person whomsoever, who shall take and subscribe the oath provided in the ordinance, and file the same in the office of Secretary of State or in the office of any county clerk in this State, within the sixty days mentioned, "shall be exempt from arrest or punishment for offences previously committed against the provisional government of this State, or giving aid or comfort to its enemies in the present civil war." The governor was also directed to furnish a copy of the ordinance to the President of the United States, and request him, in the name of the people of Missouri, by proclamation, to exempt all persons taking said oath from all penalties they might have incurred by taking up arms against the United States, or giving aid or comfort to its enemies in the present civil war. The amendment was agreed to. The yeas and nays were not called.

The vote finally being taken, the first and second sections—abolishing the Board of Public Works and the office of State Superintendent of Public Schools—were adopted. The third section—abolishing the office of County School Commissioner—was adopted; yeas 27, nays 23. The fourth section was adopted—abolishing the offices of State and Assistant State Geologists. The fifth section—reducing the salaries of all civil officers 20 per cent.—was rejected; yeas 24, nays 29; but afterwards the vote was reconsidered and the section passed by yeas 28, nays 22. The sixth section—prescribing an oath for each civil officer in the State, including clerks of the County Courts—was adopted; yeas 37, nays 15. The seventh section—prescribing the oath for County Court clerks—and the eighth, providing amnesty for any person whomsoever who may

take, subscribe and file the oath of loyalty according to the ordinance, were passed by the following vote:

YEAS—John S. Allen, of Harrison; James H. Birch, of Clinton; Joseph Bogy, of Ste. Genevieve; Samuel M. Breckenridge, of St. Louis; Hudson E. Bridge, of St. Louis;<sup>1</sup> William Douglass, of Cooper; Charles D. Eitzen, of Gasconade; John D. Foster, of Adair;<sup>1</sup> Thomas T. Gantt, of St. Louis; Joseph J. Gravelly, of Cedar;<sup>1</sup> Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan; John B. Henderson, of Pike; Littleberry Hendricks, of Greene;<sup>1</sup> Henry Hitchcock, of St. Louis; Robert Holmes, of St. Louis;<sup>1</sup> John How, of St. Louis; Joseph M. Irwin, of Shelby; Z. Isbell, of Osage;<sup>1</sup> William Jackson, of Putnam; Robert W. Jamison, of Webster; James W. Johnson, of Polk; William T. Leeper, of Wayne; M. L. Linton, of St. Louis;<sup>1</sup> John F. Long, of St. Louis; James R. McCormack, of Perry; Nelson McDowell, of Dade; James McFerran, of Daviess; Ferdinand Meyer, of St. Louis; James C. Noell, of Bollinger; Sample Orr, of Greene; John F. Phillips, of Pettis; William G. Pomeroy, of Crawford; John H. Shackelford, of St. Louis;<sup>1</sup> Sol. Smith, of St. Louis;<sup>1</sup> Robert M. Stewart, of Buchanan;<sup>1</sup> Ellsy Van Buskirk, of Holt; George W. Zimmerman, of Pike;<sup>1</sup>—37.

NAYS—James O. Broadhead, of Pike; Isador Bush, of St. Louis; William A. Hall, of Randolph; William J. Howell, of Monroe; Asa A. Marvin, of Henry;<sup>1</sup> Amos W. Maupin, of Franklin; Phillip Pipkin, of Jefferson; Frederick Rowland, of Macon; E. R. Sayre, of Lewis; Jacob Smith, of Linn; Jacob T. Tindall, of Grundy;<sup>1</sup> W. W. Turner, of Laclede; Aikman Welch, of Johnson;<sup>1</sup> A. M. Woolfolk, of Livingston, and Robert Wilson (the President,) of Andrew.<sup>1</sup>—15.

It was on this day, October 16th, 1861, and in the ordinance adopted by this Convention, that test oaths of loyalty for civil officers and citizens were first authoritatively promulgated in Missouri.

After passing an ordinance to provide for the organization of the Missouri State Militia—yeas 43, nays 8,—and for the issuing of "Union Defence Bonds" (better known as "Military Defence Warrants")—yeas 37, nays 14,—the Convention, after a session of eight days, adjourned.

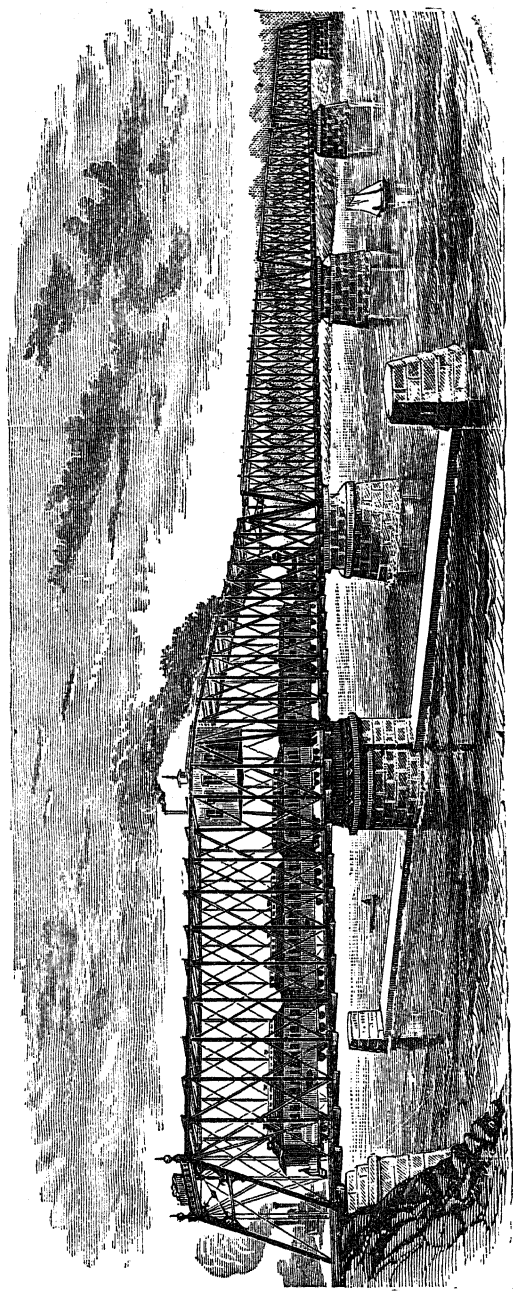
On Monday, June 2d, 1862, in obedience to a proclamation by Gov. Gamble, the Convention re-assembled at Jefferson City for the purpose of dividing the State into Congressional districts, so that the number of representatives to which Missouri was entitled might be elected, and for the transaction of other necessary business. John H. Shanklin, of Grundy, member elect to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Jacob T. Tindall, who fell at the head of his regiment at the battle of Shiloh, on the 2d day of April, 1862, took his seat as a member of the Convention. Elder Thomas M. Allen, of Boone, was appointed Chaplain, after which the President laid before the Convention a message from Gov. Gamble, which was read.

Mr. Stewart, of Buchanan, introduced a resolution, which was referred

<sup>1</sup> Since deceased.







BRIDGE OVER THE MISSOURI AT ATCHISON.

to the Committee on Elective Franchise, declaring that all men, whether civilians or soldiers, who have been found in arms against the government of the United States, and all neutrals who have given them aid, or comfort, be disqualified to vote.

Mr. Bridge, of St. Louis, offered a resolution declaring vacant the seats of Sterling Price, of Chariton, late President of the Convention; and of John R. Chenault, of Jasper; Robert W. Crawford, of Lawrence; V. B. Hill, of Pulaski; Robert A. Hatcher, of New Madrid (at this time [1877] a member of Congress from the 4th Missouri district); W. W. Turner, of Laclede; N. W. Watkins, of Cape Girardeau, and Uriel Wright, of St. Louis;—which was referred to a select committee, consisting of Messrs. Bridge, Allen, Bush, Calhoun, Eitzen, Gravelly and Isbell; who, on the 6th of June, made a report that they were satisfied that Messrs. Price, Crawford and Hill had taken up arms against the government of the United States and the provisional government of Missouri; that Mr. Wright had left the State and espoused the rebel cause, and given it aid and comfort by public speeches and otherwise; that Messrs. Chenault and Hatcher had removed from the State; that N. W. Watkins had accepted a commission as a Brigadier General from C. F. Jackson, late Governor of this State, for the purpose of organizing and equipping troops for the State service, and for some time had been absent from the State, although previously he had thrown up his commission; that Mr. Turner, during the recess of the Convention, committed criminal acts, and was then a fugitive from the State. The committee therefore recommended the expulsion of Messrs. Price, Crawford, Hill, Wright and Turner, and that the seats of Messrs. Chenault, Hatcher and Watkins be declared vacant; also that the name of each gentleman mentioned be struck from the rolls of the Convention. Mr. Pipkin, of Jefferson, moved to strike the name of N. W. Watkins from the resolution. Negatived—yeas 12, nays 55. Similar attempts were made, but they were unsuccessful, to except Messrs. Chenault and Wright from the effect of the resolutions, after which they were unanimously adopted.

Mr. Breckenridge, of St. Louis, presented an ordinance for submitting to a vote of the people of the State certain amendments to the constitution and a scheme for the gradual emancipation of slaves; to wit: for the abolition of the first and second clauses of the 26th section of the 3d article of the constitution—the first, forbidding the legislature to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying a full equivalent for them; the second, forbidding the

legislature to pass laws to prevent *bona fide* emigrants to this State, or actual settlers therein from bringing from any State or territory of the United States persons deemed to be slaves therein, so long as any persons of the same description are allowed to be held as slaves by the laws of this State. Mr. Breckenridge's ordinance also provided :

SEC. 2. That all Negroes and Mulattoes who shall be born in slavery in this State from and after January 1st, 1865, shall be deemed and considered slaves until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years and no longer, unless sooner permanently removed from the State; *provided always*, that it shall be the duty of the General Assembly of the State, at its first regular session after this ordinance shall take effect, or as soon thereafter as may be practicable, to provide by law for the payment to the owner of those Negroes and Mulattoes who would but for this ordinance have been born slaves for life, a full equivalent for their value at the expiration of their term of service, and also to provide by law for the removal to such place or places beyond the limits of this State, may be designated by the General Assembly, at the expense of the State, of such persons as they arrive at the age of twenty five years; and also to address a memorial to the Congress of the United States announcing the acceptance by the State of Missouri of the offer made in the resolutions recommended for adoption by the President of the United States, approved April, 1862, and asking a fulfillment of the pledge therein contained to aid those States which should provide by law for the emancipation of slaves, in bearing the burdens thereby incurred.

The third section made it the duty of the owner of any Negro or Mulatto born in this State after January 1st, 1865, to deliver within six months after his or her birth, to the clerk of the proper county, to be recorded in a book provided for the purpose, a paper duly signed, stating the name, age and sex of said Negro or Mulatto, and the name and residence of the owner thereof; and failing in this said owner should forfeit all claim for compensation as provided in section 2, for said Negro or Mulatto so not registered. Also that after the ordinance should go into effect, no slave should be brought into this State. It also provided that on the first Monday of August, 1864, an election should be held at which the ordinance should be submitted for ratification or rejection of the legal voters of the State.

On motion of Mr. Hall, of Randolph, the ordinance offered by Mr. Breckenridge was laid on the table by the following vote : yeas 52, nays 19.

Mr. Broadhead, from the Committee on Congressional Districts, reported an ordinance dividing the State into nine Congressional Districts, which, after the adoption of several amendments, passed *nem con.* After passing an ordinance repealing all ordinances heretofore passed by the Convention, submitting its action to a vote of the people; an ordinance defining the qualifications of voters and civil officers : yeas 42,

nays 27; an ordinance continuing the present provisional government in office until the first Monday in August, 1864, and until their successors are elected and qualified: yeas 45, nays 21; an ordinance to enable citizens of this State, in the military service of the United States or the State of Missouri, to vote; an ordinance in relation to assessors and collectors and for the payment of certain accounts; an ordinance amending the Constitution so that after July 1, 1862, all general elections should take place on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, and be held biennially, the convention adjourned on the 12th day of its session—June 14th, 1862.

The first section of the ordinance defining the qualifications of the voters and civil officers in this State, adopted June 10, 1862, provided that no person should vote at any election thereafter held in the State, under the Constitution and laws thereof, whether State, county, township or municipal, who should not previously take an oath in form as follows:

"I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm as the case may be) that I will support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of Missouri, against all enemies or opposers, whether domestic or foreign; that I will bear true faith, loyalty and allegiance to the United States, and will not, directly or indirectly, give aid or comfort, or countenance, to the enemies or opposers thereof, or of the provisional Government of the State of Missouri, any ordinance, law or resolution of any State Convention or Legislature, or of any order or organization, secret or otherwise, to the contrary notwithstanding; and that I do this with a full and honest determination, pledge and purpose, faithfully to keep and perform the same, without any mental reservation or evasion whatever. And I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have not, since the 17th day of December, A. D. 1861, wilfully taken up arms, or levied war, against the United States, or against the provisional Government of the State of Missouri, so help me God."

This was the second test oath for voters ever adopted in the State, and it passed the convention as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. J. S. Allen, of Harrison; Joseph Bogy, of Ste. Genevieve; Samuel M. Breckenridge, of St. Louis; Hudson E. Bridge, of St. Louis; Isidor Bush, of St. Louis; William Douglass, of Cooper; Charles D. Eitzen, of Gasconade; Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan; Littleberry Hendricks, of Greene; Henry Hitchcock, of St. Louis; Robert Holmes, of St. Louis; John How, of St. Louis; Joseph M. Irwin, of Shelby; Z. Isbell, of Osage; William Jackson, of Putnam; Robert W. Jamison, of Webster; James W. Johnson, of Polk; Christopher G. Kidd, of Henry; William T. Leeper, of Wayne; M. L. Linton, of St. Louis; John F. Long, of St. Louis; Asa C. Marvin, of Henry; Joseph W. McClurg, of Osage; James R. McCormack, of Perry; James McFerran, of Daviess, Ferdinand Meyer, of St. Louis; Sample Orr, of Greene; John F. Philips, of Pettis; William G. Pomeroy, of Crawford; Charles G. Rankin, of Jefferson; Thomas Scott, of Miller; John H. Shackelford, of St. Louis; John H. Shanklin, of Grundy Co.; Jacob

legislature to pass laws to prevent *bona fide* emigrants to this State, or actual settlers therein from bringing from any State or territory of the United States persons deemed to be slaves therein, so long as any persons of the same description are allowed to be held as slaves by the laws of this State. Mr. Breckenridge's ordinance also provided :

SEC. 2. That all Negroes and Mulattoes who shall be born in slavery in this State from and after January 1st, 1865, shall be deemed and considered slaves until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years and no longer, unless sooner permanently removed from the State; *provided always*, that it shall be the duty of the General Assembly of the State, at its first regular session after this ordinance shall take effect, or as soon thereafter as may be practicable, to provide by law for the payment to the owner of those Negroes and Mulattoes who would but for this ordinance have been born slaves for life, a full equivalent for their value at the expiration of their term of service, and also to provide by law for the removal to such place or places beyond the limits of this State, may be designated by the General Assembly, at the expense of the State, of such persons as they arrive at the age of twenty five years; and also to address a memorial to the Congress of the United States announcing the acceptance by the State of Missouri of the offer made in the resolutions recommended for adoption by the President of the United States, approved April, 1862, and asking a fulfillment of the pledge therein contained to aid those States which should provide by law for the emancipation of slaves, in bearing the burdens thereby incurred.

The third section made it the duty of the owner of any Negro or Mulatto born in this State after January 1st, 1865, to deliver within six months after his or her birth, to the clerk of the proper county, to be recorded in a book provided for the purpose, a paper duly signed, stating the name, age and sex of said Negro or Mulatto, and the name and residence of the owner thereof; and failing in this said owner should forfeit all claim for compensation as provided in section 2, for said Negro or Mulatto so not registered. Also that after the ordinance should go into effect, no slave should be brought into this State. It also provided that on the first Monday of August, 1864, an election should be held at which the ordinance should be submitted for ratification or rejection of the legal voters of the State.

On motion of Mr. Hall, of Randolph, the ordinance offered by Mr. Breckenridge was laid on the table by the following vote : yeas 52, nays 19.

Mr. Broadhead, from the Committee on Congressional Districts, reported an ordinance dividing the State into nine Congressional Districts, which, after the adoption of several amendments, passed *nem con*. After passing an ordinance repealing all ordinances heretofore passed by the Convention, submitting its action to a vote of the people; an ordinance defining the qualifications of voters and civil officers : yeas 42,

3—Joseph Bogy, of Ste. Genevieve; 4—M. H. Ritchey, of Newton; 5—John F. Philips, of Pettis; 6—A. Comingo, of Jackson; 7—Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan; 8—William A. Hall, of Randolph; 9—John B. Henderson, of Pike. To this committee all ordinances on the subject of emancipation stood referred.

Mr. Gamble, Chairman of the Committee on Emancipation, reported an ordinance to provide for certain amendments to the Constitution and for emancipation of slaves; to-wit: That the first and second clauses of the 26th section of the 3d article of the Constitution are hereby abrogated; that slavery shall cease to exist in Missouri on July 4th, 1876, and all the slaves within the State on that day are hereby declared free; that all slaves thereafter brought into the State and not then belonging to citizens of the State shall be free; that all slaves removed by consent of their owners to any seceded State after its secession, and brought into this State, shall be free, and that the General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws to emancipate slaves without consent of their owners.

Mr. Bush, of St. Louis, presented a minority report from the same committee, and submitted an ordinance abrogating the same clauses of the Constitution, but declaring slavery shall cease in the State January 1, 1864; provided, however, that said slaves and their issue thereafter born shall become indentured apprentices to their owners or their representatives, and as such held to service and labor until July 4, 1870. Also that the legislature shall pass laws regulating the relations between said apprentices and their masters; to provide, as far as necessary for the education, apprenticing and support of those who shall become free under this ordinance, and against the importation of any Negro or Mulatto; that no future assessment of slave property shall be made in the State, and taxes now assessed against said property shall not be collected. Also that on the first Monday in August, 1863, an election shall be held at the several places of voting in this State, at which this ordinance shall be submitted for the ratification or rejection of the people.

The majority report coming up for consideration, Mr. Drake, of St. Louis, moved to strike out "July 4, 1876," and insert "January 1, 1874." Negatived—yeas 18, nays 65. Mr. Gravelly, of Cedar, offered an amendment making it the duty of the legislature, at its first session after the passage of this ordinance, to devise means for ascertaining the number of slaves belonging to loyal citizens, and to appropriate and pay to such citizens \$300.00 for each slave freed by the ordinance. Agreed to—

yeas 43, nays 40. A large number and great variety of amendments to the ordinance pending, and new ordinances as substitutes, were introduced, debated and disposed of, most of them being disagreed to; until, June 29, Mr. Broadhead, of St. Louis, introduced a substitute for section 2, and it was agreed to—yeas 55, nays 30. Without specially noting the action of the Convention on the various propositions submitted, suffice it to say that on July 1st, and on the fifteenth day of the session, the ordinance as amended was passed (yeas 51, nays 30,) as follows:

*Be it Ordained by the People of the State of Missouri in Convention Assembled:*

Section 1. The first and second clauses of the 26th section of the 3d article of the Constitution are hereby abrogated.

Sec. 2. That slavery and involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, shall cease to exist in Missouri on the 4th day of July, 1870, and all slaves within the State at that day are hereby declared to be free; *Provided*, however, that all persons emancipated by this ordinance shall remain under the control, and be subject to the authority of their late owners or their legal representatives, as servants during the following period, to-wit:—Those over forty years, for, and during their lives: those under 12 years of age until they arrive at the age of 23 years, and those of all other ages until the 4th day of July, 1876. The persons, or their legal representatives, who, up to the moment of the emancipation were the owners of the slaves thus freed, shall, during the period for which the services of such freed men are reserved to them, have the same authority and control over the said freed men for the purpose of receiving the possession and services of the same, that are now held absolutely by the master in respect to his slave. —*Provided, however*, that after the said 4th day of July, 1870, no person so held to service shall be sold to a non-resident of, or removed from the State of Missouri, by authority of his late owner or his legal representatives.

Sec. 3. That all slaves hereafter brought into this State, and not now belonging to citizens of this State, shall thereupon be free.

Sec. 4. All slaves removed, by consent of their owners, to any seceded State after the passage by such State of an act or ordinance of secession, and hereafter brought into this State by their owners, shall thereupon be free.

Sec. 5. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners.

Sec. 6. After the passage of this ordinance no slaves in this State shall be subject to state, county or municipal taxes.

The vote on the passage of the above ordinance, by yeas and nays, was as follows:

Yeas.—J. S. Allen, of Harrison; Eli E. Bass, of Boone; Joseph Bogy, of St. Genevieve; S. M. Breckenridge, of St. Louis; J. O. Broadhead, of St. Louis; H. E. Bridge, of St. Louis; Robert Calhoun, of Andrain; M. P. Cayce, of St. Francois; A. W. Doniphan, of Clay; Wm. Douglass, of Cooper; Robert B. Frayzer, of St. Charles; John D. Foster, of Adair; H. R. Gamble, of St. Louis; Thos. T. Gantt, of St. Louis; Henry N. Gorin, of Scotland; Wm. A. Hall, of Randolph; John B. Henderson, of Pike; Henry

Hitchcock, of St. Louis; Robert Holmes, of St. Louis; John Holt, of Dent; John How, of St. Louis; Wm. J. Howell, of Monroe; Jos. L. Irwin, of Shelby; Wm. Jackson, of Putnam; J. W. Johnson, of Polk; C. G. Kidd, of Henry; John F. Long, of St. Louis; A. C. Marvin, of Henry; J. R. McCormack, of Perry; Nelsen McDowell, of Dade; James McFerran, of Daviess; W. H. McLane, of Cape Girardeau; Solomon R. Moxley, of Lincoln; W. G. Pomeroy, of Crawford; Robt. T. Prewitt, of Howard; C. G. Rankin, of Jefferson; M. H. Ritchey, of Newton; E. K. Sayre, of Lewis; Thomas Scott, of Miller; Thos. Shackelford, of St. Louis; James K. Sheeley, of Jackson; John H. Shanklin, of Grundy Co.; Jacob Smith, of Linn; Sol. Smith, of St. Louis; Aikman Welch, of Johnson; Warren Woodson, of Boone; G. W. Vanbuskirk, of Holt.—51.

Noes—Wm. Baker, of Laclede; Orton Bartlette, of Stoddard; Geo. Y. Bast, of Montgomery; Jas. H. Birch, of Clinton; Wm. Bonnifield, of Jackson; Isador Bush, of St. Louis; Henry J. Deal, of Mississippi; Wm. J. Devol, of —; G. W. Drake, of Moniteau; Chas. D. Drake, of St. Louis; G. W. Dunn, of Ray; Chas. D. Eitzen, of Gasconade; Harrison Hough, of Mississippi; Q. Isbell, of Osage; Robt. W. Jamison, of Webster; Wm. T. Leeper, of Wayne; H. J. Lindenbower, of Greene; J. T. Matson, of Ralls; J. W. McClurg, of Camden; Ferdinand Meyer, of St. Louis; W. L. Morrow, of Dallas; Sample Orr, of Greene; Robert D. Ray, of Carroll; James P. Ross, of Morgan; Smith O. Schofield, of Buchanan; R. M. Stewart, of Buchanan; Claudius P. Walker, of McDonald; J. G. Waller, of Warren; A. M. Woolfolk, of Livingston; Robert Wilson (Pres't), of Andrew.—30.

Hamilton R. Gamble having tendered his resignation as Governor of the State, on motion of Mr. Comingo, it was resolved that his resignation be returned to him with the request that he continue to exercise the powers and discharge the duties of the office of Governor until the first Monday in November, 1864, and until his successor is elected and qualified. Yeas 47, nays 34. To which Gov. Gamble, on July 1, 1863, responded in a communication to the Convention in which he withdrew his resignation.

Wednesday, July 1, 1863, the Convention, after having held various sessions since February 28, 1861, adjourned *sine die*.



yeas 43, nays 40. A large number and great variety of amendments to the ordinance pending, and new ordinances as substitutes, were introduced, debated and disposed of, most of them being disagreed to; until, June 29, Mr. Broadhead, of St. Louis, introduced a substitute for section 2, and it was agreed to—yeas 55, nays 30. Without specially noting the action of the Convention on the various propositions submitted, suffice it to say that on July 1st, and on the fifteenth day of the session, the ordinance as amended was passed (yeas 51, nays 30,) as follows:

*Be it Ordained by the People of the State of Missouri in Convention Assembled:*

Section 1. The first and second clauses of the 26th section of the 3d article of the Constitution are hereby abrogated.

Sec. 2. That slavery and involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, shall cease to exist in Missouri on the 4th day of July, 1870, and all slaves within the State at that day are hereby declared to be free; *Provided*, however, that all persons emancipated by this ordinance shall remain under the control, and be subject to the authority of their late owners or their legal representatives, as servants during the following period, to-wit:—Those over forty years, for, and during their lives: those under 12 years of age until they arrive at the age of 23 years, and those of all other ages until the 4th day of July, 1876. The persons, or their legal representatives, who, up to the moment of the emancipation were the owners of the slaves thus freed, shall, during the period for which the services of such freed men are reserved to them, have the same authority and control over the said freed men for the purpose of receiving the possession and services of the same, that are now held absolutely by the master in respect to his slave.—*Provided, however*, that after the said 4th day of July, 1870, no person so held to service shall be sold to a non-resident of, or removed from the State of Missouri, by authority of his late owner or his legal representatives.

Sec. 3. That all slaves hereafter brought into this State, and not now belonging to citizens of this State, shall thereupon be free.

Sec. 4. All slaves removed, by consent of their owners, to any seceded State after the passage by such State of an act or ordinance of secession, and hereafter brought into this State by their owners, shall thereupon be free.

Sec. 5. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners.

Sec. 6. After the passage of this ordinance no slaves in this State shall be subject to state, county or municipal taxes.

The vote on the passage of the above ordinance, by yeas and nays, was as follows:

Yeas.—J. S. Allen, of Harrison; Eli E. Bass, of Boone; Joseph Bogy, of St. Genevieve; S. M. Breckenridge, of St. Louis; J. O. Broadhead, of St. Louis; H. E. Bridge, of St. Louis; Robert Calhoun, of Audrain; M. P. Cayce, of St. Francois; A. W. Doniphan, of Clay; Wm. Douglass, of Cooper; Robert B. Frayzer, of St. Charles; John D. Foster, of Adair; H. R. Gamble, of St. Louis; Thos. T. Gantt, of St. Louis; Henry N. Gorin, of Scotland; Wm. A. Hall, of Randolph; John B. Henderson, of Pike; Henry

Within the limits allowed in this "Sketch" it will be impossible to make a full record of the war history of the State, and therefore it will not be attempted. An account, necessarily brief, but, it is hoped, non-partisan and correct, of the most important war-events occurring in the State from the inception of the rebellion in 1861, to its close in 1865, must suffice. Minor occurrences, although they may have inspired others of tremendous import, and tiresome details, must be omitted. The salient points of history will be recorded, we trust, faithfully, succinctly, reliably. History will not be knowingly manufactured. That which exists or has existed, events which actually transpired during the war, will claim attention; for the true province of a historian is to chronicle the known, not the unknown; the true, not the false; and to discharge this function in a manner that shall be equally just to all men.

To accomplish it, however, is no easy task, for the difficulties to be met and overcome are both numerous and formidable. All wars, and especially all civil wars, are outgrowths of misunderstandings and ill-blood; and the contemporaneous records of their conflicts by land and sea are more or less discolored by the bitter waters of personal rancor and injustice. Conflicts of arms in all civil wars are remarkably fruitful of conflicts of statement; and therefore it is often difficult, even for the most candid and impartial, to evolve the truth out of antagonisms which so largely partake of the sensational and the personal.

We believe it will not be seriously questioned that the overt act of the war, the initial step of the Rebellion, was South Carolina's. That State was the first to pass an ordinance of secession, and this she did as early as December 20th, 1860. In less than a half hour afterwards, the telegraph having flashed the news to Washington, all her representatives in Congress, except two, left the hall. On the 24th, only four days after the passage of the secession ordinance, the Arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, and on the 3d of January, Fort Pulaski, on Cockspur Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, and Fort Jackson, nearer the city of Savannah, were taken possession of by the insurgents. National defenses in Alabama and North Carolina shared the same fate. On the 9th of January, 1861, the *Star of the West*, laden with government supplies for Fort Sumter, and with the national colors flying at her mast-head, and while nearing the fort in Charleston harbor, was fired upon by State troops from a masked battery on Morris Island. In a few days afterwards, Forts St. Philip and Jackson, below New Orleans, and commanding the approach to that city, and the Federal garrison at Baton Rouge, were seized by the State authorities. Warlike demonstrations thus followed each other in

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1861.—OUR CIVIL WAR.—DIFFICULTIES IN ARRIVING AT THE TRUTHS OF ITS HISTORY.—INAUGURATION OF THE WAR.—SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—FIRING ON THE "STAR OF THE WEST" AND FORT SUMTER.—THE FIRST GUN OF THE REBELLION.—PRESIDENT LINCOLN CALLS FOR 75,000 TROOPS.—GOV. C. F. JACKSON'S RESPONSE.—IMMINENCE OF THE CRISIS.—HOPES OF THE CONSERVATIVE MASSES.—GENERAL MILITARY ORDER (No. 7) OF GOV. JACKSON TO ORGANIZE CAMPS FOR DRILL.—CAMP JACKSON.—GEN. D. M. FROST'S LETTER TO CAPT. NATH'L LYON, COMMANDANT OF THE ST. LOUIS ARSENAL.—CAPT. LYON'S LETTER TO GEN. FROST DEMANDING THE SURRENDER OF CAMP JACKSON.—CAPT. LYON AND COL. F. P. BLAIR MARCH AGAINST CAMP JACKSON.—IT SURRENDERS.—PARTICULARS OF THE EVENT.—FEARFUL EXCITEMENT.—GEN. FROST'S LETTER OF JANUARY 24TH, 1861, TO GOV. JACKSON.—GEN. W. S. HARNEY'S PROCLAMATION.—THE HARNEY-PRICE AGREEMENT.—IT IS DISAPPROVED AT WASHINGTON AND GEN. HARNEY REMOVED.—GEN. LYON SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND OF THE DEPARTMENT.—CONFERENCE BETWEEN GEN. LYON, COL. BLAIR, GOV. JACKSON AND GEN. PRICE.—WHAT EACH PARTY DEMANDED.—THE CONFERENCE A FAILURE.—JACKSON AND PRICE RETURN TO THE CAPITAL, BURNING THE BRIDGES BEHIND THEM.—COL. THOMAS L. SNEAD'S SKETCH OF LYON.—GOV. JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION CALLING FOR 50,000 MEN.—GEN. LYON MARCHES TO JEFFERSON CITY.—JACKSON AND PRICE DESERT THE CAPITAL AND ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AT BOONVILLE.—LYON AND BLAIR OCCUPY THE CAPITAL.—THE BOONVILLE FIGHT.—THE STATE TROOPS REFUSED.—LYON OCCUPIES BOONVILLE AND ISSUES A PROCLAMATION.—THE BATTLE OF CARTHAGE.—COL. SIGEL'S RETREAT.

Previous chapters have disclosed many of the important proceedings of Congress and of the Legislature, and events State and National, which immediately preceded our late civil war, and by which that dire calamity was precipitated upon the country. In this record we have seen popular frenzy and sectional rancor growing out of our federal relations, and have contemplated with alarm the imminent peril of the Union of the States. We have seen the deliberations of the Federal Congress, and of State Legislatures, and of popular assemblies of the people, fearfully distracted by the conflicts of opposing opinions, and by heart-burnings and jealousies calculated to incite an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. We have traced the measures of conciliation proposed through various instrumentalities to avert the bloody issues of civil war, and have marked with the deepest concern how impotent they all proved in the end to stay the surging tide of popular reason dethroned.

We therefore now come to the culmination of the disorder; to the clash of arms itself; to that period in the State's history in which all argument and entreaty, all appeals to an intelligent patriotism, all invocation of the blessed memories and maxims of a noble ancestry were hushed in the din and obscured by dust of battle.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI, }  
JEFFERSON CITY, April 17, 1861. }

To the Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

SIR:—Your dispatch of the 15th inst., making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service, has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form a part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade.

C. F. JACKSON,  
Governor of Missouri.

Very similar in language and sentiment were the responses of the other five of the eight slave-holding States included in the call—Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas. The exceptions were Maryland and Delaware, whose answers to the requisition, while not direct and outright refusals to comply, were more conciliatory in spirit, and yet did not comply, or promise to comply.

It was quite evident our national affairs were rapidly tending towards a great and momentous crisis, unparalleled in our history, and that we were on the precipitous verge of a bloody civil war. Many indeed there were, among our public men of acknowledged wisdom and sagacity, who already "smelled the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting." Nevertheless, so disastrous to all our best interests a civil war was believed to be, and therefore distasteful to good men of all parties, that high hopes were entertained, especially among the conservative masses of the border slave-states—Missouri included—that by some agency or other, they scarcely knew how or what, the threatened storm of flagrant war would be avoided. Many Union men, therefore, truly loyal to the Constitution and government of the United States, and having no sympathy whatever with the effort to destroy them, persisted in their endeavors to prevent a collision of arms between the military forces of the States and Nation. Hence they were reluctant to abandon their original and anomalous position of armed neutrality and non-coercion, hoping and trusting that, if the shedding of fraternal blood could be postponed, even for a short period longer, the Union would be saved and the repose of the republic preserved.

They claimed, in the language of Millard Fillmore, to have stood "like a rock in the midst of the ocean, against which the surges of secession beat in vain. Not moved by terror or seduced by an unholy ambition, they formed a rampart for the protection of the Constitution." Their policy was one of fidelity to the Union, and of conciliation and peace,

rapid succession, occasioning the wildest excitement among the people of Missouri and the whole country.

This excitement culminated on the 12th of April; for it was during the darkness of that eventful morning that Lieutenant H. S. Farley, by order of Gen. G. T. Beauregard, fired a signal gun from a battery on James Island, and sent a shell of fire through the black night to explode immediately over Fort Sumter. It was a shot of fearful portent, whose full augury the wisest in the land could not interpret.

It was the first gun of the Rebellion, the signal for cannonading the Fort itself, which immediately commenced with shot and shell from the batteries on Sullivan's Island, Fort Moultrie, Cummings's Point, and Morris Island. After a heroic and unavailing resistance, and a terrific bombardment for thirty-six hours, during which over three thousand shot and shell were hurled at the Fort, Major Anderson capitulated with his assailants, surrendered Fort Sumter to their possession, and evacuated it.

This event caused a profound sensation throughout the Union. From the lakes to the gulf, and from the rivers to the sea, the wildest excitement seized upon the people. They were frenzied. All were equally moved by the portentous event—the Union men by indignation, the Secessionists by exultation. In the midst of the wide-spread and universal commotion, President Lincoln, within twenty-four hours after the National Flag was lowered in Charleston harbor, issued a proclamation (April 15, 1861), calling forth “the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000, to suppress combinations in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings,” “to maintain the honor, the integrity, and existence of our national Union and the perpetuity of popular government,” and “to repossess the forts, places and property which have been seized from the Union.” Simultaneously with this proclamation, the Secretary of War (Simon Cameron), by authority of law,<sup>1</sup> issued a telegram to the governors of all the States, excepting those mentioned in the President's proclamation, requesting each of them to detail from the militia of the State the number of men designated in a table accompanying the requisition, to serve as infantry or riflemen for a period of three months.

Missouri's quota was fixed at four regiments, which Gov. Jackson was requested to furnish. The following was his scornful and defiant reply :

<sup>1</sup>See Act of Congress of February 28, 1795.

Academy at West Point. Its object was stated to be to attain greater efficiency in organization and military drill, and doubtless this was its more immediate design; but the conviction soon became general in United States military circles that there were ulterior purposes in view, known only, or chiefly, to Gov. Jackson and Gen. Frost, and their confidential advisers. These purposes, it was strongly suspected, and by some verily believed, embraced the seizure of the United States Arsenal at St. Louis, with its large supply of valuable munitions of war, and the military control of the State in the interest of those who, notwithstanding the overwhelming anti-secession vote of the people at the Convention election in February, would link the fortunes of Missouri to the Southern Confederacy.

It is true these ulterior purposes were disavowed, and that in token of the loyalty of the Camp and its commanders, the Stars and Stripes floated over them. Yet Captain Nathaniel Lyon, of the United States army, who had recently supplanted Maj. William Henry Bell, as commandant of the Arsenal, and Col. (afterwards Major-General), Frank P. Blair, Jr., and other leading Unionists, looked with suspicion upon the sentiments of Gov. Jackson's inaugural, and particularly the more recent and pronounced avowals of his message to the extra session of the Legislature, when considered in the light of his response to the requisition of the Secretary of War (Cameron). Added to all this testimony was the seizure of the United States Arsenal at Liberty, in the county of Clay, April 20th, 1861, by order of Gov. Jackson, and the fact that two of the streets or avenues formed by tents of Camp Jackson, were called "Davis" and "Beauregard," in compliment to two of the most prominent leaders of the Rebellion. Also, about the time of the seizure of the Liberty Arsenal, Captain Lyon was informed that cannon and mortars in boxes marked "marble," and shot and shell in barrels, had been landed at the St. Louis wharf, from the steamer *J. C. Swan*, and hauled to Camp Jackson on wagons or drays. To satisfy himself as to the truth of the report, as well as to make a reconnoissance of the camp, Captain Lyon disguised himself in ladies' clothes, and closely veiled, rode unsuspected in a carriage around it, and became convinced that vigorous measures were called for with promptness.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Lyon wore the dress, shawl and bonnet of Mrs. Andrew Alexander, a daughter of the late Gov. George Madison of Kentucky, whose bravery was conspicuous at Frenchtown on the river Raisin, during the War of 1812. A colored man named Wm. Roberts drove the carriage, and Capt. J. J. Witzig was Lyon's guide.

Soon after the command of the St. Louis Arsenal was assumed by Capt. Lyon, it was reported to Gen. Frost that it was his intention at an early day to attack Camp Jackson; and so rapidly did these reports finally come to him, that, on the morning of May 10th, Gen. Frost addressed Capt. Lyon the following note:

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP JACKSON, }  
MISSOURI MILITIA, May 10, 1861. }

CAPT. N. LYON, *Commanding United States Troops in and about St. Louis Arsenal:*

SIR: I am constantly in receipt of information that you contemplate an attack upon my camp, whilst I understand that you are impressed with the idea that an attack upon the Arsenal and United States troops is intended on the part of the militia of Missouri. I am greatly at a loss to know what could justify you in attacking citizens of the United States who are in the lawful performance of duties devolving upon them under the Constitution, in organizing and instructing the militia of the State in obedience to her laws, and therefore have been disposed to doubt the correctness of the information I have received.

I would be glad to know from you personally, whether there is any truth in the statements that are constantly pouring into my ears. So far as regards any hostility being intended towards the United States, or its property or representatives by any portion of my command, or as far as I can learn (and I think I am fully informed), of any other part of the State forces, I can positively say that the idea has never been entertained. On the contrary, prior to your taking command of the Arsenal, I proffered to Maj. Bell, then in command of the very few troops constituting its guard, the services of myself and all my command, and, if necessary, the whole power of the State, to protect the United States in the full possession of all her property. Upon General Harney's taking command of this Department, I made the same proffer of services to him, and authorized his Adjutant General, Capt. Williams, to communicate the fact that such had been done to the War Department. I have had no occasion since to change any of the views I entertained at that time, neither of my own volition, nor through orders of my constitutional commander.

I trust that after this explicit statement we may be able, by fully understanding each other, to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unhappily affect our common country.

This communication will be handed to you by Colonel Bowen, my Chief of Staff, who will be able to explain anything not fully set forth in the foregoing. I am, sir,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

Brigadier General D. M. FROST,  
*Commanding Camp Jackson, M. V. M.*

Capt. Lyon, it was reported at the time, and we suppose it is true, refused to receive this communication from Gen. Frost; at all events it is not questioned that on the very day of its date, and perhaps at the very hour, he was in the midst of active preparations to march upon the camp and to demand its surrender. About the time of the investment of his camp, between two and three o'clock, p. m., Friday, May 10th, 1861, Gen. Frost received from Capt. Lyon the following:

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES TROOPS, }  
 ST. LOUIS, Mo., May 10, 1861. }

GEN. D. M. FROST, *Commanding Camp Jackson*:

SIR: Your command is regarded as evidently hostile towards the Government of the United States.

It is, for the most part, made up of those Secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the General Government, and have been plotting at the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States, and you are receiving at your camp, from the said Confederacy, and under its flag, large supplies of the material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States. These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well known purpose of the Governor of this State, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to by that body in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities to the General Government, and co-operation with its enemies.

In view of these considerations, and of your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the imminent necessities of State policy and warfare, and the obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering, under this demand, shall be humanely and kindly treated. Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one-half hour's time, before doing so, will be allowed for your compliance therewith.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. LYON,  
*Capt. 2d Infantry, Commanding Troops.*

Gen. Frost could not, and did not, mistake the purport of this communication, nor under-estimate the power of the armed force then on the march for his encampment and in sight of his tents. Capt. Lyon's command numbered between six and seven thousand men and about twenty pieces of artillery. They marched, according to the *Missouri Republican's* account, "at quick time up Market street, and on arriving near Camp Jackson, rapidly surrounded it, planting batteries upon all the heights overlooking the camp. Long files of men were stationed in platoons at various points on every side, and a picket guard established covering an area of say two hundred yards. The guards, with fixed bayonets and muskets at half cock, were instructed to allow none to pass or re-pass within the limit thus taken up.<sup>1</sup> By this time an immense

<sup>1</sup>The regiments of Missouri Volunteers under Colonels Blair, Boernstein and Franz Sigel were formed on the north and west sides of the camp; the regiment of Col. Nicholas Schuttner with a company of United States Regulars and a battery of artillery, under Lieut. Lathrop, were drawn up on the east side; and a company of Regulars under Lieut. Saxton, and a battery of heavy guns were on the north side. Capt. Lyon's staff consisted of Franklin A. Dick, (Provost Marshal General of Missouri, under Gen. S. R. Curtis), Samuel Simmons, Bernard G. Farrar and Maj. H. A. Conant.

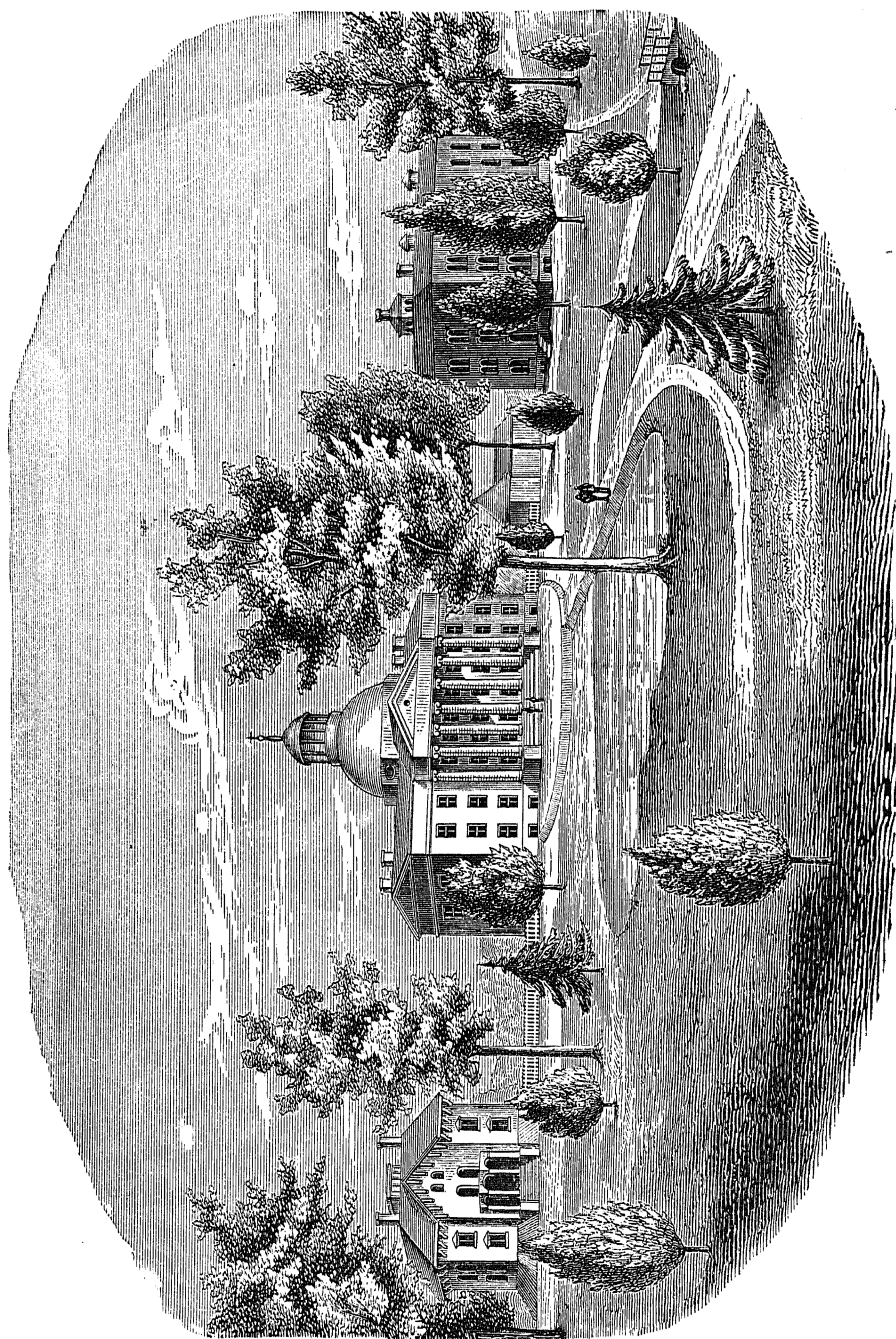


crowd of people had assembled in the vicinity, having gone thither in carriages, buggies, rail cars, baggage wagons, on horseback and on foot. Numbers of men siezed rifles, shot-guns, or whatever other weapons they could lay hands upon, and rushed pell-mell to the assistance of the State troops, but were, of course, obstructed in their design. The hills, of which there are a number in the neighborhood, were literally black with people—hundreds of ladies and children stationing themselves with the throng, but as they thought, out of harm's way."

Immediately on receipt of Capt. Lyon's demand for surrender—the *Missouri Republican* of May 11th, 1861, says—"Gen. Frost called a hasty consultation of the officers of his staff. The conclusion arrived at was about as follows: The Brigade was in no condition to make resistance to a force so numerically superior. With but a few pieces of small calibre, and with less than a dozen rounds of cartridges for his command, a battle must necessarily be of short duration and of but one result—the total route and defeat of the State troops. To have withstood an attack would have been sheer recklessness and cruelty to the men of Gen. Frost's command. In short, the Brigade was not by any means in a war condition. Gen. Frost stated, moreover, that he had no war to wage upon the United States or its troops; that he was only acting in cheerful obedience to the order of his superior officer, and in compliance with the laws of the State; that he had anticipated no conflict, and would not willingly jeopardize the lives of his men in anything that might be construed into hostility to the United States Government. Only one course was to be pursued, and that was quickly agreed upon, viz: a surrender.

"The demand of Capt. Lyon was accordingly agreed to. The State troops were therefore made prisoners of war, but an offer was made to release them on condition that they would take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and would swear not to take up arms against the Government. These terms were made known to the several commands, and the opportunity given to all who might feel disposed to accede to them to do so. Some eight or ten men signified their willingness; but the remainder, about eight hundred, preferred, under the circumstances, to become prisoners. (A number of the troops were absent from the camp in the city, on leave.) Those who declined to take the prescribed oath said that they had already sworn allegiance to the United States and to defend the Government, and to repeat it now would be to admit that they had been in rebellion, which they would not concede."





"The preparations for surrender and for marching, as prisoners, under escort of the Arsenal troops, occupied an hour or two. The Brigade was then formed in line headed by Gen. Frost and his staff, on horseback, and with colors flying and drums beating, marched through the wood skirting the road up to an opening that had been made in the fence near the turnpike. Here a halt was made for some reason, and the opportunity was improved by a large crowd of excited citizens to draw near the officers of the staff and salute them with cheers. The men appeared dejected and rather sad, but evidently were not conscious of having done anything cowardly. One of the officers<sup>1</sup> achieved a volley of deafening huzzas by riding up to a fence and hacking away at it with his sword, breaking and bending it so as to render it entirely useless. It was a very handsome sword, costing \$100, and was a recent present from some military friends. This example was followed by others amidst shouts of applause.

"About half past five, the prisoners of war left the grove and entered the road, the United States soldiers enclosing them by a single file stretched along each side of the line. A halt was ordered and the troops remained standing in the position they had deployed into the road in. The head of the column at the time rested opposite a small hill on the left as you approach the city, and the rear was on a line with the entrance to the grove. Vast crowds of people covered the surrounding grounds and every fence and house-top in the vicinity. Suddenly the sharp reports of several fire-arms were heard from the front of the column, and the spectators that lined the adjacent hill were seen fleeing in the greatest dismay and terror. It appears that several members of one of the German companies, on being pressed by the crowd and receiving some blows from them, turned and discharged their pieces. Fortunately no one was injured, and the soldiers who had done the act were at once placed under arrest. Hardly, however, had tranquility been restored when volley after volley of rifle reports were suddenly heard from the extreme rear ranks, and men, women and children were beheld running wildly and frantically away from the scene. Many, while running, were suddenly struck to the sod, and the wounded and dying made the late beautiful field look like a battle ground. The total number killed and injured is about twenty-five. It was reported that the Arsenal troops were attacked with stones, and a couple of shots discharged at them by the crowd before they fired.

<sup>1</sup>Col. John Knapp.

“The most of the people exposed to the fire of the soldiers, were citizens with their wives and children, who were merely spectators, and who took no part in any demonstration whatever. The firing was said to have been done by Boernstein’s company and at the command of an officer. As night closed in and hid the ghastly horrors of the scene, a German regiment took possession of the blood-stained camp and the tents of the State soldiers. By citizens of St. Louis, and especially those who have lost friends by the occurrence of yesterday, the events will not be easily forgotten.

“The United States troops are now in possession of Camp Jackson, with all the equipage, tents, provisions, &c. The prisoners of war are, we believe, at the Arsenal.

“It is almost impossible to describe the intense exhibition of feeling which was manifested last evening in the city. All the most frequented streets and avenues were thronged with citizens in the highest state of excitement, and loud huzzas and occasional shots were heard in various localities. There was very little congregating on the street corners. Everybody was on the move, and rapid pedestrianism was turned into account. Thousands upon thousands of restless human beings could be seen from almost any point on Fourth street, all in search of the latest news. Imprecations, loud and long, were hurled into the darkening air, and the most unanimous resentment was expressed on all sides at the manner of firing into the harmless crowds near Camp Jackson. Hon. J. R. Barret, Major Uriel Wright and other speakers addressed a large and intensely excited crowd in front of the Planters’ House, and other well known citizens were similarly engaged at various other points in the city. Amid the noise and confusion it was impossible to obtain even the substance of the speeches delivered.

“All the drinking saloons, restaurants and other public resorts of similar character, were closed by their proprietors almost simultaneously at dark; and the windows of private dwellings were fastened, in fear of a general riot. Theaters and other public places of amusement were entirely out of the question, and nobody went near them. Matters of graver import were occupying the minds of our citizens, and everything but the present excitement was banished from their thoughts.

“Crowds of men rushed through the principal thoroughfares, bearing banners and devices suited to their several fancies, and by turns cheering and groaning. Some were armed and others were not armed, and all seemed anxious to be at work. A charge was made on the gun store of H. E. Dimick on Main street, the door was broken open, and the crowd

secured fifteen or twenty guns before a sufficient number of police could be collected to arrest the proceedings. Chief McDonough marched down with about twenty policemen, armed with muskets, and succeeded in dispersing the mob and protecting the premises from further molestation. Squads of armed policemen were stationed at several of the most public corners, and the offices of the *Missouri Democrat* and *Anzeiger des Westens* were placed under guard for protection."

Gen. Frost's command were marched to the Arsenal between Blair's and Boernstein's regiments, and remained there that night prisoners of war. Next day (Saturday) they were released, each one of them—Capt. Emmet McDonald, excepted, who refused—subscribing the following parole :

ST. LOUIS ARSENAL, May 11, 1861.

We, the undersigned, do pledge our words as gentlemen that we will not take up arms nor serve in any military capacity against the United States, during the present civil war. This parole to be returned upon our surrendering ourselves, at any time, as prisoners of war. While we make this pledge with the full intention of observing it, we hereby protest against the justice of its exaction.

The history of the capture of Camp Jackson would not be complete without the transcript of a letter from Gen. Frost to Gov. Jackson, dated January 24th, 1861, (captured with other Confederate records in Alabama by the 49th Missouri Volunteers). Although the letter was written more than three months before Lyon's march upon the camp, it discloses the purposes of Gen. Frost, and those in authority in Missouri at that time, and the concealed sympathies with their designs of Maj. Bell, then commandant of the Arsenal. Gen. Frost's letter is a remarkable paper, and pours a flood of light upon events transpiring previous to the inauguration of flagrant war in Missouri. It is as follows :

ST. LOUIS, Mo., January 24, 1861.

*His Excellency, C. F. Jackson, Governor of Missouri :*

DEAR SIR: I have just returned from the Arsenal, where I have had an interview with Major Bell, the commanding officer of that place. I found the Major everything that you or I could desire. He assured me that he considered that Missouri had, whenever the time came, a *right to claim it as being upon her soil*. He asserted his determination to defend it against any and all *irresponsible mobs*, come from whence they might, but at the same time gave me to understand that he would not attempt any defense against the proper State authorities.

He promised me upon the honor of an officer and a gentleman that he would not suffer any arms to be removed from the place without first giving me *timely information*, and I in return promised him that I would use all the force at my command to prevent him being annoyed by irresponsible persons.

I at the same time gave him notice that if affairs assumed so threatening a character as to render it unsafe to leave the place in its comparatively unprotected condition, that I might come down and quarter a proper force there to protect it from the assaults of any persons whatsoever, to which he assented. In a word, the Major is with us, where he ought to be, for all his worldly wealth lies here in St. Louis (and it is very large), and then, again, his sympathies are with us.

I shall therefore rest perfectly easy, and use all my influence to stop the sensationists from attracting the particular attention of the government to this particular spot. The telegraphs you received were the sheerest "*canards*" of persons who, without discretion, are extremely anxious to show their zeal. I shall be thoroughly prepared with the proper force to act as emergency may require. The use of force will only be resorted to when nothing else will avail to prevent the shipment or removal of the arms.

The Major informed me that he had arms for forty thousand men, with all the appliances to manufacture munitions of almost every kind.

This Arsenal, if properly looked after, will be everything to our State, and *I intend to look after it*, very quietly, however. I have every confidence in the word of honor pledged to me by the Major, and would as soon think of doubting the oath of the best man in the community.

His idea is, that it would be disgraceful to him as a military man to surrender to a mob, whilst he could do so without compromising his dignity, to the State authorities. Of course I did not show him your order, but I informed him that you had authorized me to act as I might think proper to protect the public property.

He desired that I would not divulge his peculiar views, which I promised not to do, *except to yourself*. I beg, therefore, that you will say nothing that might compromise him eventually with the general government, for thereby I would be placed in an awkward position, whilst he would probably be removed, which would be *unpleasant* to our interests.

Grimsley, as you doubtless know, is an unconscionable jackass, and only desires to make himself notorious. It was through him that McLaren and George made the mistake of telegraphing a falsehood to you.

I should be pleased to hear whether you approve of the course I have adopted, and if not, I am ready to take any other that you, as my commander, may suggest. I am, sir, most truly

Your obedient servant,

D. M. FROST.

The capture of Camp Jackson, and the consequent unfortunate collision between some of the Union troops and the people, but notably the blood-shed which followed, occasioned a profound sensation and the wildest excitement throughout the State. Nothing equal to it in the intensity of the popular delirium occurred during the war. The most sensational and exaggerated reports flew on the wings of the wind; of the brutal murder of defenseless men, women and children, by an infuriated soldiery; of their unprovoked attack with Minie rifles and fixed bayonets, upon the unoffending spectators of Frost's surrender, and of heartless and criminal outrages too horrid to be recorded here. In truth these reports not only occasioned great consternation in the Legislature then in session at the Capital, but set the State ablaze, and precipitated the people for a time into the giddy whirl of an unreasoning frenzy.

We have seen, in a former chapter, how the startling and rapidly-occurring events passed the Military Bill through the General Assembly, providing for men and money to arm the State. Had we space, we might note the impromptu uprising of the people in many localities, with such arms as they could hastily gather, to avenge the terrible and wholesale slaughter (as the first reports falsely stated it), of women and children in the streets of St. Louis, by a brutal and licentious Abolition mob, armed with U. S. muskets and commanded by German cut-throats. But it is not necessary. Suffice it to say that, two days after the capture of Camp Jackson, Brigadier-General Wm. S. Harney, commandant of the department, returned to St. Louis from Washington, and on that day (May 12, 1861), issued a proclamation to the people of Missouri and St. Louis, city in which he deprecated "the deplorable state of things existing," and assured the people "he would carefully abstain from the exercise of any unnecessary powers," and only use "the military force stationed in this District in the last resort to preserve the peace." He trusted he would "be spared the necessity of resorting to martial law, but the public peace must be preserved, and the lives and property of the people protected." He also exhorted the people to "pursue their peaceful avocations, to observe the laws and orders of their local authorities, and to abstain from the excitements of public meetings and heated discussions."

Two days afterwards (May 14, 1861), Gen. Harney issued a second proclamation "to the People of the State of Missouri," in which he denounced the "Military Bill," passed by the recent Legislature, as "an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the *forms* resorted to by other States," and unconstitutional and void. He also alluded approvingly to the capture of Camp Jackson, maintaining that the camp had been "organized in the interests of the secessionists," "the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy;" and that it was "a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp which were unlawfully taken from the United States Arsenal at *Baton Rouge*, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked 'marble.'" Also that "no government in the world would be entitled to respect that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations;" adding: "It is but simple justice, however, that I should state the fact that there were many good and loyal men in the camp, who were in no manner responsible for its treasonable character." The proclamation, which was one of considerable length, concluded as follows:



Disclaiming, as I do, all desire or intention to interfere in any way with the prerogatives of the State of Missouri, or with the functions of its Executive or other authorities, yet I regard it as my plain path of duty to express to the people, in respectful but at the same time decided language, that within the field and scope of my command and authority, the "*supreme law*" of the land must and shall be maintained, and no subterfuges, whether in the forms of legislative acts or otherwise, can be permitted to harrass or oppress the good and law-abiding people of Missouri. I shall exert my authority to protect their persons and property from violations of every kind, and I shall deem it my duty to suppress all unlawful combinations of men, whether formed under pretext of military organization or otherwise.

WM. S. HARNEY,

Brig. Gen. U. S. Army, Commanding.

It was quite evident from the tenor of both of Gen. Harney's proclamations, that it was his purpose to pursue a policy of conciliation and peace, and to avert the horrors of civil war, provided these objects could be attained and the authority and unity of the National Government preserved, and not otherwise. He was ready for the field, but anxious for peace.

With the view of preserving the public peace and maintaining the supremacy of the laws and the unity of the republic, Gen. Harney held a conference with Gen. Sterling Price,<sup>1</sup> of the Missouri State Guard, in St. Louis, on May 21st, 1861, which resulted in the adoption of an agreement that imposed certain important duties and responsibilities on each party signing it, and on the authorities and people they claimed respectively to represent. It was as follows :

ST. LOUIS, May 21, 1861.

The undersigned, officers of the United States Government, and of the Government of the State of Missouri, for the purpose of removing misapprehensions and allaying public excitement, deem it proper to declare publicly that they have, this day, had a personal interview in this city, in which it has been mutually understood, without the semblance of dissent on either part, that each of them has no other than a common object equally interesting and important to every citizen of Missouri—that of restoring peace and good order to the people of the State in subordination to the laws of the General and the State Governments.

It being thus understood, there seems no reasons why every citizen should not confide in the proper officers of the General and State Governments to restore quiet; and, as the best means of offering no counter influences—we mutually recommend to all persons to respect each other's rights throughout the State, making no attempt to exercise unauthorized powers, as it is the determination of the proper authorities to suppress all unlawful proceedings which can only disturb the public peace.

Gen. Price, having by commission full authority over the Militia of the State of Missouri, undertakes, with the sanction of the Governor of the State, already declared, to direct the whole power of the State officers to maintain order within the State among the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. Sterling Price died in St. Louis, of chronic diarrhea, Sept. 29th, 1867, aged 53 years.

people thereof; and Gen. Harney publicly declares that this object being thus assured, he can have no occasion, as he has no wish, to make military movements which might otherwise create excitements and jealousies, which he most earnestly desires to avoid.

We, the undersigned, do therefore mutually enjoin upon the people of the State to attend to their civil business, of whatsoever sort it may be; and it is to be hoped that the unquiet elements, which have threatened so seriously to disturb the public peace, may soon subside and be remembered only to be deplored.

WM. S. HARNEY, Brig. Gen. Commanding.

STERLING PRICE, Maj., Gen. M. S. G.

Of even date with the above compact and declaration, and as a part of it, Gen. Harney issued the following proclamation:

*To the People of the State of Missouri:*—I take great pleasure in submitting to you the above paper, signed by General Price, commanding the forces of the State, and by myself on the part of the Government of the United States. It will be seen that the united forces of both Governments are pledged to the maintenance of the peace of the State, and the defense of the rights and property of *all persons, without distinction of party*. This pledge, which both parties are fully authorized and empowered to give, by the Governments which they represent, will be, by both, most religiously and sacredly kept; and if necessary to put down evil disposed persons, the military power of both Governments will be called to enforce the terms of the honorable and amicable agreement which has been made. I therefore ask of all persons in this State, to observe good order, and respect the rights of their fellow-citizens, and give them the assurance of protection and security in the most ample manner.

WM. S. HARNEY,

Brig. Gen., Commanding.

The authorities of the National Government at Washington did not approve the Harney-Price agreement, and therefore it was short-lived and fruitless of results—except to precipitate the removal of Gen. Harney from the command of the Department, a step which was evidently contemplated some days anterior to the consummation of this agreement. He assumed the command of the Department on the 12th of May, and on the 21st entered into the peace arrangement with Gen. Price. Although the order superseding him was dated the 16th of May, five days before the arrangement, it did not reach him until the 31st—ten days after its publication. Capt. Lyon succeeded Gen. Harney in command.

Previous, however, to his supersession, and in testimony of his good faith in carrying out the arrangement entered into with Gen. Price, Gen. Harney issued orders for the withdrawal of the Federal troops (German Regiments) from the different encampments in the suburbs of St. Louis. Col. Shutter's regiment left for Bird's Point, opposite Cairo, on Tuesday, May 28th. Col. Boernstein's regiment, stationed near the Reservoir, and at Bissell's Point, for the purpose of stopping Missouri river boats, was ordered to the Barracks. Col. Sigel's regiment remained at the

Arsenal, and it was the intention to send Col. Blair's the next week to Virginia. And Gov. Jackson and Gen. Price, in the spirit of the arrangement, disbanded the State troops at Jefferson City and St. Joseph, and ordered them home, there to drill and receive military instruction.

The removal of Gen. Harney and the appointment of Gen. Lyon to the command defeated the execution of the Harney-Price arrangement, and, as it turned out, left all the terrible issues of the times to be settled by the arbitrament of the sword.

It is very true that on the 11th of June, a second conference was held in St. Louis between the military authorities of the National and State Governments, with the view of averting the calamities of war and preserving the peace of the people. But it resulted in nothing, except in the more vivid disclosure of the terrible truth that their differences were irreconcilable by any means known to the councils of peace. This interview was held at the Planters' House, between Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, Col. Frank P. Blair, Jr., and Maj. H. A. Conant, on the one side, and Gov. C. F. Jackson, Gen. Sterling Price and Col. Thomas L. Snead, Private Secretary of Gov. Jackson (afterwards Gen. Price's Chief of Staff), on the other. The interview lasted six hours. Gov. Jackson, according to his representation of the interview, as found in his proclamation of the next day, submitted to Gens. Lyon and Blair this proposition:—

That I would disband the State Guard, and break up its organization; that I would disarm all the companies which had been armed by the State; that I would pledge myself not to attempt to organize the militia under the Military Bill; that no arms or munitions of war should be brought into the State; that I would protect all citizens equally in all their rights, regardless of their political opinions; that I would repress all insurrectionary movements within the State; that I would repel all attempts to invade it, from whatever quarter, and by whomsoever made; and that I would thus maintain a strict neutrality in the present unhappy contest, and preserve the peace of the State. And I further proposed that I would, if necessary, invoke the assistance of the U. S. troops to carry out these pledges. All this I proposed to do upon condition that the Federal Government would undertake to disarm the Home Guards which it has illegally organized and armed throughout the State, and pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any localities in the State, not occupied by them at this time.

This proposition was rejected by Gens. Lyon and Blair, they demanding, according to Gov. Jackson's proclamation above quoted—

Not only the disorganization and disarming of the State militia, and the nullification of the Military Bill, but they refused to disarm their own Home Guards, and insisted that the Federal Government should enjoy an unrestricted right to move and station its troops throughout the State, whenever and wherever that might, in the opinion of its

officers, be necessary, either for the protection of the "loyal subjects" of the Federal Government, or for the repelling of invasion; and they plainly announced that it was the intention of the Administration to take military occupation, under these pretexts, of the whole State, and to reduce it, as avowed by General Lyon himself, to the "exact condition of Maryland."

This final effort at conciliation having failed, Gov. Jackson and his associates left for Jefferson City that night,<sup>1</sup> burning the railroad bridges

<sup>1</sup>During the summer of 1877, a New York correspondent of the Cincinnati "*Enquirer*" met Col. Thos. L. Snead, now a citizen of New York, who gave this account of Gen. Lyon and of the Lyon-Jackson interview: "Lyon," said Col. Snead, "was the greatest man I ever saw. That has been my statement everywhere. I felt it and said it the day we held that memorable interview of six hours with him at the Planters' House, St. Louis. He was Jeff. Davis over again, but not as narrow and prejudiced as Davis. He was Davis, however, in intensity and tenacity, and about of the weight and leanness of Davis. We were to hold that interview in order to see if war could be prevented. I am the only survivor of it. Claib. Jackson and Sterling Price were the ablest politicians of Missouri; Price at the head, after the death of Col. Benton. I was the Governor's (Jackson's) Secretary. Lyon came there with Frank Blair, Jun., and Gen. Conant. The latter was afterward killed. Price was a successful military officer and Major General in the war with Mexico. Lyon was nothing but a little Captain of artillery. But such was his clearness, force and real genius, that he met those old politicians at every point, conceding nothing, but never discourteous, his reason and his will equal. The whole party felt him to be the master mind, and the Federal historians do not err when they put him down as the greatest man they produced—greater than any produced on both sides west of the Mississippi River.

"Lyon advanced into that room, a little, red-bearded, red-haired, precise, positive, plain man. He sat down and crossed one leg over the other stiffly, and his face was serious and stern. He spoke each word separate from the other, pronouncing the little words like *my* and *to* with as much emphasis as the longer words. He raised his right arm automatically as the conversation proceeded, and brought it down with a jerk, the fore-finger extended, yet never speaking higher or lower than at first. We felt the sense of war and government in all his bearing.

"I shall take small part in this conference," said Lyon. 'Mr. Blair is familiar with this question, and knows the views of my Government, and has its full confidence. What he has to say will have my support.'

"Yet in half an hour he took the case out of Blair's mouth and advanced to the front, and Frank Blair was as dumb as he had been. The United States never could have been typified by a more invincible mind and presence. It was three o'clock when the meeting broke up. The last attempt Jackson made was to have both sides agree not to recruit troops in Missouri. Lyon arose:

"'Rather than agree that my government shall concede to your government one iota of authority as to one man to be recruited, one inch of soil of this State to be divided in allegiance or neutralized between my government and your government, I will see you, sir, (pointing to Price), and you, sir, (pointing to Jackson), and myself and all of us, under the sod!' Then, taking out his watch, stiffly, he said, 'You shall have safe conduct out of my lines for one hour. Meantime, you can get your dinner. It is now three o'clock.' "We took our dinner in haste and left St. Louis by an express train, and if we had not burned the bridges behind us, by George! he would have caught us, sir, before we could reach Jefferson City, for he marched at once."

behind them, and cutting the telegraph wires. On the next day (June 12), Gov. Jackson issued a proclamation calling into active service fifty thousand State militia "for the purpose of repelling invasion and for the protection of the lives, liberty and property of the citizens of this State," earnestly exhorting "all good citizens of Missouri to rally under the flag of their State for the protection of their endangered homes and firesides, and for the defense of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties." He also advised the people "that your first allegiance is due to your own State; and that you are under no obligation, whatever, to obey the *unconstitutional* edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this State. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey the one or submit to the other. Rise, then, and drive out ignominiously the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes."

This proclamation was the signal for civil war in Missouri, and immediately after its publication active military movements within the State begun.

General Lyon at once prepared to march upon Jefferson City. On Thursday the 13th of June—the day after the proclamation of Governor Jackson was issued—two companies of regulars, the second battalion of the first regiment of Missouri volunteer infantry, and one section of Totten's light artillery, left St. Louis on the steamer *Iatan*; and the steamer *J. C. Swan* left the wharf with the first battalion of the first regiment under the command of Colonel F. P. Blair, and other sections of Totten's battery and a detachment of pioneers, together with General Lyon and staff, numbering fifteen hundred men, for the Capital of Missouri. All needed camp equipage, ammunition and provisions for a long march, together with wagons and horses, accompanied the expedition.

On Saturday evening at 3 o'clock, June 15th, they disembarked at Jefferson City and took possession of the town. No resistance was offered, for on the Thursday previous Governor Jackson, General Price and other officers left on the steamer *White Cloud* for Boonville, never to return. Captain Kelly's company left on the railroad on Friday, burning the bridge at Gray's creek behind them. Five companies of Colonel Blair's regiment, one company of regulars and one company of artillery, entered the city. The regulars landed first and immediately took possession of the heights near the Penitentiary, and a part of

Colonel Blair's regiment marched to the Capitol, took possession of the building, and hoisted the national flag. The balance of the troops, with the artillery, remained on the boats.

Colonel Henry Boernstein was appointed to the command of Jefferson City, who on the 17th issued a proclamation "to the citizens of Cole County and the adjacent counties of Missouri."

On Sunday, June 16th, Gen. Lyon re-embarked his troops on the steamers *A. McDowell*, *Iatan* and *City of Louisiana*, and set sail for Boonville, whither Jackson and Price had gone, and where they had collected, short as the time was, a military force estimated at three or four thousand. For the most part they were badly armed, and many of them wholly without arms, and without officers, training or organization; and with but a single piece of artillery, a six pounder. In the midst of these hasty preparations to fight the first battle of the rebellion in Missouri, Gen. Price was prostrated by serious illness, and on Sunday left, on the *White Cloud*, for his residence in Chariton County.

Gen. Lyon's command steamed up the river, and, landing one mile below Providence, a small shipping point on the river in Boone County, stopped for the night. Early next morning he resumed his course up the river, reaching Rocheport about 6 o'clock A. M., where he learned that the State troops, under Gov. Jackson and Col. John S. Marmaduke, of Saline, were preparing to receive him some six miles below Boonville, on the Cooper side. The propriety of attacking Gen. Lyon's command or of risking a battle was seriously questioned by Jackson and Price, on account of the badly armed and disorganized condition of the raw recruits who had rallied to their standard. But the State troops were "full of fight" and would listen to none of the counsels of prudence, which oftentimes is the better part of valor. Therefore they left Boonville and their only piece of ordnance, and under the command of Col. John S. Marmaduke marched to meet the advancing column under Lyon and Blair. This column had disembarked from their boats at Rocheport, with six pieces of artillery, and pursuing their way in the direction of Boonville, encountered the State troops about midway between that place and Rocheport. Reaching the brow of the ascent on which Col. Marmaduke and Gov. Jackson had formed their line of battle, Capt. Totten opened the engagement by throwing a few nine-pounder explosives into their ranks, while the infantry filed oblique right and left and commenced a terrific volley of musketry, which was for a short time well replied to, the balls flying thick and fast and occasionally wounding a soldier of Lyon's command. Col. Marmaduke was posted in a lane running

towards the river from the road along which the army of the United States were advancing, and in a brick house (Elliott's) on the northeast corner of the junction of the two roads. A couple of bombs were thrown through the east wall of the house, scattering the State troops in all directions. The well-directed fire of the German infantry, Lieut. Col. Schaeffer on the right, and Gen. Lyon's company of regulars and part of Col. Blair's regiment on the left of the road, soon compelled Col. Marmaduke's command to fall back into a field of wheat, where they again formed in line just on the brow of the hill. They then advanced some twenty steps to meet the United States troops, and for a short time the cannon were plied with great rapidity and effect. Just at this juncture the State forces opened a galling fire from a grove on the left of Lyon's center, and from a shed beyond and still further to the left.

The skirmish now assumed the magnitude of a battle. The commander, Gen. Lyon, exhibited the most remarkable coolness, and preserved throughout that undisturbed presence of mind shown by him alike in camp, in private life, or on the field. "Forward on the extreme right." "Give them another shot, Capt. Totten," echoed above the roar of musketry clear and distinct from the lips of the General, who led the advancing column. Lyon's force was 2,000 in all, but not over 500 participated at any one time in the battle. The State troops numbered, perhaps, 1,500; not all of whom, however, were engaged in the conflict.

The last encounter ended the engagement, and the State troops retreated in great disorder—so much so that the Boonville battle is often called in Missouri "the Boonville Races."

The number of killed and wounded on each side was greatly exaggerated at the time. According to the most authentic accounts accessible to us, there were two men killed on the Federal side—Jacob Kiburtz, commissary of Company B, Second Regiment, and M. N. Coolidge, of Company H, First Regiment. Nine men were wounded, but few of them severely. One man was also missing who was known to have been badly shot. On the State side only two were killed—Dr. William Quarles, of Boonville, and Frank E. Hulen, of Pettis, son of Taylor Hulen, of Boone County, and the brother of Mrs. James Duncan of Columbia. A son of Dr. McCutchen, of Boonville, died of his wounds the Monday after the battle.

The Federal forces marched to Boonville and took quiet possession of "Camp Vest" and the city. At "Camp Vest" there were found one thousand two hundred shoes, twenty or thirty tents, quantities of

ammunition, some fifty guns of various patterns, blankets, coats, carpet sacks and two secession flags.

On the day after reaching Boonville (June 18th, 1861), General Lyon issued a proclamation "to the people of Missouri," in which he re-assured them that it was his intention to use the force under his command for no other purpose than the maintenance of the authority of the General Government and the protection of the rights and property of all law-abiding citizens. He also made it known that "the State authorities, in violation of an agreement with General Harney, on the 21st of May last, had drawn together and organized upon a large scale the means of warfare, and having made declaration of war, they abandoned the Capital, issued orders for the destruction of the railroad and telegraph lines, and, proceeding to this point, put into execution their hostile purposes toward the General Government." He also denied, in order to counteract the influence of the misrepresentations of the secession leaders, "that the Government troops intended a forcible and violent invasion of Missouri for purposes of military despotism and tyranny," and gave notice to the people of this State, that he should scrupulously avoid all interference with the business, rights and property of every description, recognized by the laws of this State, and belonging to law-abiding citizens; but that it was equally his duty to maintain the paramount authority of the United States with such force as he had at his command, which would be retained only so long as opposition should make it necessary, and that it was his wish, and should be his purpose, to devolve any unavoidable vigor, arising in this issue, upon those only who provoked it.

Governor Jackson left Boonville on horseback for Arrow Rock, Saline County. A few days afterwards he was at Syracuse, on the Pacific railroad, with a military force of six hundred men. At this point he was scented by General Lyon, who dispatched a Federal force of a thousand men under Captain Totten to capture and bring him back to Boonville; but the Governor, hearing of their approach, left with his troops about sunrise, *en route* for Arkansas to join Colonel Ben. McCulloch. General Price, on partially regaining his health, went to Lexington, thence to Southwest Missouri.

Civil war was now fairly inaugurated in Missouri, and military movements progressed rapidly. Federal troops poured into the State, and the work of organizing new regiments within its borders was entered upon with enthusiasm and success. The Union forces garrisoned the city of St. Louis, Hermann, Jefferson City, Rolla, the terminus of the south-



west branch of the Pacific railroad, Boonville and Bird's Point, opposite Cairo. They held the entire State north of the Missouri river, the southeast portion between the Mississippi river and a line drawn southward from the State Capital to the Arkansas border, and all the railroads and navigable rivers in the State.

General Lyon remained in Boonville until July 3d, 1861, on which day he left with his forces for the southwest, reaching Springfield on the 6th, where his command was increased by the addition of the troops under Maj. Sturgis. On the day before Lyon arrived at Springfield (July 5th), a sharp engagement—the next in chronological order after the battle at Boonville—took place at Carthage, Jasper county, between the Federal forces under Col. Franz Sigel and the State troops in command of Gov. Jackson, Gen. James S. Rains, of Jasper, and Gen. M. M. Parsons, of Cole. The following account of the engagement, apparently the most authentic at command, is taken from the *Missouri Republican* of July 11th, 1861; and is based upon information received from Lieut. M. Tosk, of the artillery attached to the 3d Missouri Volunteers, and who acted as Col. Sigel's adjutant during the fight. He came to St. Louis as the bearer of dispatches to the commander of the St. Louis Arsenal, and traveled day and night from "the seat of war":—

On Friday morning last, at 5 o'clock, a scouting party, sent out by Col. Sigel, encountered, about two miles distant from Carthage, a picket guard of the State troops, who were attacked and were taken prisoners. With all dispatch Col. Sigel prepared to go forward, expecting to meet the State troops some distance west of Carthage. About half past nine o'clock, the meeting took place in an open prairie, seven miles beyond Carthage. Lieut. Tosk estimates the numbers of the opposing army at five thousand, chiefly cavalry, but supplied with a battery of five cannon—four six pounders and one twelve pounder—while Col. Sigel's command consisted of his own regiment of two battalions, and Col. Salomon's detached regiment, with several pieces of artillery, under command of Major Backoff. Col. Sigel's regiment had six hundred men, and Col. Salomon's five hundred. The State troops were commanded by Generals Parsons and Rains. Maj. Backoff, under the direction of Col. Sigel, opened the fire, which continued briskly for nearly two hours. In less than an hour the twelve pounder of the State troops was dismounted, and soon afterward the whole battery was silenced. The superior arms of the Federals enabled them to maintain a situation of comparatively little danger. The State troops, whom for convenience we shall call "Jackson's men," twice broke their ranks, but were rallied and held their position very well, considering the destructive discharges against them, until their guns gave out, when their column was again broken.

At this juncture, about fifteen hundred of the cavalry started back with the intention of cutting off Sigel's transportation train, seeing which movement a retreat was ordered, and word sent immediately for the wagons to advance as quickly as possible. By keeping up the fire with the infantry and bringing the artillery in range whenever practicable, Col. Sigel managed to retard the progress of Jackson's cavalry, and eventually to fall

back almost unobstructed to the baggage train, which was some three and a half miles from the scene of the first engagement.

By a skillful movement, the wagons were placed in the center of the column in such a manner that there were artillery and infantry forces both in front and rear. Jackson's troops then retreated and endeavored to surround the entire column by taking a position upon some high bluffs or hills overlooking the creek. There was but one road leading across this stream, and to progress at all, without further retreating in the direction of Carthage, it was necessary to cross the elevation where the cavalry were mainly posted.

Major Backoff ordered two of the artillery pieces in front to oblique to the left and two to the right, and at the same time a similar movement was made from Col. Sigel's battalions. This was a maneuver to induce Jackson's men to believe that Sigel was seeking to pass out on the extremes of their lines, and to out-flank the cavalry. It was followed by a closing up to the right and to the left by the forces on the bluffs, when, on reaching a point three hundred and fifty yards from the cavalry, the four pieces were ordered to transverse oblique, and immediately a heavy cross-fire was opened with canister. At the same time the infantry charged at double quick, and in ten minutes the State troops were scattered in every direction. Ten rounds of canister were fired from each of the cannon, together with several rounds by the infantry.

This was about five o'clock in the evening, and the engagement, with the maneuvering, had occupied in the neighborhood of two hours. Jackson's cavalry were poorly mounted, being armed chiefly with shot-guns and common rifles. They had no cannon on the bluffs or hills, and were consequently able to make little or no resistance to the attacks of Col. Sigel. Forty-five men and eighty horses were taken, belonging to Jackson's troops, and there were also captured sixty double-barreled shot-guns and some revolvers and bowie knives. Our informant states that one of the prisoners, on being asked how many had been killed on his side, estimated the loss at from two hundred and fifty to three hundred.

Lieut. Tosk says that it is undeniable that the officers of Jackson's troops displayed great ability in their maneuvers, showing great strategic skill, but that the men were raw and undisciplined, their inexperience in the art of war leading them continually into danger. Notwithstanding their losses, the State troops still held their position so far as to cut off Sigel's advance over the creek, and that officer was compelled to order a retreat in the direction of Carthage, Jackson's men following and surrounding the column on three sides. During the retreat, firing by the infantry was kept up, and in this way the cavalry was kept at some distance. Sigel's command got back to Carthage at half past 6 o'clock, and at once undertook to enter the woods about a mile distant. This movement was strongly and desperately resisted, Jackson's men feeling that once in the timber they could do nothing, being on horseback. An effort to rally the cavalry to a charge was made, which brought the whole of the infantry into action. After some hard fighting, Col. Sigel got his men into the woods, and so covered his retreat as to force the State troops to relinquish the fight for the night. The latter returned to Carthage with the evident intention of renewing the battle in the morning. Lieut. Tosk, without any positive information on the subject, thinks that in this last engagement near Carthage, Jackson's men must have suffered a loss of not less than two hundred killed.<sup>1</sup> He says that during the whole day the loss on the Federal side was but eight killed and forty-five wounded, though we understand that the dispatches of Gen. Sigel, to Col. Harding, at the Arsenal, place the number of killed at twenty-four.

Colonel Sigel, notwithstanding the great fatigue of the day—his men being in action nearly twelve hours, and suffering severely from the heat and from the lack of water

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless an over-estimate.

—ordered his men to press on in retreat from Carthage. A forced march was made to Sarcoxie, in the southeast corner of Jasper county (Carthage being the county seat), a distance of twelve or fourteen miles. There they went into camp at 3 o'clock Saturday morning. In the afternoon of the next day the retreat was continued to Mt. Vernon, Lawrence county, sixteen or eighteen miles east of Sarcoxie, where Sigel took a stand, and where his headquarters were located when Lieut. Tosk left, which was at four o'clock on the evening of the 7th.

The next important engagement between the Federal and State forces occurred at Wilson's Creek on August 10th, Gen. Nathaniel Lyon commanding the former and Gen. Ben. McCulloch the latter, and during which Gen. Lyon was killed. It was one of the most bloody and desperately-contested battles of the campaign in Missouri. Of this and other interesting historical facts in the next chapter.



A River Scene.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

1861.—CREATION OF THE WESTERN DEPARTMENT.—JOHN C. FREMONT APPOINTED TO ITS COMMAND.—HE RETURNS FROM EUROPE TO NEW YORK; THENCE GOES TO ST. LOUIS AND ESTABLISHES HIS HEADQUARTERS.—HE FORTIFIES ST. LOUIS.—A DILEMMA.—SHALL HE SAVE BIRD'S POINT OR REINFORCE LYON?—HE ELECTS TO DO THE FORMER.—PROCLAMATIONS OF GOV. C. F. JACKSON.—LIEUT. GOVERNOR THOMAS C. REYNOLDS AND GENS. GIDEON J. PILLOW AND JEFF. THOMPSON, AT NEW MADRID.—THOMPSON'S "CATTLE ON TEN THOUSAND HILLS."—FREMONT'S FLEET SAILS FROM ST. LOUIS TO BIRD'S POINT AND BACK AGAIN.—LYON'S MARCH FROM BOONVILLE TO SPRINGFIELD.—PRICE'S MARCH FROM COW SKIN PRAIRIE TOWARDS WILSON'S CREEK.—THE BATTLE OF DUG'S SPRINGS.—RAINS DEFEATED.—LYON RETURNS TO SPRINGFIELD.—MASSING OF CONFEDERATE FORCES ON CRANE CREEK IN STONE COUNTY.—DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN PRICE AND McCULLOCH.—THE BATTLE AT WILSON'S CREEK; ONE OF THE MOST BLOODY OF THE WAR.—DEATH OF GEN. LYON.—DEFEAT OF THE UNION ARMY.—ITS RETREAT TO ROLLA.—REPORTS OF THE BATTLE MADE BY MAJOR STURGIS AND GENS. SIEGEL, McCULLOCH, PRICE AND CLARK.—FORTY-TWO THOUSAND MILITIA CALLED FOR BY GOV. GAMBLE.—GEN. FREMONT DECLARES MARTIAL LAW.—PROVOST MARTIAL MCKINSTRY'S "PERMIT" ORDER.—PRESIDENT LINCOLN DISAPPROVES FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.—"THE SWAMP FOX" AGAIN PROCLAIMS.—HE WILL "HANG, DRAW AND QUARTER."

On July 6, 1861, the Western Department was created, and comprised the State of Illinois and the States and Territories west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains, including New Mexico,—headquarters at St. Louis. Previous to the establishment of the Department, as we saw in the last chapter, Gen. W. S. Harney, and afterwards Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, was in command, at St. Louis, of the National forces in Missouri; and the latter remained in command until the creation of the Western Department and the appointment of Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont as its commander.

At the breaking out of the war, Fremont, who will be remembered as a son-in-law of Senator Benton, and the candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency in 1856, was absent from the country in Europe. On May 14, 1861, notwithstanding his absence, he was commissioned a Major-General of volunteers, and, receiving notice of the fact, at once departed for the United States and arrived at Boston on the 27th of June, bringing with him a large assortment of arms for the Union troops. On July 6th, 1861, he was appointed to the command of the Western Department, for which, while in New York, he made arrangements for over 20,000 stand of arms and a large quantity of munitions of war. The bloody battle and Federal defeat at Bull Run, occurring on July 21st, while he was yet in New York, he left for St. Louis, where he arrived on the 26th of July, and where he found Colonel Chester Harding, Gen.

Lyon's Adjutant-General, in command. General Fremont established his head-quarters at the large and splendid residence of the late Colonel Joshua B. Brant, on Chouteau Avenue, where, with a good deal of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" he entered upon the discharge of his duties.

His short administration of the affairs of the department has been severely criticised, and perhaps in some respects justly. It certainly was not brilliantly successful, if successful at all. It is claimed, however, that he found much disorder prevailing in the department; that the arms ordered in New York had been diverted for the use of the Army of the Potomac; that he had little money at his command, and that the military authorities at Washington, on account of the disastrous defeat at Bull Run, were so absorbed with the defences of the National Capital as to be unable to give needed attention to the exposed condition of the Western Department.

Being without money, General Fremont made application to the sub-treasurer at St. Louis, who had \$300,000 in his vaults, to supply his wants. That officer refusing, Fremont avowed his purpose to seize \$100,000 by military force, whereupon the sub-treasurer yielded to his demands; and with these funds he secured the re-enlistment of many of the Home Guards, or three-months' men, whose terms had recently expired. He also proceeded, by the erection of numerous and costly fortifications, to place the city of St. Louis in a position of successful defence against any probable attack.

Very soon, as the exigencies of the campaign in Missouri appeared to him, Fremont was placed in a dilemma, and compelled to choose between the safety of Cairo and Bird's Point and the reinforcement of General Lyon in the Southwest. General Gideon J. Pillow was reported to be preparing, with a large number of Confederate troops, to advance upon Cairo and Bird's Point, while General Hardee was pushing into the interior of Missouri to annoy General Lyon's flank and rear. In addition to this, Lieutenant Governor Thomas C. Reynolds—Governor C. F. Jackson being absent on an urgent visit to Richmond, Virginia,—elated with the Confederate success at Bull Run (or Manassas) issued a long proclamation at New Madrid, on July 31,<sup>1</sup> in which he announced that "The sun which shone in its full mid-day splendor at Manassas is about

<sup>1</sup> About the same time, and also from New Madrid, General Gideon J. Pillow issued a proclamation to the people of Missouri, announcing his presence in the State with his army, at the request of Governor Jackson, to aid as allies in "placing our down-trodden sister on her feet", etc. See *Rebellion Record*, Vol. 2, p. 442.

to rise upon Missouri"; that he had intended to await Governor Jackson's return to Missouri before he (R.) should enter the State, but on consultation with Major-General Polk and General Pillow they had all come to the conclusion that substantial reasons counselled his presence here. He added: "War dissolves all political unions. The Lincoln Administration, by an open war upon our State, commenced by the perfidious capture of Camp Jackson, has dissolved the Union which, under the Constitution of the United States, connected Missouri with the country still under Mr. Lincoln's sway. Its acts fully justify separation on the part of our State, or revolution on the part of individual citizens. The Lincoln government and its partisans have distinctly announced their intention to decide by force the future destiny of Missouri; their opponents, always willing to accept the decision of the people, are nevertheless compelled to meet the issues tendered by the enemies of her sovereignty. The wish of her people to remain under the same government with that sisterhood of Southern commonwealths to which she has belonged is clear from the conduct of her oppressors; had they not felt certain of defeat in a reference of the question to her people, they would never have resorted to force to retain her in the Northern Union." For these reasons Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds maintained that the bond which united Missouri to the North had been virtually broken, and that every citizen of the State was fully relieved of obligation to regard it. Alluding to the State Convention which began its sessions in Jefferson City on February 28th, 1861, he said it was called into existence by the Legislature merely as an advisory body, to present to the people, at the proper time, the question of separation from the North; that it had been virtually dissolved by the acts of the enemy in banishing and imprisoning many of its members, thus giving the minority the appearance of a majority of the body; that its present session was held amid foreign bayonets, and its members admitted by passes from the local instrument of the Lincoln despotism; and that, reduced to a mere rump, it might become a convenient tool of foes, but its acts could not decide the destiny of Missouri. He concluded by a call upon the citizens of Missouri to "rally as one man to the standard of the State," and as an incentive thereto declared that the people of the lower Mississippi Valley were "about to rush with gleaming bowie knives and unerring rifles to aid us in driving out the abolitionists and their Hessian allies;" that the road to peace and internal security was only through union with the South, and that the Confederate forces under General Pillow had entered Missouri,

on invitation of Governor Jackson, to aid in expelling the enemy from the State.<sup>1</sup>

On the day after the issuing of this proclamation, Brigadier-General Jeff. Thompson, Commandant of the Missouri State Guard of the first military district, headquarters at Bloomfield, Stoddard County, issued a characteristic pronunciamiento, in which he exhorted the people of Missouri to strike while the iron was hot; to leave their plows in the furrow, their ox to the yoke, and rush like a tornado upon their invaders, and sweep them like a hurricane from the face of the earth; adding: "We have plenty of ammunition, and the cattle on ten thousand hills are ours." Ten thousand! Just nine thousand more than the Psalmist claimed as the Lord's.<sup>2</sup> The following is the full text of Thompson's remarkable proclamation:

MISSOURIANS! STRIKE FOR YOUR FIRESIDES AND YOUR HOMES!

HEADQUARTERS 1ST MILITARY DISTRICT MO. STATE GUARDS, }  
BLOOMFIELD, MO, August 1, 1861. }

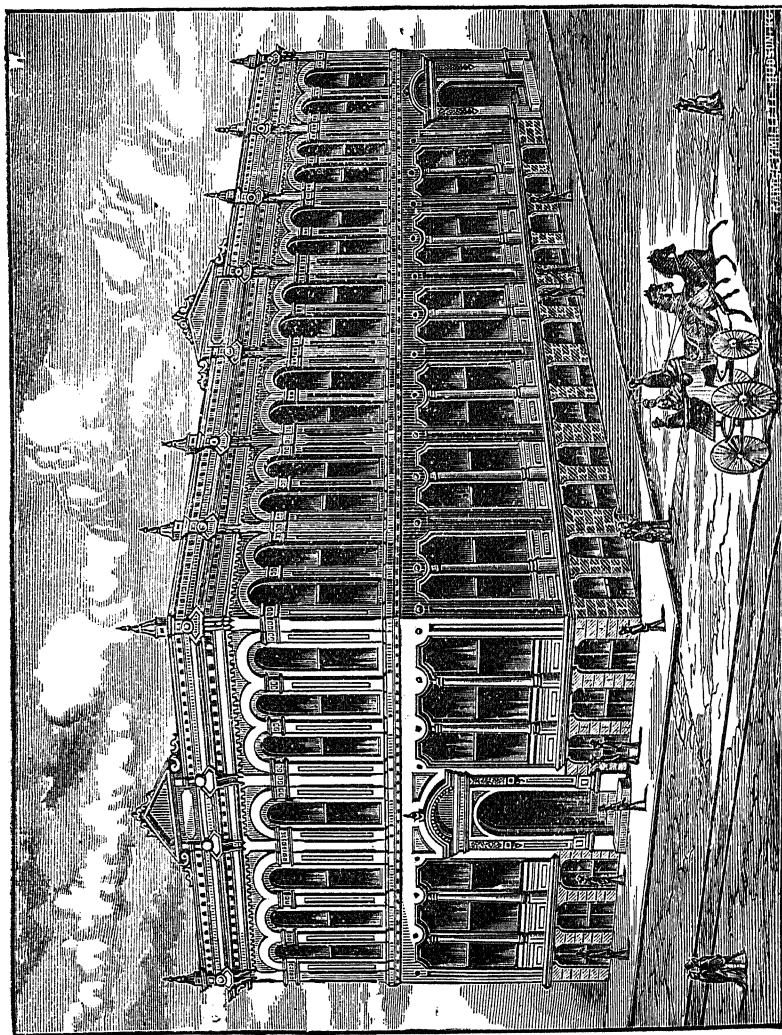
*To the People of Missouri:*

Having been elected to command the gallant sons of the First Military District of Missouri in the second war for independence, I appeal to all whose hearts are with us, immediately to take the field. By a speedy and simultaneous assault on our foes, we can, like a hurricane, scatter them to the winds, while tardy action, like the gentle south wind, will only meet with northern frosts, and advance and recede, and like the seasons, will be like the history of the war, and will last forever. Come now! Strike while the iron is hot! Our enemies are whipped in Virginia. They have been whipped in Missouri. Gen. Hardee advances in the center, Gen. Pillow on the right, and Gen. McCulloch on the left, with twenty thousand brave Southern hearts to our aid. So, leave your plows in the furrow, your ox to the yoke, and rush like a tornado upon our invaders and foes, to sweep them from the face of the earth, or force them from the soil of our State! Brave sons of the First District, come and join us! We have plenty of ammunition, and the cattle on ten thousand hills are ours. We have forty thousand Belgian muskets coming; but bring your guns and muskets with you, if you have them; if not, come without them. We will strike our foes like a southern thunderbolt, and soon our campfires will illuminate the Merimac and Missouri. Come, turn out!

JEFF. THOMPSON,  
Brigadier General Commanding.

Rebellion Record, Vol. 2, pp. 455-57.

<sup>2</sup> ANECDOTE.—A short time after the publication of this proclamation, Gen. Thompson, being in great need of beef cattle for his troops and not one on the "ten thousand hills" coming at his call, seized upon the only cow of a widow in the vicinity and was in the act of driving her to his camp. The widow went to him and protested: "Why, General, is it possible you intend to rob a widow of the only cow she has in the world, when, as you have said in your proclamation, the cattle on ten thousand hills are yours?" The General, who always enjoyed a joke, retreated from the widow and her cow.



MERCHANTS EXCHANGE, KANSAS CITY.



More than this : Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, having returned from Richmond, issued a "thunderbolt" in a proclamation published at New Madrid on August 5th, called by him the "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI," in which, after reciting various usurpations and outrages by the Federal military and civil authorities against the people and government of Missouri, he declared, "in their name, by their authority and on their behalf," that "the political connection heretofore existing between said States and the people and government of Missouri, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that the State of Missouri, as a SOVEREIGN, FREE AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC, has full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."<sup>1</sup>

Several weeks previous to General Fremont's assumption of the command of the Western Department, the battle of Carthage had been fought, and the Union forces compelled to retreat, while General Lyon's command in the vicinity of Springfield was seriously menaced by a Confederate force at least 50,000 strong, under the command of General Price, McCulloch, Pearce and McBride. Cairo and Bird's Point were also threatened. In the dilemma which presented itself, General Fremont, believing himself unable to save both, elected to secure the safety of Bird's Point, and therefore to leave General Lyon and his little army to take care of themselves as best they might.

About the 1st of August, a great fleet of eight steamers was ordered to the wharf at St. Louis to convey the troops down the river, and unusual activity in military circles prevailed. The fleet, Captain Bart Able in charge, consisted of the *City of Alton*, the flag transport, with General Fremont and staff on board, *Louisiana*, *D. A. January*, *G. W. Graham*, *Empress*, *War Eagle*, *Jenny Deans* and *Warsaw*. With this fleet, and a formidable array of infantry and artillery, General Fremont steamed down to Bird's Point and steamed back again, there being no

<sup>1</sup> The *Missouri Statesman*, (Columbia), of August 23, 1861, referring to this proclamation, said: It not only declares Missouri out of the Union, but goes a kangaroo leap beyond and declares it an Independent Republic—a nation of itself, with full power to levy war and conclude peace, to contract alliances, regulate commerce, make treaties with foreign nations and the Indian tribes, coin money, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and do all other acts and things which independent nations may perform. Not only out of the Union; not only severed from her connection with and allegiance to the federal constitution, but riding out upon the world's ocean, isolated and alone, recognized by no power, known by no power, claimed by no power, a fugitive among the nations. And all this, too, without a vote of her people, legislature or convention—the radical transfiguration being consummated by the fiat of Governor Jackson alone!

Confederate force there, Pillow's demonstration proving to be a menace only. Bird's Point, which many now believe was never in danger, was saved. And Bird's Point cost the country Lyon! Had it been a point of gold, which it was not, instead of a point of sand, which it was, it would have been dearly purchased with the life of such a soldier and the loss of such a battle as Wilson's Creek.

After the battle at Boonville, on the 18th of June, 1861, General Lyon, with a force numbering near three thousand men, four pieces of artillery and a long baggage train, left that place on July 3d, 1861, in pursuit of the State troops, who were reported to have fled to Syracuse and beyond. General Lyon was mounted on an iron-gray horse, and was accompanied by a small body-guard of ten butchers of St. Louis, who were all remarkable for their large size, strong physique, and fine horsemanship.

At Grand River, a branch of the Osage, in Henry County, which he reached on July 7th, he was re-inforced by three thousand troops from Kansas, commanded by Major S. D. Sturgis. When within eighty miles of Springfield, Lyon received intelligence of Sigel's battle at Carthage, and he determined to change his course and march to his relief. Notwithstanding the intense heat of the weather and the fact that his infantry was overcome by fatigue, early on the morning of the 10th of July the army marched from their encampment, on the south bank of the Osage, and pursued their way among the steep hills, deep gorges, and trackless forests which lay before him. After a march of some fifty miles, a messenger from General Sigel brought him definite information of his desperate encounter at Carthage with the Confederates, and of his arrival in safety at Springfield. Therefore, Lyon, marching leisurely, accomplished the distance (thirty miles) to Springfield in the next two days. In camping near that place he prepared for offensive war against the superior and constantly-increasing force of his enemies. Conscious of the perils which environed him, he repeatedly asked General Fremont for reinforcements, but received no reply. Patiently he waited for them, but they came not. He prepared as best he could to resist the threatening dangers.

On the 25th of July, 1861, General Sterling Price began to move his command from its encampment on Cowskin Prairie, in McDonald County, towards Cassville, in Barry County, at which place it had been agreed between Generals McCulloch, Pearce and Price their respective commands, together with the troops under General McBride, should concentrate, preparatory to a forward movement on Springfield. On the

29th, the junction was effected with McCulloch and Pearce. The combined armies were then put under marching orders; the first division, General McCulloch, of Texas, commanding; the Second Division, General Pearce, of Arkansas, and the Third Division, General Steen, of Missouri, leaving Cassville on the 1st and 2d of August, taking the road leading to their objective point—Springfield. General Price, of Missouri, with the greater portion of his infantry, accompanied the Second Division. A few days afterward, a regiment of Texas Rangers, under command of Colonel Greer, joined the enbattled hosts who were moving to attack Lyon. Brigadier-General James S. Rains, a well-known politician of Jasper County, Missouri, commanded the advance guard of the Southern army, his force consisting of six companies of mounted Missourians. On Friday, August 2, he encamped at Dug Springs, on the Springfield road, and about five miles beyond Crane Creek, where he encountered the Union forces, under General Lyon, and where the battle of Dug Springs was fought.

Near the close of the month of July, General Lyon was informed of the concentration of the Southern troops at Cassville, and of their intention of marching upon his camp. Therefore, large as their force was in comparison with his own, he determined to go out and meet them; and, late in the afternoon of the 1st of August, his entire army (5,500 foot, 400 horse, and 18 guns), led by himself, moved toward Cassville, with the exception of a small force left behind to guard the city.<sup>1</sup> They bivouacked that night on Cave Creek, ten miles south of Springfield, and moved forward at an early hour in the morning, excessively annoyed by heat and dust, and intense thirst, for most of the wells and streams were dry. At Dug Springs, in Stone County, nineteen miles southwest of Springfield, they halted. They were in an oblong valley, five miles in length, and broken by projecting spurs of the hills, which formed wooded

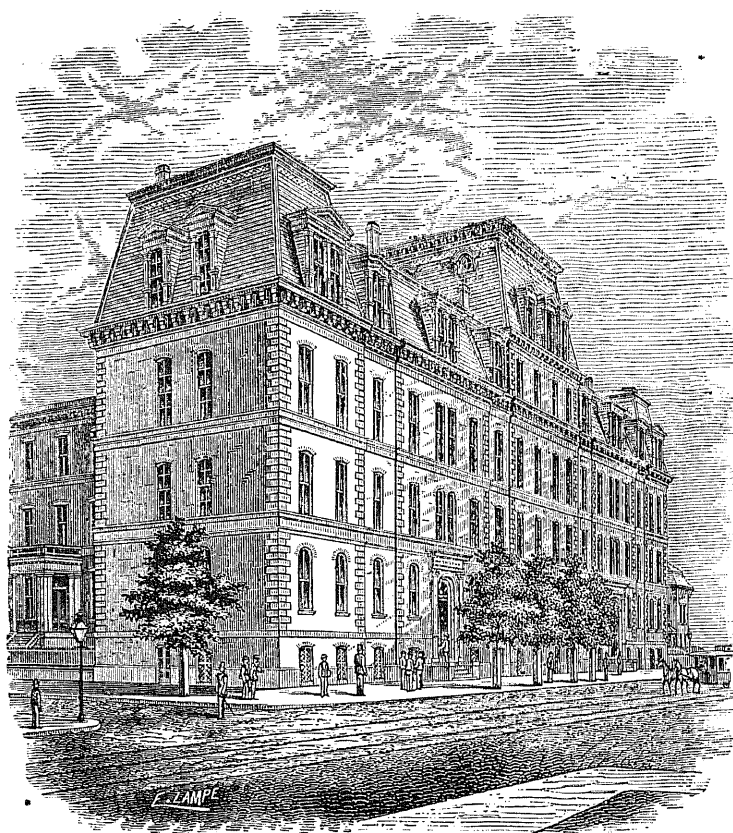
<sup>1</sup>Lyon's force at this time consisted of five companies of the First and Second Regulars, under Major Sturgis; five companies of the First Missouri Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews; two companies of the Second Missouri, Major Osterhaus; three companies of the Third Missouri, Colonel Sigel; Fifth Missouri, Colonel Salomon; First Iowa, Colonel Bates; First Kansas, Colonel Deitzler; Second Kansas, Colonel Mitchel; two companies First Regular Cavalry, Captains Stanley and Carr; three companies First Regular Cavalry (recruits), Lieutenant Lathrop; Captain Totten's Battery, Regular Artillery, six guns, 6 and 12-pounders; Lieutenant Dubois' Battery, Regular Artillery, four guns, 6 and 12-pounders; Captain Schæffer's Battery, Missouri Volunteer Artillery, six guns, 6 and 12-pounders. General Lyon gave the most important secondary commands to Brigadier-General Sweeney, Colonel Sigel, and Major Sturgis.

ridges. Soon after halting, they discovered, by clouds of dust at the other extremity of the valley, that a large body of men were there and in motion. These were Confederates, under General James S. Rains. A battle-line was formed by the National troops, and in that order the little army moved forward toward the enemy, led by a company of regular infantry, under Captain Steele, supported by another of the Fourth Regular Cavalry, under Captain Stanley, which held the advanced position on the left. Owing to the ridges in the valley, the real force of each party was easily concealed from the other, and afforded opportunities for surprises. And so it happened. While the vanguard of the Union troops was moving cautiously forward, followed by the main body, and skirmishers were exchanging shots briskly, a large force of Confederates suddenly emerged from the woods, to cut off Steele's infantry from Stanley's cavalry. The latter (about a hundred and fifty strong) immediately drew up his men in proper order, and when the foe was within the range of their Sharp's carbines, they opened a deadly fire upon them. The latter numbered nearly five hundred. They returned the fire, and a regular battle seemed about to open, when a subordinate officer in Stanley's command shouted "Charge!" and twenty-five horsemen dashed in among the Confederate infantry, hewing them down with their sabers. Stanley could do nothing better than sustain the irregular order; but before he could reach them with reinforcements, the Confederates had broken and fled in the wildest confusion. "Are these men or devils—they fight so?" asked some of the wounded of the vanquished, when the conflict was over. When this body of Confederate infantry fled, a large force of their cavalry appeared emerging from the woods. Captain Totten brought two of his guns to bear upon them from a commanding eminence, with such precision that his shells fell among and scattered them in great disorder, for their frightened horses became unmanageable. The whole column of the Confederates now withdrew, leaving the valley in possession of the National troops. Thus ended the battle of Dug Springs. Lyon's loss was eight men killed and thirty wounded; and that of the Confederates was about forty killed, and as many wounded.<sup>1</sup>

Pursuit was instituted the next morning, but none of Rains' force was found. At the encampment at Curran, in Stone County, twenty-six miles from Springfield, Lyon determined to return to that place, which he reached on August 6th. After the concentration, near Crane creek, in the northern part of Stone County, of the entire Confederate force,

<sup>1</sup>"The Civil War in America," Lossing, Vol. 11, pp. 45-6.





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intelligence was received by them that Lyon's army, which had defeated Rains at Dug Springs, was immensely superior in numbers to their own; and therefore a disagreement arose among some of the Confederate officers as to the policy of a further advance toward Springfield. General McCulloch counseled a retrograde and General Price a forward movement. Price's officers and men agreed with him and were "eager for the fray." Price asked McCulloch, as he was unwilling to advance, to loan him arms for the destitute portions of his command, that he might advance without him. He refused. And thus the embarrassing disagreement continued till the evening of the day (August 4th, 1861), when an order was received by McCulloch from Major-General Leonidas Polk, ordering just that which Price desired—an advance upon Lyon. A council was at once held, in which McCulloch agreed to march upon Springfield, provided he would be granted the chief command of the army. Price, to whom in right and justice the chief command belonged, anxious to encounter Lyon and defeat and drive him from the State, consented to the terms of the imperious Texan, remarking that he was "not fighting for distinction, but for the defence of the liberties of his country," and that "he was willing to surrender his command and his life, if necessary, as a sacrifice to the cause."<sup>1</sup> A little after midnight, there-

<sup>1</sup> "GATH" (George Alfred Townsend), a correspondent of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, in the summer of 1877, met in New York city Colonel T. L. Snead, Chief of Staff of Sterling Price, who was in every pitched battle fought by the armies of Kansas and Missouri. He is a St. Louis man, and was an editor and amateur politician. Colonel Snead said that he possessed a chest full of papers and reports, and could write the only accurate statement, and correct many prevailing errors and misapprehensions, of the battle of Wilson's Creek. He was Price's Adjutant there, as McIntosh, of Georgia, was Ben McCulloch's. McIntosh was a better soldier than McCulloch, who was indecisive and faint of confidence. Price was a fine old officer, who had never lost a battle, and felt like all Missourians, that the place to fight Lyon was Missouri, and not to fall back to Arkansas. McCulloch commanded the Confederate army proper of only 3,000 men. Price commanded the Missouri State Guard, which the others considered militia, of 8,000 men. The Confederate Government, including Jeff. Davis, seemed indifferent about Missouri, and did not regard her as having properly seceded. Price was a Major-General, McCulloch only a Brigadier. The latter hesitated about marching upon Springfield, and was inclined to return to Arkansas. One day Price rode up on his horse; he had a loud voice and a positive address, and always spoke to McCulloch as if he considered the latter an inferior. "Do you mean to march into Missouri and attack Lyon. General McCulloch?" "I have not received permission from Mr. Davis to do so, sir," answered McCulloch. "My instructions leave me in doubt whether I will be justified in doing so." "Now, sir," said Price, still in a loud, imperious tone, "I have commanded in more battles than you ever saw, General McCulloch. I have three times as many troops as you. I am of higher rank than you are, and I am twenty years your senior in age. I waive all these things, General McCulloch, and if you will march into Missouri I will obey your orders, and give you the whole command and all the glory to be won

fore, on Sunday, August 4th, they took up the line of march, which was continued to Wilson's Creek, ten miles southwest of Springfield, which they reached on the 9th. Here they encamped, and determined at nine

there." McCulloch said he was then expecting a dispatch from Mr. Davis, and would take Price at his word if it was favorable. The dispatch came, and the army advanced, with McCulloch in supreme command. After McCulloch had advanced awhile he again grew irresolute, and instead of moving on Springfield direct, he halted out on Wilson's Creek, twelve miles or so south of that city. Price rode up to him one day and found him making diagrams with a stick on the ground. Price bawled out, "General McCulloch, are you going to attack Lyon or not?" McCulloch said that he was undecided. "Then," cried Price, "I want my own Missouri troops, and I will lead them against Lyon myself if they are all killed in the action, and you, General McCulloch, may go where in the devil you please!" McCulloch was thus exasperated into promising an attack. It was arranged to move on the very night that Lyon moved, and by three columns, upon Springfield. Price was to take one column, McCulloch a second, and General Clark a third. In anticipation of this movement, McCulloch drew in his pickets, and seeing some clouds and threatening weather arising, he ordered the troops to lay on their arms, and did not again advance his pickets. This led to the complete surprise effected in the morning by Lyon; and it also saved Sterling Price from annihilation; for, had Price moved with his column on the road laid down for him, he would have met Lyon's army and been extirpated. At four o'clock on the morning of the battle—the 10th of August, 1861—McCulloch rode over to Price's headquarters, which were pitched in a sort of a cow-yard by a small farm house down in a hollow. McCulloch was back on a hill. While Price, McCulloch and Snead were taking breakfast at the earliest dawn, a man came in from the front, where Rains was posted, and said he had an important message. The Yankees were advancing, full 30,000 strong, and were on Rains' line already. "Oh, pshaw," said McCulloch, after a minute, "that's another of Rains' scares." They went on eating until a second man came in, and again reported that the Federals were not more than a mile away, and right on Rains' column as they lay on their arms. McCulloch again said that it was nonsense; but Price was excited. He thundered out to Snead: "Order my troops, sir, under arms and in line of battle at once, and have my horse saddled!" He had hardly spoken the words when this little group of men looked up from the cow-yard where the hills were rising line on line before them, and in the clear morning perspective they saw Totten's battery unlimbered on the top of a hill less than three-quarters of a mile distant, and, before he had thrown the first shot, Sigel's battery in the rear also pealed out, and the balls from those two cannon crossed each other right over the hollow where Price's troops were lying. The surprise was perfect. General McCulloch hastened back to his headquarters and put his troops in motion against Sigel. In a very little while Sigel was wiped out. Price meanwhile had to encounter Lyon. The contest was spirited and deadly, and the weather like fighting in a furnace. Price's columns were reeling before Lyon's attack, when he sent Colonel Snead back to ask McCulloch if he could spare him a battalion of Missourians which were not properly in McCulloch's command. McCulloch then put himself at the head of this Missouri column, with certain other troops, and came back over the field to Price's relief. It was this reinforcement which caused the death of Lyon, as Colonel Snead believes; for, seeing fresh troops advancing on the rebel side, Lyon waved his sword and led the counter-attack, and was shot dead. Colonel Snead said that it seemed to him but a few minutes after Lyon fell before the battle stopped on both sides.



o'clock that night to march in four separate columns against Springfield, surround the city, and begin a simultaneous attack at daybreak. A threatened storm and the darkness of the night caused General McCulloch to countermand the order to march, and Saturday morning found the entire army, consisting of 5,300 effective infantry, fifteen pieces of artillery and 6,000 cavalry<sup>1</sup> with a large number of unarmed horsemen, encamped upon the field. But the night was neither too dark nor stormy for General Lyon. His perils were imminent and extreme, and his responsibilities to the Union cause in Missouri very embarrassing. His little army was in front of a largely superior and constantly-increasing force, which was marching to attack him. Abandoned to his fate by the department commander and the authorities at Washington, he was reduced to the extremity, in the midst of fearful odds against him, either of retreating northward or of risking a battle under such disadvantages. He chose the latter alternative, and waited not a moment to put his resolve into execution. Therefore, at five o'clock P. M., of August 9th, he marched in two columns from Springfield, making a *detour* to the right, and, notwithstanding the almost impenetrable darkness and the prevailing storm, at one o'clock in the morning arrived in view of the Confederate guard-fires. Here the columns halted and lay on their arms till the dawn of day, when they formed in battle-line and advanced to the bloody encounter which ensued. Lyon's effective force was 5,200 men, infantry and cavalry, and three batteries of 16 guns.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General McCulloch's army consisted of the First Division, commanded by himself; the Second Division, by General Pearce, of Arkansas, and the Third Division, General Steen. The Missouri troops were under command of Major-General Sterling Price, and were as follows: The Advance Guard, six companies, under Brigadier-General Rains; First Brigade, Colonel Richard Hanson Weightman, and other divisions and brigades under Brigadier-General William Y. Slack, of Chillicothe (formerly of Boone County); Brigadier-General John B. Clark, Sr., of Howard County; Brigadier-General J. H. McBride, of Greene County and Brigadier-General Monroe M. Parsons, of Cole. All arms of the service were represented among the Missouri troops—infantry, cavalry and artillery. (See official reports of Gens. McCulloch, Price and Clark in the "Rebellion Record," Vol. 2, pp. 506-11.)

<sup>2</sup> Lyon's column consisted of three brigades, commanded respectively by Major S. D. Sturgis, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews and Colonel Deitzler. Major Sturgis' Brigade was composed of a battalion of regular infantry, under Captain Plummer; Captain Totten's light battery of six pieces, a battalion of Missouri volunteers, under Major Osterhaus, Captain Wood's company of mounted Kansas volunteers, and a company of regular cavalry, under Lieutenant Canfield. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews' brigade consisted of Captain Steele's battalion of regulars, Lieutenant Dubois' light battery of four pieces, and the First Missouri Volunteers. Deitzler's brigade was composed of the First and Second Kansas and First Iowa Volunteers, and two hundred mounted Missouri Home

The two columns of the Federal army were commanded by Lyon and Sigel, and their attack at daylight upon the Confederate forces was a complete surprise, for McCulloch, not apprehending a march upon his camp through such a night of darkness and storm, had withdrawn his advanced pickets.

The official reports, from officers on both sides, of the battle which ensued—a battle which takes rank among the most terrible and bloody in the annals of the Rebellion—are before us; and from these, discarding all irresponsible newspaper accounts of it, this narrative is chiefly constructed.

General Lyon having been killed in the midst of the engagement, Major S. D. Sturgis succeeded to the command, and made report on August 20th, 1861, to General Fremont, commandant of the Western Department. According to Major Sturgis' report, the Federal forces in command of Lyon—the other column being under Sigel—formed a line of battle at daylight, closely followed by Totten's battery, supported by a strong reserve, and with skirmishers in front. Driving in the enemy's out-posts, a ravine was crossed and a high ridge gained, where a considerable force of the enemy's skirmishers came in view. Major Osterhaus' battalion was deployed to the right, and two companies of the First Missouri Volunteers, under Captains Yates and Cavender, were deployed to the left—all as skirmishers. Very severe firing ensued, and it became evident Lyon's column was approaching the Confederate stronghold, where they intended giving battle. A few shells from Captain James Totten's battery cleared the front; and the First Missouri and the First Kansas moved forward, supported by the First Iowa and Totten's battery. The Second Kansas, Captain Fred. K. Steele's battalion and Lieutenant John V. Dubois' battery, were held in reserve—the latter to the left and rear of Totten's guns, so as to bear upon a powerful battery of the enemy in front, and on the opposite side of Wilson's Creek, and thus occupy a position to sweep the entire plateau upon which the advancing Federal column was formed. The Confederates now rallied in large force near the foot of the slope, opposite Lyon's left wing, and along the slope in his front and to his right in the direction of the crest of the main ridge, running parallel to the creek. During this time, Captain Plummer, with four companies of infantry, had moved

Guards. Sigel's column consisted of the Third and Fifth Missouri Volunteers, one company of cavalry, under Captain Carr, another of dragoons under Lieutenant Farland, of the First Infantry, and a company of recruits, with a light battery of six guns, under Lieutenant Lathrop.

down a ridge about five hundred yards to Lyon's left, and reached its abrupt terminus, where a large force of infantry, occupying a corn-field in the valley, arrested his further progress. At this moment, from a high point about two miles distant, and nearly in Lyon's front, and from which Colonel Sigel was to have commenced his attack, an artillery fire was opened, which was answered from the opposite side of the valley and at a greater distance from Lyon—the line of fire of the two batteries being nearly perpendicular to that of Lyon's column. Lyon's whole line now advanced with enthusiasm upon the Confederate position; and the firing, which up to this time had been spirited, increased to a continuous roar of musketry. Totten's battery, by piece and by section, as the nature of the ground and woods would permit, came into action, and played upon the opposing force with great effect. After a fierce engagement of half an hour, during which Lyon's troops gave way two or three times in more or less disorder, but always to rally again and press forward with increased vigor, the Confederates retired in the utmost confusion, leaving Lyon in possession of the position. Meanwhile, Captain Plummer, who had been ordered to move forward on the left, encountering overpowering resistance from the large force of Confederate infantry in the corn-field in his front, was compelled to fall back; but at this moment, Lieutenant Dubois' battery, supported by Captain Steele's battalion, opened upon the enemy in the corn-field a terrific fire of shells, which, with great slaughter and much disorder, drove him from that position. A momentary cessation of fire along nearly the whole line ensued, except on the extreme right, where the First Missouri was still engaged with a superior force attempting to turn the Federal right. General Lyon, informed of this movement, ordered the Second Kansas to the support of the First Missouri; and it reached them in time to prevent the Missourians from being destroyed by the overwhelming numbers against which they were unflinchingly holding their position. During this time Captain Steele's battalion, which had been detailed to the support of Dubois' battery, was brought forward to the support of Totten's. Scarcely had these dispositions been made, when the Confederate force again appeared in large numbers along Lyon's entire front, and marching towards each flank. The battle was at once renewed, and became general and almost inconceivably terrific along the whole line; the Confederate troops often in three or four ranks, lying down, kneeling, and standing—the lines sometimes approaching within thirty or forty yards of each other, as charges upon Totten's battery were made. Every available Federal battalion was now brought into action, and for more than an hour the

battle raged with unabated fury, and great slaughter on both sides. The conflict was equally balanced, and victory seemed to perch, first upon the standard of one army and then upon the other.

Early in this desperate and hotly-contested engagement, General Lyon, observing that considerable disorder prevailed among some of the Union troops, led his horse along the line on the left of Totten's battery and endeavored to rally them. While doing so his horse was killed, and he received a wound in the leg and one in the head. Major Sturgis dismounted one of his orderlies and tendered the horse to General Lyon, which he mounted, and, swinging his hat in the air, called to the troops nearest him to follow. The Second Kansas gallantly responded, headed by Colonel Mitchell, who in a few minutes fell, severely wounded. About the same time, a fatal ball was lodged in General Lyon's breast, inflicting a mortal wound.<sup>1</sup> Lyon was killed! And the day was lost! But a galaxy of great men was in embryo on that stricken field—Schofield, Sturgis, Granger, Elliott, Osterhaus and Lyon. From it arose afterwards six major-generals and thirteen brigadiers, and from Captain

<sup>1</sup>From George Alfred Townsend's paper, "Annals of the War," in the *Philadelphia Weekly Times* of August 4, 1877: "It was near nine o'clock, and Lyon, for the first time doubtful, yet brave, led on the last attack, riding his horse in between the First Kansas and the First Iowa regiments. (Captain F. J. Herron of Dubuque, Iowa, who on January 15th, 1861, in the tender of his company, "Governor's Grays," to the Government of the United States, afforded the first evidence of the volunteer spirit in the nation,) saw his horse fall, and says that it seemed to sink down as if vitally struck, neither plunging nor reeling. Lyon then walked on, waving his sword and hallooing, and he fell only about twenty yards distant from Herron, who was marching at the side of his company. Lyon had worn a white felt hat and only his old Captain's uniform. As he left his dead horse and limped along—for he had now been wounded in the leg—he looked stunned and white; but with an impulse of high spirit, he raised his sword and cried, "Come on!" Then he showed blood on the side of his head, from another wound, and was also shot through the body, and he dropped. The butcher, (one of his body guard) into whose arms he fell, says that he gasped: "Lehman, I'm going." He fell about one hundred yards in advance of his dead horse. Herron looked into his livid face, the precious breath still feeling at his lips, the great lion heart striking its own knell. It was but an instant, yet an eventful one in any young man's life. Herron's look was only for an instant; he stepped back beside his company, and the battle went on—Sturgis concluding it. The regiments Lyon led on advanced about 400 yards beyond his body, and the battle ended before eleven o'clock; the First Iowa, First Missouri and First Kansas Regiments firing the last volleys in support of Totten's battery—volleys so murderous that the victorious rebel army was dismayed and the Union retreat secured. More than 1200 of each side lay on the beaten field, on the high plateau of the Ozark.

"Nothing I ever saw was more impressive than Lyon's death," says Herron. "He was the greatest character ever seen west of the Mississippi. His equal never arose to succeed him."

Herron's own company of the First Iowa there were thirty-seven commissioned officers in the service two years afterwards.

After the death of Lyon, Major Sturgis succeeded to the command. The Confederates had just been repulsed and left the field, and for twenty minutes there was another lull in the storm. Sturgis summoned his principal officers for consultation. Lyon's column had been dreadfully shattered, and its leader killed. For nearly thirty hours they had been without water, and a supply could not be had short of Springfield, ten or twelve miles away. Their ammunition was well nigh exhausted, and, should the enemy make this discovery through a slackening of their fire, annihilation seemed inevitable. The great questions, then, were: "Where is Sigel?" and "Is retreat possible?" Sigel had not been heard from; his silence was ominous, and the loss of his column was then unknown. If he had retreated, nothing was left to Sturgis but to do likewise—if possible.

The consultation of officers was suddenly brought to a close by the advance of a heavy column of infantry from the hill where Sigel's guns had been before. They wore a dress much resembling that of Sigel's brigade, and carried the American flag. Mistaking them for Sigel's men, Sturgis' line was formed for an advance, with the hope of forming a junction with him. They were in easy range of Dubois' battery, but were permitted to move down the hill, to the covered position at the foot of the ridge on which the Union troops were posted, and from which they had been fiercely assailed before; when suddenly, from a hill in Sturgis' front, a battery began to pour into his lines shrapnell and canister. At this moment the Confederates displayed their true colors, and at once commenced along the entire Union lines the fiercest and most bloody engagement of the day. Totten's battery in the centre, supported by the Iowas and regular troops, was the main object of attack. The Confederates could frequently be seen within twenty feet of Totten's battery, and the smoke of the opposing lines was often so intermingled as to appear made by the same guns. It was at times a fight almost muzzle to muzzle, and great slaughter was the result. Notwithstanding the utter rout of the Confederate front, and their seeming intention to fly the field, they did not do so, but held it. Finally, therefore, the Federal forces were ordered to withdraw, to retreat; and the whole column moved slowly to the high open prairie, about two miles from the battle-ground, thence to Springfield, which place they reached about five o'clock that afternoon. On their way they were joined by a portion of

Sigel's shattered forces. Total Federal loss—killed, 223; wounded, 721; missing, 292.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far we have chiefly noted, according to Major Sturgis' report, the part performed in the bloody drama of Wilson's Creek by Lyon's command. What of Sigel's column? The answer is short. He encountered the Confederates on their right and rear, had a bloody fight, was repulsed, and compelled to retreat. According to his report, he arrived within a mile of McCulloch's camp at daybreak, and on his left planted four pieces of artillery, while the infantry advanced towards the point where the Fayetteville road crosses Wilson's Creek, and the two cavalry companies extended to the right and left to guard his flank. He ordered the artillery to begin their fire against the camp of the enemy, (Missourians), which was so destructive that they were seen leaving their tents and retiring in haste toward the northeast of the valley. Meanwhile, the Third and Fifth Missouri Infantry had quickly advanced, passed the creek, and traversing the camp, formed almost in the centre of it. As the enemy made his rally in large numbers before him, about 3,000 strong, consisting of infantry and cavalry, he ordered the artillery to be brought forward from the hill and formed there in battery across the valley, with the Third and Fifth to the left, and the cavalry to the right. After an effectual fire of half an hour, the enemy retired in some confusion into the woods and up the adjoining hills. The firing toward the northwest was now more distinct; and it increased, until it was evident that the main corps of General Lyon had engaged the enemy along the whole line. To give the greatest possible assistance to him, Sigel left his position in the camp and advanced toward the northwest, to attack the enemy's line of battle in the rear. Marching forward, Sigel's column struck the Fayetteville road, and pursuing it to Sharpe's farm, planted artillery on the plateau and the two infantry regiments on the right and left, across the road, whilst the cavalry extended on its flanks. The

<sup>1</sup>Lyon's body was placed in an ambulance to be moved from the field, but in the hurry of departure it was left. From Springfield, a surgeon with attendants was sent back for it, and General Price sent it to the town in his own wagon. In the confusion of abandoning Springfield, the next morning, it was again left behind, when, after being carefully prepared for burial by two members of Brigadier-General Clark's staff, it was delivered to the care of Mrs. Mary Phelps (wife of Hon. J. S. Phelps, a former member of Congress from Missouri, the present Governor of the State, and a staunch Union man), who caused it to be buried. A few days afterward it was disinterred and sent to St. Louis, and from there it was conveyed to Eastford, Connecticut, his native place, where, on September 4th, 1861, it was re-interred with military honors in the family graveyard, in the presence of 15,000 people.

firing in the northwest, which was the direction of Lyon's column, and which had incessantly roared for an hour, had then almost entirely ceased. Presuming that Lyon had repulsed the Confederates, and that his forces were coming up the road, Lieutenant Albert, of the Third, and Colonel Salomon, of the Fifth, notified their regiments not to fire upon the troops coming in that direction, while Sigel gave the same caution to the artillery. Very soon, and very unexpectedly, two Confederate batteries opened their fire upon them—one in front, on the Fayetteville road, and the other upon the hill upon which Sigel supposed Lyon's forces were in pursuit of the enemy, whilst a strong column of infantry, supposed to be the Iowa regiment, advanced from the Fayetteville road and attacked Sigel's right. Consternation and frightful confusion, of course, ensued. The cry, "*They (Lyon's troops) are firing against us,*" spread like wild fire through Sigel's ranks, and his artillery and infantry could hardly be induced to serve their guns, until it was too late. The enemy arrived within ten paces of the muzzles of Sigel's cannon, killed the horses, turned the flanks of the infantry, and forced them to fly. The Union troops were throwing themselves into the bushes and bye-roads, retreating as well as they could, followed and attacked incessantly by large bodies of Arkansas and Texas cavalry. In this retreat Sigel lost five cannon, of which three were spiked, and the colors of the Third, the color-bearer having been wounded, and his substitute killed. The total loss of the two regiments, the artillery, and the pioneers, in killed, wounded and missing, amounted to 892 men.

After the arrival of the Federal troops at Springfield, the command was entrusted by Major Sturgis to Colonel Sigel, who ordered a retreat from that place, which commenced on the night of the memorable 10th of August, to Rolla, Phelps County, the terminus of the Southwest Branch Railroad, and 125 miles distant. The retreating army reached Rolla on the 19th of August, safely conducting a Government train five miles in length and valued at \$1,500,000. Here "Camp Good Hope" was established.

Thus much for the Federal account of the battle of Wilson's Creek; and although it does not materially differ from the Confederate narrative of the same engagement, in a spirit of fairness to all concerned, we will now epitomize the latter.

According to General McCulloch's report, General Lyon attacked his force on the left, and General Sigel on his right and rear, from which points batteries opened upon them at daylight. The Missourians under Generals Slack, Clark, McBride, Parsons and Rains, were nearest the

position taken by General Lyon with his main force ; they were instantly turned to the left, and opened the battle with an incessant fire of small arms. Woodruff opposed his battery to the battery of the enemy under Captain Totten, and a constant cannonading was kept up between these batteries during the engagement. Hebert's regiment of Louisiana Volunteers, and McIntosh's regiment of Arkansas Mounted Riflemen, were ordered to the front, and after passing the battery (Totten's), turned to the left and soon engaged the enemy with the regiments deployed. Colonel McIntosh dismounted his regiment, and the two marched up abreast to a fence around a large corn-field, where they met the left of the enemy already posted. A terrible conflict of small-arms took place here. The opposing force was a body of regular United States Infantry, commanded by Captains Plummer and Gilbert.

Notwithstanding the galling fire poured on the regiments of Hebert and McIntosh, they leaped over the fence, and gallantly led by their Colonels, drove the enemy before them, back upon the main body. During this time, the Missourians under General Price were gallantly attempting to sustain themselves in the centre, and were hotly engaged on the sides of the height upon which the enemy were posted. Far on the right Sigel had opened his battery upon Churchill's and Greer's regiments, and had gradually made his way to the Springfield road, upon each side of which the enemy was encamped, and in a prominent position he established his battery.

General McCulloch at once rapidly marched from the front and right, to the rear, two companies of the Louisiana regiment, and ordered Colonel McIntosh to bring up the rest. Reid's battery had already opened upon Sigel's and occasioned confusion among them. The Louisianans gallantly charged among the guns and swept the cannoniers away. Five of Sigel's guns were captured, and his command completely routed and put in rapid retreat. Some companies of the Texan regiment and a portion of Colonel Major's Missouri Cavalry pursued, and in the pursuit captured Sigel's last gun and killed and took prisoners many of his troops. Having thus cleared his right and rear, General McCulloch turned his attention to the centre, where the Union troops under General Lyon were pressing upon the Missourians under General Price, having driven them back. To this point McIntosh's regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Embry, and Churchill's regiment on foot, Gratiot's regiment and McRae's battalion were sent. The terrible fire of musketry was now kept up along the whole side and top of the hill, upon which Lyon's force was posted. Masses of infantry fell back and again rushed for-



ward. The summit of the hill was covered with the dead and wounded, both sides were fighting with desperation for the day.

At this critical moment, when the fortunes of the day seemed to be at the turning point, two regiments of General Pearce's brigade were ordered to march from their position (as reserves), to support the centre. The order was obeyed with alacrity, and General Pearce gallantly rushed with his brigade to the rescue. The battle then became general, and probably no two opposing forces ever fought with greater desperation; inch by inch the Union troops gave way, and were driven from their position; Totten's battery fell back; and Missourians, Arkansans, Louisianians and Texans pushed forward. The incessant roll of musketry was deafening, and the balls fell as thick as hail stones; nevertheless the Confederate column pressed forward, and with a terrific yell broke upon the enemy, driving them back and strewing the ground with their dead. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the final charge, which broke the line of the Federal troops so that they could not again be rallied. The battle lasted six hours and a half.<sup>1</sup>

General Sterling Price, in his report, after reciting the fact that General McCulloch was with him at his quarters when the news of Lyon's attack was received, states that he instantly rode toward General Rains' position, at the same time ordering Generals Slack, McBride, Clark and Parsons to move their infantry and artillery rapidly forward. He had ridden but a few hundred yards when he came suddenly upon the main body of the enemy, commanded by General Lyon in person. The infantry and artillery, to the number of 2,036 men, came up immediately and engaged Lyon. A bloody conflict then ensued, which was conducted with the greatest gallantry and vigor on both sides for more than five hours, when the Union forces retreated in great confusion. The victory was dearly bought, by the loss of many skillful officers and brave men. Colonel Richard Hanson Weightman fell mortally wounded on the field, at the head of his brigade, and wounded in three places. He died just as the victorious shout was raised upon the air. Here, too, died Colonel Ben. Brown, of Ray County, President of the Missouri Senate. One of General Price's aids, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Allen, of Saline County, was shot down while communicating an order.

Brigadier-General Slack's division suffered severely. He himself fell

<sup>1</sup> This battle is variously known as Wilson's Creek, Springfield and Oak Hill. General McCulloch in his official report of it calls it "Oak Hill." Believing "Wilson's Creek" the more appropriate name, we adopt it.

dangerously wounded at the head of his column. Of his regiment of infantry, under Col. John T. Hughes,<sup>1</sup> consisting of about 650 men, 36 were killed, 76 wounded, many of them mortally, and thirty were missing. Among the killed were C. H. Bennet, Adjutant of the regiment; Captain Blackwell, and Lieutenant Samuel S. Hughes, (brother of John T.). Colonel Rives' squadron of cavalry, (dismounted), numbering some 234 men, lost four killed, and eight wounded. Among the former were Lieutenant-Colonel Austin, and Captain Engart. Brigadier-General Clark was also wounded in the leg. His infantry (200 men) lost, in killed, seventeen, and wounded, seventy-one. Colonel Burbridge was severely wounded. Captains Farris and Halleck, and Lieutenant Haskins, were killed. General Clark's cavalry, together with the Windsor Guards, were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James P. Major, who did good service. They lost six killed, and five wounded.

Brigadier-General McBride's division (605 men), lost twenty-two killed, sixty-seven severely wounded, and fifty-seven slightly wounded. Colonel Foster and Captains Nichols, Dougherty, Armstrong and Mings, were wounded while gallantly leading their respective commands.

General Parson's brigade, 256 infantry and artillery,—under command respectively of Colonel Joseph Kelly, of St. Louis, and Captain Guibor, —and 406 cavalry, Colonel Brown, lost, the artillery, three killed, and seven wounded; the infantry, nine killed, and thirty-eight wounded; the cavalry, three killed, and two wounded. Colonel Kelly was wounded in the hand. Captain Coleman was mortally wounded, and died.

General Rains' division was composed of two brigades. The first, under Colonel Weightman, embracing infantry and artillery, 1,306 strong, lost, not only their commander, but thirty-four others killed, and 111 wounded. The Second Brigade, mounted men, Colonel Cauthorn commanding, about 1,200 strong, lost twenty-one killed, and seventy-five wounded. Major Charles Rogers, of St. Louis, Adjutant of the brigade, was mortally wounded, and died the day after the battle.

The forces of Missouri State Guard consisted of 5,221 officers and men. Of these no less than 156 died upon the field, while 517 were wounded. The total Confederate loss in the engagement, as reported by General McCulloch, was 265 killed, 800 wounded, and thirty missing.

Brigadier-General John B. Clark, (Senior), for fifty years past a well

<sup>1</sup> A native of Howard County, a graduate of Bonne Femme Academy, in Boone County, and the author of "Doniphan's Expedition." At the opening of the war and for many years before, he was a citizen of Clinton County. He was killed in a charge on Independence, Mo., on Aug. 11th, 1863.

known lawyer and politician of Fayette, Missouri, and commandant of a division of the Missouri State Guard, also made a report. His command consisted of one regiment of infantry, commanded by Colonel J. Q. Burbridge and Major John B. Clark, (Jr.),<sup>1</sup> with 376 men, rank and file, and one battalion of cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James P. Major, with 250 men, rank and file. Receiving, while at breakfast, an order from General Price to form his command upon the crest of the hill under which he was encamped, General Clark immediately dispatched Colonel Richard H. Musser, (of Brunswick), one of his staff, to Colonel Major, who was encamped a mile and a half distant, to report his command at his headquarters immediately, which was done. General Clark moved about 300 yards, when he discovered the enemy strongly posted in his front, upon the heights, engaging the command of Brigadier-General W. Y. Slack, upon whose left his forces of infantry were formed. In a few minutes after, Colonel Kelly, of General Parson's command, formed upon his left, and rapidly following came the command of General J. H. McBride, who formed upon the left of Colonel Kelly, and commanded a flank movement upon the right of the enemy. In this position the entire line, led by General Price in person, advanced in the direction of Lyon's forces, under a continuous and heavy fire of artillery and musketry, until they approached near enough to make their rifle guns effective, when they returned the enemy's fire with such terrific effect as to drive him from his position, and cause him to make a rapid retrograde movement. Heavy cannonading was then heard immediately in the rear of Clark's command, which seemed to be directed at his line, producing a momentary confusion, and a suspension of the pursuit until General McCulloch came up and employed a portion of the force against the batteries in the rear. General Parson's battery now moved forward in line with the remaining column on the right, and upon the left of General Slack. General Pierce, with a portion of the Arkansas troops, also came up and formed on the left of the line. After rapidly advancing a short distance in the direction in which the Union troops had retired, they were again found in great force and opened a brisk fire. An incessant fire of artillery and small arms ensued, and was continued on both sides for about an hour, when the Federal forces fled with consternation and confusion.

The First battalion of Clark's cavalry was attacked upon the rear, and so hotly pressed that Colonel Major was forced to retire under cover

<sup>1</sup> A son of General Clark, and at this time (1877), member of Congress from the Eleventh District.

of the woods to form his line. After forming, he marched in the direction he had been ordered, when large bodies of rebel horsemen, who had been cut off from their companies, rushed through and divided his force, leaving Major with but a single company. Nevertheless, Colonel Major, aided by Colonel Casper W. Bell (of Brunswick), Assistant-Adjutant General, and Captain Joseph Finks (now Clerk of the Circuit Court of Howard County), one of Clark's aids, succeeded in gathering some 300 mounted men and attacked the forces in the rear, commanded by General Sigel, capturing 157 prisoners and killing 64 men.

The news of the Federal defeat at Wilson's Creek, and of the death of Lyon, reached General Fremont on the 13th of August. It greatly gratified and emboldened the secessionists, and in a corresponding degree depressed and rendered indignant the friends of the Union. Nevertheless, Governor Gamble, realizing the imminence of the crisis and the need for a larger force in the field to protect the lives and property of the citizens of the State, issued a proclamation on August 24th, calling into service 42,000 men of the militia—10,000 cavalry and 32,000 infantry,—to serve for six months, "unless peace in the State be sooner restored." And such was the spirit of disorder and turbulence in the State, that General Fremont, on the 30th of August, inaugurated a new, and to our people, an untried remedy for the lawlessness which prevailed and the almost absolute impotency of the civil authority. He declared Martial Law, and appointed J. McKinstry, Major U. S. A., Provost-Marshal-General of the State. In his proclamation he stated that the lines of the Army of Occupation extended from Leavenworth, in Kansas, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi river. He also declared that all persons within those limits, taken with arms in their hands, should be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty, should be shot; that the property, real and personal, of all persons in Missouri, who should be proven to have taken an active part with the enemies of the Government in the field, should be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if they had any, should be thereafter declared free men; and that all persons engaged in the destruction of bridges, railway tracks, and telegraphs, should suffer the extreme penalty of the law. All persons who, by speech or correspondence, should be found guilty of giving aid to the insurgents in any way, were warned of ill consequences to themselves; and all who had been seduced from their allegiance to the National Government were required to return to their homes forthwith. The declared object of the proclamation was to place in the hands of the military authorities the

power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, while ordinary civil authority would not be suspended where the law should be administered in the usual manner.

Of even date with this proclamation, was an order from the Provost-Marshal-General (McKinstry), to this effect:

[ORDER No. 107. ]

OFFICE OF PROVOST MARSHAL, ST. LOUIS, MO., August 30, 1861.

It appearing to this Department, by satisfactory evidence, that individuals are daily leaving this city for the purpose of treasonably communicating with the enemy, and giving them information, aid and comfort, in violation of law, it is hereby directed that, from and after this date, all persons are peremptorily forbidden to pass beyond the limits of the City and County of St. Louis, without first obtaining a special permit from this office. All ferry, steamboat and railway officers and agents, and all other carriers of passengers, are hereby forbidden to sell or transfer any tickets entitling the holder to go beyond the limits of this county, to any person, or to carry, or allow to be carried, any person not exhibiting a permit from this office.

J. MCKINSTRY,

Major U. S. A., Provost Marshal.

The proclamation of martial law, and the rigid enforcement of this order, greatly embarrassed the transactions of commerce and business, and the egress of the people from the county of St. Louis. In fact, it afforded the people at large, of both sexes, and of all opinions and sympathies, conclusive evidence that war existed in the State. For the purpose of preserving in an enduring form a specimen of the "permit" or pass required by the order, the following is a copy of one issued to the author of this "sketch," he desiring to return from St. Louis to his home in Columbia:

OFFICE OF PROVOST MARSHAL, ST. LOUIS, MO., Sept. 1st, 1861.

Permission is granted to Wm. F. Switzler to pass beyond the limits of the City and County of St. Louis, to go to Columbia, Mo.

J. MCKINSTRY,

Major U. S. A., Provost Marshal.

Description of Person: Name, Wm. F. Switzler; age, forty-two; height, five feet ten inches; color of eyes, gray; color of hair, sandy. It is understood that the within named and subscriber, accepts this pass on his word of honor that he is and will be ever loyal to the United States; and if hereafter found in arms against the Union, or in any way aiding her enemies, the penalty will be death.

WM. F. SWITZLER.

The confiscation and manumitting portions of General Fremont's proclamation occasioned no little excitement and alarm in the State; and these were greatly augmented when, on the 12th of September, he caused to be executed under his own hand, and published, deeds of manumission to Frank Lewis and Hiram Reed, two slaves belonging to Colonel Thomas L. Snead, General Sterling Price's Chief of Staff. So extraor-

dinary, indeed, was this portion of the proclamation, that it met with President Lincoln's prompt disapproval; and he at once, (Sep. 2), wrote to General Fremont to modify the clause relative to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, for its non-conformity to the act of Congress passed on the 8th of August, 1861. Fremont preferring that the President make the order of modification himself, he did so on the 11th of September.

No sooner did General Jeff. Thompson, (who by this time had acquired the *soubriquet* of "The Swamp Fox"), meet with Fremont's proclamation of martial law, than he (September 2d) issued from "Camp Hunter" a counter-irritant—a *brutum fulmen*—in his peculiar grandiloquent diction, in which he declared "to all whom it may concern" "that for every member of the Missouri State Guard or soldier of our allies, the armies of the Confederate States, who shall be put to death in pursuance of the said order of General Fremont, I will *hang, draw and quarter* a minion of said Abraham Lincoln." Also that "if this rule is to be adopted, (and it must first be done by our enemies,) I intend to exceed General Fremont in his excesses, and will make all tories that come within my reach rue the day that a different policy was adopted by their leaders. Already mills, barns, warehouses and other private property have been wastefully and wantonly destroyed by the enemy in this district, while we have taken nothing except articles strictly contraband or absolutely necessary. Should these things be repeated, I will retaliate ten-fold, so help me God!"

## CHAPTER XXX.

BATTLE AT ATHENS.—McCULLOCH'S PROCLAMATION OF AUGUST 12, 1861.—PRICE'S PROCLAMATION.—SKIRMISH AT DRYWOOD.—BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.—HEROIC DEFENSE OF MULLIGAN AND HIS FINAL SURRENDER.—GEN. FREMONT AGAIN SEVERELY CRITICISED.—HE RESOLVES TO TAKE THE FIELD IN PERSON.—MUSTERS AN ARMY OF 20,000 MEN AND STARTS FOR SPRINGFIELD.—PRICE ABANDONS LEXINGTON.—MAJ. WHITE'S BOLD DASH INTO THE TOWN.—FREMONT'S ARMY ACROSS THE OSAGE.—THE MAGNITUDE OF HIS PLANS.—ZAGONY'S BRILLIANT CHARGE INTO SPRINGFIELD.—ERRORS IN REGARD TO IT CORRECTED.—JUSTICE DONE THE "PRAIRIE SCOUTS."—VERY EXPRESSIVE, IF NOT ELEGANT, REMARK OF "OLD PAP."—BATTLE AT BELMONT.—HEROISM OF A LAD.—FREMONT SUPERSEDED BY GEN. HUNTER, AND HE BY GEN. HALLECK.—THE UNION ARMY RETURNS FROM SPRINGFIELD TO ST. LOUIS.—GEN. PRICE'S 50,000 MEN AND \$200,000,000 PROCLAMATION.—A REMARKABLE PAPER.—GEN. JOHN POPE.—GEN. HALLECK ASSUMES COMMAND OF THE DEPARTMENT.—MARTIAL LAW.—STRINGENT ORDERS AGAINST RAILROAD DESTROYERS.—CAMPAIGN SUMMARY.

August 5th, 1861, quite a battle took place at the village of Athens, in Clark County, Missouri, on the right bank of the Des Moines River, about twenty miles northwest of Keokuk, Iowa, between some eight hundred (some say as high as 1,800) Secessionists, mostly cavalry, under command of Colonel Martin E. Green, (a brother of Honorable James S. Green,) of Lewis County, and some four hundred Union Home Guards of Clark County, assisted by two companies of United States volunteers from Keokuk. The Home Guards were commanded by Colonel David Moore, of Clark County. The Secessionists had two pieces of artillery, a nine and a six pounder. The Union forces had no cannon. Colonel Green commenced the attack at 9 o'clock A. M. The fight continued with much bravery on both sides, for about an hour, when the secessionists retreated, leaving nine dead upon the field, besides many wounded. The Union men lost three killed and eighteen wounded, several dangerously.

Contrary to the general expectation of both armies, McCulloch and Price did not pursue their victory at Wilson's Creek by following Sigel in his retreat upon Rolla. McCulloch, however, contented himself with issuing a proclamation to the people of the State, dated August 12th, 1861, in which he recited that he had been called by Governor Jackson "to assist in driving the National forces out of the State and in restoring the people to their just rights," that he had come to "give the oppressed an opportunity of again standing up as freemen and uttering their true sentiments," and that "the true sons of Missouri," together with his force, had "gained over the mercenary hordes of the North a great and signal victory." He also called upon "the true men of Missouri" to rise up and

rally around his standard, promising if they did so to redeem the State, and declaring that "Missouri must be allowed to choose her own destiny—*no oaths binding your consciences.*"

Soon after the issuing of this proclamation, his assumptions and deportment becoming offensive to General Price and his soldiers, alienation ensued, and McCulloch abandoned Missouri to its fate and with his army left its borders.

On the 20th of August, ten days after the battle of Wilson's Creek, General Price issued a proclamation to the people of the State, in which he informed them that his army had been organized under the laws of the Commonwealth for the maintenance of the rights, dignity, and honor of Missouri, and was kept in the field for these purposes alone; that a glorious victory had just been achieved over "the well-appointed army which the usurper at Washington has been more than six months gathering for their subjugation and enslavement"; and that all good citizens were invited to return to their homes and the practice of their ordinary avocations, with the full assurance that they should be protected in person and property. He also warned "all evil-disposed persons" who might "support the usurpations of any one claiming to be provisional or temporary governor of Missouri," or who should in any other way give aid or comfort to the enemy, that they would be held as enemies and treated accordingly.

In response to the call of General Price, the citizens of Missouri in large numbers flocked to his standard, and in a few weeks he had gathered a formidable force. With this force, about the close of August, he moved (in a curve bending far towards Kansas) in the direction of Lexington on the Missouri River. *En route*, at Drywood Creek, in Vernon County, and about fifteen miles from the eastern border of Kansas, he had a skirmish on the 7th of September with some Kansas-Union troops under Colonel James H. Lane, drove them across the line and pursued them to Fort Scott. Resuming his march he reached Warrensburg, Johnson County, September 11th, and immediately moved towards Lexington, and encamped the same night within a few miles of the city.

Lexington occupied an important position; it commanded the approach by water to Fort Leavenworth, and was now brought into great prominence as the theatre of a desperate struggle. Advised of General Price's movement towards it, and appreciating its strategic value as a frontier position, General Fremont ordered a small force there to take charge of the money in the bank and to garrison the place. This force was



increased from time to time, during Price's northward march, until the number of Union troops was nearly 3,000, commanded by Colonel James A. Mulligan, of the "Irish Brigade" of Chicago—the force being composed as follows:

Irish Brigade, (33d Ill.,) Colonel J. A. Mulligan.....	800 men.
Home Guards, Colonel White.....	500 "
Thirteenth Missouri, Colonel Peabody.....	840 "
First Illinois Cavalry, Colonel J. M. Marshall.....	500 "
<sup>1</sup> Total.....	2,640 "

In anticipation of Price's attack, Colonel Mulligan threw up entrenchments on Masonic College Hill, an eminence which comprised about fifteen acres adjoining and northeast of the city, and overlooking the Missouri River. On this hill was a large brick building erected by the Masons for a college, which Mulligan occupied for military purposes. His first line of works was in front of this building; outside of his embankments was a broad and deep ditch, and beyond this were pits into which, in case of charge or ordinary advance, his assailants, foot or horse, might fall. Outside of the fortifications the ground was also skillfully mixed with gunpowder and suitable trains. But Mulligan's men had only about forty rounds of ammunition each, and six small brass cannon and two howitzers, the latter of which were useless because of the lack of shells.

At early dawn on September 12th, General Price drove in the Union pickets, and, taking position within easy range of the college building, opened a cannonade from four different points with Bledsoe's Battery, which in the absence of that officer, who had been wounded at Drywood, was commanded by Captain Emmitt McDonald, and with Parson's Battery, under Captain Guibor. The assault and defense were kept up during the entire day, when Price, after sunset, finding his ammunition and his famished men—thousands of whom had not eaten or slept for thirty-six hours—were nearly exhausted, withdrew to the Fair Grounds to await the arrival of his wagon train and re-inforcements.

Mulligan's men immediately resorted to the trenches, to complete their preparations for a siege.

Having, on the 10th, dispatched a courier to Jefferson City, asking for re-inforcements, he was now anxiously expecting them, while his men worked night and day to strengthen their fortifications. But his courier

<sup>1</sup>General Sterling Price in his report of the battle estimates Mulligan's force at between 3,000 and 4,000.

was captured on the way, and of course no relief came.<sup>1</sup> Yet bravely and hopefully Mulligan's men worked on until, on the morning of the 18th, General Price, who had been reinforced, and now had in command a force variously estimated at from 15,000 to 25,000 men, began a final attack upon Mulligan's works, which resulted in cutting off the communication of the besieged garrison with the city, stopping their supply of water, seizing a steamboat laden with stores, and occupying the fine residence of Colonel Thomas B. Wallace, which commanded the position of the Union forces. This residence was destroyed during the fight.

The siege and assault and heroic resistance continued for fifty-two hours.<sup>2</sup> During the forenoon of the 20th, General Price ordered from the factory of McGrew Brothers, near the steamboat landing, bales of hemp; and with these, wetted so as to resist hot shot, movable breastworks, two bales deep, were constructed, behind which, as an advance was made up the hill, the Confederate forces opened a terrific fire upon Mulligan's men, and pressed up within ten rods of the works, along a line of forty yards in length. From this device of the Confederates there was no escape, and Mulligan looked with alarm on the steadily approaching and impenetrable rampart, along the crest of which ran an incessant sheet of flame. Farther resistance was madness. Retreat was impossible. The supply of water was cut off, excepting that which, during a passing shower of rain, was caught in camp blankets and wrung into camp dishes. The stench of the killed horses and mules within the intrenchments was insufferable. The doom of the garrison was sealed; and on the afternoon of the 20th, Major Becker, of the Home Guards—Colonel White having been killed—raised a white flag, the firing ceased, and the siege of Lexington ended.

About 3,000 men laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war.<sup>3</sup> The loss in killed and wounded on either side, considering the

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Rains, of the Irish Brigade, with twelve men, had been dispatched on the steamer "Sunshine," but forty miles below Lexington it was captured and those on board made prisoners.

<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the siege, General Price sent a summons to Colonel Mulligan to surrender, to which he replied: "If you want us, you must take us."

<sup>3</sup> The visible fruits of the victory, which fell into the hands of General Price, were six cannon, two mortars, over 3,000 stand of infantry arms, a large number of sabres, about seven hundred and fifty horses, wagons, teams, ammunition, and \$100,000 worth of commissary stores. Also, "the great seal of State, and the public records, which had been stolen from their proper custodian, and about \$900,000 in money of which the bank of this place had been robbed, and which I have caused to be returned to it." See General Price's report to Governor Jackson, September 23d, 1861.

numbers engaged and the desperate character of the conflict, was considerable—forty killed and one hundred and twenty wounded on the Union, and twenty killed and seventy-five wounded on the Confederate side. Among the Union wounded, by a ball through the calf of the leg, and a flesh wound on the right arm, was Colonel Mulligan; and Colonel Marshall, by a ball in the chest.

In the desperate and protracted assault upon Lexington, the following forces bore a conspicuous part: Bledsoe's, Clark's, Kelly's, and Parsons' batteries, and the divisions and smaller commands, respectively, under General James S. Rains, Colonel Congreve Jackson, Colonel Rives, General McBride, General Thomas A. Harris, General Steen, Colonel Boyd, Major Winston and Colonel Green.

The fall of Lexington was a serious blow to the Union cause in Missouri, and, as in the case of Wilson's Creek, General Fremont was severely censured for failing to re-inforce it. He was assailed with charges of incapacity, extravagance in expenditure, and a *penchant* for grandiloquent proclamations and display.<sup>1</sup>

Feeling very keenly the losses of Lyon and the battle at Wilson's Creek, and the surrender of Lexington, General Fremont, apprehending that General Price would now march to Jefferson City, or seek to establish himself somewhere on the Missouri River in the center of the State, avowed a determination to take the field in person, with the hope of circumventing and destroying Price before McCulloch, who had been gathering troops in Arkansas; could return to his aid. With this view, on the 27th of September, he put in motion, for Southwest Missouri, an army of more than 20,000 men, (of whom 5,000 were cavalry), arranged in five divisions, under the command of Generals David Hunter, John Pope, Franz Sigel, J. McKinstry and H. Asboth, and accompanied by eighty-six pieces of artillery, many of which were rifle cannon. On the 28th of September, Fremont, with his famous body-guard, under Major Charles Zagonyi, a Hungarian, had reached Jefferson City, where he sought to adopt vigorous measures not only to forestall Price's expected march to the Capital, but to drive him from the State.

On the 30th of September, Price abandoned Lexington, marching south towards Arkansas, but leaving a guard of five hundred men there,

<sup>1</sup> One of the Union papers of the State (the *Missouri Statesman*), commenting at the time on the fall of Lexington, said: "It ought by this time to be very apparent to General John Charles Fremont, and other band-box Generals, that the Rebels are not to be 'driven in dismay from the State' by dress parades on sunshiny afternoons, high-sounding proclamations, freeing negroes, and orders from the Provost Marshal."

in charge of the officer-prisoners (the private soldiers had been paroled) taken at Mulligan's surrender. On the 16th of October, by a bold dash, Major Frank J. White, of the "Prairie Scouts," a cavalry force of one hundred and eighty-five men, surprised the guard, took seventy of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest, releasing the Union prisoners, and marched to join Fremont, who by this time had reached Warsaw, on the Osage River. Recent heavy rains had so swollen the stream that its passage for so large an army was very difficult. Sigel, who led the advance, crossed in a single flat-boat, but this was inadequate for the transportation, to the opposite shore, of 30,000 troops, baggage trains, cavalry horses, and nearly one hundred heavy guns. Therefore, under the direction of Captain Pike, of the engineers, a rude, strong bridge was constructed, over which the entire army and its accompaniments passed in safety, and moved on in the direction of Springfield, by the way of Bolivar.

General Fremont's plan was reasonably magnificent in its proportions, to-wit: To capture or disperse the forces of Price, march to Little Rock and take it, and so completely turn the position of the Confederate forces under Polk, Pillow, Thompson, and Hardee, as to cut off their supplies from that region, and compel them to retreat; when a flotilla of gun-boats then in preparation near St. Louis, in command of Captain Foote, could easily descend the river and assist in military operations against Memphis, which, if successful, would allow the army to push on and take possession of New Orleans. "My plan is, New Orleans straight," he wrote, Oct. 11th, 1861, from Tipton, to his wife, who was then in Jefferson City. "It would precipitate the war forward, and end it soon and victoriously."<sup>1</sup> All the while, however, Fremont was apprehensive of interference with his plans, by orders from Washington; for he knew that the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, and the Adjutant-General, E. D. Townsend, were *en route* from St. Louis to overtake him.

When within about fifty miles of Springfield, Fremont ordered forward to that place the combined Cavalry forces—about three hundred strong—of Major Charles Zagonyi, of his "Body Guard," and Major Frank J. White, of the "Prairie Scouts," (led by the former) to reconnoiter the Confederate position there, and, if possible, to capture it. Major Zagonyi executed the order with great intrepidity and heroism, rendering his brilliant charge one of the most notable events of the campaign in Missouri. And yet no event of the war has been more misrep-

<sup>1</sup> See "The Civil War in America," by Lossing. Vol. 2, p. 79.

resentated and exaggerated, chiefly in two respects; (1) as to the number of Confederates at Springfield, and (2) the injustice done the squadron of "Prairie Scouts" belonging to Major White's command. These exaggerations, for the most part, owe their paternity to the vain-glorious reports made at the time by Major Zagonyi himself, and which without contradiction, so far as we know, have gone into all previous histories of the event as true. The truth—not stopping to point out in detail the inaccuracies of other accounts—is substantially as follows:

On October 24, 1861, after Major White's return from Lexington, he was ordered by General Sigel to reconnoiter in the vicinity of Springfield, and if advisable to attack the Confederate force in camp there. Although suffering from a severe illness, and unable to mount his horse, Major White (himself in a carriage) immediately pushed forward his command; and on the evening of the same day (24th) was overtaken by Major Zagonyi, with the "Body Guard," who, under orders from General Fremont, took command of the combined force. When within a few miles from Springfield the next day, (25th) Major Zagonyi captured some Confederate foragers from whom he learned, but it was untrue, that the Confederate force garrisoning the town numbered between 2,000 and 3,000 infantry and cavalry. Nevertheless he dashed forward rapidly, leaving Major White very ill in his carriage, under escort of a lieutenant and five men.<sup>1</sup> The Confederates, 400 or 500 cavalry and 150 infantry—and not 2,200 men, as stated by Major Zagonyi, nor 1,200 as claimed by Major White—were encamped about one mile west of Springfield, on the Mount Vernon road, and were in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lee Cloud, of Webster County, in the absence of Colonel Frazer.

Notice of Zagonyi's approach was received by them almost simultaneously with his appearance, and therefore it may be said it was a complete surprise. Delivering encouraging words to his officers and men, Zagonyi led the charge. He said: "Let the watchword be, *the Union*

<sup>1</sup> When Major White was near the borders of Springfield, he and his escort were surrounded and captured by two companies of Confederate cavalry. Major White broke his sword in preference to surrendering it, but gave up his papers and other effects. He remained a prisoner during the fight, which commenced within an hour after his capture; and when the Confederate stragglers retreated from Springfield, they took Major White with them, and encamped for the night twelve miles distant, at the house of a Union man. Watching his opportunity, he communicated "the situation" to the host, who secretly sent a message to some Home Guards in the vicinity. These came, surrounded the house, and took Major White's captors prisoners, and released him and his escort. Next morning he returned to Springfield in charge of those, as prisoners, who the evening previous had held him as a prisoner.

and *Fremont*; draw sabers! By the right flank—quick trot—*march!*” and away dashed Zagonyi and his men with a shout, down a lane, under the fire of the Confederates, with which on the north side it was lined. At the first dash a large number of the Confederates—one eye-witness says a third—ran and scattered in every direction, the remainder standing their ground.

In the first charge Zagonyi swept by the Confederate camp, and scattering an intervening rail fence, passed into the enclosure where the Confederates were, and formed his men in a ravine about two hundred yards from them. Here again he charged with drawn sabres in handsome style, some of his men breaking through the Confederate line, and being made prisoners, owing to the fact that the Confederates were formed in an almost impenetrable thicket of scrubby haw trees, and immediately in their rear was a strong fence. This charge was repulsed with considerable slaughter. Zagonyi, falling back again to the ravine and reforming his men, repeated the charge a second and third time, with the same result. In these several charges the “*Prairie Scouts*,” (Major White’s men), although completely ignored in Major Zagonyi’s official reports, did gallant service under the immediate command of their senior Captain, Charles Fairbanks, and Lieutenant Connelly, the latter of whom was killed on his horse by a shot from the gun of a youth only fourteen years of age, John Wickersham, of Lebanon.

The Union loss in the engagement was: Zagonyi’s “*Body Guard*,” 15 killed, 27 wounded and 10 taken prisoners,—52; White’s “*Prairie Scouts*,” killed, wounded and prisoners, 33; total 85. The Federal dead, with five Confederates, were turned over to the citizens of Springfield for burial, and at eight o’clock that night, the Confederates, not deeming it prudent to remain in the vicinity, left for Price’s headquarters at Neosho.

Zagonyi also left Springfield the same night, deeming it unsafe to remain, and fell back until he met Sigel’s advance, between Springfield and Bolivar.

As already stated, on the first charge of Zagonyi, quite a large number of the mounted Confederates sought safety in flight, and at once proceeded to Price’s army, then stationed at Neosho, reporting to “*Old Pap*” that the remainder of the force had been killed or captured, they only being left to tell the tale. Price at once ordered Colonel Rives with all his cavalry to proceed to Springfield to retrieve the disaster.

When the Confederates under Colonel Cloud reached Price’s outposts, from the Zagonyi charge, and reported the true condition of affairs to

General McBride, that officer ordered one of the majors who was engaged in the fight to proceed at once to General Price and report to him. The officer met General Price on the prairie near Neosho, and stated to him that instead of a defeat, it was a victory, and that they had prisoners, arms and horses to show for it. "Old Pap" was in his carriage, and when he heard this statement dropped his head on his breast in thought for a moment, when he brought down his fist on his knee with the laconic expression "*Damn a man with six legs!*" alluding to the frightened stragglers who had the four legs of their horses in addition to their own, on which to escape.

About the time of the order of his supercession, Fremont directed General U. S. Grant, then at Cairo, to execute some co-operating movements. On September 6th, hearing of the invasion of Kentucky by General Leonidas Polk, of Mississippi, Grant took possession of Paducah, and, a half mile below the town, threw across the Ohio river an immense pontoon bridge. Having thus closed an important gateway of supplies for the Confederates in interior Kentucky and Tennessee, he determined to cut off reinforcements from Polk to Price by the way of Columbus. With this view he menaced Columbus by attacking Belmont (Nov. 7, 1861), a small village opposite on the Missouri shore. This he did successfully, by the wooden gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington*, and by cavalry and infantry on shore. The fighting was desperate, both sides displaying great gallantry.

The total loss (as reported at the time) on the Federal side, in killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, was 717; of whom 91 were killed, 278 wounded, 206 missing, and 142 taken prisoners. The Confederates acknowledged a loss of 350 in killed alone, and many hundred in wounded and missing.

Many acts of heroism on both sides were related, among them that of a mere youth, a little boy, who was attached to Tappan's Arkansas Regiment, and carried two mimic flags, one in each hand. The regiment was driven to the water's edge, and the Federals poured in a terrific volley, killing many, who fell into the river, and such as were not instantly killed met a watery grave. Among those struck was the little boy who bore the flags. Giving one last hurrah, which was cut short by the ebbing flood of his young life, he waved the flags over his head, tottered into the river, and was seen no more. The incident was witnessed by a whole regiment crossing the river at the time, and there was not one member of it who did not shed a tear at the sight.

Although Fremont's army arrived safely at Springfield at the beginning of November, the month previously closed up gloomily for his administration of the department. There was deep dissatisfaction everywhere—at Washington and in Missouri. Even his old and fast friends, and the friends of his father-in-law (Colonel Benton), the Blairs—Frank P. Blair and his brother Montgomery—could sustain him no longer.

The national administration at Washington had sent the Secretary of War and Adjutant General to Missouri to make personal observations of his army and to look into the affairs of his Department. These officers overtook Fremont, October 13th, at Tipton, the then western terminus of the Pacific railroad. Their personal interview was courteous and candid. On their return to Washington, the Adjutant General made a very unfavorable report of the condition of affairs in Missouri, which increased and intensified the dissatisfaction with Fremont; and the consequence was that an order was issued, which reached him at Springfield by special courier on November 2d, relieving him of his command, and directing that he turn over the Department to General David Hunter, then some distance in the rear. At the time of its receipt, Fremont was amid active arrangements for making a direct "forward movement" upon Price, who, first going to Neosho to protect Governor Jackson's secession legislature, pushed on to Pineville, McDonald county, in the extreme southwestern corner of the State. Notwithstanding the order relieving Fremont, one hundred and ten of his officers requested him, as General Hunter had not arrived, to lead the army against Price, who, it was reported, reinforced by McCulloch, was moving on Springfield with 40,000 men to give him battle. With this request he promised to comply, provided General Hunter did not reach them by sunset of that day. Hunter failed to do so. Fremont issued marching orders, and the entire army was alive with preparations for the movement; but at midnight Hunter arrived, was informed of Fremont's plans, which he disapproved and countermanded, and the Union forces laid upon their arms. Five days afterwards, Hunter himself was superseded, and Major-General Henry Wager Halleck was appointed to the command of the Department.

On November 4th, Fremont and his staff left Springfield for St. Louis, and the army about the middle of the month commenced a retrograde march, followed by a large number of Union refugees.

It was untrue that Price and McCulloch had marched from Pineville to give battle to Fremont. But after the Federal army left Springfield, the



Confederates under these two generals returned to the interior counties of the Southwest, and from time to time occupied different points, as the best means for subsistence and recruiting were presented. The near approach of winter seemed to forbid extensive military operations, and the campaign was practically ended for the season on both sides.

Near the close of the month of November, from his headquarters at Neosho, Newton county, General Price issued "To the people of Central and North Missouri" a remarkable proclamation, in the form of an *Extra Missouri Army Argus*, a paper which was occasionally issued by officers of his command, on a printing press and materials which accompanied the army. It was melodramatic in style, and an importunate and stirring appeal for fifty thousand men. In fact it was much more than this—a virtual promise to all who should rally to his standard and suffered losses of property in consequence, that he would indemnify them "with interest" when he came in possession of the State, out of "two hundred million dollars' worth of Northern means in Missouri which could not be removed."

This extraordinary paper is here copied in full, just as it was originally issued :

#### PROCLAMATION.

*To the People of Central and North Missouri:*

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In the month of June last I was called to the command of a handful of Missourians, who nobly gave up home and comfort to espouse, in that gloomy hour, the cause of your bleeding country, struggling with the most causeless and cruel despotism known among civilized men. When peace and protection could no longer be enjoyed but at the price of honor and liberty, your Chief Magistrate called for fifty thousand men to drive the ruthless invader "from a soil made fruitful by your labors and consecrated by your homes".

*To that call less than five thousand responded; out of a male population exceeding two hundred thousand men, one in forty only stepped forward to defend with their persons and their lives, the cause of constitutional liberty and human rights!*

Some allowances are to be made on the score of a want of military organization; a supposed want of arms; the necessary retreat of the army southward; the blockade of the river, and the presence of an armed and organized foe. But nearly six months have now elapsed; your crops have been tilled, your harvests have been reaped, your preparations for winter have been made; the army of Missouri, organized and equipped, fought its way to the river. The foe is still in the field; the country bleeds, and our people groan under the inflictions of a foe, marked with all the characteristics of barbarian warfare—and where now are the fifty thousand to avenge our wrongs and free our country? Had fifty thousand men flocked to our standard, with their shot guns in their hands, there would not be a Federal hireling in the State to pollute our soil. *Instead of ruined communities, starving families, and desolated districts, we should have had a people blessed with protection, and with stores to supply the wants and necessities and comforts of life. Where are those fifty thousand men? Are Missourians no longer true to*

themselves? Are they a timid, time-serving, craven race, fit only for subjection to a despot? Awake, my countrymen, to a sense of what constitutes the dignity and true greatness of a people! A *few men* have fought your battles. A few men have dared the dangers of the battle-field. A few men have borne the hardships of the camp—the scorching suns of summer, the privations incident to our circumstances—fatigue, and hunger, and thirst—often without blankets, without shoes, with insufficient clothing, with the cold wet earth for a pillow—glad only to meet the enemy on the field, where some paid the noblest devotion known among men on earth to the cause of your country and your rights with their lives.

But where one has been lost on the field, three have been lost by diseases induced by privation and toil. During all these trials we have murmured not; we offered all we had on earth at the altar of our common country—our own beloved Missouri—and we only now ask our fellow-citizens—our brethren, to come to us and help us to secure what we have gained, and to win our glorious inheritance from the cruel hand of the spoiler and the oppressor. Come to us!—brave sons of Missouri—rally to our standard. I must have fifty thousand men!—I call upon you, in the name of your country for fifty thousand men! Do you stay at home to take care of your property? Millions of dollars have been lost because you stayed at home! Do you stay at home for protection? More men have been murdered at home than I have lost in five successful battles! Do you stay at home to secure terms with the enemy? Then I warn you, the day may soon come when you may be surrendered to the mercies of that enemy, and your substance be given up to the Hessian and the jayhawker! I cannot, I will not attribute such motives to you, my countrymen. But where are our Southern-rights friends?

We must drive the oppressor from our land. I must have 50,000 men. Now is the crisis of your fate—now the golden opportunity to save the State! Now is the day of your political salvation! The time of enlistment of our brave band is beginning to expire. Do not tax their patience beyond endurance. Do not longer sicken their hearts by hope deferred. They begin to enquire, “Where are our friends?” Who shall give them answer? Boys and small property holders have, in the main, fought the battles for the protection of your property. And when they ask, “Where are the men for whom we are fighting?” how shall I—how can I explain? Citizens of Missouri, I call upon you by every consideration of interest, by every desire of safety, by every tie that binds you to home and country, delay no longer. “Let the dead bury the dead.” Leave your property to take care of itself. Commend your homes to the protection of God, and merit the admiration and love of childhood and womanhood, by showing yourselves MEN, the sons of the brave and free who bequeathed to us the sacred trust of free institutions. Come to the army of Missouri, not for a week or month, but to free your country.

“Strike, till each armed foe expires,  
Strike for your altars and your fires,  
Strike for the green graves of your sires—  
God and your native land.”

The burning fires of patriotism must inspire and lead you or all is lost—lost, too, just at the moment when all might be forever saved. Numbers give strength. Numbers intimidate the foe. Numbers save the necessity, often, of fighting battles. Numbers make our arms irresistible. Numbers command universal respect and insure confidence. We *must* have men, 50,000 men! Let the herdsman leave his folds. Let the farmer leave his fields. Let the mechanic leave his shop. Let the lawyer leave his office till we restore the supremacy of the law. Let the aspirant for office and place know they will be weighed in the balance of patriotism and may be found wanting. If there be any.

craven, crouching spirits, who have not greatness of soul to respond to their country's call for help, let *them* stay at home, and let only the brave and true come out to join their brethren on the tented field.

Come with supplies of clothing and with tents, if you can procure them. Come with your guns of any description that can be made to bring down a foe. If you have no arms, come without them, and we will supply you as far as that is possible. Bring cooking utensils, and rations for a few weeks. Bring blankets, and heavy shoes, and extra bed clothing, if you have them. Bring no horses to remain with the army except those necessary for baggage transportation. We must have 50,000 men. Give me these men, and by the help of God, I will drive the hireling bands of thieves and marauders from the State. But if Missourians fail now to rise in their strength, and avail themselves of this propitious moment to strike for honor and liberty, you cannot say that we have not done all we could to save you.

*You will be advised in time at what point to report for organization and active service. Leave your property at home. What if it be taken—all taken? WE HAVE \$200,000,000 WORTH OF NORTHERN MEANS IN MISSOURI WHICH CANNOT BE REMOVED.* When we are once free *the amount will indemnify every citizen who may have lost a dollar by adhesion to the cause of his country.* We shall have our property or its value, with interest. But in the name of God and the attributes of manhood, let me appeal to you by considerations infinitely higher than money! Are we a generation of driveling, sniveling, degraded slaves? Or are we MEN, who dare assert and maintain the right which cannot be surrendered, and defend those principles of everlasting rectitude, pure and high, and sacred like God, their author? Be yours the office to choose between the glory of a free country and a just government, and the bondage of your children! I will never see the chains fastened upon my country! I will ask for six and a half feet of Missouri soil in which to repose, but will not live to see my people enslaved!

Do I hear your shouts! Is that your war cry which echoes through the land! Are you coming! Fifty thousand men! Missouri shall move to victory with the tread of a giant! Come on my brave boys, fifty thousand heroic, gallant, unconquerable Southern men! We await your coming,

STERLING PRICE,  
Major General Commanding.

The earnestness with which this call was made, and the inducements presented to incite a favorable response to it, aroused many of the citizens of the State to fly to Price's standard. To prevent their joining him, General John Pope was ordered to reconnoitre the country west of Jefferson City and south of the Missouri river; and it was in this region, on the west side of Blackwater creek, in Johnson county, about the middle of December, that Colonel Jeff. C. Davis and Major Lewis Merrill captured a large body of them.

When General Halleck, November 9, 1861, was appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri,<sup>1</sup> he had but a few days previous reached Washington City, on the call of the President, from California. On the 19th he took the command, with headquarters in St. Louis, and

<sup>1</sup> It included Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and that portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River.

proceeded to establish the most perfect discipline in the army, and to adopt measures designed to overcome the secessionists, and to protect the persons and property of Union citizens, and the railways and bridges of the State from the depredations of roving bands of "bushwhackers". The city of St. Louis being crowded with Union refugees from the disturbed sections of the interior, on December 12th he issued an order of assessment upon certain wealthy "southern" citizens for feeding and clothing them. On the 23d December, he declared martial law in St. Louis, and two days afterwards, by proclamation, extended it to all the railroads and the country adjacent to them. The last order was inspired by the destruction, on the 20th of December, of about 100 miles of the North Missouri railroad by (it was charged) returned soldiers from Price's army and citizens acting in preconcert. The order fixed the penalty of death for the crime, and required the towns and counties along the line of any road thus destroyed to repair the damages or pay the cost of the repairs.

During the year 1861, in addition to those already noticed, quite a large number of raids, surprises and skirmishes—some of them assuming the proportion of battles—occurred on both sides of the Missouri river. But the limits of this sketch forbid a detailed account of them; and a brief mention, in chronological order, must suffice as a close of our account of the military campaign of 1861.

May 14, Potosi, Washington County. July 10, Monroe Station, Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. July 17, Fulton, or "Overton's Run." August 20, Moreton, Mississippi County. September —, Bennett's Mills. September 10, Norfolk. September 17, Blue Mills Landing. September 20, Glasgow mistake, a second Little Bethel affair. September 25, Osceola. October 13, Shanghai. October 13, Lebanon. October 15, Linn Creek. October 15, Big River Bridge. October 21, Fredericktown. November 8, Picketon. November 10, Little Blue. November 11, Clark's Station, Pacific railroad. December 28, Mt. Zion Church, Boone County.

Thus closed the campaign in Missouri in 1861.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

1862-1863-1864-1865—MISSOURI RIVER AS A RAMPART.—GENERAL CURTIS MOVES UPON SPRINGFIELD, AND GENERAL PRICE RETREATS TO CROSS HOLLOW, ARK.—BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE.—PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL FARRAR'S ORDER ABOUT NEWSPAPERS.—NEW ST. LOUIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—GENERAL HALLECK'S ORDER TO THE OFFICERS OF THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, AND OFFICERS OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY.—COURTS MARTIAL AT PALMYRA AND COLUMBIA.—PRISONERS CONDEMNED AND SHOT.—SENTENCES COMMUTED.—THE BOONE COUNTY "STANDARD" CONFISCATED.—GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD SUCCEEDS GENERAL HALLECK.—COLONEL H. S. LIPSCOMB'S FIGHT WITH COLONEL PORTER'S FORCES, AT CHERRY GROVE.—MAJOR JNO. Y. CLOPPER AT PIERCE'S MILL.—PORTER'S FLIGHT TO MOORE'S MILL, CALLAWAY COUNTY.—FIGHT AT MOORE'S MILL.—FIGHT AT KIRKSVILLE.—COLONEL GUITAR'S PURSUIT OF PORTER IN THE CHARITON VALLEY.—FIGHTS AT COMPTON'S FERRY AND YELLOW CREEK.—BATTLE AT INDEPENDENCE.—DEATH OF GENERAL JNO. T. HUGHES.—BATTLES AT LONE JACK AND NEWTONIA.—MILITARY EXECUTIONS AT MACON AND PALMYRA.—CANE HILL AND PRAIRIE GROVE.—BATTLES AT SPRINGFIELD AND CAPE GIRARDEAU.—CAPTURE OF JEFF. THOMPSON.—GENERAL EWING'S ORDER NO. 11.—GENERAL SCHOFIELD'S LETTER, AND GENERAL BINGHAM'S REPLY.—PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROPOSED PARDON OF GENERAL PRICE.—COLONEL SHELBY'S RAID UPON BOONVILLE.—GENERAL ROSECRANS ASSUMES COMMAND OF THE DEPARTMENT.—A LARGE CONFEDERATE FORCE INVADES THE STATE AND THREATENS ST. LOUIS AND THE CAPITAL.—SHELBY AND CLARK CAPTURE GLASGOW.—REV. WM. G. CAPLES KILLED.—BRUTAL TREATMENT OF MAJOR WM. B. LEWIS BY BILL ANDERSON.—PRICE'S FORCES DRIVEN OUT OF THE STATE INTO ARKANSAS.—THE CENTRALIA MASSACRE.—DEFEAT AND HORRIBLE BUTCHERY OF MAJOR JOHNSON BY BILL ANDERSON'S GUERRILLAS.—EXECUTION IN ST. LOUIS OF JAMES M. UTZ.—LEE'S SURRENDER.—LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION.—JEFF. DAVIS' CAPTURE.—CLOSE OF THE WAR.

During the year 1861, as we have seen—that is, from the capture of Camp Jackson in May till the fight at Mount Zion Church, in Boone County, late in December, not less than sixty skirmishes and battles occurred in the State between the Federal and Confederate forces. More than half of these conflicts, and all of those which assumed the proportions of pitched battles, occurred on the south side of the Missouri River, because, throughout the war, for prudential and very apparent reasons, the Confederates did not peril the safety of their troops by organizing them in large bodies north of that stream. Therefore, the large armies of both sides, and the bloodiest battles, were south of it. Hence the Missouri River was a greater protection to the people north of it, from the desolations and untold horrors of the mighty conflict, than a military force of one hundred thousand men could have been.

Nevertheless, the first year of the war, the continued presence of large or fragmentary armies, recruiting or organized, and in hostile array, with their off-hand and sharp collisions or more premeditated battles, and the angry conflicts of opinion between the people themselves, seri-

ously periled the peace of the State and affected disastrously every department of industry.

Although military operations were conducted on a large scale in other States, and were anticipated in the southwestern portion of our own, the commencement of the year 1862 found Missouri comparatively quiet.

Relieved, by the withdrawal of the Federal army from Springfield, of immediate danger, and encouraged by the promise of reinforcements from Arkansas under General McIntosh, General Price concentrated about 12,000 men at Springfield, with the intention of remaining there all winter. But General Halleck very seriously interfered with this purpose by massing his forces at Lebanon, in Laclede County, under the command of General Samuel R. Curtis, and composed of the troops of Generals Asboth, Sigel, Davis and Prentiss. On February 11th, in the midst of very inclement weather, this force moved upon Springfield in three columns, and on the night of February 12-13, General Price folded his tents and retreated to Cassville with his whole army. Curtis closely pursued him to Cassville, and still southward, across the Arkansas line to Cross Hollows, thence to Sugar Creek near a range of hills called "Boston Mountains," where Price—reinforced by McCulloch—delivered battle, and was defeated, February 20th.<sup>1</sup> He again retreated to Cove Creek where on the 25th he halted, thus leaving Missouri with no large organized Confederate force within its borders.

Notwithstanding these repeated repulses and retreats, it was evident that General Price was preparing for a great and decisive battle. Occupying a strong position amid the defiles of the "Boston Mountains," and rapidly increasing in numbers behind the sheltering hills, Price became too formidable for further pursuit; and therefore Curtis, realizing that prudence was the better part of valor, retraced his steps and fell back from Fayetteville to Sugar Creek, not far from Bentonville, Benton County, Arkansas.

Very soon Curtis received the intelligence that Price and McCulloch had been re-inforced, March 2d, by General Earl Van Dorn, but recently appointed commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, and also by General Albert Pike, the lawyer-poet of Arkansas, at the head of a considerable body of Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw and other Indians—

<sup>1</sup> Some of Curtis' cavalry, under Colonel Ellis and Majors McConnell, Wright and Bolivar, made a charge on a Louisiana brigade under Colonel Hubert, supported by two regiments of infantry under Colonel John S. Phelps, the present Governor of Missouri, and Colonel Heron, and Captain Hayden with his Dubuque battery. The fight was sharp and short, defeating the Confederates.

the Confederate force aggregating about 25,000 men, as follows: McCulloch's (Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas troops,) 13,000; Pike's Indians, with white troops in same command, 4,000; Price's Missouri troops, 8,000. Total, 25,000.<sup>1</sup> Force under Curtis, as per report of that officer, 10,500 men, including cavalry and infantry, 49 pieces of artillery and one mountain howitzer.

Van Dorn was one of the most courageous and daring of the Confederate officers, and his arrival was hailed with demonstrations of the liveliest joy. He assumed the chief command, and at once adopted vigorous measures for offensive action, with the view of driving Curtis back across the Missouri border. His presence inspired the whole Confederate army with enthusiasm, and they were "eager for the fray." At the head of willing troops, Van Dorn marched rapidly on Curtis' encampment, and by the dash and celerity of his movements placed the Federal army in great and imminent peril. Early on the morning of March 6th, 1862, he marched vigorously to the attack, and there succeeded one of the most skillfully fought, desperate and sanguinary battles of the war; and one which, with the laurel wreath of victory resting with fickleness first on this standard, then on that, continued with varying fortune through three entire days. Victory was finally awarded to the Union side, but after a loss of 1,351 in killed, wounded and missing, the division commanded by Colonel E. C. Carr suffering the greatest. Among the Federal dead was Colonel Hendricks of the 25th Indiana. The loss of the Confederates has never been officially reported, but it must have been large. Among the killed were Generals Ben. McCulloch and McIntosh and General Wm. Y. Slack, of Chillicothe, Missouri. The latter was found on the field mortally wounded, and was carried by Federal soldiers to a hospital, but lived only four hours. Colonels Conley and Rives of Missouri were also killed. McCulloch and McIntosh were buried at Fort Smith. General Price was wounded in the arm below the elbow by a minie ball.

Thus ended the battle of Pea Ridge, sometimes called the battle of Elk Horn Tavern. Each party conceded that the other displayed the greatest gallantry; but the Union side charged, and the other denied, that the Indians employed under Pike were guilty of the savage atrocity

<sup>1</sup> Curtis in his official report estimates the number "at least 30,000 or 40,000." Taylor's Rebellion Record, vol. 4, p. 417. An officer of Price's army, in a letter to Honorable George C. Vest places it at 30,000 to 35,000. The 25th Missouri was gallantly led in this battle, on the Union side, by Colonel John S. Phelps, the present Governor of the State.

of scalping and otherwise mutilating the bodies of the wounded Federal dead upon the field.

After the battle, Van Dorn withdrew to the interior of Arkansas; and Curtis, after resting his army on the field, marched leisurely south and reached Batesville on May 6th.

From the bloody field of Pea Ridge we return to Halleck's headquarters in St. Louis, and resume our narrative.

Earnest protests having been made against the injustice of the assessments on wealthy Southern sympathisers by General Halleck's "Order No. 24," of December 12th, 1861, he appointed a new board of assessors to revise the lists and make such modifications as they deemed proper and right.

On January 8th, 1862, Bernard G. Farrar, Provost-Marshal General, issued the following order in regard to the newspapers published in the State :

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL, }  
DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI.  
ST. LOUIS, January 8, 1862. }

[General Order No. 10.]

It is hereby ordered that from and after this date, the publishers of newspapers in the State of Missouri, (St. Louis city papers excepted,) furnish to this office, immediately upon publication, one copy of each issue for inspection. A failure to comply with this order will render the newspaper liable to suppression.

Local Provost Marshals will furnish the proprietors of newspapers with copies of this order, and attend to its immediate enforcement.

BERNARD G. FARRAR,  
Provost Marshal General.

On the same day on which this order was issued, much excitement was occasioned in the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce by the refusal of a majority of the members, who were Southern sympathisers, and who had just elected officers reflecting their own views of the war, to admit a number of Union men as members. In consequence of their action, the Union members withdrew from the Chamber and a Union Chamber of Commerce was established.

This event inspired General Halleck to the issue of an order (No. 81, January 26th, 1862), requiring the officers of the Mercantile Library Association and of the Chamber or Chambers of Commerce to subscribe and file in the office of the Provost-Marshal General, within ten days, the oath prescribed by Article 6 of the Convention Ordinance of October 16th, 1861. (See page 335.) In default of doing so, said officers



would be deemed to have resigned; and in the event of their exercising the functions of their several offices without having taken the oath, they would do so at the peril of arrest and punishment. The same order forbade the display of secession flags in the hands of women or on carriages in the vicinity of the military prison in McDowell's College—the carriages to be confiscated and the offending women arrested.<sup>1</sup>

On the 4th of February a similar order was issued to the presidents and directors of all railroads in the State, and to the president, professors, curators and other officers of the State University at Columbia—declaring in regard to the University that “this institution having been endowed by the government of the United States, its funds should not be used to teach treason or to instruct traitors.” The same order required all clerks, agents and civil employes in the service of the United States to take the oath prescribed by Act of Congress, approved August 6th, 1861; and recommended that all clergymen, professors and teachers, and all officers of public or private institutions for education or benevolence, and all engaged in business and trade, who were in favor of the perpetuation of the Union, voluntarily to take the convention oath, in order that their patriotism might be known and recognized.<sup>2</sup>

At a military commission which convened at Palmyra pursuant to special order No. 97, and dated December 27th, 1861, from General Halleck's headquarters—Colonel John Groesbeck, Thirty-Ninth Ohio Volunteers, President—the following persons were arraigned and tried on the charge of bridge, railroad and car burning on the North Missouri Railroad, on the night of December 20th and 21st, 1861, and being found guilty were condemned “to be shot to death at such time and place as the Major-General Commanding the Department shall direct,” namely: John C. Thompkins, Wm. J. Forshey, John Patton, Thomas M. Smith, Stephen Stott, George H. Cunningham, Richard B. Crowder and George M. Pulliam. General Halleck approved the finding of the court, thus condemning to death the prisoners at a time and place thereafter to be designated by him, and deputed General B. M. Prentiss to notify them of his decision and warn them to prepare for the execution. The time and place were never designated. Hence the condemned men were never “shot to death,” for on February 20th, 1862, General Halleck issued an order, No. 44, in which he declared that “in consideration of the recent victories won by the Federal forces, and of the rapidly increasing loyalty of the citizens of Missouri, who for a time forgot their duty to

<sup>1</sup> “Rebellion Record,” Vol. 4, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> “Rebellion Record,” Vol. 4, p. 129.

their flag and country, the sentences of John C. Thompkins, Wm. J. Forshey, John Patton, Thomas M. Smith, Stephen Stott, George H. Cunningham, Richard B. Crowder and George M. Pulliam, heretofore condemned to death, are provisionally mitigated to close confinement in the military prison at Alton. If rebel spies again destroy railroads and telegraph lines, and thus render it necessary for us to make severe examples, the original sentences against these men will be carried into execution."

A similar commission, Colonel Lewis Merrill, of "Merrill's Horse," president, pursuant to special orders No. 160, of February 20th, 1862, sat in Columbia, in March of the same year, and tried James Quisenberry, James Lane and William F. Petty, on the charge of railroad and bridge burning on the North Missouri railroad, on the night of December 20-21, 1861, found them guilty and sentenced them to be shot at such time and place as the General commanding the department shall designate; in the meantime to be confined in Alton military prison. Nor were these men ever shot; but on recommendation of the commission, the sentence was mitigated by General Halleck in the cases of Quisenberry and Lane to final release on condition of their taking the oath of allegiance and giving bond in the sum of \$2,000 each, for future loyalty to the government. Petty was also finally released.

The same commission, at the same sitting, tried Edmund J. Ellis, of Columbia, editor and proprietor of "*The Boone County Standard*," for the publication in said paper of information for the benefit of the enemy, and encouraging resistance to the Government of the United States, and inciting persons to rebellion against the same. Ellis was found guilty and sentenced to banishment from Missouri during the war, and that his printing materials be confiscated and sold, all which was done.

Early in April, General Halleck left for Corinth, Mississippi, leaving Major-General John M. Schofield in command of the greater part of the State; and on June 1st he assumed command of the entire Department of Missouri, establishing his headquarters at St. Louis. On July 22d, Governor Gamble, desiring to repress the numerous guerrilla outbreaks in the State, authorized General Schofield, whom he appointed Brigadier-General of the Missouri Militia, to organize the State Militia into companies, regiments and brigades, and to call such portion of it into active service in the field as might be required to put down all the marauders and secure the peace of the State and the safety of the people and their property. Measures were at once adopted by him to accomplish these objects.

Our limits forbid that we should follow the guerrilla bands of the State under Porter, Cobb, Poindexter, Quantrel, Coffee and others, or to note the active steps taken by the Union troops under various commanders to circumvent their designs and capture or drive them from the State.

After a series of desultory skirmishes, north and south of the Missouri River—at Silver Creek, Howard County, January 15th, between the Union forces under Major Hunt of "Merrill's Horse," Major Hubbard of the First Missouri, and Major Torrence of the First Iowa, and Southern troops under Colonel Poindexter; at New Madrid, New Madrid County, February 28th, between General John Pope and Jeff. Thompson; at Neosho, Newton County, April 22d, between Major Hubbard and Colonel Stainwright's regiment of Indians; at Rose Hill, Cass County, July 10th, between Captain Kehoe and Lieutenant Wright and Colonel W. C. Quantrel; north of Keytesville on the Chariton River, Chariton County, July 30th, between Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander M. Woolfolk and eighty guerrillas—we come to the extraordinary pursuit of, and brilliant skirmishes and bloody fights with, the partisan bands of secessionists led by Colonel Jo. C. Porter.<sup>1</sup>

This band was first encountered the latter part of June, at Cherry Grove, in Schuyler County, by Colonel H. S. Lipscomb with about 450 State Militia, who, after repulsing them in a sharp fight, pursued them to New Ark, Knox County, where the pursuit was abandoned. Next they were discovered in a heavy ambushade at Pierce's Mill on the south side of the Middle Fabius, Scotland County, where Major John Y. Clopper, with a detachment of "Merrill's Horse," made three unsuccessful charges to dislodge them. Reinforced by Major Rogers, the object was accomplished, after heroic resistance by Porter's men. Driven from their ambush, Porter's men retreated south, and in less than twenty-four hours were at Novelty, Knox County, sixty-four miles distant. Still pursuing a southern direction, they swept by Warren, Marion County, thence (July 22nd) to Florida, in Monroe, where they surprised and fired upon a small detachment of Federal troops under Major H. C. Caldwell of the Third Iowa (now on the Supreme Court Bench of Arkansas,) and dashed on to the heavily timbered region about Brown's Spring, ten miles north of Fulton, Callaway County. Hearing of their encampment there, Colonel Odon Guitar, of the Ninth Missouri State Militia, left Jefferson City on Sunday morning, July 27th, with about 200 men and

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Porter, 3d Missouri Cavalry, C. S. A., died February 18, 1863, and was buried about eight miles from Little Rock, Arkansas.

two pieces of artillery<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of attacking them. On Saturday (the day before) Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. Shaffer, of "Merrill's Horse," left Columbia with about 100 men, and, taking Sturgeon in the way, was there joined by Major Clopper with a hundred more. Major Caldwell, with a detachment of the Third Iowa and a part of Colonel J. M. Glover's regiment, also left Mexico; and the two columns, believing Porter to be encamped there, marched for Mt. Zion Church, in the northeast part of Boone County. Not finding him, on Monday, July 28th, they pursued their way into Callaway County, until, about 2 o'clock P. M., they heard Guitar's cannon four or five miles distant; for, before their arrival on the field, Guitar had furiously engaged the enemy in the thick underbrush and heavy timber near Moore's Mill. Shaffer and Caldwell hastened to the scene of conflict, and arrived in time very materially to aid in achieving the victory so heroically wrung from men who fought with desperation to the last. Many were killed and wounded on both sides.

After the fight at Moore's Mill, the forces under Porter and Alvin Cobb retraced their steps and retreated north, joining a large body of troops under J. A. Poindexter near Kirksville, the county-seat of Adair, where, on August 6th, General John H. McNeil, with detachments of the Ninth Missouri State Militia under Captain Leonard, and of "Merrill's Horse" under Lieutenant-Colonel Shaffer, attacked the joint force, numbering from 1,500 to 2,000 men, completely routing them. Porter and Poindexter reached Kirksville a few hours before their pursuers, and, ordering the citizens to evacuate the town, posted their troops in the court house, seminary, stores and private residences, the better to protect them in the coming battle. The *Missouri Statesman* of August 22d, 1862, giving an account of the battle, derived from persons who participated in it, says that—

Colonel McNeil, approaching from the eastern side of town, drew up his forces before it. Not knowing the exact position of the enemy, he ordered ten men of Merrill's Horse to charge through the town and discover their places of concealment. They obeyed the order, and the rebels, in their eagerness, fired upon them from houses, stables, and other places affording them protection from the missiles which were shortly to be poured upon the town. Captains Samuel A. Garth and Reeves Leonard, of Guitar's regiment were then ordered to get their men in line and make another charge. The captains, getting their men in motion, charged through the centre of the town, attacking the rebels in their strongholds and at every step routing and pursuing them with great slaughter. They and their men behaved with the greatest coolness and bravery; and when the rebels saw their determination and courage they fled precipitately to the brush on the western side. Captain Henry N. Cook, of Guitar's Regiment,

<sup>1</sup> Parts of companies A, Captain Reeves Leonard; B, Captain Saml. A. Garth; C, Captain John D. McFarlane; G, Captain Thomas B. Reed; L, Captain H. N. Cook.

was also in the engagement. He and his company made a furious charge on some houses in the northern part of the town, and acting with undaunted bravery, captured and killed a great many rebels.

Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer commanded a detachment of Merrill's Horse, which rendered gallant and efficient services.

Whilst the Federal troops were posted in selected portions of the town, the artillery was playing with terrific effect. Houses were riddled and torn to pieces, and the fleeing rebels, when they could escape, sought safety in the woods.

In three hours the town was in possession of McNeil, and the force of Porter and Poindexter in full retreat toward the Chariton River. The rebel loss in the battle—killed, wounded and prisoners—was between 200 and 300.<sup>1</sup> McNeil's loss, eight killed and a large number wounded.

Colonel Guitar, having returned to Jefferson City from Moore's Mill on account of serious illness, immediately entered upon preparations for the pursuit of Porter, and on Friday, the 8th, landed from a steamer at Glasgow a considerable force. Continuing the pursuit, he overtook Porter at 9 o'clock on Monday night, at Compton's Ferry on Grand River in Carroll County. A portion of Porter's men had crossed before his arrival, but a large number, with all their baggage, horses, wagons, etc., were yet to cross. Guitar ordered his troops, portions of his own regiment and portions of "Merrill's Horse" under Major C. B. Hunt, to charge, which they did, at the same time opening upon the demoralized and fleeing guerillas with two pieces of artillery. The effect was terrible. Many, in their eagerness to escape, threw away their guns and plunged on their horses into the river, but many of the horses became unmanageable and returned to the shore from whence they started. Some were drowned. A large number of prisoners, all their baggage, together with a great number of horses, mules, guns and wagons, were captured. Poindexter continued hurriedly in a northern direction, crossing the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad at Utica on Tuesday morning. Near here he was intercepted and driven back by General B. F. Loan. In his retreat south, Guitar met him, on the 13th, at Yellow Creek in Chariton County, again routing him, and scattering and breaking up his band. Guitar then returned with his command to Jefferson City.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After the battle at Kirksville, seventeen prisoners were condemned to death, and shot by order of Colonel McNeil, for violation of their parole; they having been caught in arms after taking the oath of allegiance. Among the number was Lieutenant-Colonel McCulloch, second in command under Poindexter, who met his fate courageously, giving the order himself for the executioners to fire.

<sup>2</sup> After the several engagements at Moore's Mill, Kirksville, Compton's Ferry and Yellow Creek, Governor Gamble promoted Colonel Guitar to Brigadier-General of Enrolled Missouri Militia.

The next engagement of any considerable interest in the State was at Independence, before the break of day on the morning of Monday, August 11th. The town was garrisoned by battalions of Missouri Infantry and Cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Buell, Seventh Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, about 450 strong. The Rebel forces, in command of General John T. Hughes, of Clinton County, (author of "Doniphan's Expedition," and an old school-fellow of the writer,) numbered 600 to 800 men, and, entering town by the Harrisonville and Big Spring roads, commenced a vigorous attack, and were in almost every part of town before the Federal force had any notice of their approach. One portion of Hughes' command at once surrounded Colonel Buell's headquarters, thus cutting him off from communication with his men, another portion attacked the provost-guard at the jail, while the larger portion took possession of the gardens, orchards, fields and buildings which commanded the camp. The Federal forces fought with daring courage, and the same is true of their assailants; but completely surprised and taken at disadvantage, and enfiladed on all sides, as many of them as were able to do so retreated from the streets into the pasture of Hon. Samuel H. Woodson, and formed behind a stone fence. It was here that General Hughes was shot dead from his horse, leading his men to a desperate charge. Colonel Buell, observing that his camp was evacuated, and that further resistance was useless, ran up a white flag and surrendered the post. The loss was heavy on both sides.

The united forces of the Rebel commanders—Coffee, Hunter, Tracy, Jackman and Cockerhills—attacked Major Foster with 800 State Militia, at Lone Jack, a small village in the southeastern corner of Jackson County, on August 16th, defeating him and capturing two piece of artillery.<sup>1</sup> The loss on each side was about fifty killed and from seventy-five to one hundred wounded. Among the wounded was Major Foster. Hearing

<sup>1</sup>Among the remarkable incidents of the battle, the following is worthy of record: When the Federal forces had fallen back and taken refuge in a large hotel, and were pouring from its windows a death-fire upon the Confederates, causing them to lie down and take shelter behind the plank fencing that surrounded the hotel, news came to the head-quarters of General Coffee that his men had exhausted their cartridges. Volunteers were called for, to risk their lives in that terrible storm of minie balls, and supply the soldiers behind the fencing with the needed ammunition. David R. Boneton, a son of Judge Jesse A. Boneton, of Boone County, responded; and filling a carpet sack with the deadly missiles, mounted his fine charger (named "Sterling Price"), and dashed forward on his mission. He sat on his horse and distributed the cartridges amid a storm of bullets, coming out unscathed.

of the approach of General James G. Blunt, the Rebels, 3,000 strong, immediately commenced a retreat south under cover of the night.<sup>1</sup>

On September 13th, 1862, at Newtonia, a small village about twelve miles east of Neosho, the county seat of Newton County, a desperate engagement occurred between a large body (about 5,000) of Kansas, Wisconsin, Missouri and Indian troops—infantry, cavalry and artillery—under the command of General F. Salomon, and a Confederate force of 8,000 or 10,000, under Colonels Cooper and Jo. Shelby, in which the Union forces were repulsed and compelled to retreat back to Sarcoxie, a distance of fifteen miles. Large numbers were killed and wounded on both sides.<sup>2</sup>

At this point we make a divergence from the record of skirmishes and battles between contending forces in the field, and from the pursuits, retreats, surprises and captures to which we have been giving attention, to two of those atrocities which unhappily blacken the history of the civil war in Missouri. Personally, and for the fair fame of the State, we would prefer to omit them altogether, and allow the inseting tide of oblivion to conceal them from mortal memory forever. But justice to "the truth of history" demands that the facts be recorded in regard to them, and we will not shrink from the duty.

One of these atrocities was the execution, at Macon, Mo., on Friday, the 25th of September, 1862, of ten Rebel prisoners, on the triple charge, of treason, perjury and murder; and the other the execution, at Palmyra, Mo., on Saturday, October 18th, 1862, of a similar number to expiate the abduction and probable murder, by some of Porter's band, of one Andrew Allsman, a Union citizen of Marion County.

On the day previous to the execution at Macon, 144 prisoners, who had been confined in the "Harris House," in that place, were sent by railroad to St. Louis for imprisonment during the war. The ten retained had been condemned by General Lewis Merrill, or by a drum-head court-martial, to be "shot to death," because, as it was claimed, "each one of them had for the third time been captured while engaged in the robbing and assassination of his own neighbors," and therefore were the most depraved and dangerous of the gang. It was also charged, and we take it for granted established by competent proof, that "all of them had twice, some of them three, and others had four times made solemn oath to bear faithful allegiance to the Federal Government, to never take

<sup>1</sup> General Blunt's report, "Rebellion Record," Vol. 5, p. 582.

<sup>2</sup> See reports of General F. Salomon, Colonel George H. Hall (of St. Joseph), Colonel 4th Cavalry M. S. M., and General Jas. S. Rains, "Rebellion Record," Vol. 5, pp. 620-22.

up arms in behalf of the Rebel cause, but in all respects to deport themselves as true and loyal citizens of the United States." And it was further charged that "every man of them had perjured himself as often as he had subscribed to this oath, and at the same time his hands were red with repeated murders." The names of the condemned men were Frank E. Drake, Doctor A. C. Rowe, Elbert Hamilton, William Searcy, J. A. Wysong, J. H. Fox, Edward Riggs, David Bell, John H. Oldham and Jas. H. Hall.

The ceremonies attending their execution were exceedingly impressive. On the morning of the 25th the condemned were separated from their comrades and confined in a freight car on the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, and were at the same time informed of the doom that awaited them. The next day Reverend Doctor R. W. Landis, Chaplain of the cavalry regiment known as "Merrill's Horse," was present to attend to the spiritual interests of the condemned. He called on them on the evening of the 25th, and found them all deeply penitent and apparently making earnest preparations for death. They confessed they had wronged the Government, wronged the State, wronged their neighbors and themselves, yet they declared they were not wholly responsible for their own acts. They had been *led* into evil—so they pleaded—through the influence of others.

The prisoners spent most of the night in prayer. Next morning urgent appeals were made to General Merrill, who was present in Macon, to spare their lives; to have them tried by the civil courts; to imprison them till the end of the war; but he did not modify their sentence. One of these appeals came in the shape of a letter, written by the youngest of the ten—about twenty or twenty-one years of age—and simply claimed mercy for the writer. It was received early on the morning of the execution, and as the General was still in bed, the note was placed in the hands of his Adjutant. The following is a *verbatim* copy:

"general for god sake spare my life for i am a boy i was perswaded do what i have done and forse i will go in service and figt for you and stay with you douring the war i wood been figting for the union if it had bin for others.

"J. A. WYSONG."

At 11 o'clock, A. M., the procession was formed, and the silent multitude, civil and military, moved at the signal of the muffled drum, toward the field of execution near the town.

The executioners were detailed from the Twenty-third Missouri Infantry, and numbered sixty-six men. They marched six abreast, with a



prisoner in the rear of each file. A hollow square, or rather parallelogram, was formed on a slightly declining prairie a half mile south of the town. The executioners formed the south line of this square, the balance of the Missouri Twenty-third the east and west lines, and Merrill's Horse the north. The executioners were divided off into firing parties of six for each prisoner, leaving a reserve of six that were stationed a few paces in the rear. General Merrill and staff were stationed close within the northeast angle of the square. The firing parties formed a complete line, but were detached about two paces from each other. Each prisoner was marched out ten paces in front, and immediately south of his six executioners.

This order having been completed, the prisoners were severally blinded with bandages of white cloth, and were then required to kneel for the terrible doom that awaited them. At this time every tongue was silent, and nothing was more audible than the heart-throbs of the deeply moved and sympathizing multitude. At a signal from the commanding officer, Rev. Dr. Landis stepped forward to address the Throne of Grace. His prayer was the utterance of a pitying heart, brief and impressive. It was an earnest appeal for pardoning mercy for those who were about to step into the presence of God and Eternity. And then followed the closing scenes of this bloody drama. The prisoners remained kneeling, while sixty muskets were pointed at their palpitating hearts. The signal is given and the fatal volleys discharged, and the ten doomed men make a swift exit from time to eternity!<sup>1</sup> The bodies of five of the deceased were claimed by their respective friends; the balance were interred by military direction.

Whatever may be said to excuse, extenuate, or justify this execution, what can be pleaded to mitigate the horrible butchery at Palmyra a few weeks thereafter? The record of that event is, briefly, that on the occasion, a short time previous, of Porter's descent upon Palmyra, he captured, among other persons, an old resident and a Union man by the name of Andrew Allsman. He had formerly belonged to the Third Missouri Cavalry, though too old to endure the more active duties of the service. He was therefore detailed as special or extra Provost-Marshal's guard; and being an old resident and widely acquainted with the people and localities of the county, he was frequently called upon to give information touching the loyalty of men, and the way to different places; often accompanying scouting parties into the surrounding country. He there-

<sup>1</sup> D. S. Washburne was on the same day executed at Huntsville.

fore became specially obnoxious to the "Southern element" in Marion County, and encountered the bitter hatred of the guerrillas and bushwhackers. All other prisoners captured by Porter were released but him, and nothing having been heard of him, it was supposed, and is yet supposed, for he has not since been seen—he was murdered by them.

Soon after the capture of Allsman, General John H. McNeill garrisoned Palmyra with Federal troops, and issued and had published in the papers the following order :

PALMYRA, MO., October 8, 1862.

*Joseph C. Porter* :—SIR: Andrew Allsman, an aged citizen of Palmyra, and a non-combatant, having been carried from his home by a band of persons unlawfully arrayed against the peace and good order of the State of Missouri, and which band was under your control; this is to notify you that unless said Andrew Allsman is returned unharmed to his family within ten days from date, ten men who have belonged to your band, and unlawfully sworn by you to carry arms against the government of the United States, and who are now in custody, will be shot as a meet reward for their crimes, among which is the illegal restraining of said Allsman of his liberty, and, if not returned, presumably aiding in his murder. Your prompt attention to this will save much suffering.

Yours, etc.,

W. R. STRACHAN,

Provost Marshal General District N. E. Missouri.

Per order of Brigadier General commanding McNeill's column.

A duplicate in writing of this notice was placed in the hands of the wife of Colonel Porter, at her residence in Lewis County, in addition to its wide circulation in the newspapers. Yet the ten days elapsed, and no tidings came of the absent (and perhaps murdered) Allsman. Therefore on the day previous to the day of execution, ten prisoners were selected to render the forfeit of their lives, at the musket's muzzle, for the continued and unexplained absence of a man for whose capture, imprisonment, or death—as the case might be—they were not responsible. The names of the prisoners so selected were as follows

Willis Baker, Thomas Hurnston, Morgan Bixler and John Y. McPheeters, of Lewis County; Herbert Hudson, John M. Wade and Marion Lair, of Ralls County; Captain Thomas A. Snider, of Monroe County; Eleazer Lake, of Scotland County, and Hiram Smith, of Lewis County.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the condemned men received the solemn announcement with composure or indifference. Rev. James S. Green, of Palmyra, remained

<sup>1</sup> It has been reported and occasionally published in the newspapers since the war, that Hiram Smith, of Lewis County, was not one of those originally selected for this sacrifice; that he—a young lad of seventeen, and an orphan without relatives—volunteered to take the place of Mr. Humphreys, of Knox, an old man with a wife and eight children, and that finally Smith was substituted for Humphreys and suffered death in his stead. This remarkable story may be true; nevertheless the writer of this sketch has never been able, after some effort, to confirm it by indisputable evidence.

with them during the night, as spiritual adviser, endeavoring to point the way to that "better country" where they would hear of war—its rigors and injustice and scenes of blood—no more forever.

Teh Palmyra *Courier* gives this account of the closing drama:

A little after eleven o'clock, A. M., three Government wagons drove to the jail. One contained four and the others three rough board coffins. The condemned men were conducted from the prison and seated in the wagons—one upon each coffin. A sufficient guard of soldiers accompanied them, and the cavalcade started for the fair grounds (half a mile east of the town), and driving within the circular amphitheatrical ring, paused for the final consummation of the scene.

The ten coffins were removed from the wagons and placed in a row, six or eight feet apart, forming a line north and south, about fifteen paces east of the central pagoda or music-stand in the centre of the ring. Each coffin was placed upon the ground with its foot west and head east. Thirty soldiers of the Second M. S. M. were drawn up in a single line, extending north and south, facing the row of coffins, leaving a space between them and the coffins of twelve or thirteen paces. Reserves were drawn up in line upon either flank.

The arrangements completed, the doomed men knelt upon the grass between their coffins and the soldiers, while the Reverend R. M. Rhodes offered up a prayer. At the conclusion of this, each prisoner took his seat upon the foot of his coffin, facing the muskets, which in a few moments were to launch them into eternity. They were nearly all firm and undaunted. Two or three only showed signs of trepidation.

The most noted of the ten was Captain Thos. A. Snider, of Monroe County, whose capture at Shelbyville, in the disguise of a woman, we related several weeks since. He was now elegantly attired in a suit of black broad-cloth, with white vest. A luxurious growth of beautiful hair rolled down upon his shoulders, which, with his fine personal appearance, could not but bring to mind the handsome but vicious Absalom. There was nothing especially worthy of note in the appearance of the others. One of them, Willis Baker, of Lewis County, was proven to be the man who last year shot and killed Mr. Ezekiel Pratte, his Union neighbor, near Williamstown, in that county. All the others were rebels of lesser note, the particulars of whose crimes we are not familiar with.

A few minutes after one o'clock, Colonel Strachan, Provost-Marshal General, and the Rev. Mr. Rhodes, shook hands with the prisoners. Two of them accepted bandages for their eyes—all the rest refused. A hundred spectators had gathered around the amphitheatre to witness the impressive scene. The stillness of death pervaded the place.

The officer in command now stepped forward and gave the word of command: "Ready; aim; fire!" The discharges, however, were not made simultaneously—probably through want of a perfect previous understanding of the orders and of the time at which to fire. Two of the rebels fell backward upon their coffins and died instantly. Captain Snider sprang forward and fell with his head toward the soldiers, his face upward, his hands clasped upon his breast, and the left leg drawn half way up. He did not move again, but died instantly. He had requested the soldiers to aim at his heart, and they obeyed but too implicitly. The other seven were not killed outright; so the reserves were called in, who dispatched them with their revolvers.

The lifeless remains were then placed in coffins, the lids, upon which the name of each man was written, were screwed on, and the direful procession returned to town by the same route that it pursued in going.

Friends came and took seven of the corpses. Three were buried by the military in the public cemetery. The tragedy was over.

The great battle at Cane Hill, near Fayetteville, Arkansas, on Sunday, December 6th, 1862, between the Confederate troops under General Thomas Hindman of Arkansas, and General John S. Marmaduke of Missouri, and the Federal forces commanded by General James G. Blunt of Kansas, in which the former were defeated, was the last great engagement of the year in which Missourians participated. Among the Confederate killed was General Steine, Brigadier-General Missouri State Guard. The following is a brief official report of General Blunt to Major-General S. R. Curtis, Commandant of the Department of Missouri:

PRAIRIE GROVE, December 10, 1862.

*Major General S. R. Curtis:* The enemy did not stop in their flight until they had crossed the Boston Mountains, and are probably ere this across the Arkansas river. The enemy's killed and wounded is between 1500 and 2000—a large proportion of them killed. One hundred of their wounded have died since the battle, and a large proportion of the others are wounded mortally, showing the terrible effects of my artillery. My casualties will be about 200 wounded. Most of the wounded will recover. The enemy have left their wounded on my hands, and most of their dead, uncared for. They are being buried by my command. Hindman admitted his force to be 28,000. Major Hubbard, who was a prisoner with them all day of the fight, counted twenty regiments of infantry and twenty pieces of artillery. They had no train with them, and muffled the wheels of their artillery in making their retreat. Four caissons filled with ammunition were taken from the enemy. The Twentieth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteers, in addition to those mentioned yesterday, suffered severely in charging one of the enemy's batteries, which they took, but were unable to hold.

JAMES G. BLUNT,  
Brigadier General.

On the night of December 20th, 1862, some of the returned soldiers from Price's army, aided by citizens, destroyed or rendered useless for the time about one hundred miles of the North Missouri (now St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern) railroad. Commencing a few miles south of Macon, (then called Hudson,<sup>1</sup>) they burned the bridges, water tanks, ties and piles of wood, and tore up the rails for many miles, and destroyed the telegraph.

1863.—The third year after the rebellion, 1863, was opened by an attack, January 8th, by General John S. Marmaduke, on the Federal stockade forts at Springfield, under General E. B. Brown, commander of the Southwestern department of Missouri. General Brown being severely wounded in the action, turned over the command to Colonel B. Crabb, who reported to General Curtis as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Called Hudson in honor of the late Thomas B. Hudson, of St. Louis, one of the early presidents of the North Missouri Railroad.

SPRINGFIELD, January 10, 1863.

*Major General Curtis:—General:* The enemy attacked us on the 8th. They were about 5000 to 6000 strong, with three pieces of artillery, under command of Marmaduke, Burbridge, Shelby, McDonald, and others. They fought from one o'clock until after dark, with desperation, but were repulsed at every advance.

General Brown was severely wounded in the left arm near the shoulder, about 5 o'clock P. M. He turned the command over to me.

The enemy withdrew to a safe distance under cover of darkness. On the morning of the 9th, they made demonstrations, in full force, from another point. We made such preparations to meet them as we had at our command, but finally they concluded discretion was the better part of valor, and retreated.

They divided their forces. One portion went to Sand Spring—the other went on the Rock River road. We did not have force sufficient to follow.

Reinforcements of enrolled militia arriving during the day and night, I sent, early this morning, what force could be spared to follow them, and harass their rear, and report their movements. General Brown was constantly in the front, superintending every movement. By his coolness and bravery, he has endeared himself to all under his command.

Your most obedient servant,

B. CRABB, Colonel Commanding.

The Cavalry, (M. S. M.), engaged in the fight on the Union side were commanded by Colonel Edward S. King, of Jefferson City, and Colonel George H. Hall, of St. Joseph, both of whom charged the Confederates with great bravery on their advance to the town. A battalion of cavalry in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Pounds, 14th M. S. M., also did efficient service. In the detailed official report of Colonel Crabb, honorable mention is also made of Lieutenant Hoffman, of Backhoff's First Missouri Light Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Cook and Captains Landes, Blue, Vanmeter and Stonaker, and Lieutenant Wilson, of the 18th Iowa Infantry, Lieutenant Root of the 19th Iowa, and Colonel Sheppard of the 72d E. M. M. Doctor S. H. Mercher mustered some 300 convalescents—the "Quinine Brigade"—from the hospitals, and Captain C. B. McAfee, (a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875 from Greene County, and the law partner of Governor Phelps,) organized about 100 soldiers who had recently been discharged, and engaged in the fight. Captains Blue and Vanmeter were killed. The General loss was fourteen killed and 144 wounded. Confederate loss not known.

On Sunday morning, April 26th, Federal John H. McNeill, then stationed at Cape Girardeau, having first received and declined a demand to surrender, was attacked by a large Confederate force under Generals Marmaduke and Burbridge, which was repulsed.

During the last week in August, Colonel R. G. Woodson, 3d Cavalry, M. S. M., with a force of about 600 strong, moved from Pilot Knob to Greenville, thence by rapid marches to Pocahontas, Arkansas. When

within four miles of the latter place he ascertained that General Jeff. Thompson, "the Swamp Fox,"—he who had "cattle on ten thousand hills,"—was there with little or no force. Being very desirous to capture him, Colonel Woodson ordered Captain Gentry, of the 2d Cavalry, M. S. M., to hasten with all possible dispatch, with the advance, and surprise and arrest him, which he did, finding Thompson quietly sitting in his office tracing a map of Southeast Missouri, having no idea there were Federal troops within a hundred miles of him. General Thompson accompanied by his staff officers—who were also captured, viz: Captain Reuben Kay, Adjutant General, Captain Robert McDonald, Assistant Adjutant General, and Dr. Marcus Train, Surgeon—were sent under guard to St. Louis, and committed to Gratiot prison.

On the 25th of August, General Thomas Ewing, of the 11th Kansas Infantry Volunteers, and at this time, (1877), a Democratic member of Congress from the 12th Ohio district, issued the following order :

[General Orders No. 11.]

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE BORDER, }  
KANSAS CITY, MO., August 25, 1863. }

*First*—All persons living in Cass, Jackson, and Bates Counties, Missouri, and in that part of Vernon included in this district, except those living within one mile of the limits of Independence, Hickman's Mills, Pleasant Hill, and Harrisonville, and except those in that part of Kaw Township, Jackson County, north of Brush Creek and west of the Big Blue, embracing Kansas City and Westport, are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residence within fifteen days from the date hereof.

Those who, within that time, establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the commanding officer of the military station nearest their present places of residence, will receive from him certificates stating the fact of their loyalty and the names of the witnesses by whom it can be shown. All who receive such certificates will be permitted to remove to any military station in this district, or to any part of the State of Kansas, except the counties on the eastern border of the State. All others shall remove out of this district.

Officers commanding companies and detachments serving in the counties named, will see that this paragraph is promptly obeyed.

*Second*—All grain and hay in the field, or under shelter, in the district from which the inhabitants are required to remove within reach of military stations, after the 9th day of September next, will be taken to such stations and turned over to the proper officers there; and report of the amount so turned over made to district headquarters, specifying the names of all loyal owners and the amount of such produce taken from them. All grain and hay found in such district after the 9th day of September next, not convenient to such stations, will be destroyed.

*Third*—The provisions of General Orders No. 10, from these headquarters, will be at once vigorously executed, by officers commanding in the parts of the district, and at the stations, not subject to the operations of paragraph First of this Order,—and especially in the towns of Independence, Westport, and Kansas City.

*Fourth*—Paragraph 3, General Orders No. 10, is revoked as to all who have borne arms against the government in this district since August 20th, 1863.

By order of Brigadier General Ewing.

H. HANNAHS, Adjutant.

As might reasonably have been expected, the publication of so extraordinary an order from a military commander occasioned the wildest excitement and alarm among the people whom it was intended most directly to affect. The guerrilla warfare which had previously raged within the condemned district had already driven many of the people out of it, yet the enforcement of the order depopulated the farming territory of the three counties. Many and sad, therefore, were the scenes of wretchedness which it occasioned. These have been transferred to canvas and rendered immortal by George C. Bingham, "the Missouri Artist," in his celebrated painting, entitled "Order No. 11."

As the Federal military authorities, and especially Generals Schofield and Ewing, were savagely abused for giving the order, it would seem but sheer justice that they be heard in their own defence. And that defence consists of a letter from General Schofield, written at West Point, N. Y., on January 25th, 1877, in reply to one of the previous 31st December, from General Ewing, Lancaster, Ohio. In this letter General Schofield says, in substance, that he took command of the department of the Missouri in May, 1863, and assigned General Ewing to command the "district of the border." That a savage guerrilla warfare had raged there for two years, which had nearly depopulated the farming districts on the Missouri side, and that all farmers who remained were, whether they sympathized with the guerrillas or not, mere furnishers of supplies and temporary shelter for these outlaws. Civilization and humanity alike demanded the prompt suppression of this border war, whatever might be the means necessary to suppress it. There were only two methods of stopping it. One was to largely increase the military force in the district, which was impracticable, because of the necessity of sending reinforcements to Grant's army at Vicksburg. The other was to remove the few remaining farmers from the Missouri border, whose crops and stores furnished the guerrillas with subsistence. The fiendish massacre at Lawrence in August, 1863, by Quantrell and his band, made immediate action absolutely imperative. He says it is wholly a mistake to charge that the order was issued in revenge for that massacre, as its issuance was contemplated and discussed some time before the massacre occurred. He says the order was an act of wisdom, courage and humanity, by which hundreds of innocent lives were saved and a disgraceful and barbarous warfare brought to a summary close. Not a life was sacrificed, nor any great discomfort inflicted in executing it. The necessities of all the poor people were provided for, and none were permitted to suffer.

General Schofield adds that, when the order was issued, he went to the

border, and after personal observation approved it, and then sent it, with his approval, to President Lincoln, and that humane president never uttered a word of dissent as to the wisdom, justice or humanity of that policy. He says he does not write to vindicate his own conduct or to shift the responsibilities, but that it is only justice to General Ewing, who has been censured for issuing the order, to say that the responsibility for its execution belongs to President Lincoln, to himself and to General Ewing in proportion to their respective rank and authority.

General Schofield's letter having appeared in the *St. Louis Daily Republican*, of February 21st, 1877, Hon. George C. Bingham, an old citizen of Jackson County, and a strong Union man during the war, the next day replied to it, and the reply, at the request of members of the Missouri legislature, (then in session,) from the counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates and Vernon, was published in the same paper of February 26th. Mr. Bingham says that General Schofield had exercised a caution, characteristic of all great military commanders, in allowing nearly fourteen years to transpire before venturing upon the defence of a measure which, for heartless atrocity, has no parallel in modern annals; but that he would discover there are those yet surviving who will be able to confront him in this prudently delayed effort to subordinate history to the service of tyranny. General Schofield ventures to assert that "the order was an act of wisdom, courage and humanity, by which the lives of hundreds of innocent people were saved and a disgraceful conflict brought to a summary close." That "not a life was sacrificed, nor any great discomfort inflicted in carrying out the order," and that "the necessities of all the poor people were provided for, and none were permitted to suffer." Never did an equal number of words embody a greater amount of error. Never was a robbery so stupendous more cunningly devised or successfully accomplished, with less personal risk to the robbers. As an act of purely arbitrary power, directed against a disarmed and defenceless population, it was an exhibition of cowardice in its most odious and repulsive form. As outraging every principle of justice and doing violence to every generous and manly sentiment of the human heart, its title to be regarded as an act of humanity can only be recognized by wretches destitute of every quality usually embraced under that appellation. It did not bring a "disgraceful conflict to a summary close." It, indeed, put an end to the predatory raids of Kansas "red legs and jay-hawkers," by surrendering to them all that they coveted, leaving nothing that could further excite their cupidity; but it gave up the country to the bushwhackers, who, until the close of the war, continued to stop the



stages and rob the mails and passengers, and no one wearing the Federal uniform dared to risk his life within the desolated district. Mr. Bingham says he was in Kansas City when the order was being enforced, and affirms, from painful personal observation, that the sufferings of its unfortunate victims, in many instances, were such as should have elicited sympathy even from hearts of stone. Bare-footed and bare-headed women and children, stripped of every article of clothing, except a scant covering for their bodies, were exposed to the heat of an August sun and compelled to struggle through the dust on foot. It is well known that men were shot down in the very act of obeying the order, and their wagons and effects seized by their murderers. Large trains of wagons, extending over the prairies for miles in length, and moving Kansasward, were freighted with every description of household furniture and wearing apparel belonging to the exiled inhabitants. Dense columns of smoke arising in every direction marked the conflagration of dwellings, many of the evidences of which are yet to be seen in the remains of seared and blackened chimneys, standing as melancholy monuments of a ruthless military despotism which spared neither age, sex, character nor condition. There was neither aid nor protection afforded to the banished inhabitants by the heartless authority which expelled them from their rightful possessions. They crowded by hundreds upon the banks of the Missouri River, and were indebted to the charity of benevolent steamboat conductors for transportation to places of safety, where friendly aid could be extended to them without danger to those who ventured to contribute it. It was true, as represented by General Schofield, that a savage guerrilla warfare had been waged for two years in the counties embraced by the order, but it was not true that the counties were nearly depopulated by the guerrillas, or that the few remaining farmers were furnishers of supplies for these outlaws. The largest portion of those engaged in this warfare were the well-known "jay-hawkers and red-legs" of Kansas, acting under the authority of no law, military or civil, yet carrying on their nefarious operations under the protection and patronage of General Ewing and his predecessors from the State of Kansas. The others, constituting the more determined and desperate class, were chiefly outlawed Missourians, known as bush-whackers, and claiming to act under Confederate authority. Their numbers, however, were at all times insignificant in comparison with the Federal troops stationed in these counties. As the inhabitants had all been disarmed by Federal military authority, they were powerless to resist these outlaws, and, as General Schofield admits, were compelled to yield to their demands.

Yet they were not mere furnishers of supplies to these outlaws. On the contrary, the supplies furnished by them to the Federal forces, if properly estimated, would reach twenty, if not fifty times the amount forced from them by bushwhackers. Yet the counties had not, at the date of the order, been nearly depopulated. The inhabitants possessed fertile and valuable lands. Many of them had become wealthy, and all possessed comfortable homes, from which neither the tyranny of their military rulers nor the frequent depredations of Kansas "red-legs" and Confederate bushwhackers had succeeded in expelling them. The sweeping and indiscriminate order, therefore, operated in all its diabolical and ruinous force upon a population quite as numerous as then inhabited an equal number of any other border counties of our State. General Schofield ungenerously attempts to make President Lincoln jointly responsible with himself and General Ewing for the execution of this order. It is evident however that the assent and approbation of the President were predicated solely on the representations of his General, and not upon the actual facts relating to the matter, of which he could have had no personal knowledge.

To this reply of Mr. Bingham, neither General Schofield nor General Ewing made response, and upon this record, therefore, "Order No. 11" invokes the judgment of history.

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During the months of July and August, 1863, on what authority—if any—we know not, the report became quite general in Federal military circles in Missouri that General Sterling Price, who, at the inception of the rebellion, was known to have been a strong and outspoken Union man, had become weary of the unpromising conflict; indeed, was willing to abandon the Rebel cause and return to his home in Chariton County and spend the remainder of his life in peace.<sup>1</sup> Believing it at least prob-

<sup>1</sup> Hearing of these reports, as connected with alleged efforts by himself to secure a pardon for his father, General Edwin W. Price, who the year previous had returned from the army and taken the oath of allegiance, published the following letter:

FARM PLACE, CHARITON COUNTY, MO., }  
July 29, 1863. }

*Editor St. Louis Republican:* Your issue of the 27th instant, contains an article copied from the *Fulton Telegraph*, in which it is stated that I have been circulating in South-western Missouri, a petition to President Lincoln, asking for the pardon of Major General Price, my father. Upon the strength of that article and a vivid imagination, the *St. Louis Union* indulges in an editorial to which my attention has been called, saying that "he (General Price) is penitent, and desires to abandon the rebel cause, return home and spend the remainder of his days in peace."

I have passed unheeded several articles of a similar character, which have appeared from time to time in different eastern publications within the past year, and I would

able the report was substantially true, and desiring to open the way for General Price's safe return, provided subsequent events disclosed a desire on his part to do so, the Hon. James S. Rollins, of Columbia, voluntarily wrote to President Lincoln, informing him of the prevalent reports, and asking a pledge from him that Price would be pardoned if he returned, as above, to the State. The following is President Lincoln's reply, now for the first time given to the public:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., August, 1863. }

*Hon. James S. Rollins:*—Yours in reference to General Sterling Price, is received. If he voluntarily returns and takes the oath of allegiance to the United States before the next meeting of Congress, I will pardon him, if you shall then wish me to do so.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

As General Price did not return to the State, nor abandon the Rebellion until the close of the war, President Lincoln was never called upon to redeem his promise of pardon.

After General Blunt, in September, 1863, had driven the Confederate forces under Gen. W. L. Cabell, and the Creek chief Standwatie, into the Choctaw reservation, and taken possession of Fort Smith, these forces remained in the Indian country for a time for the purpose of obtaining supplies of food. These supplies running low as the autumn advanced, a part of Cabell's command, under Colonel Jo. Shelby, undertook a raid into Missouri. A little east of Fort Smith, they crossed the Arkansas River, and swept rapidly northward into Southwestern Missouri, to "Crooked Prairie," where, on October 1st, they were joined by a considerable force under Colonel Coffee, thus increasing the entire body 2,500 men. Expecting to meet at Boonville a large number of recruits, Shelby made a rapid march to that place, but was disap-

treating this report in the same manner, but for the fact that it implies a correspondence between General Price and myself which would place me in the attitude of having violated my obligations to the Federal authorities. I therefore beg leave to state that the above report, as well as all others purporting to come from me concerning the probable "desires" or "intentions" of General Price are unquestionably false,

As regards the "penitence" of General Price, and his desire to return home upon a pardon from President Lincoln, I know nothing, having had no communication with him since my return from the Southern army. And so far as the matter of "petition" is concerned, it is sufficient to state that not only have I not been in Southwestern Missouri for more than a year and a half, but no "petition" of that character has ever been circulated in my own part of the State by the knowledge of myself or any other "son of the old man's." I claim to be a private citizen, living a quiet, retired life, and it is not at all agreeable to me to have my name paraded before the public in such articles as alluded to above.

Yours Truly,

EDWIN W. PRICE.

pointed; and after his men had plundered the stores and many residences of \$100,000 worth of property, beat a hasty retreat. Near Arrow Rock, however, General E. B. Brown, on the 12th and 13th of October, encountered him with a force of militia, repulsing his troops in disorder, and occasioning him a loss of about 300 men, killed, wounded and prisoners, with all his artillery but one gun.<sup>1</sup>

1864—Military operations in Missouri during the year 1864 degenerated for most part into a savage and merciless guerilla warfare. Roving bands of "bushwhackers," thieves and murderers infested the State on both sides of the Missouri river, and the Union troops<sup>2</sup> of the various districts were kept busy in the effort, in many localities unsuccessful, to suppress them and preserve the peace and protect the lives and property of the people. No important battles were fought.

Late in January, General Rosecrans arrived in St. Louis, as commander of the Department, and actively entered upon his duties. The first formidable danger he was called to confront was General Price's raid into the State in September and October,—a raid inspired by the desperation of the crisis, and one which proved to be the dying throes of the Confederate cause in the State. Nevertheless, the raid occurred under circumstances seemingly favorable to its success. Missouri had been stripped of troops for service elsewhere, and the friends of "the South," and the bands of guerillas, especially in the western and river counties, were bold and defiant.

Receiving information early in September, from General C. C. Washburne, at Memphis, of Price's meditated invasion from Northern Arkansas, with a formidable force, General Rosecrans sent the information to Washington, and Halleck telegraphed to Cairo, directing A. J. Smith, then ascending the Mississippi river, with about six thousand troops, infantry and cavalry, destined to reinforce Sherman in Northern Georgia, to be halted there, and, with his command, be sent to St. Louis, to reinforce Rosecrans. The strengthening of the troops in Missouri was timely, for Price soon crossed the Arkansas river, joined Shelby, and, with about twenty thousand men, entered Southeastern Missouri between the Big Black and St. Francis rivers, and pushed on to Pilot Knob, more than half way to St. Louis from the Arkansas border, almost without a show of opposition. Rosecrans had only about six thousand five hundred mounted men in his Department when this formidable invasion

<sup>1</sup> Lossing's "Civil War." Vol. 3, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Chiefly Missouri State Militia and Enrolled Missouri Militia.

began, and these were scattered over a country four hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, with only a partially organized force of infantry and dismounted men, guarding from the swarming guerillas the greater depots, such as Springfield, Pilot Knob, Jefferson City, Rolla and St. Louis, and the railway bridges. These were concentrated as quickly as possible, after ascertaining the route and destination of Price; yet so swiftly did that leader move that when it was seen that St. Louis was probably his first and chief objective, only a single brigade was at Pilot Knob, (which is connected with the former place by a railway) to confront him. This was commanded by General Hugh S. Ewing, who had for defenses only a little fort and some rude earth-works. But he made a bold stand; fought Price and his ten thousand men gallantly, with his little force of twelve hundred; repulsed two assaults, and inflicted on the Confederates a loss of about one thousand men. His own loss was about two hundred. His foe, with his superior force, soon took positions to command his entire post; so Ewing spiked his guns, blew up his magazine, and, finding his chosen line of retreat northward, by way of Potosi, blocked, fled westward during the night toward Rolla, where General McNeil was in command, and had just been reinforced by cavalry under General Sandborn.

At Webster, Ewing turned sharply to the north, and pushing on, struck the Southeastern Railway at Harrison, after a march of sixty miles in thirty-nine hours, with an accumulating encumbrance of refugees—white and black. There his exhausted troops were struck by a heavy force, under Shelby, which had been chasing him. Ewing's ammunition was short, but he held his ground for thirty hours, when the Seventeenth Illinois Cavalry, under Colonel Beveridge, sent by General McNeil from Rolla, came to his relief. Shelby was driven off, and Ewing and Beveridge marched leisurely to Rolla.

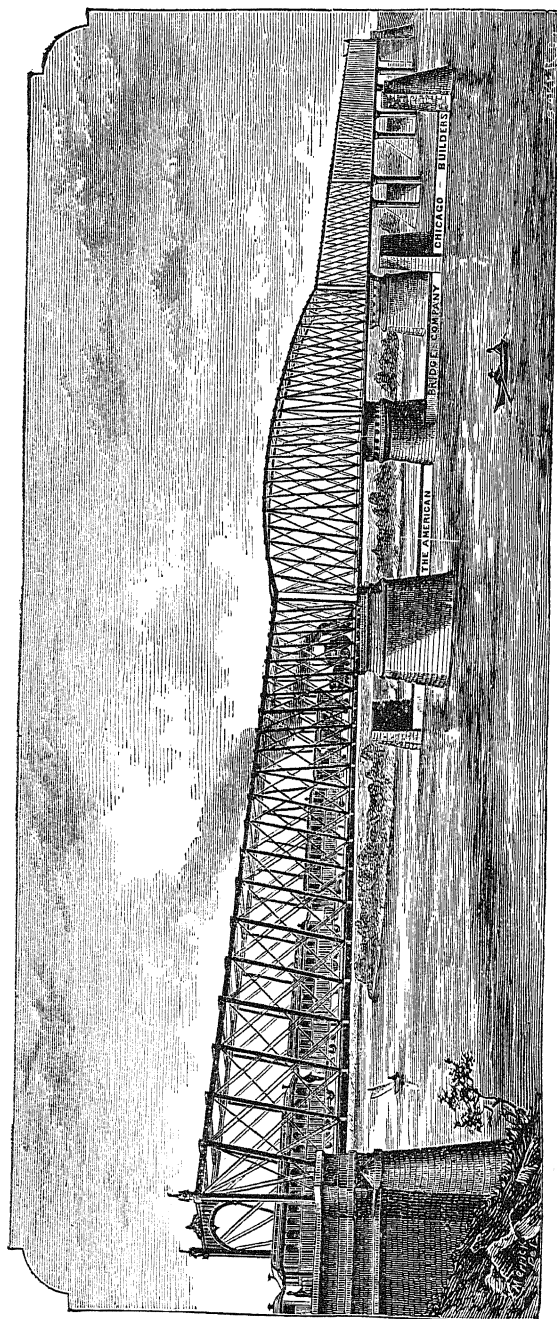
General A. J. Smith's Infantry, between four and five thousand strong, were in St. Louis. Soon, eight regiments of the enrolled militia of the State arrived, and these were associated with six regiments of Illinois one hundred day's men, whose term of service had expired, but who patriotically went to the assistance of Rosecrans. Meanwhile, the troops in the central portion of the State were concentrated at the capital, Jefferson City, by General Brown, who was reinforced by General Fisk with all available troops north of the Missouri River. The Union citizens in that region cordially co-operated with the military, and before Price turned his face in that direction, the capital was well fortified. The invaders advanced by way of Potosi to the Meramec River;

crossed it, and took post at Richwoods, within forty miles of St. Louis, when after remaining a day or two, and evidently satisfied that an attempt to take that city would be very hazardous, he burned the bridge at Moselle, and then marched rapidly in the direction of Jefferson City, followed by General A. J. Smith and his entire command. Price burned bridges behind him, to impede his pursuers, and appeared before the Missouri capital on the 7th of October, just after Generals McNeil and Sandborn, with all the mounted men they could muster, had reached there by a forced march from Rolla.

A slight resistance was offered to Price at the crossing of the Little Moreau River, four or five miles below Jefferson City, when the Federals fell back, and the Confederates enveloped the city in a semi-circular line nearly four miles in length, the wings resting on the Missouri. Discovering the defences which the troops of Brown and Fisk and the citizens had thrown up, Price sent his trains westward and followed with his whole army.

As early as Thursday, September 29th, it was made known to the citizens of Jefferson City, that the military authorities regarded the city and capitol as in imminent danger, from the long contemplated and then progressing rebel raid into the State. The three companies of Citizen Guards, organized a week or two before to meet an apparently temporary emergency, from which only a city guard had thus far been detailed, were called in a body into active service; and all able-bodied men, white and black, residing in the city, or found in the city belonging in the neighborhood, or brought in public conveyances, were pressed into service, and set to work digging rifle pits, and building or completing fortifications. Military forces began to concentrate there from the country west of Jefferson City, and General Fisk's command from the Northwest was ordered there. On Thursday, October 5th, in view of imminent danger, strong guards were placed over the commissary and other military stores, and military forces stationed at the outer defences. General Fisk's forces came in seasonably, and Generals McNeil and Sanborn, from Rolla and Springfield, with some three or four thousand men and some artillery, arrived just in the nick of time. Cavalry had been sent to guard the fords and ferries on the Osage, who, if they could not prevent the Rebels from crossing, could at least retard their progress and give warning of their approach. On Wednesday, the railroad bridge across the Osage River, nine miles east of Jefferson City, was burned. The force, numbering, it was estimated, about two hundred and fifty, with two pieces of artillery, before firing the bridge,





BRIDGE OVER THE MISSOURI AT BOONEVILLE.



captured a company of Gasconade militia, stationed at the east end of the bridge, and drove off a squad who were guarding it on the west—just men enough to invite an attack, and not enough to afford protection against a force it was well known could be easily sent there from the Rebels, known to occupy the road at points below.

On Thursday afternoon, October 5th, the ball opened at Prince's Ford, on the Osage River, where the great body of the Rebels crossed. A part of the First M. S. M., under Major Mullins, were stationed at the ford, and some pickets belonging thereto, who had been sent across the Osage, were cut off, and four of them, in attempting to swim the river, were drowned. Three of his command were also killed in the skirmish at the ford.

The cavalry forces at the ford consisted of Major A. W. Mullins' command of the First M. S. M., about two hundred of Colonel J. J. Gravelly's regiment, the Eighth M. S. M., and Colonel John F. Phillips' regiment, the Seventh M. S. M. After the skirmish at the ford, the Federals fell back and rested for the night near Green C. Berry's farm, about four miles from the city; and near the next farm beyond (James Gordon's), skirmishing was resumed the next morning, the Federal forces gradually retiring till they reached the city. The Federal artillery then took position at the fortifications on the ridge south of the city (near Cook's, which overlooks the city,), and thence commenced to shell the enemy, who occupied the ridge about a mile southeast of that point. Some part of the Sixth Cavalry, M. S. M., under Major Edward S. King, and Colonel Gravelly's command, the Eighth M. S. M., were engaged. The latter suffered the most severely. Late in the afternoon the Rebels planted a piece or two of artillery on the ridge east of the city and south of Shott's farm, from which they fired a few times; which elicited a prompt response from the Federal battery planted east of the graveyard. The Rebels were evidently moving westward; whether preparatory to an assault in force on the south and west next morning, or not, could not be known. If this was their purpose, then the little fights on Friday were only feelers. Their camps on Friday night extended from about two and a half miles of the city to five or six miles beyond. Generals Price and Shelby lodged at Mr. Wallendorff's, about three miles southwest of the city. On Saturday morning they sent their trains westward, leaving the capital untouched.

General Pleasanton arrived at Jefferson City on the day after Price left; assumed chief command, and sent General Sandborn with his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitive, with instructions to delay his march so

that General Smith might overtake him. Sandborn struck his rear-guard at Versailles, and ascertained that Price was marching directly on Boonville. Shelby's cavalry quickly enveloped Sandborn, who made a timely retreat, and, falling back a short distance, to California, was overtaken there by Smith's Cavalry, under Colonel Catherwood, with needed supplies. In the meantime re-inforcements from the Federals were coming from St. Louis. General Mower had followed Price out of Arkansas, and struck the Mississippi at Cape Girardeau, after a fatiguing march of three hundred miles in the space of eighteen days. His army was so worn, man and beast, that Rosecrans sent steamboats to Cape Girardeau for them, and they were taken to St. Louis, whence the infantry were conveyed up the Missouri on steamboats, while the cavalry, fifteen hundred strong, under General Winslow, marched to Jefferson City by land.

Price was now moving toward Kansas with a heavy force in pursuit. The Federal Cavalry, with Pleasonton in immediate command, led in the chase. As the Confederates marched westward they found more sympathizers and became bolder. Price sent Generals Jo. Shelby and John B. Clark, Jr., to attack Glasgow, on the Missouri River in Howard County, then (October 8, 1864,) garrisoned by a part of the Forty-third Missouri, and small detachments of the Ninth Missouri State Militia<sup>1</sup> and Seventeenth Illinois Cavalry, under command of Colonel Chester Harding. Most of Harding's force was posted in rifle pits on the north side of town, and in the City Hall and other large brick buildings on one of the business streets. Early on the morning of the 8th October the soldiers and citizens were awakened by the thunder of artillery from the opposite, or Saline County shore, manned by Shelby's command. Shells and shot fell here and there in the town, endangering the lives of men, women and children more than the lives of the soldiers. Reverend William G. Caples, a distinguished Methodist minister and a resident of Glasgow, was mortally wounded by one of these shots, in front of his house, and died on the 11th. During the cannonading General Clark's cavalry crossed the river below and enveloped the town on the east, and his artillery opened fire upon the Federal camp on that side of the town. Glasgow was literally between two fires, and while the surging storm of battle raged, while Harding heroically sought to defend, and Shelby and Clark to reduce the place, some miscreant applied the torch to the City

<sup>1</sup> After the promotion of Colonel Guitar to the office of Brigadier-General of Missouri Enrolled Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel John F. Williams, of the 9th M. S. M., was made Colonel of the regiment and did gallant service. Colonel Williams is now a well-known lawyer and politician of Macon, and was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 29th General Assembly.

Hall, and, the flames communicating with adjacent buildings, churches, stores and family residences were destroyed.

Colonel Harding finally surrendered to the opposing force, after which the Confederates evacuated the place, recrossed the river and marched to join Price's main column, then on its way west.<sup>1</sup> This temerity would have been punished by a serious if not fatal blow upon Price's main body, had not the pursuing General, Smith, been detained at the Lamine River on account of the destruction of the railway bridge at the crossing on his route. There he was overtaken by General Mower, when, with a few days' provisions and in light marching order, he pushed on directly westward toward Warrensburg, while Pleasonton, with his cavalry, including that under Winslow, was sweeping over the country northward to the Missouri River, in the direction of Lexington, which Price's advance reached on the 20th of October. Blunt, who had come out of Kansas, had been driven back to Independence, near the western border of Missouri, by Price, and the ranks of the latter were being increased by recruits.

General Price left Lexington when Pleasonton's advance, under McNeil and Sanborn, reached that place on the evening of the 20th of October, and was moving rapidly westward. At Little Blue Creek he struck Blunt's Kansas troops, then under General Curtis, who had just assumed command of them. After a sharp contest of a few hours, Curtis, hard pressed on front and flank by a superior force, fell back to the Big Blue Creek, where he took a strong position and awaited an attack. Mean-

<sup>1</sup> After the abandonment of Glasgow, the guerrilla chief Bill Anderson and his band of outlaws came at night to the house of William B. Lewis, in the vicinity, and in the presence of his family, and of Mrs. Clark, mother of the Rebel General John B. Clark, Jr., and of Mr. Dabney Garth, brother-in-law of Sterling Price, both connected by marriage with Mr. Lewis, subjected their victim to the grossest and cruelest indignities. He was knocked down with the butts of heavy pistols, bruised and battered while helpless on the floor, his clothes slashed open, his flesh pricked with knives, and his body singed with the flash of pistols fired within a few inches of his face. In their savage cruelty the villains stuck the muzzles of their pistols into the mouth of their unresisting victim and threatened to blow his brains out, accompanying their threats with ribald oaths and imprecations.

All this was done partly to wreak their fury on a Union man, and partly to extort money from him. Mr. Lewis, who was a wealthy citizen, gave his tormentors \$1,000, which was all the money he had in the house, and was then permitted to go in the streets under guard and borrow as much more as he could from his neighbors. Anderson demanded \$5,000 for his ransom, and this sum, by the active aid of neighbors and personal friends, he was enabled to raise. It was paid over to his greedy persecutors, and he was released. Next day he escaped from the town, together with several other citizens, and made his way to Boonville.

while, Pleasonton, with all his cavalry, had pushed on after Price with great vigor. When he reached the Little Blue, October 20th, he found the bridge destroyed and the Confederate rear-guard prepared to resist his passage with strong force. They were soon driven, and Pleasonton pressed on to Independence, then held by the enemy. He captured that place at 7 o'clock in the evening, by a brilliant charge, by which he drove the Confederates and seized two of their guns.

Instead of twenty-three thousand recruits, which had been promised him, the Confederate leader had not received over six thousand; and he felt the necessity of getting out of Missouri, and beyond the grasp of his pursuers, as quickly as possible. He fled rapidly southward, and passed into Arkansas, not, however, without receiving some parting blows.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, September 23, 1864, a train of fourteen wagons, four Government wagons and the remainder pressed from citizens for the occasion, started from Sturgeon, in Boone County, to Rocheport, under escort of about seventy men of the Third Missouri State Militia, under Captain McFadin. The wagons were loaded principally with subsistence stores, with some ammunition, clothing and private property. The escort and train stopped near sun-set about seven miles northeast of Rocheport, at a pond near the roadside, in order that the horses might be watered. While here the escort and train were suddenly charged upon by about one hundred and fifty guerrillas, under Bill Anderson and George Todd. The escort was put to flight and the train captured, robbed of everything the guerrillas could carry off, and then burned. Eleven Federal soldiers were found dead on the ground, and three negroes.

Emboldened to deeds of danger and to outlawry and plunder on a larger scale, the guerrillas of Missouri committed many other outrages during the fall. Among these, the wholesale butchery at Centralia, on the North Missouri Railroad, in Boone County, by Bill Anderson and his men, on Tuesday, September 27th, stands forth with colossal and fearful horror. Bill Anderson was one of the most daring, bloodthirsty and revengeful guerrillas of the western border, and had under his command on this occasion a force of several hundred well armed and well mounted men, among whom were George Todd, David Pool, Holtclaw and John Thrailkill, the latter a former resident of Warren County, Kentucky, and all of them the most desperate revolver fighters ever known in

<sup>1</sup> For the greater part of the record of Price's Raid, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Lossing's "Civil War in America," Vol. 3, pp. 276-80.

the history of guerrilla warfare. On the night previous to the massacre at Centralia, the whole band camped on M. G. Singleton's farm, some three miles southeast of that place, their number being variously estimated at from 200 to 400. Early on Tuesday morning, small squads of them made their appearance in Centralia, pressing horses and committing other depredations. An eye-witness of subsequent events, and a gentleman who not only had opportunities of knowledge, but capacity to write an account of what transpired, on the next day furnished for the *St. Louis Republican* a vivid (and we have no doubt a truthful) narrative of the bloody scene. We adopt his account, chiefly, in making up this record. About ten o'clock A. M., from seventy-five to one hundred of Anderson's men came into town and commenced an indiscriminate plunder of the stores of J. W. Ball and Thomas S. Snead, then the railroad agent. They also seized all dry goods and other property in the depot, breaking open boxes, trunks, etc., and appropriating whatever suited them. About eleven o'clock the four-horse stage-coach arrived from Columbia, with eight or nine passengers, among them James H. Waugh, Sheriff of the county, Henry Keene, John M. Samuel, James R. Hume, Lewis Sharp, Columbus Hickam, Boyle Gordon, Mr. Cole, the driver, and the Hon. James S. Rollins. When within about two hundred yards of the depot, eight or ten of the guerrillas dashed up on their horses, ordered the stage to halt, dismounted, opened the doors of the coach and demanded to know whether there were any Federal soldiers in the stage. On being answered in the negative, they then said, "*Out with your pocket-books,*" and simultaneously placed a revolver, cocked, against the breast of each one of the passengers. These gentlemen, being unarmed, surrendered their pocket-books, together with all the money they had. The robbers then returned to several of them some of their papers, but kept the money and other valuables. In the meantime, the stage horses, four in number, belonging to William J. Jordon of Columbia, were taken off by the guerrillas, one of them demanding to know the name of Major Rollins. Fortunately for him, he gave a fictitious name, Rev. Mr. Johnson, a Southern Methodist minister, and by this means no doubt saved his life, as every one believed that they would have killed him instantly had they known him. (The passengers after being robbed, went to the hotel of Mr. Snead, and remained there until what follows occurred.) About the usual time, half past eleven o'clock, the passenger train from St. Louis came in sight. Immediately the guerrillas, commanded by Bill Anderson, formed into lines near the track, and as the train approached the depot, commenced throwing ties and other obstruc-

tions across the road, and also firing upon the engineer. From fifty to one hundred shots were fired at him, none of them taking effect, except slightly wounding one of the firemen. The train being stopped, the guerrillas rushed into the cars with pistols cocked, demanding the pocket-books and money of all the passengers (men, women and children), all of which were promptly delivered or secreted upon the persons of the ladies. They also got quite a number of gold watches and other valuable articles from the passengers. They also robbed the express safe, broke open the boxes filled with dry goods, clothing, etc., and also the trunks of the passengers, and rifled them of everything valuable. There were twenty-three Federal soldiers on board the train. These they put under guard, marched them into the town, placed them in lines, and at the word "fire," commenced murdering them. Several of them attempted to escape, and begged for their lives, but they gave no heed to their entreaties and shot most of them dead in their tracks, although, as the train approached, white flags were seen flying from many of the car windows. Nearly all of the soldiers were shot through the head, and two of them brutally scalped. They burned also the depot building with all its contents, with six box cars standing near the depot. After murdering the soldiers, plundering the passengers and the citizens of the town generally, they set fire to the box car next to the locomotive, put the engine in motion, and without passenger or officer on, started the train up the road toward Sturgeon. It ran about three miles, when from some cause it stopped, and the four passenger cars and baggage car were entirely consumed. Their work of destruction being completed, they mounted their horses and left the town with savage yells, in the direction of their camp. All these men were splendidly mounted and equipped, and most of them had Federal army overcoats and some of them were dressed in Federal uniform, with four or five revolvers each. They were nearly all of them young men, stout and athletic, and ranging from eighteen to thirty years of age. Never in any country was there a more abandoned set of desperadoes.

The passengers in the train left, some in buggies, some in wagons, and others on foot up the railroad and to their respective places of destination.

The saddest part of the story is yet to be told. After the above occurrences had transpired at Centralia, Major Johnson, with a part of his battalion of mounted infantry, of Colonel Kurtzner's 39th regiment of Missouri volunteers, got to Centralia about three o'clock in the afternoon. He had from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five men ;

sixty, under the command of Captain Smith, Company A, of Adair County, Lieutenant Moore; thirty-eight men, under the command of Captain Thies, of Hannibal, Lieutenant Stafford, of Clarke County, killed, Company H; fifty men under the command of Lieutenant Jaynes, of Shelby County, Company G. Major Johnson's men were rather poorly mounted, armed with rifled muskets and bayonets, but no revolvers. Centralia is situated in the open prairie, about two miles from timber. Upon his arrival there, Major Johnson determined to give the guerrillas battle, and marched his men out in a southeastern direction, on the prairie, towards the timber, where the enemy was encamped.<sup>1</sup> They soon made their appearance, when Major Johnson's command, being armed with long guns, were ordered to dismount. The engagement at once commenced, and the horses of Johnson's command becoming unmanageable, broke and fled, (many of them) leaving the soldiers on foot in the open prairie. The guerrillas, being finely mounted and heavily armed, with three or four revolvers each, charged vehemently, producing still greater confusion and rushing down upon the soldiers in the open prairie, shot them down in every direction. Those who remained mounted, finding themselves overborne by numbers and the great advantage of superior horses and arms, retreated, the guerrillas in pursuit. Many of them were overtaken and killed. They were followed up to within a mile and a half of Sturgeon, in the open prairie, directly along the railroad, and the whole road and prairie from Centralia was literally strewn with the dead, as all who were overtaken were killed and robbed.

As above stated, Major Johnson had in his command from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five men. Of these one hundred and thirty-nine were killed, and some four or five wounded. These do not include the twenty-three soldiers taken from the cars and killed. Major Johnson himself was killed, also Captain Smith, and some other officers. The guerrillas had two killed and three wounded.

Sixty-eight of Johnson's men were killed on the field, immediately after their first and only fire. The remainder—seventy-one—were killed on the prairie, in various places, as they were attempting to escape on foot or on horseback.

After the slaughter and the retirement of the guerrillas, the dead bodies were gathered up by the citizens and brought to Centralia and placed on the platform of the depot. Many of them the same evening were taken to Mexico on a train, for burial. Seventy-nine were interred in a single long trench or grave, near the railroad track in the eastern part of Centralia.

<sup>1</sup>The statement has been often made that Major Johnson's men marched from Centralia displaying a black flag. The statement is untrue.

tralia. Some years afterwards this trench was enclosed by a plank fence, and at the head of it was placed a limestone monument fifteen feet high, on the base of which was this inscription:

The remains of Companies "A," "G" and "H," Thirty-ninth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, who were killed in action at Centralia, Missouri, on the 27th day of September, 1864, are interred here.

Since the close of the war the remains were disinterred, taken to the National Cemetery at Jefferson City, and re-buried there in one common grave.

After the dreadful massacre at Centralia, and the subsequent burning of the town of Danville, and the destruction by fire of the depots at New Florence, High Hill and Rennick, Bill Anderson and a large portion of his men made their way to Ray County, where, on the 27th of October, just one month after the slaughter at Centralia, Anderson was killed in a fight near the little village of Albany, some ten or twelve miles southwest of Richmond. On the day previous, Lieutenant-Colonel S. P. Cox, of the Thirty-third Enrolled Missouri Militia, then of Richmond, learning where Anderson was, made a forced march to encounter him. About a mile northeast of Albany he came in contact with his pickets and drove them through the village into the woods beyond. Here Colonel Cox dismounted his men, threw an infantry force into the forest, and sent forward a cavalry advance, who soon engaged Anderson's guerrillas, and fell back, whereupon Anderson and his men, about 300 strong, raised the Indian yell and came in full speed upon Cox's lines, shooting and yelling all the while. Anderson and one of his men, supposed to have been Captain Rains, son of General James S. Rains, charged through the lines. In this charge Anderson was killed, falling some fifty steps in Cox's rear, having received a ball in the side of the head. Rains made his escape, and their forces retreated at full speed, being completely routed. Cox's cavalry pursued some two miles, finding the road stained with blood. Cox had four men wounded, but none killed. The troops of the command consisted of a portion of the Fifty-first Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia under command of Major Grimes, and a portion of the Thirty-third Enrolled Missouri Militia, from Daviess and Caldwell counties. Upon the body of the brigand Anderson was found \$300 in gold, \$150 in Treasury notes, six revolvers and several orders from General Price.<sup>1</sup> The following are two of these orders:

<sup>1</sup>Dangling from both sides of the bridle of Anderson's saddle horse were several scalps of human heads. This statement has been often denied, but it is true. Anderson was buried in the old cemetery north of Richmond, and his remains yet repose there.



[Special Order.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF MISSOURI, }  
BOONVILLE, October 11, 1864. }

"Captain Anderson, with his command, will at once proceed to the North side of the Missouri River, and permanently destroy the North Missouri Railroad, going as far east as practicable. He will report his operations at least every two days.

"By order of Major-General Price.

"MACLEAN,  
"Lieutenant-Colonel, and A. A. G."

"October 16, 1864.

*To Officer in charge of Ferryboat:*

"Captain Anderson, with his command, will be crossed to the other side of the river, after which the ferryboat will await orders on this side.

"By order of Major-General Price,

MACLEAN,  
"Lieutenant-Colonel, and A. A. G."

On the same day on which Bill Anderson was killed, near Albany, in Ray County, October 27th, 1864, and in the bottom below the Pattee House, St. Joseph, Jackson Jefferson, of Boone County, a private in Company B, (Captain James A. Adams, of Columbia,) Ninth Missouri State Militia, was "shot to death" by order of Court-Martial, for killing, by a blow from a club, another Union soldier. Lieutenant Harding, Provost-Marshal, commanded the detail of twelve men who acted as executioners. Reverend Mr. Hagerty acted as spiritual adviser; Doctor Bruner as surgeon. A rude coffin had previously been placed in the center of the hollow square formed by the soldiers, and as the procession came to the opening, the guard was marched to the western side of the square, the prisoner being conducted to his coffin. Lieutenant Harding then read the findings and sentence under which the execution was to take place, and manifested considerable emotion as he did so. The entire crowd was much affected by the solemnity of the scene, and many shed tears. The prisoner kneeled beside his coffin with Mr. Hagerty, who offered an affecting prayer, the prisoner himself praying audibly. The prayer ended, he bid farewell to those around him, and kneeling again by his coffin, was blindfolded, he assisting to adjust the blind. Being blindfolded, he first crossed his arms, but quickly threw them to his side, and straightened himself on his knees. The guard of twelve, detailed from the Forty-third Regiment, were divided into two squads of six, each squad commanded by a Sergeant. The word was given, "Ready! aim! fire!" and with one report the missiles of death were sent to do their work, and Jackson Jefferson fell back, dead, not moving a muscle. The shots were well aimed, two striking on the chin and almost cutting off the neck, while another entered the center of the breast, and another struck the left shoulder. The body and effects of

## CHAPTER XXXII.

1862 TO 1870.—MISSOURI'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE FIRST TEST OATH FOR VOTERS.—TWENTY-SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—ELECTION FOR JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT IN NOVEMBER, 1863.—NUCLEUS OF POLITICAL PARTIES FORMED.—THE "RADICALS" AND "CONSERVATIVES."—RADICAL STATE CONVENTION.—ITS PLATFORM.—COMMITTEE OF SEVENTY, C. D. DRAKE, CHAIRMAN, VISIT PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—HIS REPLY TO THEIR ADDRESSES.—DEATH OF GOVERNOR GAMBLE.—CANVASS OF 1864.—STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONTENTION OF 1865.—CHARLES D. DRAKE ITS MASTER SPIRIT.—ITS PROCEEDINGS.—SLAVERY IN MISSOURI ABOLISHED.—"IRON CLAD OATH" FOR VOTERS, MINISTERS, LAWYERS AND TEACHERS.—AYES AND NAYS.—THE WORDS "WHITE MALE."—THE "DRAKE" CONSTITUTION ADOPTED.—OUSTING ORDINANCE.—REGISTRY LAW.—TWENTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—NEGRO SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT PROPOSED TO THE CONSTITUTION.—THE PEOPLE REJECT IT.—BURNING OF THE LINDELL HOTEL.—IMPEACHMENT OF WALTER KING.—ANOTHER REGISTRY LAW.—THE GREAT ST. LOUIS BRIDGE.

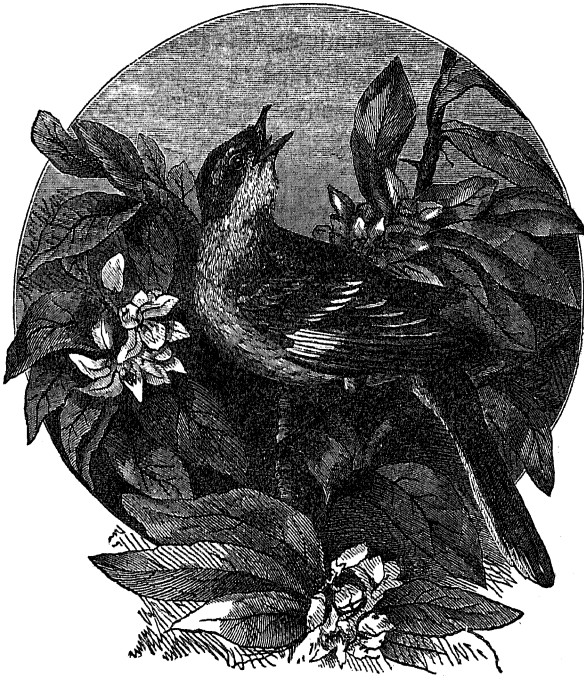
It would perhaps be very difficult at this period of time distinctly to recall the political issues which divided the people of Missouri in the election of 1862. In no proper sense of the term was there a political canvass, for we were in the midst of a bloody civil war, with guerilla and other outrages prevailing on every hand, and a test oath for voters, for the first time in our history confronting the people at the polls. Being an "off-year" in politics, there was neither a President nor Governor to be elected, but only members of Congress, and of the General Assembly, and county officers. Very little general attention was given to the subject, until a few weeks before the election, which occurred on the first Tuesday in November. The question of Secession, which in some form or other so largely engrossed the public mind at the last election, cut no figure in this, for it was overwhelmed beneath the waves of a bloody revolution. All the candidates for every office professed loyalty to the Union, their chief differences arising in regard to the emancipation of slaves—whether emancipation should be gradual or immediate, with pay to the owner or without it, or whether it should be adopted in either form. The emancipationists, in some form, carried both branches of the Legislature—the House by a large majority.

For several reasons, the vote in the State was small, largely on account of the oath for voters, prescribed by an ordinance of the Convention,<sup>1</sup> requiring as a condition precedent to suffrage that each voter swear that he would support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and of this State against all enemies and opposers, and true

<sup>1</sup> Passed June 10th, 1862.

In the midst of the public rejoicing North and South over the return of peace, the Nation was called to lament the assassination, in Ford's Theatre in Washington City, on the night of April 14th, of President Lincoln, by John Wilkes Booth.

On May 10th, near the village of Irwinsville, Georgia, Jefferson Davis was captured by General Wilson's Cavalry, and conveyed as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe, and kept in confinement until May, 1867, when he was taken to Richmond to be tried on a charge of treason. He was admitted to bail, Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, becoming one of his bondsmen. After remaining untried for a year and a half, the case was finally dismissed by the authorities of the United States.



A Song of Peace.

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allegiance bear to the same, and that he had not since the 17th of December, 1861, wilfully taken up arms or levied war against the United States or the Provisional Government of Missouri.

The Twenty-second General Assembly met in Jefferson City on December 29th, 1862. For Speaker of the House there were two candidates, each the nominee of a previous caucus, namely, L. C. Marvin, emancipationist, of Henry, and Joseph Davis, conservative, of Howard. Vote—Marvin, 67; Davis, 42. The successful candidate voted for Mr. Lincoln in 1860, and was a well-known Universalist minister. The emancipationists elected all the officers of the House, from Speaker to pages. Renewed impulse was given the policy of immediate emancipation by the proclamation of President Lincoln, issued on the 1st of January, 1863. Chief Clerk of the House, W. C. Gantt, of St. Louis; of the Senate, I. V. Pratt of Linn, late Colonel of the Eighteenth Missouri Volunteer Infantry. Colonel Pratt was in the battle of Pittsburg Landing, where he was taken prisoner and retained as such in Southern prisons for more than six months. President of the Senate, Lieutenant-Governor Willard P. Hall. Governor Gamble's message congratulated the people that the treasonable schemes of the last Legislature of the State to make war upon the Federal Government were thwarted by the very body, the State Convention, created to execute them; on the arrangement by which the State Militia were paid, armed and equipped by the Federal Government; on the last year's military operations in the State, and on the present condition of the State military establishment. The number of volunteers from the State then in the service of the United States, nearly all of whom were in distant fields, was 27,491. Number of State Militia for the war, under the Governor's arrangement with the President, after all casualties, and after the disbanding of battallions, 10,540, showing that the State had in service for the war 38,031 men. This was a large number to be furnished by the loyal men of a State where so many of the young men were engaged in rebellion against the Government. The militia enrolled and organized was seventy-five regiments or 52,056 men, making a grand total of 90,084. The Governor's statement of the State debt was \$27,737,000, of which \$700,000 consisted of Defense Warrants, authorized by the State Convention. Much of the message was devoted to the recommendation of the policy of gradual instead of immediate emancipation.

For the proceedings of the General Assembly in regard to the election of United States Senators for the unexpired terms of Trusten Polk and Waldo P. Johnson, expelled, see page 450.

On Tuesday, November 3, 1863, an election was held for three Judges, at that time a full bench, of the State Supreme Court. The canvass, notwithstanding the bloody and rapidly-occurring events of our civil war, attracted universal attention and awakened the liveliest interest among the people. Its inauguration, issues and incidents will long remain an interesting and suggestive chapter of our political annals.

During the preceding State election little or nothing remained of previously existing national political parties. The mad torrents of civil war had swept them away. New issues and new combinations, with new objects, arose, affording another of the many examples of the pregnant truth that "political parties make strange bed-fellows of us all." It was during the judicial canvass of 1863 that the nuclei of the present political parties of the State were formed; the one known as "Conservative," the other as "Radical," and now known as "Democratic" and "Republican." Each was, and still is, a new party with an old name—new in its organization, new in its measures of policy, and new in its elements. All the *ante-bellum* issues had gone down in the bloody vortex of fratricidal war. Elements hitherto antagonistic, now coalesced on the living issues of an all-absorbing present. Voters who in no previous canvass had acted together, then, as now, forgetting all past differences in regard to public questions no longer practically important, because settled, occupied the same platform and marched to the polls under the same banner. Members of all the old parties were found in the new. Old Democrats and old Whigs became "Radicals" or "Conservatives," as in their judgment duty to the country demanded. Therefore, during the notable canvass of 1863, as in every canvass in Missouri and in the Nation since that period, voters known as Whigs, Democrats, Confederates, Federals, Southern men, Union men and Republicans were found in one or the other of the new organizations, each vying with the other—but it must be admitted, not at all times on a footing of perfect equality as to the honors of office—to advance a common cause.

The "Radical," or as it was often called, the "Republican"—sometimes "Charcoal"—State Convention assembled in front of the Capitol in Jefferson City on September 1, 1863, and proceeded in a body to the Fair Grounds, where it was organized by the election of Judge Robert W. Wells, of Cole, as President. The following committee on platform was appointed: C. P. Johnson, Emil Pretorius, Albert Jackson, S. H. Boyd, B. Bruns, C. A. Winslow, A. L. Gilstrap, William W. Edwards. After which it was agreed that one additional member for each Congressional District be added to the committee, selected by the delegations

themselves, and the following were chosen : H. A. Clover, Judge James W. Owens, W. T. Leeper, J. B. Clark, of Dade, L. C. Marvin, Judge Charles Carpenter, R. M. Stewart, Joseph R. Winchell, Frederick Muench, W. R. Penick.

Of the one hundred and thirteen counties in the State, forty-four were unrepresented. Fifteen counties were represented by but one person each ; six by but two ; eight by but three, nine by but four, &c. St. Louis county furnished one hundred and seven ; Franklin county forty-nine ; Moniteau forty-four ; Cole thirty-seven ; St. Charles thirty-one ; Pettis twenty-eight ; Miller and Johnson twenty-four each. The Germans were largely represented in the body, there being present two hundred and forty-three German delegates.

During the retirement of the Committee on Platform, the Convention was addressed at great length, in a bitter speech, by the Hon. Charles D. Drake, of St. Louis.

The platform reported by the Committee and adopted by the Convention denounced the military policy pursued in the State, and the delegation by the General Government of military powers to a provisional State organization, the whole tendency of which, it was maintained, was to throw back our people under the control of pro-slavery and reactionary influences, and to paralyze the Federal power in suppressing the rebellion. It also most heartily endorsed the principles first enunciated by General Fremont in his proclamation of freedom of August 31st, 1861, and afterwards sanctioned and embodied in the President's proclamations of September 22d, 1862, and January 1st, 1863. The fifth resolution of the series was a long and solemn arraignment of the Provisional (Gamble) Government of the State, as untrue to the loyal people, as having usurped and exercised power for sinister ends ; as having imprisoned loyal men for expressing sentiments in opposition to the State Government ; as having disarmed the loyal population in disturbed districts and tolerated avowed and enrolled disloyalists everywhere ; as having refused to permit enlistments into the United States volunteer forces by disqualifying orders ; as having used persistent efforts to have removed from command officers displaying energetic action in the suppression of the rebellion, and to have suspended all orders levying assessments against disloyalists, finally refusing to co-operate in their execution ; as having enrolled, commissioned and brought into active service known and avowed disloyalists, etc., etc. The platform also demanded immediate emancipation in Missouri, and a constitutional enactment for the disfranchisement of all those who had taken up arms

or levied war against the Government, or adhered to the enemies thereof, in the present rebellion. It also demanded (resolution eight) of the General Assembly that it call a Convention of the people to take into consideration the grievances under which the State labored, and to redress the wrongs which had been inflicted upon it by usurped authority ; and declared that, if the General Assembly should refuse so to do, such measures should be taken as would elicit the voice and the action of the people of the State. The ninth resolution, like the conclusion of the eighth, was of immense significance in declaring "that conventions are in the nature of sovereign remedies, applied by the people for the redress of grievances ; that they are extra constitutional, and while the custom has been to signify the will of the people for such call through their General Assembly, yet in the default of action on the part of the General Assembly, or in case of their refusal to obey instructions, nothing can derogate from the right of the people to act in their capacity."

In two supplementary resolutions, the Convention requested Governor Gamble and Lieutenant-Governor Hall to vacate their positions, and urged President Lincoln to remove General Schofield from command of the department.

After nominating as candidates for Judges of the Supreme Court Henry A. Clover, Arnold Krekel and David Wagner, and appointing a committee of seventy, Charles D. Drake, Chairman, to visit President Lincoln and present to him their grievances, the Convention adjourned.

This committee made the pilgrimage to Washington pursuant to instructions, and on the 30th of September presented to the President an address, and on the 3d of October four supplementary addresses, in which were ably and fully stated the several matters whereof they complained in regard to the military policy of the National administration, and of General Schofield and Governor Gamble, touching Missouri. The platform of the Convention presents a fair epitome of the addresses of the Committee. On the 5th of October President Lincoln replied in writing to the several addresses. These papers, framed for a common object, consisted of the things demanded, and the reasons for demanding them. The things demanded, as epitomized in the President's reply, were :

*First*, That General Schofield should be relieved, and General Butler be appointed as Commander of the Military Department of Missouri ;

*Second*, That the system of Enrolled Militia in Missouri should be broken up, and national forces substituted for it, and

*Third*, That at elections, persons might not be allowed to vote who were not entitled by law to do so.



President Lincoln did not doubt that Union men in Missouri had suffered wrong, but the case as presented by the Committee failed to convince him that General Schofield, or the Enrolled Militia, was responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole could be explained on a more charitable, and he thought, on a more rational hypothesis. He said:

We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and Slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union *with*, but not *without* slavery—those for it *without*, but not *with*—those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *with*, and those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *without*.

Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for *gradual*, but not for *immediate*, and those who are for *immediate*, but not for gradual extinction of slavery.

It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences, each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once, sincerity is questioned, and motives assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this it not all. Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion.

These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any General.

In short, after carefully examining all the charges against General Schofield, President Lincoln expressed his disbelief of them and declined to remove him from command. He also declined to break up the system of Enrolled Militia in the State and substitute National troops for them. In regard to elections, he concurred with the Committee, and directed General Schofield accordingly, adding in President Lincoln's peculiarly terse and pointed style:

The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things; for then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise, and I do not question their right. I, too, shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me, and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all, but, at least, I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

President Lincoln's response, as a matter of course, very materially cooled the ardor and excited the opposition of the Radicals, and in a corresponding degree quickened the enthusiasm and elicited the approval

of the Conservatives. What is of far more value than either, however, is the fact that subsequent events in Missouri demonstrated the consummate wisdom—for it was nothing less—of the President's course.

The Conservatives held no State Convention, but united in the support of Barton Bates, of St. Charles, William V. N. Bay, of St. Louis, and John D. S. Dryden, of Marion, for Supreme Court Judges; and during the canvass, in the articles of their editors and the speeches of their orators, antagonized the policy enunciated in the several resolutions of the Radical Platform, notably and with emphasis the sentiments of the eighth and ninth resolutions, as revolutionary and subversive of all legal government. The election resulted in the choice of Bates, Bay and Dryden, the Conservative candidates—as follows: Bates, 47,229; Bay, 47,180; Dryden, 47,171; Clover, 46,548; Krekel, 46,346; Wagner, 46,385. Bates' majority over Clover, 681; over Krekel, 883; over Wagner, 844. Whole number of votes cast, 93,777.

On November 13th, 1863, the General Assembly being in adjourned session, a joint convention was held to elect a United States Senator to fill out the unexpired terms of Trusten Polk and Waldo P. Johnson, expelled, the vote being, for the term expiring March 3d, 1867, (ballot 32d) B. Gratz Brown, 74; James O. Broadhead, 66; H. M. Voorhees, 2. For the term expiring March 3d, 1869, John B. Henderson, 84; John S. Phelps, 42; Ben. Loan, 7; William A. Hall, 3; James O. Broadhead, 1; H. M. Voorhees, 1.

Governor Gamble having died January 31st, 1864, in the 67th year of his age, Lieutenant-Governor Hall succeeded to the office. His mantle could not have fallen on an abler or more patriotic citizen. Few men have ever lived or died with a more spotless reputation than Hamilton R. Gamble. Eminent and profound in his profession as a lawyer, a just Judge, a sincere Christian and an able man, he left a record behind him, personal, professional and official, which the wisest and best of earth might covet. His was been eventful and his career illustrious; yet his last days were the most useful to his country. To Governor Gamble, more than to any other man in Missouri, were the people of this State indebted for whatever of prosperity and peace the war left them. Opposed in principle, and from the beginning, to the Rebellion, characterizing it as utterly causeless and indefensible, he consistently pursued his way, often amid storms of falsehood, obloquy and reproach; but always jealous of the peace of the people and laboring with ardent patriotism for the restoration of law and order.

The Presidential campaign of 1864 was prosecuted in Missouri, by

both sides, in the midst of the intolerance, intimidation and violence more or less incident to all civil wars. A general canvass was not attempted, for the prevalence of armed men, the raids and outrages of predatory bands of guerrillas, and the bitter feeling engendered by the war, tended to repress the ardor of political orators and the importunities of political candidates.

The proposition to hold a State Constitutional Convention having been adopted by the people at the November election, 1864, by about 29,000 majority, the delegates (66) chosen to that body assembled in Mercantile Library Hall, in the city of St. Louis, on Friday, January 6, 1865, as follows :

William B. Adams.....	Danville.	Willis S. Holland.....	Calhoun.
Adam J. Barr.....	Richmond.	Benjamin F. Hughes.....	Sedalia.
Alfred M. Bedford.....	Charleston.	Joseph F. Hume.....	California.
David Bonham.....	Empire Prairie.	George Husmann.....	Hermann.
George K. Budd.....	St. Louis.	Wyllys King.....	St. Louis.
Harvey Bunce.....	Boonville.	Reeves Leonard.....	Fayette.
Isidor Bush.....	St. Louis.	Moses L. Linton.....	St. Louis.
Robert L. Childress.....	Marshfield.	John F. McKernan.....	Osage City.
Henry A. Clover.....	St. Louis.	Arcibald M. McPherson.....	Altenberg.
Rives C. Cowden.....	Halfway.	John A. Mack.....	Springfield.
John H. Davis.....	Hall's Ferry.	Alexander H. Martin.....	Troy.
Samuel T. Davis.....	New Madrid.	Ferdinand Meyer.....	St. Louis.
Isham B. Dodson.....	Kirksville.	James P. Mitchell.....	Primrose.
William D'Oench.....	St. Louis.	William A. Morton.....	Liberty.
John H. Ellis.....	Chillicothe.	Andrew G. Newgent.....	Kansas City.
John Esther.....	Lebanon.	Anton P. Nixdorf.....	Pleasant Farm.
Ellis G. Evans.....	Cuba.	James W. Owens.....	Washington.
Chauncey I. Filley.....	St. Louis.	Dorastus Peck.....	Ironton.
John W. Fletcher.....	DeSoto.	Jonathan T. Rankin.....	Greenfield.
William H. Folmsbee.....	Gallatin.	Philip J. Roher.....	Lebanon.
Emory S. Foster.....	Warrensburg.	Gustavus St. Gem.....	Ste. Genevieve.
Fred. M. Fulkerson.....	Marshall.	Eli Smith.....	Smithton.
John W. Gamble.....	Mexico.	Knight G. Smith.....	Princeton.
Archibald Gilbert.....	Mt. Vernon.	George P. Strong.....	St. Louis.
Samuel A. Gilbert.....	Weston.	James T. Sutton.....	Coldwater.
Abner L. Gilstrap.....	Macon City.	John R. Swearingen.....	Independence.
Joel M. Grammer.....	Cassville.	William F. Switzler.....	Columbia.
Moses P. Green.....	Hannibal.	George C. Thilenius.....	Cape Girardeau.
Thomas B. Harris.....	Concord.	Lewis H. Weatherby.....	Maysville.
David Henderson.....	Dent Court House.	Jeremiah Williams.....	Kingston.
Ethan A. Holcomb.....	Keytesville.	Eugene Williams.....	Memphis.
John H. Holsworth.....	Long Branch.		

The Convention was organized on the second day of its session by the election of Arnold Krekel as President; Charles D. Drake, Vice-President; Amos P. Foster, Secretary; Thomas Proctor, Assistant Secretary; H. J. Stierlin, Door-keeper; John W. Stevens, Sergeant-at-Arms, and L. L. Walbridge, Phonographic Reporter.

The act of the General Assembly, approved February 13th, 1864, authorizing the Convention to assemble, provided (section 5) that after its organization it should proceed to consider, first, such amendments to

the Constitution of the State as might be by them deemed necessary for the emancipation of slaves; second, such amendments to the Constitution of the State as might be by them deemed necessary to preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens, and such other amendments as might be by them deemed essential to the promotion of the public good.

The first object which engaged the attention of the members of the Convention was emancipation; and before the appointment of the usual standing committees, or the special committee of five on emancipation, several ordinances were introduced to provide for it. Said committee having been appointed, with Mr. Strong of St. Louis, Chairman,<sup>1</sup> all the ordinances were referred to it; and on the fifth day of the Convention (January 11th) Mr. Strong reported from the Committee the following ordinance and recommended its adoption:

#### AN ORDINANCE ABOLISHING SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

*Be it ordained by the People of the State of Missouri, in Convention assembled:*

That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free.

As it was generally known the ordinance would be reported on that day, quite a large number of the military, officers and soldiers, then in the city, and citizens, crowded the hall of the Convention; and these were supplemented by "the Hutchinson Family," celebrated vocalists from New England, then visiting the city. It was an imposing array, rendered quite suggestive by the fact that the Hutchinson Family were invited on the platform to favor the Convention and its visitors with a patriotic song. They of course complied.

Various amendments, all of which were rejected, were offered to the ordinance; and the vote being taken, it was adopted by yeas and nays as follows:

**AYES**—W. B. Adams, of Montgomery; A. M. Bedford, of Mississippi; David Bonham, of Andrew; George K. Budd, of St. Louis; Harvey Bunce, of Cooper; Isidor Bush, of St. Louis; R. L. Childress, of Webster; Henry A. Clover, of St. Louis; R. C. Cowden, of Polk; Samuel T. Davis, of New Madrid; John H. Davis, of Nodaway; Isham B. Dodson, of Adair; William D'Oench, of St. Louis; Charles D. Drake, of St. Louis; John H. Ellis, of Livingston; John Esther, of Laclede; Ellis J. Evans, of Crawford; Chauncey I. Filley, of St. Louis; J. W. Fletcher, of Jefferson; William H. Folmsbee, of Daviess; Emory S. Foster, of Johnson; F. M. Fulkerson, of Saline; John W. Gamble, of Audrain; Archibald Gilbert, of Lawrence; Abner L. Gilstrap, of Macon; Moses P. Green, of

<sup>1</sup>The Journal fails to show who were the other members.

Marion; J. M. Grammer, of Barry; David Henderson, of Dent; E. A. Holcomb, of Chariton; John H. Holdsworth, of Monroe; W. S. Holland, of Henry; R. F. Hughes, of Pettis; J. F. Hume, of Moniteau; George Hussman, of Gasconade; Wyllis King, of St. Louis; R. Leonard, of Howard, M. L. Linton, of St. Louis; J. F. McKernan, of Cole; R. F. McPherson, of Perry; John A. Mack, of Green; A. H. Martin, of Lincoln; Ferdinand Meyer, of St. Louis; James P. Mitchell, of Lewis; A. G. Newgent, of Jackson; A. P. Nixdorf, of Miller; James W. Owens, of Franklin; D. Peck, of Iron; J. T. Rankin, of Dade; Philip Rohrer, of Cedar; G. St. Gem, of St. Genevieve; K. G. Smith, of Mercer; Eli Smith, of Worth; George P. Strong, of St. Louis; Joseph T. Sutton, of Wayne; John B. Swearingen, of Jackson; J. C. Thilenius, of Cape Girardeau; S. B. Weatherby, of Buchanan; Jeremiah Williams, of Caldwell; Eugene Williams, of Scotland; Arnold Krekel, of St. Charles—60.

NAYS—Samuel A. Gilbert, of Platte; Thomas B. Harris, of Callaway; William A. Morton, of Clay; William F. Switzler, of Boone—4.

Absent—A. J. Barr, of Ray; James F. Rogers, of Putnam—2.

The emancipation of the slaves in Missouri was thus in law accomplished—an emancipation which as a practical fact existed for some time previous.

On the day of the final vote on the ordinance, and while it was pending, Mr. Smith, of Mercer, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed by the Chair, whose duty it shall be to ascertain whether there is any member, or members, elected to this Convention who have, in any way, identified themselves in favor of the Rebellion, and report as soon as possible.

The Committee appointed was as follows: Smith, of Mercer, Weatherby, Folmsbee, Martin and Leonard. The object of this movement, as it was interpreted at the time by many of the people, was to “weed out” of the Convention, through the instrumentality of this Committee, and on the pretence of their disloyalty to the Union, a few refractory and irrepressible members who were suspected, and that not without reason, of “disloyalty” to the extreme measures of a majority of the body.

The Convention was not long in session before it became apparent that mere “amendments” to the organic law would not be satisfactory to its leading spirits, prominent among whom, and abler than any of those who shared his convictions, stood Mr. Drake, of St. Louis,<sup>1</sup> but that the entire organic law would be thoroughly remodeled and a new constitution

<sup>1</sup>Charles D. Drake was the Ajax Telemon of the Convention, and left upon the Constitution the impress of his spirit and ability. Owing to this fact the body was known as “the Drake Convention,” and the Constitution as “Drake’s Constitution,” and the disfranchising portions of it as the “Draconian Code.”

submitted for the ratification or rejection of the people at the polls. The purpose to inaugurate reforms so sweeping, was a source of regret to many of the most honored and able citizens of the State. They seriously questioned, in the first place, the authority of the Convention, under the law calling it into existence, and which simply delegated the power of amendment, to frame and submit an entire new instrument. Moreover, their convictions were quite clear and decided that delegates fresh from scenes of bitter strife and popular turbulence, chosen in the midst of civil war, and holding their sessions while it was in progress, were illy fitted for that dispassionate consideration and statesmanlike judgment demanded by the gravity of the crisis.

Nevertheless, the Convention proceeded with its wholesale work of reform, and through the agency of various committees evolved new provisions in every article of the fundamental law. Of course it will not be expected that a tithe of these will be brought to view in this sketch. Some of them, however, are of such significance, as showing the temper and purposes of the Convention, that they merit brief record in this volume. Prominent among these is the article on "the right of suffrage." This subject, concerning most vitally the liberties of the people, and directly affecting their right to participate at the polls in the choice of those who were to make, administer and expound the laws for their government, elicited the earnest attention of the Convention, and was the source of the most angry and exciting debate. Early in the session, a special committee "on Elective Franchise"—Bonham, Folmsbee, Clover, Foster, Evans, Adams and Drake—was appointed, and to them every proposition and ordinance on the subject were referred. And these were very numerous; and all of them, in some form or other, and in provisions more or less sweeping, disclosed the purpose to hedge in the ballot-box by expurgatory oaths as tests of loyalty. It is needless to follow the devious trail of the various amendments proposed in the Committee of the Whole and in the Convention; or to attempt a synopsis of the protracted debate. Suffice it to say, that on the 29th of March, on motion of Mr. Bonham, the article (Article II) on the "Right of Suffrage," as amended, was engrossed for a third reading,—yeas 29; nays 8, the third section of which is as follows:

SECTION 3. At any election held by the people under this Constitution, or in pursuance of any law of this State, or under any ordinance or by-law of any municipal corporation, no person shall be deemed a qualified voter who has ever been in armed hostility to the United States, or to the lawful authorities thereof, or to the Government of this State; or has ever given aid, comfort, countenance or support to persons engaged in any such hostility; or has ever, in any manner, adhered to the enemies, foreign or

domestic, of the United States, either by contributing to them, or by unlawfully sending within their lines money, goods, letters or information; or has ever disloyally held communication with such enemies; or has ever advised or aided any person to enter the service of such enemies; or has ever, by act or word, manifested his adherence to the cause of such enemies, or his desire for their triumph over the arms of the United States, or his sympathy with those engaged in exciting or carrying on rebellion against the United States; or has ever, except under overpowering compulsion, submitted to the authority, or been in the service of the so-called "Confederate States of America"; or has ever left this State and gone within the lines of the armies of the so-called "Confederate States of America," with the purpose of adhering to said States or armies; or has ever been a member of, or connected with, any order, society or organization inimical to the Government of the United States, or to the Government of this State; or has ever been engaged in guerrilla warfare against loyal inhabitants of the United States, or in that description of marauding commonly known as "bushwhacking"; or has ever knowingly and willingly harbored, aided or countenanced any person so engaged; or has ever come into or left this State for the purpose of avoiding enrollment for or draft into the military service of the United States; or has ever, with a view to avoid enrollment in the militia of this State, or to escape the performance of duty therein, or for any other purpose, enrolled himself, or authorized himself to be enrolled, by or before any officer, as disloyal, or as a Southern sympathizer, or in any other terms indicating his disaffection to the Government of the United States in its contest with rebellion, or his sympathy with those engaged in such rebellion; or, having ever voted at any election by the people in this State, or in any other of the United States, or in any of their Territories, or under the United States, shall thereafter have sought or received, under claim of alienage, the protection of any foreign government, through any consul or other officer thereof, in order to secure exemption from military duty in the militia of this State, or in the army of the United States; nor shall any such person be capable of holding, in this State, any office of honor, trust or profit under its authority; or of being an officer, councilman, director, trustee or other manager of any corporation, public or private, now existing, or hereafter established by its authority; or of acting as a professor or teacher in any educational institution, or in any common or other school; or of holding any real estate or other property in trust for the use of any church, religious society or congregation. But the foregoing provisions in relation to acts done against the United States shall not apply to any person not a citizen thereof, who shall have committed such acts while in the service of some foreign country at war with the United States, and who has, since such acts, been naturalized, or may hereafter be naturalized, under the laws of the United States; and the oath of loyalty hereinafter prescribed, when taken by any such person, shall be considered as taken in such sense.

Section four made it the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law for a registration of the names of the qualified voters of the State, and section five that after this system should have been established the oath indicated in the third section should be taken and subscribed by the voter at such time of his registration. Any person declining to take said oath should not be allowed to vote, or to be registered as a qualified voter. The taking thereof should not be deemed conclusive evidence of the right of the person to vote or to be registered as a voter; but such right might, notwithstanding, be disproved. It also provided that all evidence for and against the right of any person as a qualified voter should be *heard*

*and passed upon by the registering officer or officers, and not by the judges of election.* The registering officer or officers were required to keep a register of the names of persons rejected as voters, and the same to be certified to the judges of election; and they were to receive the ballot of any such rejected voter offering to vote, marking the same, and certifying the vote thereby given as rejected; but no such vote should be received unless the party offering it should take, at the time, the oath of loyalty.

During the pendency of the third section in Committee of the Whole on January 27th, Mr. Switzler, of Boone, offered an amendment, which on the 29th of March was renewed in the Convention by Mr. Bush of St. Louis, to strike out the word "ever" and insert the words "since the 17th December, 1861," the object and effect of which were very materially to abridge the disfranchising sweep of the section. The friends of this amendment—numerous among the people, but few and far between in the Convention—maintained that the pregnant words, "who has ever," violated the plighted honor of both the State and Nation—in this, that on the 3d of August, 1861, Governor Gamble made proclamation to those who at the call of Governor Jackson took up arms against the Government, that if they would voluntarily return home to the peaceful pursuit of their occupations he would afford them security, and that they should not be molested. This proclamation was endorsed by President Lincoln, who pledged that the National Government would cause the promise to be respected. The "Gamble" Convention, by an Ordinance passed October 16th, 1861, in the name and by the authority of the people of Missouri, became a party to this arrangement, "respected" the promise, and provided that all who by the 17th December, 1861, took the oath set out in the ordinance should be "exempt from arrest or punishment for offences previously committed." This amnesty was proclaimed by the highest authority in the State and nation, by the Governor, by the Convention, and by the President of the United States. It was claimed that the third section disregarded and violated this faith, and sought to dishonor the State by committing it to a breach of its solemn word. Nevertheless, the amendment, when it was renewed in the Convention by Mr. Bush, was (on motion of Mr. Drake) laid on the table—yeas 34, nays 11; the nays being Bedford, Bush, D'Oench, Esther, Gilbert of Platte, Husmann, Linton, Meyer, Rohrer, Switzler, and Mr. President (Krekel).<sup>1</sup>

Not only were disqualifications provided for voters, and for those who

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Convention, page 200.



might hold or aspire to hold any office of honor, trust or profit under the authority of this State, or of any corporation, or as professor or teacher in any educational institution, or in any common or other school, but the 9th section went beyond this and invaded the religious, charitable, social and business relations of the people, and sought to provide an expurgatorial oath for ministers of the gospel, attorneys and teachers in our schools, male and female. Under that section, no person was permitted to practice law, "or be competent as a bishop, priest, deacon, minister, elder, or other clergyman of any religious persuasion, sect, or denomination, to teach, or preach, or solemnize marriages, unless such person shall have first taken, subscribed, and filed said oath."

When the section was before the Convention, Mr. Folmsbee, of Daviess, moved to amend it by the insertion of the words "to teach or preach," and the amendment was adopted, April 1st, as follows:

**AYES**—Messrs. Adams, Bonham, Bunce, Childress, Davis of Nodaway, Dodson, Ellis, Esther, Evans, Folmsbee, Gilbert of Lawrence, Holcomb, Holdsworth, Holland, Hume, Leonard, Rankin, Roher, Smith of Mercer, Smith of Worth, Strong, Sutton, Weatherby, Williams of Caldwell, and Williams of Scotland—25.

**NOES**—Messrs. Barr, Drake, Fulkerson, Gamble, Henderson, King, Linton, McPherson, Swearingen, and Switzler—10.

*Absent with leave*—Messrs. Bush, Fletcher, Foster, Gilbert of Platte, Hughes, Husmann, Morton, Newgent, St. Gem, and Thilenius—10. *Absent without leave*—Messrs. Bedford, Budd, Clover, Davis of New Madrid, D'Oench, Filley, Gilstrap, Grammer, Green, McKernan, Mack, Martin, Meyer, Nixdorf, Owens, and Mr. President—16. *Sick*—Messrs. Cowden, Mitchell, and Peck—3.

Finally, all efforts to defect the second article or to mollify its rigors having been exhausted, it was read a third time on the 1st of April, and adopted—yeas 30, nays 7—as follows: (Journal, p. 212).

**AYES**—Messrs. Barr, Bonham, Bunce, Childress, Clover, Davis of Nodaway, Dodson, Drake, Esther, Folmsbee, Fulkerson, Gamble, Gilbert of Lawrence, Henderson, Holdsworth, Holland, Hume, King, Leonard, McKernan, McPherson, Mack, Smith of Mercer, Smith of Worth, Strong, Sutton, Swearingen, Weatherby, Williams of Caldwell, and Williams of Scotland—30.

**NOES**—Messrs. Bedford, Bush, Holcomb, Linton, Meyer, Rohrer, and Switzler—7.

*Absent with leave*—Messrs. Evans, Fletcher, Foster, Gilbert of Platte, Hughes, Husmann, Morton, Newgent, St. Gem, and Thilenius—10. *Absent without leave*—Messrs. Adams, Budd, Davis of New Madrid, D'Oench, Ellis, Filley, Gilstrap, Grammer, Green, Martin, Nixdorf, Owens, Rankin, and Mr. President—14. *Sick*—Messrs. Cowden, Mitchell, and Peck—3.

The following is the 2d section of the article on the "Executive Department:—"

SECTION 2. The Governor shall be at least thirty-five years old, a white male citizen of the United State ten years, and a resident of the State of Missouri seven years, next before his election.

When under consideration on March 8th, Mr. Holland, of Henry,—now a citizens of Marshall, Mo.—moved to strike out the words “white male,” the effect of which would have been to make any citizen, of any color or sex, eligible to the office of Governor. On the next day, the question being on the adoption of the amendment, Mr. Switzler of Boone demanded the ayes and noes, and the vote being taken, stood as follows :

AYES—Messrs. Budd, Bush, D’Oench, Drake, Ellis, Evans, Filley, Foster, Gilbert of Lawrence, Holcomb, Holland, Husmann, King, Linton, McKernan, McPherson, Meyer, Nixdorf, Owens, Rohrer, St. Gem, Thilenius, Williams of Caldwell, Williams of Scotland, and Mr. President—25.

NOES—Messrs. Bonham, Bunce, Childress, Clover, Cowden, Davis of New Madrid, Davis of Nodaway, Dodson, Fletcher, Folmsbee, Fulkerson, Gamble, Henderson, Holdsworth, Hume, Mack, Martin, Newgent, Peck, Rankin, Smith of Mercer, Strong, Sutton, Swearingen, and Switzler—25.

*Absent with leave*—Messrs. Adams, Bedford, Esther, Gilbert of Platte, Gilstrap, Grammer, Green, Hughes, Morton, Smith of Worth, and Weatherby—11. *Absent without leave*—Messrs. Barr and Leonard. *Sick*—Mr. Mitchell.

So the amendment was rejected, the vote being a tie—25 to 25.

On an amendment proposed by Mr. Husmann, of Gasconade, March 11th, to strike out the words “white male” in sections 3 and 5 of the article on “Legislative Department,” whereby any person, male or female, black or white, if otherwise qualified, would be eligible to a seat in either branch of the General Assembly, the vote was likewise a tie—21 to 21.

In the interests of brevity, the proceedings of the Convention in regard to other subjects—the vacating of the seat of Thomas B. Harris, of Callaway, on charges of disloyalty; the ordinances in regard to railroad indebtedness; for vacating certain civil offices in the State and filling the same anew by appointment of the Governor; and the provisions for putting the Constitution into force—are omitted.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that an election was appointed on the 6th of June, 1865, to ascertain the sense of the people in regard to the adoption or rejection of the Constitution, it being at the same time provided that at said election no person should

<sup>1</sup>Notwithstanding the violence with which the Constitution was assailed on account of many objectionable features, it was not wholly destitute of wise and valuable provisions. The article on “Education,” for example, the enemies of the Constitution themselves now agree, provided a broad foundation for our system of public instruction, high, low and intermediate.

be allowed to vote "who would not be a qualified voter according to the terms of this Constitution, if the second article thereof were then in force." That is to say, no person should be allowed to vote on the question of adoption or rejection unless he should have previously taken the oath indicated by the third section of the second article.

On April 8th, the question then being on the final adoption of the Constitution, Mr. Drake demanded the ayes and noes thereon; and the vote being taken stood as follows:

**AYES**—Messrs. Adams, Barr, Bonham, Budd, Bunce, Childress, Davis of Nodaway, Dodson, Drake, Ellis, Esther, Evans, Filley, Folmsbee, Fulkerson, Gamble, Gilbert of Lawrence, Henderson, Holcomb, Holdsworth, Holland, Hume, King, Leonard, McKernan, McPherson, Mack, Martin, Peck, Rankin, Smith of Mercer, Strong, Sutton, Swearingen, Weatherby, Williams of Caldwell, Williams of Scotland, and Mr. President—38.

**NOES**—Messrs. Bedford, Bush, D'Oench, Fletcher, Foster, Gilstrap, Green, Husmann, Linton, Meyer, Rohrer, Smith of Worth, and Switzler—13.

*Absent with Leave*—Messrs. Gilbert of Platte, Hughes, Morton, Newgent, Nixdorf and St. Gem—6. *Absent without Leave*—Messrs. Clover, Davis of New Madrid, Grammer, Owens and Thilenius—5. *Sick*—Messrs. Cowden and Mitchell—2.

So the Constitution was finally adopted, and on Monday, April 10th, 1865, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The canvass which succeeded was one of great bitterness. Although the war was practically over—the Confederate armies having surrendered and the Federal troops occupied Richmond, Petersburg and all the strongholds of the Rebellion; and just before the close of the canvass, the President of the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis, was a prisoner—fragmentary guerrilla bands continued in existence, to the detriment of the peace and safety of various sections. Battalions of State Militia were kept in the field in many counties to hold these bands in check and to punish them for disorders. Nevertheless, a spirit of unrest and malevolence, of hatred and ill-will, prevailed among the people, and the character of the issues discussed, to say nothing of the acerbity of the discussions themselves, was not calculated to reduce "the ragged edge" of the canvass. Tens of thousands of tax-payers of the State, many of whom were old and honored citizens and non-combatants during the war, and men of education and influence, were disfranchised by the third section, and denied the privilege of the ballot in the decision of the great issue before the State—that issue being the adoption or rejection of an organic law which was to govern them and their children after them. On the other hand, it was stoutly maintained that citizens who had attempted to destroy their government; who had either by overt acts of rebellion, committed treason, or in words and sympathy had given aid and

comfort to the insurgents, had forfeited the privilege of the ballot—the more extreme devotees of this view maintaining that their only remaining right was the right to pay taxes, work the roads, and hold their peace. Only 85,478 votes (including soldiers' votes) were cast at the election, as follows: For the new Constitution, 43,670; against it, 41,808. Majority for the Constitution, 1,862. The announcement of this vote was accompanied by a proclamation of Governor Fletcher, officially declaring that the new Constitution would take effect on July 4th, 1865.

The General Assembly met in Jefferson City on November 1st, 1865, —Andrew J. Harlan, of Andrew, Speaker of the House—and proceeded to enact a registry and other laws to enforce the provisions of the new Constitution. The registry law was very stringent, and its enforcement occasioned many scenes of disorder and violence, and great excitement in the State.

The attempt to enforce the ordinance properly known as “the ousting ordinance”—for vacating certain civil offices, was attended with difficulty and unpleasant collisions. David Wagner and Walter E. Lovelace were appointed Judges of the Supreme Court in place of Wm. V. N. Bay and John D. S. Dryden. The latter gentlemen believed there was no legal validity in the ordinance, and declined to vacate their places. Governor Fletcher issued an order to expel them from the bench, and they were taken from their seats by the police of St. Louis City, and escorted as prisoners to the office of Recorder Wolff. A. W. Mead, the Clerk of the Court, also declining to yield his office, with the records and papers, was also summarily ejected.

That portion of the ninth section of the second article of the Constitution, in regard to ministers of the gospel, lawyers and teachers, was a fruitful source of turbulence and trouble, and many indictments were found and arrests made for refusal to take “the iron-clad oath” prescribed. So great was the popular clamor against the voters', ministers', lawyers' and teachers' oath, that in December, 1866, a movement was set on foot in St. Louis by leading Republicans, prominent among whom were B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz, which had for its object universal amnesty and universal enfranchisement. This movement rapidly acquired volume and strength, and very soon was felt throughout the State. In his annual message to the Twenty-Fourth General Assembly, which convened in Jefferson City on the 2nd of January, 1867, Governor Fletcher recommended an amendment to the Constitution, striking out the ninth section of the second article.

During this session, and on January 15th, Charles D. Drake, Republican, was elected to the United States Senate for six years from the fourth of March ensuing, the vote being—Senate: Charles D. Drake, 23; F. P. Blair, 6; N. Holmes, 3. House: Charles D. Drake, 86; F. P. Blair, 33; Ben. Loan, 3; Henry T. Blow, 3; H. M. Voorhees, 1; John S. Phelps, 1.

It was at this session of the Legislature that an amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the people, on the first Tuesday in November, 1868, proposing to strike the word “white” from the eighteenth section of the second article, whereby negro suffrage would be inaugurated in Missouri. The proposition originated in the Senate, and was submitted to that body by Mr. Winters, of Marion, on the 12th of February. On Monday February 25th, it passed the Senate, as follows:

AYES—Messrs. Adams, Boardman, Bonham, Bruers, Cavender, Clark, Conrad, Ellis, Evans, Ewell, Goebel, Harbine, Headlee, Hubbard, Human, Parks, Rea, Shelton, and Winters—19.

NOES—Messrs. Dodson, Filler, Holland, King, Morse, Spaunhorst, and Williams—7.

Absent or not voting—Messrs. Deal, Fish, Graham, McCormack, Reed, Ridgley, and Townsley—7.

On Tuesday, February 26th, in the Senate, Messrs. Fisher, Ridgely and Townsley obtained leave to record their votes on the proposition of Mr. Winters, passed the day before, during their absence. They voted Aye.

On Monday, March 4th, the constitutional amendment from the Senate being under consideration in the House, Mr. Orrick, of St. Charles, proposed not only to strike out the word “white,” but also the word “male”; thus seeking to commit the body not only to black male suffrage, but also to female suffrage, black and white. Rejected—39 to 51.

On Thursday night, March 7, the subject again came up in the House, and the amendment passed—ayes 74; nays 46—as follows (Conservatives in *italic*):

AYES—Messrs. Akard, Bennett, Betz, Birch, Blodgett, Branscombe, Brock, Brown of Dallas, Brown of Daviess, Bulkley, Burch of Jasper, Buzick, Cartmel, Cosgrove, Dallmeyer, DeLand, Downey, Drum, Eppstein, Esteb, Ewing, Ferrell, Finkelnburg, Freeman, Goodson, Hargrove, Harper, Hathaway, Hewitt, Hickman, Hornbeak, Hoskinson, Howard, Howe, Hume, Jaquith, Jerome, Jewett, Jones, Kidwell, Kuhl, Laughlin, Leaming, Ledergerber, Long, McElhinney, McGinnis, McMillen, Mitchell, Mullings of Green, Mullins of Linn, Orrick, Payne, Pond, Pyle, Quinn, Rinker, *Rollins*, Rountree, Schneider, Schulenburg, Shafer, Stafford, Thompson, Valle, Walker, Waters, Weinrich, Whittaker, *Wilkinson*, Wolbrecht, Wyatt and Mr. Speaker—74.

The following are the names of those who voted in the negative :

Messrs. *Alexander*, Applegate, Beal, *Bogy*, Boon, *Britton*, Cannon, Childress, *Cockerill*, Cole, *Colman*, Drummond, Eagle, *Ellis*, Ellison, Eubanks, Farrar, Fletcher, *Fox*, Griffin, *Huff*, Key, Lawson, Legg, Linder, *Lyman*, *McBride*, *McMurtry*, Martin, Monks, Neville, Riggs, *Ritchie*, Robertson, *Ryland*, *Scott*, Smelser, *Smythe*, Steele, *Sutton*, Taylor, *Van Wagoner*, *Waide*, White of Cole. *White of Randolph*, Williams, *Wolf* and *Zevely*—46.

On the 13th of March, the Legislature adjourned till the first Tuesday in January, 1868.

At the general election during the latter year, the proposed amendment striking out the word "white" was defeated, the vote being—against striking out, 74,053 ; for striking out, 55,236. Majority against negro suffrage, 18,817.

On Saturday night, March 31, a great calamity befell St. Louis and the whole country in the loss, by fire, of the old Lindell Hotel, which was first opened to the public October 19, 1863. It was beyond all comparison the finest hotel that had, up to that time, been built west of New York. We avail ourselves of a description of the building and fire which appeared in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of April 12, 1877 :

The Lindell Hotel consisted of two parallel buildings of brick, extending east and west the length of the whole front, with a space of forty-five feet between them, and connected in the center and at both ends by wing buildings running north and south, leaving between them two courts. The outer-connecting buildings and the two flanks extended the full depth of the lot, about 300 feet. The southern or principal front was divided into five compartments, with a profusion of ornament on each.

The Lindell was six stories high, exclusive of both basement and attic, equivalent to two stories more. The height from sidewalk to cornice was 112 feet. The basement extended under the entire building, and comprised the laundries, the bake rooms, the store rooms, the coal vaults and ash holes.

On the first floor were the gorgeous offices, with their variegated marble floors, the saloons, the billiard rooms, the grand hall for the Board of Trade, public and private offices, and various other necessary rooms. The other stories were reached by two grand staircases, running up the entire height of the building. Each step was twelve feet long, and the walls were of walnut, handsomely carved and beautifully ornamented.

On the second floor were dining rooms, public and private parlors, reading and writing rooms, club rooms, and public reception rooms. On the remaining stories were the sleeping rooms and rooms en suite. Some idea of the size of the establishment may be gained from the fact that the gentlemen's dining-room was 116 feet by 44 feet, and none of the private parlors were less than 16 by 17 feet, while the whole structure, from basement to attic, had the enormous number of 530 rooms. The brick in the building would have paved a space of thirty-eight acres, while more than 35,000 feet of cut stone were in the fronts. Seven hundred and forty tons of cast and wrought iron were used, and 8,240 pounds of copper for gutters. There were 810 windows and 650 inside doors. The plate glass used would cover an acre, and the floors seven acres. The wash-boards

laid in a line would reach thirteen miles, while if a boarder desired to walk before breakfast, he might travel a mile and three-quarters without retracing his steps or going over the same ground twice. Thirty-two tons of sash-weights were used, 16,000 feet of gas-pipe, 120,500 pounds of lead and 30,000 pounds of iron pipe to supply the water; 87,700 feet of steam-pipe for heating, and thirty-two miles of bell-wire were in position. The actual cost of the building was \$950,000, which, with the ground, valued at \$326,400, makes the whole value \$1,276,400; not to speak of furniture, \$500,000 worth of which was imported, making the total worth of the establishment \$1,759,000.

How the fire originated was never certainly discovered. One account declares it to have come from a defective flue, while another finds its origin in a bursted gas-pipe. Another still attributes it to the carelessness of a servant girl, who left a gas-jet turned on, and allowed a room [in the sixth story] to become filled with gas, which exploded on lighting a match, and thus set fire to the building. Be this as it may, nothing is certain, but that on the evening of Saturday, March 31, 1867, the inmates of the house perceived a strong smell of smoke. Mr. Bart Able, among others, carefully traversed the halls and corridors, everywhere smelling the signs of fire, until he traced the scent to a bath-room on the sixth floor in the northwest corner. Here he procured an axe, broke in the plastering, and the flames burst forth. This appears to have been the first discovery of the fire in the building, though it is stated that persons outside, squares away, smelled the burning pine and paint before the fire became known to anybody in the house.

The alarm was first given at 8 o'clock P. M., though it excited very little feeling in the hotel, the guests finishing their suppers at their leisure, having ample confidence in the abundant facilities on every hand for the extinguishment of the flames. The building was provided with tanks of water on the roof, and with hose on every floor, but at the moment of need, the tanks were empty and the hose were useless. The engines were sent for, and arrived in good time, but owing to the breaking out of the fire in the upper stories they could do nothing. The flames soon began to appear at the windows in the fifth and sixth stories, and though efforts were made to get the hose up through the center of the building, they proved utterly abortive, and after a few ineffectual attempts, the hope of saving the building was abandoned, and the firemen directed their attention to saving all the property they could. It was even found that there was not an adequate head of water in the reservoir, and this fact also operated against the firemen. The waiters and employes of the hotel were called on to assist in removing property, but these gentry turned their attention with wonderful unanimity to saving themselves and their own effects, and could not be induced to help save the hotel furniture.

A very few minutes after the fire was discovered, it burst out of the roof, as well as out of all the windows of the two upper stories, and swept round the cornices in wild magnificence. After gaining a start, it seemed to develop its strength everywhere at once, since although the fire started in the western end of the building, the eastern end was the one first destroyed. It was fortunate for the city at large that the evening was unusually still, since a strong wind blowing from any direction would have infallibly caused the destruction of several blocks of buildings. As it was, some damage was done by the falling of the walls. The conflagration was one of the most splendid on record. The whole interior of the building was one mass of flame, which, after the fall of the roof, shot up several hundred feet into the air, and was visible to a distance of thirty miles from the city. There were no lives lost, though the panic was extreme, and for awhile rumors of persons being burned to death were frequent. Losses by individual boarders of jewels, clothing, furniture and similar effects were, in some cases, quite serious.

On the ground floor were a large number of fashionable stores, the stocks of which were damaged by water or removal, or was entirely destroyed by fire. The Young Men's Christian Association also occupied rooms on the ground floor, and when the fire broke out a prayer meeting was in progress. It is almost needless to say it did not continue long, for even then, while the benediction was being pronounced, the flames were curling round the cornices.

On May 15th, 1867, the State Senate assembled in the Capitol as a high court of impeachment for the trial of Walter King, of Ray, judge of the fifth judicial circuit, for misdemeanors in office. He was found guilty, by a vote of twenty-three to eight, and deposed.

The Twenty-fourth General Assembly re-assembled at the Capitol on Tuesday, January 7th, 1868, and during its session adopted a new registry law more stringent in its provisions than the one it was enacted to supplant. Under it the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, was authorized to appoint a superintendent of registration in each Senatorial district, every year in which a general election should occur. As the Supreme Court of the United States, January 14th, 1867, in the case of John A. Cummings vs. the State of Missouri, had pronounced the test oath unconstitutional, the new registry law, providing for a more rigid enforcement of the celebrated "Third Section," occasioned renewed and wide-spread dissatisfaction among the conservative citizens of the State. Therefore, the next ensuing State canvass was distinguished by great bitterness and party feeling, culminating on some occasions in scenes of personal violence.

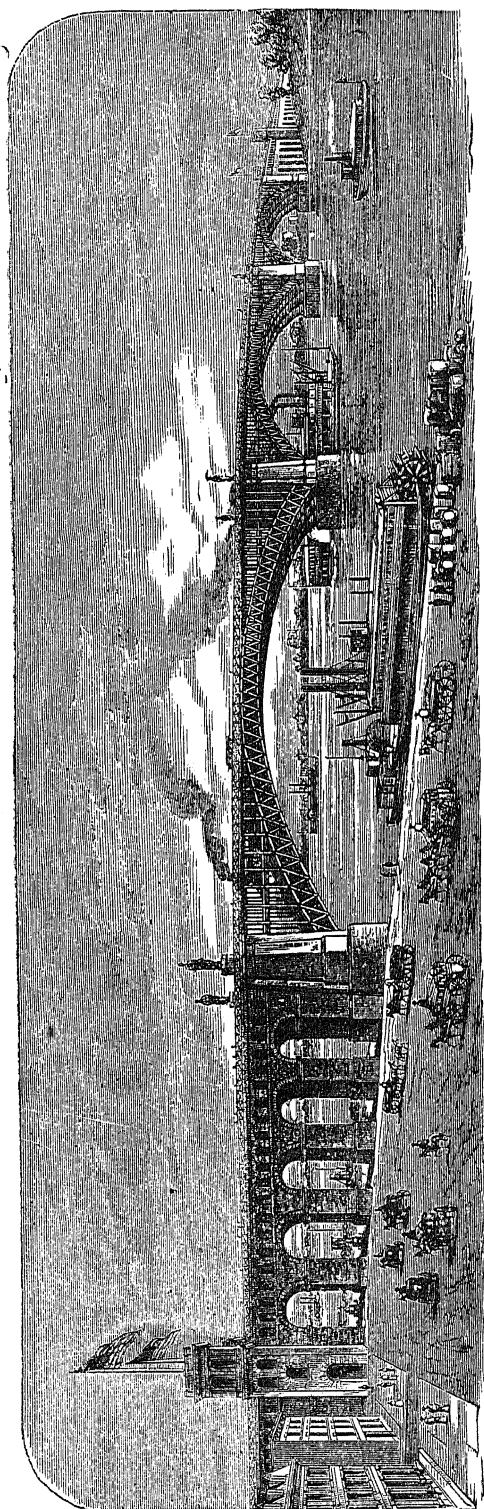
The Twenty-fifth General Assembly convened on January 6th, 1869. During the preceding State canvass the new registry law had done its work well and to the entire satisfaction of its friends. Hence the Senate was composed of twenty-five Republicans and nine Democrats, and the House of ninety-two Republicans and thirty-five Democrats; a Republican majority of sixteen in the Senate, fifty-seven in the House, and seventy-three on joint ballot.

On January 19th, Carl Schurz, Republican, was elected to the United States Senate for six years from March 4th, 1869—the vote being: Carl Schurz (R.) 114; John S. Phelps (D.) 44.

On October 27th the foundation of the eastern pier of the grand tubular steel bridge at St. Louis was laid, affording an earnest of the vigorous prosecution, till completed, of the work on one of the costliest and most valuable railroad bridges in the world—a structure which will remain a memorial through all time of the genius and enterprise of James B. Eads.







THE GREAT BRIDGE AT ST. LOUIS.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

1870 TO 1877.—ELECTION RETURNS.—ADJOURNED SESSION OF XXVTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—RATIFICATION OF XVTH CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.—AYES AND NOES.—SIX AMENDMENTS TO THE STATE CONSTITUTION PROPOSED.—WHAT THEY WERE AND THE VOTE ON EACH.—AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE LOCATED AT COLUMBIA.—THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1870 RENT BY DISCORDS.—THE DEMOCRATS ADOPT THE “PASSIVE POLICY” AND NOMINATE NO STATE TICKET.—TWO REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTIONS AND TWO STATE TICKETS.—THE “RADICALS” AND “LIBERALS.”—B. GRATZ BROWN (LIBERAL) ELECTED GOVERNOR.—THE TEST-OATH ABROGATED AND THE REPUBLICANS REMANDED FROM POWER.—F. P. BLAIR ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR.—THE XXVITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—TWO MORE AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION PROPOSED AND RATIFIED.—THE GUN CITY, CASS COUNTY, MASSACRE.—IN 1872 THE DEMOCRATS AND LIBERALS JOINTLY NOMINATE A STATE TICKET.—SILAS WOODSON ELECTED GOVERNOR.—THE XXVIIITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—LOUIS V. BOGY CHOSEN UNITED STATES SENATOR.—VOTE OF THE PEOPLE AUTHORIZED ON A CALL FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.—OPENING OF THE GREAT ST. LOUIS BRIDGE.—CANVASS OF 1874.—CHARLES H. HARDIN THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR.—THE “PEOPLE’S” PARTY.—WILLIAM GENTRY.—HARDIN ELECTED.—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1875 CALLED.—ITS PROCEEDINGS.—CONSTITUTION ADOPTED.—WHISKEY FRAUDS.—CANVASS OF 1876.—J. S. PHELPS THE DEMOCRATIC AND G. A. FINKELNBURG THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR.—PHELPS ELECTED.—THE XXIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—BURNING OF THE SOUTHERN HOTEL, ST. LOUIS.

### ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR, 1870.

B. Gratz Brown, Liberal.....	104,374
Joseph W. McClurg, Republican.....	63,336
Brown’s majority over McClurg.....	41,038

### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

No. 1—Abolishing District Courts:	
Yeas.....	137,874
Nays.....	7,389
Majority.....	130,485
No. 2—Abolishing oath of loyalty for jurors:	
Yeas.....	133,702
Nays.....	10,809
Majority.....	122,883
No. 3—Abolishing double liability of stockholders in private corporations:	
Yeas.....	131,470
Nays.....	10,790
Majority.....	120,680
No. 4—Abolishing oath of loyalty for voters:	
Yeas.....	127,643
Nays.....	16,283
Majority.....	111,360

No. 5—Abolishing certain disqualifications to hold office on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and on account of former acts of disloyalty:

Yeas.....	123,418
Nays.....	18,005

Majority.....	105,413
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No. 6—In relation to education, prohibiting the General Assembly, counties, cities, towns, townships, school districts or other municipal corporations from making appropriations in aid of any creed, church, or sectarian school:

Yeas.....	126,118
Nays.....	10,789

Majority.....	115,329
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#### FOR SUPREME JUDGE.

David Wagner (no opposition).....	164,547
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#### ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT—1872.

U. S. Grant, Republican.....	119,196
Horace Greeley, Independent.....	151,434
Charles O'Connor, Democrat.....	2,429

Greeley's majority over Grant.....	32,238
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#### ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR—1872.

Silas Woodson, Democrat.....	156,714
John B. Henderson, Republican.....	122,272

Woodson's majority over Henderson.....	35,442
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#### ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR—1874.

Charles H. Hardin, Democrat.....	149,566
William Gentry, Peoples'.....	112,104

Hardin's majority over Gentry.....	37,462
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Whole number of votes cast.....	261,670
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For holding Constitutional Convention.....	111,299
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Against holding Constitutional Convention.....	111,016
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Majority for convention.....	283
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#### SPECIAL ELECTION—1875.

For New Constitution.....	91,205
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Against New Constitution.....	14,517
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Majority for constitution.....	76,688
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#### ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT—1876.

Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat.....	202,687
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R. B. Hayes, Republican.....	144,398
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Peter Cooper, Greenback.....	3,498
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Tilden's majority over Hayes.....	58,289
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Whole number of votes cast.....	356,583
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## ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR—1876.

John S. Phelps, Democrat.....	199,580
G. A. Finkelnburg, Republican.....	147,694
J. P. Alexander, Greenback .....	2,962
Phelps' majority over Finkelnburg.....	51,886

The adjourned session of the Twenty-fifth General Assembly—Joseph W. McClurg, Governor—which met on January 5th, 1870, and adjourned on March 25th following, deserves to be specially noticed because of the work accomplished in several directions. Governor McClurg, who in his message had recommended the ratification of the xvth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, passed by Congress on February 27th, 1869, transmitted to the General Assembly, on January 7th, 1870, a duly attested copy of it from William H. Seward, United States Secretary of State, as follows:

## ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Immediately on its being read in the Senate, Mr. Bruere of St. Charles introduced a joint resolution ratifying it, which was adopted by the following vote:

AYES—Senators Blodgett, Brown, Bruere, Clark, Conrad, Davis, Dodson, Evans, Filler, Gottschalk, Graham, Harbine, Headlee, McMillan, Ridgley, Rogers, Shelton, Todd, Vandivert, Waters, and Williams—21.

NOES—Senators Essex, Morrison, and Morse—3.

ABSENT—Senator Roseberry—1. *Absent with leave*—Senators Birch, Buckland, Carroll, Cavender, Human, Rea, Rollins, Reed and Spaunhorst—9.

The resolution was immediately reported to the House, where, on motion of Mr. Waters, it was taken up, rules suspended, read three times and passed by the following vote:

AYES—Messrs. Akard, Alsup, Allred, Baker, Becker, Benefiel, Bittman, Bohn, Boreman, Brewster, Browning, Bruhl, Byrne, Clark, Courtright, Crumb, Cundiff, Davis, Denny, Dibble, Dolle, Elliott, Ellison, Eno, Enoch, Fassen, Ferguson, Ferrell, Freeman, Gibbs, Gibson, Glenn, Gladney, Hackman, Harper, Hayes, Hayward, Heeley, Howe, Ittner, Jennings, Johnson, Jones of Laclede, Keeney, Kirkham, Laughlin, Lombard, Magner, McGinnis, McLane, Mitchell, Moore, Mullings, Munch, Nalle, Neal, Norris, Pyle, Peck, Powell, Pulitzer, Quigley, Rice, Riek, Robertson, Roberts, Roever, Rountree, Ruark, Russell, Schulenberg, Simmons, Smith, Southard, Stauber, Stinson, Steele, Thompson, Todd, Vickers, Waters, Weinrich, Yankee, Young, and Mr. Speaker—86.

NOES—Messrs. Adams, Albert, Bennett, Bogy, Bowles, Brown of Howard, Burton, Byrns of Jefferson, Caldwell, Campbell, Claiborne, Colley, Harris, Hoffman, Hurt, Key, Knott, Leeper, Marchand, McElvain, McMichael, Miller, Murphy, Neely, Phelan, Phillips, Requa, Salisbury, Salyer, Sebastian, Sides, Sloan, Waide, and Warner—34.

ABSENT—Messrs. Donegan, Garth, Jones of Nodaway, King, Lawson, McKernan, Ming, Smythe and Webb—9. *Absent with leave*—Messrs. Brown of Callaway, Klaine and Manville—3. *Sick*—Messrs. Borge, Price, Reed, Snidow, Walser and Winchester—5.

According to a proclamation of Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State of the United States, dated March 30th, 1870, said amendment was ratified by the Legislatures of the following States on the days mentioned :

Nevada.....	March 1, 1869.	Florida.....	June 15, 1869.
West Virginia.....	March 3, 1869.	New Hampshire.....	July 7, 1869.
North Carolina.....	March 5, 1869.	Virginia.....	October 8, 1869.
Louisiana.....	March 5, 1869.	Vermont.....	October 21, 1869.
Illinois.....	March 5, 1869.	Alabama.....	November 24, 1869.
Michigan.....	March 8, 1869.	Missouri.....	January 10, 1870.
Wisconsin.....	March 9, 1869.	Mississippi.....	January 17, 1870.
Massachusetts.....	March 12, 1869.	Rhode Island.....	January 18, 1870.
Maine.....	March 12, 1869.	Kansas.....	January 19, 1870.
South Carolina.....	March 16, 1869.	* Ohio.....	January 27, 1870.
Pennsylvania.....	March 26, 1869.	Georgia.....	February 2, 1870.
Arkansas.....	March 30, 1869.	Iowa.....	February 3, 1870.
New York.....	April 14, 1869.	Nebraska.....	February 17, 1870.
Indiana.....	May 14, 1869.	Texas.....	February 18, 1870.
Connecticut.....	May 19, 1869.	Minnesota.....	February 19, 1870.

At the date of the proclamation there were thirty-seven States, (Colorado having since been added,) of which thirty, more than the requisite constitutional majority of three-fourths, ratified the amendment declaring that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

During this session of the Legislature, six amendments to the Constitution of the State were submitted to the people of Missouri for their ratification or rejection at the general election to be holden on Tuesday, November 8th, 1870, as follows :

1. Abolishing district courts. Passed the Senate—ayes 22, noes 7. House—concurred in, *nem. con.* Vote of the people—yeas 137,874, noes 7,389. Majority, 130,485.

2. Abolishing oath of loyalty for jurors. Passed the Senate—ayes, 28; noes, none. House—ayes 81; noes, 28. Vote of the people—yeas, 133,702; noes, 10,809. Majority, 122,883.

1 New York withdrew her consent to the ratification January 5, 1870. \* Ohio had previously rejected the amendment, May 4, 1869. New Jersey first rejected the amendment, but on February 21, 1871, subsequent to the date of the proclamation of the Secretary of State, ratified it. California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oregon and Tennessee rejected it and never reversed the rejection.

3. Abolishing double liability of stockholders in private corporations. Passed the Senate—ayes, 22; noes, 1. House—concurred in, *nem. con.* Vote of the people—ayes, 131,470; noes, 10,790. Majority, 120,680.

4. Abolishing oath of loyalty for voters. Passed the Senate—ayes, 25; noes, 5. House—ayes, 89; noes, 17. Vote of the people—ayes, 127,643; noes, 16,283. Majority, 111,360.

5. Concerning the right to hold office and abolishing certain disqualifications on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and on account of former acts of disloyalty. Passed the Senate—ayes, 24; noes, 4. House—ayes, 87; noes, 23. Vote of the people, ayes, 128,418; noes, 18,005. Majority, 105,413.

6. In relation to education. Passed the Senate—ayes, 21; noes, 7. House—ayes, 73; noes, 7. Vote of the people—ayes, 126,188; noes, 10,789. Majority, 115,329.

After an exciting contest of several years, the State Agricultural College was located during this session of the Legislature at Columbia, with the School of Mines and Metallurgy at Rolla, Phelps County. Its location at Columbia, the seat of the State University, was a proposition to which Hon. James S. Rollins, Senator from the Boone district, addressed his best powers; and to his zeal and ability the county of Boone is chiefly indebted for its accomplishment. The bill passed the Senate—ayes, 18; noes, 6; and the House, ayes, 79; noes, 41.

The questions of universal amnesty and enfranchisement, of the repeal of the Missouri iron-clad oath for voters, jurymen, ministers, lawyers, teachers, etc., were rapidly sowing the seeds of discord and disintegration in the Republican party in the State, dividing it into two "wings"—as they were called—Radical and Liberal; the former maintaining the extreme and the latter the more magnanimous policy in regard to those who by word or deed, or both, had had complicity with the rebellion. Owing to the test-oath prescribed by the "Drake" constitution and the very stringent registry laws passed to enforce it, the Democrats were in an almost hopeless minority at the polls, and therefore had little or no voice in the direction of public affairs. Every department of the State government, and the county and municipal governments as well, were controlled by Republican officials. Hoping to gain the ascendancy in the State, wholly if possible, partially at all events, through a repeal of the constitutional and legal barriers which interposed between them and party dominance in the State, the policy of the Democrats was, first, to divide, then to conquer their enemies. And no way seemed so hopeful

of favorable results as "the passive policy"—or, as it was popularly called, "the possum policy"—which signified the withdrawal of the Democratic party, as an organized and distinct force, from the canvass of 1870, and the co-operation of its members individually with the Liberal "wing" of the Republicans, as allies. Therefore, on March 18th, the Democratic members of the Legislature, at that time few and far between, held a caucus at Schmidt's Hotel in Jefferson City, and adopted the following:

WHEREAS, It is understood that the Democratic State Central Committee desire an expression of opinion from the Democratic members of the xxvth General Assembly of this State, as to the policy of calling a Democratic Convention; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That in our opinion it is inexpedient to call a Democratic State Convention, or to nominate candidates for State officers at the ensuing November election.

The policy here indicated seemed to meet with the general acquiescence of the Democrats of the State; and on the 13th August, the Democratic State Central Committee—D. H. Armstrong, Chairman—issued an address in which it was endorsed, and the conviction that a general ticket for State officers ought not to be nominated enforced by a variety of reasons—among them that the dominant party were divided by factions, coteries and cliques, and that one segment of them had inaugurated a movement of considerable promise to remove the suffrage restrictions which had doomed the Democrats to defeat and a tyrannical reign. To escape from these the committee believed it best to nominate no State ticket, and none was nominated.

The work of discord and disintegration in the Republican party proceeded, and reached its climax in the State Nominating Convention which met in the hall of the House in Jefferson City on August 31st. On the third day of the session, Carl Schurz, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, made a majority report comparatively liberal in its character, the minority report chiefly differing from it in regard to enfranchisement. This was the rock on which the Convention split; and it is deemed of sufficient historical interest to be brought distinctly to view by the reproduction of the resolutions of the two platforms:

#### MAJORITY OR LIBERAL (OR BROWN) PLATFORM.

4th. That the time has come when the requirements of public safety, upon which alone the disfranchisement of a large number of citizens could be justified, has clearly ceased to exist, and this Convention, therefore, true to the solemn pledges recorded in our National and State platforms, declares itself unequivocally in favor of the adoption of the Constitutional Amendments commonly called the suffrage and office-holding amendments, believing that under existing circumstances the removal of political disa-



bilities, as well as the extension of equal political rights and privileges to all classes of citizens, without distinctions, demanded by every consideration of good faith, patriotism and sound policy, and essential to the integrity of Republican institutions, to the welfare of the State, and to the honor and preservation of the Republican party.

#### MINORITY OR RADICAL (OR M'CLURG) PLATFORM.

3rd. That we are in favor of re-enfranchising those justly disfranchised for participation in the late rebellion, as soon as it can be done with safety to the State, and that we concur in the propriety of the Legislature having submitted to the whole people of the State the question, whether such time has now arrived; upon which question we recognize the right of any member of the party to vote his honest convictions.

The two reports being before the Convention, the report of the minority was adopted—ayes 349, noes 342—whereupon about two hundred and fifty delegates, friends of the majority report, headed by Mr. Schurz, withdrew, amid great excitement, to the Senate Chamber, organized a separate Convention, and nominated a full State ticket with B. Gratz Brown as a candidate for Governor. The other Convention (the “Radical,”) also nominated a full ticket, headed by Joseph W. McClurg for Governor, at that time the incumbent of the office.

The election, which was held on November 8th, resulted in the choice of the Brown or Liberal ticket by over forty thousand majority, and the return to the Legislature of a majority of members opposed to the “Radicals.” Legislature: Senate—Democrats, 13; Fusion, 3; Liberal, 6; Republicans, 12. House—Democrats, 77; Fusion, 12; Liberal, 20; Republicans, 24. Total number of members, 138—majority, 70. The “Fusion” candidates for House and Senate were elected by the united votes of Democrats and Liberals. All were Conservative, and nearly all pledged to a call of a Constitutional Convention and other measures supported by the Democrats.

The election of 1870 forms an important and notable epoch in the history of the State. It marks the period at which the Republicans, who had for eight years been the governing party, surrendered power to others—power which they have not since been able to regain.

The xxvith General Assembly met at the Capitol on January 4th, 1871—Joseph J. Gravelly,<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate. Robert P. C. Wilson, Democrat, of Platte, was elected Speaker of the House, the vote being—Wilson 84; Hosea G. Mullins, Fusionist, of Greene, 50; Wilson's majority 34. Cyrus H. Frost, Liberal, of Phelps, was elected Speaker *pro tem*.

B. Gratz Brown, Liberal, was inaugurated Governor, who recom-

<sup>1</sup> Died at his residence in Cedar County, Mo., on the ———, 1872.

mended in his message the consideration of the subject of calling a Constitutional Convention, the amendment of the registration laws so as to make them conform to the liberal provisions of the constitutional amendments ratified by the people, the better regulation of the railroads, etc., etc.

There being a vacancy in the United States Senate occasioned by the resignation of Charles D. Drake—who had received the appointment of Chief Justice of the Court of Claims at Washington City—a Democratic caucus (Henry J. Spaunhorst, a Senator from St. Louis, chairman,) was held to nominate a candidate. The names of John S. Phelps, Silas Woodson, Frank P. Blair, Jr., and Samuel T. Glover were presented to the caucus, the first ballot resulting in the nomination of Mr. Blair, as follows: Blair, 52; Glover, 16; Phelps, 13; Woodson, 10. The two Houses met in joint convention on the 16th, and Mr. Blair was elected, as follows: Blair 102, John B. Henderson 58, John F. Benjamin 5.<sup>1</sup> Necessary to a choice, 84. Mr. Blair was a member of the House from St. Louis County.

An adjourned session of the xxvith General Assembly was held, commencing on December 6th, 1871, and continuing until April 1st, 1872, during which two constitutional amendments were submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection at the November election, 1872, namely:

1. Increasing the number of Supreme Court Judges from three to five, fixing their terms of office at ten years, and providing that two additional judges shall be elected at the general election in 1872, and one judge at each general election every two years thereafter. Ratified by the people in November, 1872—ayes, 221,143; noes, 15,230. Majority, 205,913.

2. Providing that no part of the public school fund shall ever be invested in the stock or bonds or other obligations of any other State, or of any county, city, town or corporation; that the stock of the Bank of the State of Missouri, held for school purposes, and all other stocks belonging to any school or university fund, shall be sold in such manner and at such time as the General Assembly shall prescribe; and the proceeds thereof, and the proceeds of the sales of any lands or other property which belong or may hereafter belong to said school fund, may be invested in the bonds of the State of Missouri, or of the United States, and that all county school funds shall be loaned upon good and sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Died in Washington City, March 8, 1877.

unincumbered real estate security, with personal security in addition thereto. Ratified by the people in November, 1872—ayes 231,228; noes 8,197. Majority, 223,031.

During the afternoon of Wednesday, April 24th, 1872, there occurred at Gun City, in Cass County, a bloody infraction of the public peace growing out of the exasperated feelings of the people of that county against certain officials who were charged with complicity in the fraudulent issue of railroad bonds, which imposed heavy burdens upon the taxpayers. Gun City is a small station on the line of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, about midway between Harrisonville and Holden, and eleven miles from either place. When the eastern-bound train reached Gun City, having on board about thirty passengers, among whom were James C. Cline, Thomas E. Detro, J. C. Stephenson and General Jo. Shelby, the engineer discovered obstructions piled upon the track. These were rails, logs and rocks in a sort of breastwork. Before the engineer could reverse the engine or whistle "down breaks," a murderous volley of bullets and shot were poured in and around the locomotive. The cab was fairly riddled, but fortunately no one was seriously injured. The train came to a stand not far from the barricade, where seventy or eighty armed men, each wearing a mask, rushed to the locomotive, and with loud oaths and threatening gestures, in which the cold muzzles of pistols played a prominent part, compelled the engineer and fireman to hold up their hands and step back into the tank of the locomotive, where they were placed under guard while the mob proceeded with their murderous work. They at once commenced a terrible fusilade into and around the captured train. Loud cries were made for Cline, who responded by stepping from the baggage car on to the platform, and into the midst of the yelling multitude, who riddled him with bullets, killing him on the spot. They then rushed into the train, breaking in the doors and smashing in the windows, and, threatening to burn the train, pounced into the cars among the terrified passengers. "Where's the bond robbers?" "Turn out the bond thieves!" they shrieked, as they rushed into the cars. Perceiving Judge Stephenson, one of the county judges who made the issue of the bonds, they shot him down in the car, and dragged him by the hair and collar out into the grass. Mr. Detro was the next victim. He was found in the mail car and shot and severely wounded, and in that condition dragged out and thrown on to the roadside, where he was allowed to bleed to death. The gang then called for General Joe Shelby, who sat coolly in his seat and replied: "Here I am; if you want me come and get me." They finally concluded they did not want him.

Stephenson was one of the judges of the late County Court of Cass County that made a fraudulent issue of bonds in the name of that county. Cline was County Attorney, and was implicated in the swindle, while Detro was one of Cline's bondsmen. Both Stephenson and Cline had been indicted and were under heavy bonds to answer for the offences connected with the bond swindle with which they were charged.

Governor Brown at once ordered Captain Phelan's Company from Kansas City to Cass County, and dispatched Adjutant-General Albert Sigel to the scene of the massacre to gather the facts. A commission, consisting of John F. Philips, of Sedalia, and F. M. Cockrell, of Warrensburg, was also authorized by the Governor to visit the county for the purpose of uniting all good citizens in support of the Executive in enforcing the laws. No further disturbance occurred, and the guilty parties were never discovered.

On August 21st, 1872, the Democratic and Liberal Republican State Conventions met in separate chambers in the Capitol, and through the medium of committees of conference communicated with each other. The result of the conferences gave the Democrats one of the two Presidential Electors-at-Large, six of the thirteen District Electors, the Governor, Treasurer, Auditor, Attorney-General, and the four Judges of the Supreme Court—"the lion's share"; and the Liberal Republicans the Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State and Register of Lands. As per arrangement, each convention, holding sessions separately, made the nominations allotted to it, and afterwards the whole ticket was ratified amidst the greatest enthusiasm by both conventions in joint meeting.

There was no lack of excellent material for Governor before the Democratic nominating convention. During the three first ballots the following gentlemen were voted for: James S. Rollins, of Boone; Joseph L. Stephens, of Cooper; Norman J. Colman, of St. Louis; William H. Hatch, of Marion; R. P. C. Wilson, of Platte, and John S. Phelps, of Greene. First ballot: Rollins, 211; Hatch, 193; Stephens, 173; Phelps, 172; Colman, 165; Wilson, 82. Whole number of votes cast, 848. Necessary to a choice, 425. On the fourth ballot, while calling the roll of counties was in progress, R. H. Rose, of Jasper, presented the name of Silas Woodson, who was President of the Convention, as a compromise candidate, and it was received with such enthusiasm that he was nominated substantially by acclamation.

The first session of the xxviii<sup>th</sup> General Assembly met on January 1st, 1873, and consisted of eleven Republicans, twenty Democrats and three Liberals in the Senate, and ninety-two Democrats and thirty-eight

Republicans in the House. Mortimer McIlhaney, Democrat, of Audrain, was elected Speaker of the House, the vote being—McIlhaney, 60; J. B. Harper, Republican, of Putnam, 29. Silas Woodson was inaugurated Governor, who in his inaugural strongly appealed to the Legislature to sink the partisan in the patriot, and to legislate for the highest interests of the whole people. He took strong grounds against annual sessions of the Legislature, and submitted statistical tables disclosing the great expense attending them.

More than ordinary interest was exhibited in the election of United States Senator to succeed General Blair, whose term expired March 3, 1873. The Democratic Senatorial Caucus held several sessions before a nomination could be effected, the gentlemen voted for being F. P. Blair, Louis V. Bogy, John S. Phelps, James H. Birch, Thomas L. Anderson, James S. Rollins, William B. Napton, George P. Dorris, Thomas C. Reynolds, George G. Vest, James O. Broadhead, Silas Woodson, A. W. Slayback, William A. Hall, James Craig and others. On the seventeenth ballot Mr. Bogy was declared the nominee, the vote being—Bogy, 64; Blair, 47.<sup>1</sup> On the 15th day of January, the two Houses met in joint Convention, and Mr. Bogy was elected United States Senator for six years, ending March 3, 1879,<sup>2</sup> the vote being—Bogy, 111; John B. Henderson, 43.

The Legislature adjourned March 25th, 1873, and again met in adjourned session on January 7, 1874, adjourning on the 30th of March following. Among the laws passed at the adjourned session was one to authorize a vote of the people to be taken at the general election in November, 1874, for and against calling a Convention to revise and amend the Constitution of the State.

On July 4th, 1874, the formal opening to the purposes of its construction of the great bridge over the Mississippi River at St. Louis was celebrated with unexampled pomp and splendor. It was estimated that not less than one hundred and fifty thousand visitors witnessed the imposing ceremonies.

During the canvass of 1874, the opposition to the Democratic party assumed the form and cognomen of the "People's Party," or "Reform Party," and at its State Convention, composed chiefly of Republicans,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bogy died in St. Louis September 20, 1877, and Governor Phelps appointed David H. Armstrong, of St. Louis, to fill the vacancy.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Blair, after his retirement from the Senate, was appointed by Governor Woodson, Superintendent of the Insurance Department of the State; and, while an incumbent of the office, died in St. Louis, after a protracted illness, on the 9th of July, 1875.

held in Jefferson City, September 3d, nominated William Gentry, of Pettis, for Governor.

The Democratic State Convention, which met in Jefferson City on August 26th—Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan, President—nominated Charles H. Hardin, of Audrain, for Governor, on the fourth ballot, by the remarkably small majority of one-sixth of a vote, the ballot being—Hardin, 159 1-6; F. M. Cockrell, of Johnson, 156 1-6. Whole number of votes cast, 317. Necessary to a choice, 159. This one-sixth of a vote was fruitful of great results. It not only made Hardin Governor of the State by nominating him in the Democratic convention, but it largely contributed, by defeating Cockrell, in bringing about his nomination by the Democratic caucus, the following winter, for United States Senator, and his consequent election to that office.

During the three first ballots for Governor, in the caucus which nominated Hardin, Norman J. Colman, of St. Louis, and M. V. L. McClelland, of Lafayette, were also voted for. The election occurred on November 3d, 1874, and resulted in the choice of the entire Democratic State ticket by a large majority, and of a Legislature consisting of twenty-eight Democrats and six Republicans in the Senate, and of ninety-one Democrats and forty Republicans in the House.

The proposition to call a Convention to revise the Constitution of the State, out of a vote cast for Governor of 261,670, was carried by only two hundred and eighty-three (283) majority. An election for delegates to the Convention was ordered to take place on January 26th, 1875.

The xxviii<sup>th</sup> General Assembly met January 6th, 1875, and the House was organized by the election of Banton G. Boone (Democrat), of Henry, as Speaker. Charles P. Johnson, Liberal Republican, and Lieutenant-Governor, presided over the Senate. On the 12th of January Charles H. Hardin was inaugurated Governor, with the usual formalities.

On May 5th, 1875, the Convention to revise the State Constitution assembled at the Capitol, the following being the names of members of that body, classified politically:

*Democrats*—J. C. Roberts, Henry Boone, E. H. Norton, D. C. Allen, J. L. Farris, J. A. Holliday, J. B. Hale, J. H. Shanklin, C. H. Hammond, W. Halliburton, H. M. Porter<sup>1</sup>, A. M. Alexander, Benjamin R. Dysart, John R. Ripley, William F. Switzler, J. F. Rucker, H. C. Lackland, L. J. Dryden, N. C. Hardin, H. V. McKee, Levi Wagner, Lewis

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Porter having resigned and removed to Helena, Montana, Thomas Shackelford, of Howard (D.), was elected in his place.

F. Cotty, Edward McCabe, William Priest, F. M. Black, William Chrisman, Waldo P. Johnson, E. A. Nickerson, S. R. Crocket, John H. Taylor, H. C. Wallace, W. H. Letcher, B. F. Massey, John Ray, C. B. McAfee, G. W. Bradfield, John W. Ross, T. W. B. Crews, John Hyer, J. H. Maxey, Philip Pipkin, E. V. Conway, J. F. T. Edwards, P. Mabrey, N. W. Watkins, G. W. Carlton, L. H. Davis, J. H. Rider, A. M. Lay, T. J. Kelly<sup>1</sup>, James P. Ross, Wash Adams, J. O. Broadhead, Albert Todd, Joseph Pulitzer, T. T. Gnatt, A. R. Taylor, H. J. Sprauhorst, N. J. Mortell, H. C. Brockmeyer, James C. Edwards.

*Republicans*—M. McKellop, T. J. Johnson, C. D. Eitzen, Henry T. Mudd, G. H. Shields.

*Liberals*—R. W. Fyan, L. Gottschalk.

Whole number of members, 68. Democrats, 60; Republicans, 6; Liberals, 2.

As the official journal of proceedings has not been published, but is on file in manuscript in the office of the Secretary of State, it will be quite inconvenient, and perhaps unnecessary, more than to glance at the action of the State Convention.

As the law authorizing its existence provides, the Secretary of State, Michael K. McGrath, called the Convention to order and presided until a permanent organization was effected. Singularly enough, when nominations for President were in order, none were made, there being no candidates for that office. Finally the roll was called and each member voted for whom he chose, without prompting or suggestion from any source; and the vote on the first ballot stood: E. H. Norton, 12; Waldo P. Johnson, 17; Nathaniel W. Watkins, 13; W. F. Switzler, 10; J. O. Broadhead, 7. Total, 59.

On the sixth ballot Mr. Johnson was elected President, and Nathaniel W. Watkins,<sup>2</sup> of Scott, was then chosen Vice-President by acclamation. The Convention proceeded most earnestly to the work before it, with the view of accomplishing its labors in the most acceptable manner and in the shortest possible time. An examination of its roll of members and of the work they performed will justify the statement that an abler or more industrious body of men never assembled in the State.

A thorough revision of the entire organic law was made, both in Committee and in Convention. Every department of the State Government passed under critical review, and many radical changes were made, the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kelly having died before the meeting of the Convention, Horace B. Johnson, Republican, of Cole, was elected in his stead.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Watkins was a half brother of Henry Clay, and died at his residence in Scott County, March 20th, 1876, aged 81 years.

wisdom of which is now being subjected to the test of actual experience. Some of the more important of these changes would be indicated here, but the limits of this sketch forbid. They are familiar to every well-informed citizen of the State, and their practical influence on our legislation and general prosperity will be carefully noted.

The bill of rights occupied much time, and was a fruitful theme of discussion. The subject of representation, a knotty problem in all similar bodies in all the States, disclosed wide antagonisms of opinion and elicited protracted debate. In the face of all opposition, county representation was maintained. It found a place in the first Constitution of the State, and in all others since adopted by conventions of the people of Missouri. The argument that, to a certain extent, it perpetuates the representation of sub-divisions of territory, and not population, did not avail to interdict it. New and vitally important provisions were adopted in regard to legislative proceedings. Carefully prepared and stringent limitations on the powers of the General Assembly were engrafted on the new instrument. Sessions of the Legislature were made biennial, and the gubernatorial term changed from two to four years. The formation of new counties was made more difficult, perhaps impossible. The taxing and debt-contracting power of the Legislature, and of counties, cities, towns and all other municipalities, was hedged about with limitations and safeguards. Extra mileage and perquisites to officials were laid under embargo. Our system of free public schools, embracing a liberal policy for the maintenance of the University of the State, received recognition in the article on education.

The Convention having completed its labors on August 2d, 1875, the vote was taken by ayes and noes on the final adoption of the Constitution as a whole, and the vote stood—ayes, 60; noes, *none*; absent, 8. A most remarkable result, and unexampled in the history of Constitutional Conventions.

On October 30th, 1875, the Constitution was submitted to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection, and the vote stood—for the new Constitution, 91,205; against, 14,517. Majority in favor of ratifying it, 76,688; and on the 30th of November, 1875, it became the supreme law of the State.

During the latter part of the year 1875 disclosures were made of a wide-spread conspiracy among United States revenue officers, distillers and others to defraud the Government of its revenue on whiskey. Numerous prosecutions followed, which absorbed the public attention for months. O. V. Babcock, President Grant's Private Secretary, was indicted for complicity in these frauds, tried and acquitted. John A.





Forest Monarchs.

Joyce, special agent of the Revenue Service, and John McDonald, Supervisor of Internal Revenue, St. Louis, were convicted and sent to the penitentiary, and subsequently pardoned by the President.

The Democratic State Convention met in Jefferson City, July 19, 1876, Charles E. Peers, of Warren, President; endorsed the platform and candidates—Tilden and Hendricks—of the National Convention, and the administration of Governor Hardin “as a model one in the history of the State.” There were three ballots for candidate for Governor, the last one of which resulted in the choice of John S. Phelps, of Greene, by the following vote: Phelps, 181½; George G. Vest, of Pettis, 97½; John A. Hockaday, of Callaway, 19, M. V. L. McClelland, of Lafayette, 14. Whole number of votes, 312. Necessary to a choice, 157. A full State ticket was nominated.

The Republican State Convention assembled at the Capitol on August 9th, 1876, Malcomb McMillan, of Cooper, President. A platform was adopted, and Gustavus A. Finkelnburg, of St. Louis, was nominated for Governor by acclamation. A full State ticket was also presented.

The entire Democratic ticket was elected, and a Legislature politically classified as follows: Senate—Democrats, 28; Republicans, 6. House—Democrats, 102; Republicans, 41.

On January 3d, 1877, the xxixth General Assembly convened; Henry C. Brockmeyer, of St. Louis, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate. John F. Williams, of Macon, was elected Speaker of the House. Vote: Williams, Democrat, 101; S. P. Twiss, Republican, of Jackson, 38. On Monday, January 8th, John S. Phelps was inaugurated Governor, and in the presence of the two Houses and a large concourse of citizens, delivered his address.

As this was the first meeting of the Legislature under the new Constitution, its proceedings were of more than ordinary interest and attracted more than usual attention among the people. On the ninety-ninth day of its session, April 30th, it adjourned *sine die*.

Among the most notable events in the State during the year 1877 was the destruction, by fire, early on Wednesday morning, April 11th, of the Southern Hotel in St. Louis. It was an appalling disaster, rendered doubly so by the fearful destruction, not only of the magnificent building, but of a large number of human lives. In a very short time the hotel was a mass of blackened ruins. A number of people, guests and employes, were burned to death, or, jumping from windows, were dashed to pieces on the sidewalk. It was one of the most frightful disasters in the history of the country, and spread a pall of gloom over the whole West.

# APPENDIX.

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## OLD DUELS.

### 1817.—DUEL BETWEEN COLONEL THOMAS H. BENTON AND CHARLES LUCAS.

A correspondent, ("T") writing from Covington, Kentucky, February 8, 1877, to the Cincinnati *Commercial*, gives a detailed, apparently correct, and intensely interesting account of three of the most bloody duels that ever occurred in this country, and which gave to the island on which East St. Louis is located its sanguinary title, Bloody Island—a name, however, that is now fast becoming merely historical. To this paper we are chiefly indebted for the following history of the duel between Colonel Thomas H. Benton and Charles Lucas.

Colonel Benton's affray with General Jackson, at Nashville, in 1813, and the violent personal animosities it engendered—rendering his further residence in Tennessee so disagreeable, induced him at the close of his service in the army, in the war of 1812, to remove to Missouri. He fixed himself in St. Louis and engaged in the practice of law. He also established a newspaper styled the *Enquirer*, which he conducted with vigor and ability, but with such carelessness in the use of strong language that he was frequently led into fierce altercations and disputes, and sometimes into personal encounters.

Charles Lucas was born near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1792, and was consequently, ten years the junior of Colonel Benton. His father, Hon. John B. C. Lucas, was a native of Normandy, and had immigrated to this country, in 1784, at the instance of Dr. Franklin, the American Ambassador to France, with whom he had formed a personal acquaintance. He was a lawyer of high distinction, and at one time represented the Pittsburgh District in Congress. He removed to St. Louis in 1802, and in 1804 was appointed by President Jefferson Chief Justice of the then Territory of Missouri, which he held until 1820. His son Charles was educated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, where he was graduated in 1811. Upon his return to St. Louis, he began the study of law under the instruction of his father, which he pursued with great assiduity until the breaking out of the war of 1812, when he volunteered in the service of his country, but had to retire on account of ill health.

In the spring of 1814 he was admitted to the bar, and such were his abilities and character, that he at once entered upon a large and lucrative practice. In the fall of that year he was elected to the Legislature, where his usefulness and prudence attracted general observation. So rapid was his rise that, when barely twenty-four years of age, he received the appointment of United States Attorney for the District of Missouri. This position he held less than a year, when he became involved in his fatal difficulty with Colonel Benton.

The origin of this difficulty may be best explained by the following memorandum written on the night preceding their first meeting, and found among Mr. Lucas' papers after his death. It is endorsed: "*Origin and State of Differences between Thomas H. Benton and Charles Lucas:*"

St. Louis, August 11, 1817, }  
9 o'clock at night. }

The causes and differences between Thomas H. Benton and myself are these: At the October Court of last year, Mr. Benton and I were employed on adverse sides in a case. At the close of the evidence he stated that the evidence being so and so, the Court should 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 said, 'If you deny that, you deny the truth.' I replied, 'If you assert that, you assert that which is not true.' He immediately sent me a challenge, which I declined accepting, for causes stated in my correspondence with him. 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 of August, 1817, I inquired whether he had paid tax in time to entitle him to vote—he was offering his vote at the time. He applied vehement, abusive and ungentlemanly language to me, I believe some of it behind my back, all of which he declined to recant, or to give me any satisfaction other than by the greatest extremities. This is the state of the dispute between Thos. H. Benton and myself. I make this declaration that, let things eventuate as they may, it may be known how they originated.

CHARLES LUCAS.

The reasons of Mr. Lucas for not accepting Colonel Benton's challenge, alluded to in the above memorandum, are contained in the following letter, superinscribed in his own handwriting, which was also found among his papers after his death:

St. Louis, Sep. 15, 1817.

SIR: Your note of this afternoon was received. On proper occasions or for proper causes I would give you the kind of satisfaction you appear to want; but for such causes as the one you complain of, under all existing circumstances, I would not feel justified in placing myself in such a situation as to be under the necessity of taking your life or jeopardizing my own. I will not suffer the free exercise of my rights or the performance of my duties at the bar to be with me a subject of private dispute; nor will I allow it to others for doing my duty to my clients, more particularly to you in this case, who made the first breach of decorum—if one was made.

You complain of my having given you the lie direct. You have as much right to complain of the whole jury, who, on their oaths, found a verdict in direct contradiction to what you stated to be the evidence. My object was that no misstatement of the testimony should be made in the hearing of the jury without being contradicted. This was my duty to my client and myself.

The verdict of the jury justifies the statement I made of the evidence, and I will not, for supporting that truth, be in any way bound to give the redress or satisfaction you ask for to any person who may feel wounded by such exposure of truth.

Yours, etc.,

CHARLES LUCAS.

Colonel Benton absolutely refusing to retract or apologize for his offensive language at the polls, Mr. Lucas, as soon as he could arrange his affairs, sent him a challenge, which was accepted.

The parties met on the 12th day of August, 1817, on Bloody Island. Mr. Lucas was attended to the field by Hon. Joshua Barton, (who fell in a duel near the same spot, a few years later,) and Colonel Clemson, as seconds, and Dr. Quarles as surgeon. Colonel Benton was accompanied by Colonel Luke E. Lawless and Major Joshua Pilcher, as seconds, and Dr. B. J. Farrar, as surgeon. The weapons were pistols, and the distance ten paces. At the first exchange of shots Mr. Lucas was severely wounded in the neck, while Colonel Benton's left leg was touched below the knee, producing a slight contusion, without breaking the skin. Mr. Lucas' injury is thus described by his surgeon:

"The ball struck obliquely on the left side of the windpipe, in the immediate neighborhood of what is called the thyroid cartilage; it buried itself, and having passed obliquely downwards, came out at about an inch and a quarter from where it entered; in its passage it opened the external jugular vein. As it was my opinion that the wound disabled him from further fighting with equal advantage, I dissuaded him from accepting another fire. In this opinion I was afterwards confirmed, for he fainted soon after getting into the boat."

Colonel Lawless, one of Colonel Benton's seconds, makes the following statement in the *Missouri Gazette* of September 26, 1817, which will be found important when we come to consider the morality or justifiableness of the subsequent proceedings:

"When the parties fired I asked by request of Colonel Benton, if Mr. Lucas was satisfied? to which he answered in the negative. Upon this I was proceeding to reload, when Mr. Barton, a second for Mr. Lucas, informed me that it was the opinion of Dr. Quarles that the wound which Mr. Lucas had received was more serious than he had at first imagined, and that he considered it necessary that he should quit the field. In consequence, I again demanded of Mr. Lucas if he was satisfied, and if he wished for another meeting with Colonel Benton. To this question he replied that he was satisfied, and that he did not require a second meeting. Having reported the answer to Colonel Benton, he declared aloud that he was not satisfied, and required that Mr. Lucas should continue to fight or pledge himself to come out again as soon as his wound should be in a state to permit him. This promise was accordingly given, and the parties pledged themselves by their seconds to perform it."

In a letter, addressed by Mr. Barton to Judge Lucas, this statement of Colonel Lawless is confirmed.

In spite of the severity of his wound and the extreme heat of the weather, with skillful surgical attention and careful nursing, Mr. Lucas soon recovered so far as to partially resume his professional occupations. On the 22d of August, feeling entirely able to meet Colonel Benton again, he authorized his friend, Mr. Barton, to notify him of the fact. I transcribe Mr. Barton's statement:

"It was agreed on the ground at the first meeting that I should inform the friend of Colonel Benton as soon as Mr. Lucas was sufficiently recovered to meet Colonel Benton again. On Friday, the 22d of August, about 8 o'clock in the morning, I waited on Colonel Lawless for that purpose. Colonel Lawless inquired after Mr. Lucas' health, and his state of convalescence, to which I replied that he was then sufficiently recovered to meet Colonel Benton. Colonel Lawless asked when we would be ready to go out, to which I answered the next morning, or at whatever time should be thought best. Colonel Lawless then informed me that he was going that day to Herculanum on important business of his own, and should not return before the next Sunday evening or Monday morning, and mentioned something of Colonel Benton calling in another friend, in case the meeting took place next morning. I professed my willingness to postpone it until his return, if Colonel Benton was willing, Colonel Lawless not seeming disposed to agree to anything without previous consultation with him. We conversed freely on everything connected with the affair, and particularly on the prospects of peace resulting from an attempt which had been made a few days before to that end. Colonel Lawless did not know, at that time, whether his friend would drop it in the way which had been proposed, but said he (Colonel Lawless) would 'make another trial on him.' We parted with an understanding, as I thought, that Colonel Benton was to be informed of what had passed, who could then either withdraw his demand for a second meeting, call in another friend, or wait Colonel Lawless' return. I was surprised at not hearing from them sooner, and afterward asked Colonel Lawless if he had not informed his friend, before going to Herculanum, who told me he had called for that purpose, but did not find him at home. I considered that sufficient notice was given."

I again quote from the published statement of Colonel Lawless, which I may here remark is dated September 18, or nine days before the second meeting:

"The earnest representations of Colonel Benton's friends and his own general disposition had considerably weakened those indignant feelings which, on the ground, had impelled him to exact of his antagonist the promise of another interview. His cooler reflection informed him that having wounded the man who had challenged him, and who, notwithstanding his wound, declared himself satisfied, in pursuing Mr. Lucas further his conduct would assume an aspect of vengeance foreign from his heart, and the sympathies and opinions of his fellow-citizens would probably be raised against him. On these considerations he had almost determined to withdraw the demand for a second meeting, and he did not conceal these feelings from those persons with whom he was in the habit of intercourse. Colonel Benton, in thus yielding to the entreaties of friendship and to the dictates of his conscience, did not imagine that he was furnishing a means of calumny to his enemies, or that the motives of his conduct could possibly be misunderstood. In this idea he found himself disappointed, and was in a very few days assailed by reports of the most offensive nature to his feelings and reputation. Colonel Benton then saw the necessity of disproving those reports either by another meeting or by the explanation of Mr. Lucas, from whom or from whose friends he supposed them to have proceeded. He accordingly determined to await the moment when Mr. Lucas should be sufficiently recovered to come to the field, and then give him an opportunity of justifying or contradicting the reports in circulation. About this time Mr. Barton called on me, whether in the capacity of Mr. Lucas' second or not, I cannot say, and in the course of conversation, in reply to a question of mine, informed me that Mr. Lucas was sufficiently recovered to meet Col. Benton.

"At this moment I was on the point of leaving St. Louis for Herculaneum, and therefore deferred conveying the information to Col. Benton until my return, which was two days afterward.

"On my arrival, I lost no time in stating to Col. Benton the conversation I had with Mr. Barton, and at his request immediately called upon the latter gentleman. As I was one of those who was of opinion that he should release Mr. Lucas from the pledge that he had given, I felt considerable regret that the generous intentions of my friend should be affected by reports which might have been circulated without the knowledge of Mr. Lucas, and considered it, therefore, my duty to exert myself in every way consistent with the honor of Col. Benton to avert a result which would certainly prove more or less calamitous.

"With this view I stated to Mr. Barton the motives which have disposed Col. Benton to release Mr. Lucas from his promise to meet him, and the causes that counteracted this disposition. I then proposed that Mr. Lucas should sign a declaration disavowing the reports in question. To this proposition Mr. Barton assented, and a declaration to the above effect was drawn up and agreed to by us. The declaration, which appeared to me sufficiently full, was submitted to Mr. Lucas, who consented to sign it. Col. Benton, however, did not consider it sufficiently explicit, and rejected it. This decision appeared to leave no other alternative than a meeting, which was accordingly agreed upon by Mr. Barton and me, and was fixed for the morning after the rising of the Superior Court, which was then sitting.

"It may, perhaps, be necessary to state that on Mr. Barton's suggestion that the distance should be shortened, I consented on the part of my friend to any distance from ten paces to five, which latter was mentioned by Mr. Barton as best calculated to place the parties on equality.

"In this situation matters remained for three or four days, during which time my own reflection and the opinions of honorable and sensible men whom I consulted, convinced me that the cause of the quarrel at present being perhaps ideal, I should omit no effort to prevent the fatal consequences of such a meeting. In their opinion the personal safety of my friend was my least consideration, as upon such occasions it ever has been.

"With this view I drew up a second declaration, more explicit and full than the former, precluding all possibility of mistake as to the motives or conduct of either party, and, as it appeared to me, consistent with the honor of both. Mr. Barton having examined and approved of it, obtained from Mr. Lucas his consent to sign it. I, on my part, submitted it to Col. Benton, and, supported by his other friends, succeeded in inducing him to accept it. The terms of the declaration are as follows:

"In consequence of reports having reached Colonel Benton of declarations com-

ing from me respecting the distance at which I intended to bring him at our next meeting, I hereby declare that I never said anything on that subject with a view of its becoming public or of its coming to the knowledge of Colonel Benton, and that I have never said or insinuated, or caused to be said or insinuated, that Colonel Benton was not disposed and ready to meet me at any distance at any time whatsoever.

“CHAS. LUCAS.”

“Having now stated the transactions between these gentlemen as accurately as I am able without entering into details of minute particulars, or a report of the expressions used by one party or the other—details which might irritate, without answering any useful purpose—I submit the whole to the fellow citizens of Colonel Benton, in the perfect persuasion that if the reports to which I have referred, and which have drawn from me this statement, should have produced an impression injurious to the reputation of my friend, the facts which I have thus detailed will disabuse the public and will convince them that those reports are false and absurd, and that the authors of them, whoever they may be, are deserving of the contempt and execration of every man of generosity or sense of honor.

“L. E. LAWLESS

“St. Louis, Sept. 18th, 1817.”

Colonel Lawless evidently miscalculated the “generous disposition” of his friend, Colonel Benton, for three days after the publication of the above communication, he found himself intrusted with the delivery of the following letter to Mr. Lucas:

St. Louis, Sept. 23, 1817.

SIR: When I released you from your engagement to return to the Island, I yielded to a feeling of generosity in my own bosom, and to a sentiment of deference to the judgment of others. From the reports which now fill the country it would seem that yourself and some of your friends have placed my conduct to very different motives. The object of this is to bring these calumnies to an end and to give you an opportunity to justify the great expectations which have been excited. Colonel Lawless will receive your terms, and I expect your distance not to exceed nine feet.

“T. H. BENTON.”

“To Chas. Lucas, Esq.”

Mr. Lucas was absent attending the Superior Court at Jackson at the date of this message, and did not return until two days afterward. The message was delivered to him within one hour after his return. He responded immediately:

St. Louis, Sept. 26th, 1817.

SIR: I received your note of the 23rd inst. this morning on my arrival from below. Although I am conscious that no respectable man can say that he has heard any of these reports from me, and that I think it more than 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 to gratify your wishes and the wishes of your news-carriers. My friend, Mr. Barton, has full authority to act for me.

“CHARLES LUCAS.”

“T. H. Benton, Esq.”

The parties met early on the morning following acceptance. The distance finally agreed upon was ten feet. Both fired at nearly the same time, Benton having a barely perceptible advantage in the quickness of his shot. The ball from his pistol went through the right arm of Mr. Lucas and penetrated his body in the region of the heart. He fell, and shortly expired. Colonel Benton escaped unhurt. Mr. Barton, Lucas' second, states that “at the last interview he appeared equally cool and deliberate. Both presented and fired so nearly together that I could not distinguish two reports. Others, who stood on the shore state that they heard two echoes. It was remarked that Mr. Lucas raised his weapon in good intention; hence it is to be

supposed that the ball of his adversary struck his arm before or at the moment his pistol exploded, and destroyed the effect of his shot."

Benton approached his victim and expressed his sorrow at what had happened, after the etiquette of such occasions, if no better feeling may be supposed, and Lucas replied, "Colonel Benton, you have persecuted and murdered me. I do not and can not forgive you." This he repeated, but as his life fast ebbed—for he survived but a few minutes—perhaps thinking that he must forgive if he expected Divine forgiveness, he looked at his slayer and whispered audibly, "I can forgive you; I do forgive you," and extended his hand. A moment more and all was over.

This I believe to be a correct statement, as far as the facts can now be ascertained, of this atrocious affair. The conduct of Colonel Benton cannot be justified. Even under the code he had no right, after the exchange of shots at the first meeting, and while still on the ground, to reverse his relations with his antagonist, and himself assume the right of the challenger. He was there to give satisfaction and not to demand it; nor to exact the promise of another meeting after his challenger had declared himself satisfied. He forced the second meeting against the judgment and advice of his best friends, in defiance of the customs governing such affairs, and in spite of every dictate of humanity and of all moral principle; and this to "justify the great expectations which had been excited," they growing out of certain unfounded reports, in the minds of a class of people he ought to have despised. Little wonder, then, that in after life he was averse to alluding to the duel, and that, previous to his death, he destroyed all the papers in his possession relating to it.

The action of the seconds on either side is entitled to the severest reprehension. They flagrantly violated the rules which it was their business to know, and fairly divide the responsibility of the consequences. Colonel Benton appears to have successfully bullied them all.

I will conclude with a tribute to the character of Mr. Lucas, from one who knew him well, and was perfectly acquainted with the circumstances of his untimely taking off:

"The courage of Charles Lucas was not an odious compound of invidious ferocity, excited by a sense of superiority of skill over his adversary, bolstered up and stimulated by the expectation of occupying a high standing with his confederates. It was simple, ingenuous, modest, calm and undaunted, even under every possible disadvantage; indeed, it was such as would have enabled him to perform for his country the most heroic acts, had he met with the opportunity. He could not but know that at a ten feet distance, and with such a skillful adversary, he must be shot down—he could not hope anything more than to drag to the grave with him his persecutor—his implacable enemy. As Attorney for the United States for this Territory he was truly a check upon every officer acting therein, under the laws of the United States. Many old practices could not be kept up, continued or overlooked. As a man his character was too pure and irreproachable; his prospects were too fair; a local faction could not prevent the good people of the territory from appreciating his worth; from making use of his virtues and talents."

This is his epitaph, as prepared by his father:

"Charles Lucas, died on the 27th of September, 1817, aged 25 years and 3 days. He was the ornament of his father's family; he was a precious model to his younger brothers—their ardent friend—their best hope of support when their father would be no more.

JOHN B. C. LUCAS."



## 1823.—DUEL BETWEEN THOMAS C. RECTOR AND JOSHUA BARTON.

In the *Missouri Republican* of June 25, 1823, there appeared a communication, signed "Philo," which bore severely upon the official conduct of William Rector, Surveyor General of the Territorial District of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas. The editor of the paper remarked:

"We have inserted the communication signed 'Philo' on the principle that men in office are bound to answer to the people for the manner in which they discharge their public duties; and that if charges are made against them from a respectable and responsible source, and are couched in decorous terms, the press would defeat the object of its institution if it refused to permit them to come before the public. By this course the innocent cannot be injured. If the charges are untrue, he who utters them is disgraced; if they are true, the people are interested in knowing it, while the party implicated has nothing to complain of in the development."

The complaint of the anonymous correspondent was that the Surveyor General indulged in the practice of giving out the largest and best contracts for surveying to his family connections and personal friends, who sub-let them, and, without incurring any particular labor, responsibility or risk, were enabled to pocket considerable emoluments, to the injury and demoralization of the public service. These charges had been used against Surveyor General Rector to prevent his reappointment to the office; and prominently so by Senator Barton, of Missouri, when his appointment came up for confirmation.

In later times such objections to an official would be regarded as trivial, but in those early days the imputation was deemed to be dishonorable. On the appearance of the communication, Mr. Thomas C. Rector, a brother of the Surveyor General, called upon the editor and demanded the name of the writer. Joshua Barton, a brother of Senator Barton, and at the time United States Attorney for the District of Missouri, was given as the author. Mr. Rector immediately challenged him. The result may appropriately be given in the subjoined extract from the editorial columns of the *Republican* of July 2, 1823:

"On Monday, 30th ult.. a meeting took place between Joshua Barton, Esq., District Attorney of the United States, and Thomas C. Rector, in consequence of a communication signed 'Philo,' which appeared in last week's paper. The parties met at 6 P. M., on the island opposite this place. They both fired at the word, when Mr. Barton fell mortally wounded. Mr. Rector escaped unhurt. Mr. Barton expired on the ground. In him Missouri has lost one of her ablest and worthiest citizens."

Surveyor General Rector, who had been absent in Washington City attending to his imperiled political and personal interests, reached St. Louis on the day following the duel. On the 2d of July, and simultaneously with the above announcement—for it must be borne in mind that the *Republican* was only issued as a weekly at that time—he issued a card in which the public was informed that circumstances had occurred which prevented his replying to the publication over the signature of "Philo," and requesting a suspension of opinion until his answer was seen. He accompanied this card with a notification to the editors that he would hold them personally responsible for any communications relating to his official conduct which might appear in their columns without the signature of the writer. To this the editorial response was, of course, commendably defiant.

Surveyor General Rector did not fairly make good his promises. In the next issue of the *Republican* he published a short communication, generally denying the

truth of the charges made against him, and presenting, as a complete defense, the fact that in spite of these charges he had been reappointed to office, and confirmed. This he deemed a sufficient answer to the injurious reports circulated against him, and a justification of his brother's call of Mr. Barton to the field.

In the *Republican* of July 16, Edward Bates, Esq., a prominent lawyer and citizen of St. Louis, and subsequently of National reputation, felt it his duty to reply, which he did over his own proper signature:

"I lose no time," said he, "in giving my public pledge to substantiate every material statement in the piece signed 'Philo.' I very unwillingly obtrude my name upon the public as a newspaper writer, but the long intimacy and more than brotherly connection between Mr. Barton and me have identified us in the public mind, and caused the people to look to me as the inheritor of his principles and feelings for a vindication of his name and character. In this just expectation they shall not be disappointed."

Senator Barton also published a card, in which he said:

"I now assert before the public that every material allegation in the article signed 'Philo' is true, and that I can prove it in any mode of investigation calculated to admit the truth in evidence and the production of testimony."

Mr. Bates redeemed his pledge in the most convincing manner. He showed that no less than twelve relatives and connections of Surveyor-General Rector had received from him appointments as deputy surveyors, and had sub-let contracts at enormous profits to themselves. In the year 1822 alone, out of two hundred and fifty-four townships surveyed, one hundred and ninety-five were given to his own kindred. Among the beneficiaries of this nepotism, if I am not mistaken, was the Rector who laid claim to the Hot Springs of Arkansas, the litigation as to the title of which only recently terminated by a final decision in the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Bates concluded his triumphant exposure in the following sensible and dignified manner:

"If General Rector should take offense at what I have written, the courts are open to him, and if I have wronged him the laws will afford him a vindictive remedy. If he will venture to take this course, I will justify these statements and prove the facts upon him before a jury."

Yet, for venturing to utter the actual truth, Joshua Barton sacrificed his life. Nemesis was not asleep, however. Thomas C. Rector, if I am correctly informed, was killed in a brawl, while his brother, for whose good name he risked his life, died in poverty and misery, in Illinois, some years after these occurrences.

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#### 1831.—DUEL BETWEEN THOMAS BIDDLE AND SPENCER PETTIS.

This doubly tragical event occurred on Friday, August 27, 1831. Mr. Pettis was a Representative in Congress and a candidate for re-election. At that time President Jackson was waging his memorable war against the United States Bank. Mr. Nicholas Biddle was at the head of that institution, and in consequence of such relation a very conspicuous figure in the politics of that day. Mr. Pettis was a supporter of the Administration. In his canvass of the district (which embraced the whole State of Missouri), he was severe in his opposition to the bank—a fact which it is probable led to the opposition to his election by Major Thomas Biddle, a brother of Nicholas Biddle and a Paymaster of the United States Army, then stationed in

St. Louis, where he had recently married the daughter of a prominent and wealthy citizen. During the canvass, an attack was made upon Mr. Pettis by an anonymous writer in one of the St. Louis papers (who signed himself "Missouri"), in which the writer was particularly severe on Mr. Pettis, endeavoring to show that he was unfit to represent Missouri in Congress, ridiculing him in a most extravagant manner; comparing him to a "bowl of skimmed milk," a "plate of dried herrings," and making many other odious comparisons.

To these attacks, Mr. Pettis replied over his own signature, charging Major Biddle with the authorship of the articles. Quoting the disparaging comparisons above mentioned, he said that "all that might be true, but had Major Biddle ever given any evidence to the world of his manhood?" This remark greatly offended Major Biddle, who, although esteemed for his urbanity, lost command of himself, and forgot the dignity of his station and profession. Without taking the advice of anyone, he formed the resolution to castigate Mr. Pettis with a cowhide. Armed with this instrument, he sought that gentleman at his lodgings in the City Hotel, of St. Louis. It was very early in the morning. He inquired of a servant to be shown to Mr. Pettis' apartments, which was done without any suspicion as to his motive for calling at so unusual an hour. He found Mr. Pettis lying on a mattress spread upon the piazza adjoining his room, in his night clothes and asleep. Stripping him of his covering, he proceeded to administer an unmerciful chastisement. The noise aroused a number of the guests, who interfered and put a stop to the violence. Major Biddle retired without having uttered a word.

The occurrence produced extraordinary excitement. Great sympathy was felt for Mr. Pettis, who was personally extremely popular—he was a very young man, and was regarded as the rising politician of the State—and besides was at the time in feeble health, having recently suffered a bilious attack in which his life was despaired. He took no immediate steps toward redressing the outrage, preferring to await the result of the pending election and his full restoration to health. He was chosen by a triumphant majority, the assault upon him being regarded as political rather than personal, and bearing no disgrace with it, the most Christian of his supporters feeling satisfied that Major Biddle would be "called out" when the proper time came.

Unfortunately, however, for the memory of Mr. Pettis, immediately preceding the election, feeling apprehensive that he might be attacked by Major Biddle upon the street, who was furious at the abuse he was constantly receiving from a partisan press, and vexatiously disappointed at Mr. Pettis' delay in making the usual demand upon him for the unparalleled affront he had given him, he went before a magistrate and procured the arrest of the Major upon a peace-warrant. Both were present in Court when the warrant was returned. Mr. Pettis made some demonstration toward Major Biddle with a pistol, as if to attack him, but was restrained by his friends. Thereupon he, too, was placed under bonds by the magistrate. During the altercation Major Biddle remarked that to prevent the recurrence of such unseemly squabbles, if Mr. Pettis would send him a challenge he would promptly accept it, notwithstanding his bonds. The challenge was sent on the following day.

Major Edward Dobyns, of Fulton, Mo., and in 1831 a citizen of St. Louis, well acquainted with all the parties to the duel and the facts relating to it, in a letter to the *Cincinnati Commercial*, dated Feb. 22, 1877, maintains that this account does Mr. Pettis injustice and offers this correction:

It will be remembered that Hon. David Barton, United States Senator from Missouri, who was a candidate for re-election, had just been defeated by Colonel Alexander Buckner. Judge Barton, who was an able statesman and strong supporter of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, was the Whig candidate in support of the United States Bank against Mr. Pettis, who was a candidate for re-election to Congress. It was all important to the friends of General Jackson that Mr. Barton should not be sent back to Congress. The attack of Major Biddle upon Mr. Pettis was made about the 10th of July, and the election was to take place on the first Monday in August. That being the case, there would have been no time, if Mr. Pettis had challenged Major Biddle, as he intended to do, and fallen, to put in his place a man to defeat Judge Barton.

The hotel at which Mr. Pettis was stopping, stood very near the residence of Colonel Thomas H. Benton. At about daylight Mrs. Benton awoke her husband, and asked if he did not hear a noise at the hotel. Mr. Benton said he did not. Mrs. Benton said that she had heard it distinctly, and would not be surprised if a difficulty had occurred between Mr. Pettis and Major Biddle. Mr. Benton immediately arose, and went over to the hotel, and found that Mrs. Benton's surmise was correct. Major Biddle had just left; Colonel Benton did not remain with Mr. Pettis more than five minutes. These facts I learned from Colonel Benton himself; my long acquaintance with him (having been for many years both personal and political friends) enables me to say that in that short interview he said to Mr. Pettis: "If you should challenge Mr. Biddle immediately, as you wish to do, and you should chance to fall, the election is so near at hand and the State so large (Missouri being entitled to but one member), there would not be time to bring out another candidate and to transmit the news throughout the State before the day of election, and consequently Mr. Barton would be elected. Therefore, have Major Biddle arrested, and take all the facts in the case and have them printed and circulated throughout the State (which was done), and after the election is over, *then, sir, I leave you to vindicate your honor in such manner as you may deem most consistent with the principles that govern gentlemen.*"

Mr. Pettis reluctantly adopted this course, and on the same day had Major Biddle brought before Judge Peter Ferguson on a peace-warrant. I was present at the trial and saw the parties in Court, and can say that your correspondent is mistaken in his statement that Mr. Pettis made some demonstration toward Major Biddle with a pistol, but was restrained by his friends. I sat within a few feet of Mr. Pettis and have no recollection of any demonstration on the part of Mr. Pettis. Major Biddle intimated that certain satisfaction might be given.

Your correspondent makes the following statement, for which there is not the least foundation: "During the altercation Major Biddle remarked that, to prevent the recurrence of such unseemly squabbles, if Mr. Pettis would send him a challenge he would promptly accept it, notwithstanding his bonds. The challenge was sent on the following day." The challenge was not sent on the following day, nor was Major Biddle under bonds. It was not sent for nearly two months afterwards, for the reason before stated, of which I shall say more hereafter.

Judge Ferguson, very reasonably supposing, in view of the outrage on Mr. Pettis, that he might commit a breach of the peace by attacking Major Biddle, bound both parties to keep the peace.

Major Dhyms, says: "After the election, Mr. Pettis returned to St. Louis, but in a few days went down to Ste. Genevieve, and spent some weeks with Dr. Lewis F. Linn (afterwards United States Senator, succeeding Alexander Buckner). About this time Major Biddle left St. Louis on official business, as Paymaster of the United States troops stationed in the West; went to Prairie Du Chien to pay off the troops stationed at that post, arriving in St. Louis a few days before Mr. Pettis returned from Ste. Genevieve.

"About August 18th, more than a month after he met Major Biddle at Judge Ferguson's office, Mr. Pettis returned from Dr. Linn's to St. Louis, stopped at the City Hotel, and the next day went up to the residence of Captain Martin Thomas, a retired officer of the United States army, and spent some days with him. He placed himself under Captain Thomas' training, he being a gentleman of experience in dueling, and on August 21st or 22nd (and *not* on the day after meeting Major Biddle at the Magistrate's office, as your correspondent says), a challenge was borne by Captain Thomas to Major Biddle from Mr. Pettis.

"Mr. Biddle, being the challenged party, of course had the right to choose the weapons, and prescribe the distance and time of meeting. The weapons were pistols, distance five feet and time 3 o'clock p. m., Friday, August 27th, 1831.

"No objection whatever was urged by Mr. Pettis to the terms. Major Biddle was attended by Major Benjamin O'Fallon as second, and Dr. H. Lane as surgeon; Mr. Pettis by Captain Martin Thomas as second, and Dr. L. F. Linn.

"The intelligence of the duel spread through the city, and an immense concourse of people lined the river shore opposite the island to witness it. The windows and the tops of the houses in the vicinity were crowded with spectators. Owing to the near sightedness of Major Biddle and the deadly nature of the difficulty, the distance was fixed at *five feet*! Both parties behaved intrepidly and coolly. When they presented their pistols they overlapped!

"Both parties stood erect; Major Biddle's ball passed through the front of Mr. Pettis' abdomen; one inch farther to the front would have missed him. Mr. Pettis' ball struck Major Biddle in the center of the hip, passing in and lodging in the center of the opposite hip. Both were mortally wounded. When assured of this fact by the surgeons, like Hamlet and Laertes, they exchanged forgiveness, and were borne from the ground. Mr. Pettis died the next forenoon. He was buried on Sunday, the 29th, and old inhabitants yet speak of his funeral as the largest they ever witnessed. Major Biddle survived until the following Sunday at 3 o'clock a. m.—the very morning of the day of Mr. Pettis' burial. He was buried with the honors of war at Jefferson Barracks. His widow died in 1851. She was possessed of large wealth, and from the period of her husband's death devoted herself and her fortune to public and private charities. In her will she left provision for a Widows' and Infants' Asylum, a noble benefaction which stands at the corner of Tenth and Biddle streets, in St. Louis. In the grounds of this institution the remains of herself and husband reposed for many years, and until their removal to the new Catholic Cemetery in the vicinity of that city. On the old monument, which I remember to have visited in 1864, was this simple but touching inscription:

'PRAY FOR THOMAS AND ANN BIDDLE.'

"Major Biddle had served gallantly in the war of 1812. The annexed tribute to his memory is to be found in the old records of Jefferson Barracks, under date of September 4th, 1831:

"WHEREAS, A recent melancholy event, deeply to be regretted by the whole community, and particularly by members of the army, both as to its origin and its result, has taken from the army a gallant and distinguished officer, and from among us an esteemed and respected friend.

"Resolved, That this meeting deplores the loss of their estimable fellow soldier, the late Major Thomas Biddle, an officer who distinguished himself in the field against the enemies of his country, and whose untimely death now calls forth our profoundest regret and sympathy.

"Brigadier General H. ATKINSON, President,  
"H. SMITH, Captain Sixth Infantry, Secretary."

"Mr. George. N. Lynch, the veteran undertaker of St. Louis, who disinterred Major Biddle's remains, told me that in removing the bones to another coffin, he found the bullet which had cost the unfortunate gentleman's life. It was lying immediately in rear of the right groin. He presented it to Captain Hastings, a relative of Major Biddle, who still preserves it as a *souvenir*.

T."

## MARQUETTE'S REMAINS DISCOVERED.

THE SITE OF AN OLD JESUIT CHURCH DISCOVERED ON POINT ST. IGNACE, MICH.—  
BONES AND OTHER RELICS EXHUMED.

The Sheboygan (Mich.) Free Press, of May 19th, 1877, publishes the following item, which we add as a note to page 149, remarking that its publication in the *Free Press* was made two hundred years, to a day, after Marquette's death:

"Like wildfire the news spread through the village this week that the foundation of the old Jesuit Mission, which was established by Father Marquette 200 years ago, had been discovered on the farm of Mr. David Murray, at Point St. Ignace, and that numerous church relics of those days had been unearthed, showing beyond question that this was the place where the mission was erected. Soon after this news was received, the bulletin at the telegraph office announced the fact that the bones of a human being had been found on the grounds, which were undoubtedly the remains of that intrepid missionary, Father Marquette. As the readers of the early history of Michigan are aware, in 1671 Father Marquette built a log chapel at Point St. Ignace, and named the station St. Ignatius. After this a church was erected, which was subsequently destroyed by fire, and all trace of its location was lost. Efforts have been made at different times to discover the site of the old mission, but heretofore have been of no avail. On the farm of Mr. Murray, about 200 yards from the main road running through the town, there is a small rise of ground covered over with thick underbrush, which had not been cleared away. It was here that Mr. Patrick Murray, son of David Murray, one day last week, made the important discovery of the location of the old church. The foundation, marked by a rise of ground somewhat in the shape of a cross, is clearly traced, as well as the location of the baptismal font and the place where the church treasures were kept. As soon as the fact was made known of the discovery, many people gathered on the ground, and in the researches that were made, was found a number of ancient church relics, such as gold pieces, portions of crosses, window-glass, etc. It is reported also that a cross has been found with Father Marquette's name upon it. There is much excitement at the Point in regard to the matter, and a guard is now on duty to protect the place from intrusion until some definite plan of action shall be determined upon by the proper authorities. A rumor is current, with how much truth in it we cannot tell, that large rewards have been offered for the discovery of the old mission site or of the remains of Father Marquette. History tells us that he died in the vicinity of where now stands the city of Grand Rapids, and was there buried, but that his bones were subsequently taken up and placed in a vault in the church founded by him at the Point. The statements in regard to the recent discoveries were furnished us by different ones, and we give them as reported.

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Hon. David R. Atchison made a speech in Platte County, Mo., of which the *Platte Argus*, of Nov. 6th, 1854, gives the following report:

"General Atchison said his mission here to-day was, if possible, to awaken the people of this county to the danger ahead, and to suggest the means to avoid it. The people of Kansas, in their first elections, would decide the question whether or not the slaveholder was to be excluded, and it depended upon a majority of the votes cast at the polls. Now, if a set of fanatics and demagogues a thousand miles off could afford to advance their money and exert every nerve to abolitionize the Territory and exclude the slaveholders when they have not the least personal interest, what is your duty? When you reside in one day's journey of the Territory, and when your peace, your quiet, and your property depends upon your action, you can, without an exertion, send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably at the ballot-box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and the other Southern States will have shown themselves recreant to their interests, and will deserve their fate."

## POPULATION OF MISSOURI.

The annexed table shows the population of the State, by Counties, and the Counties in existence at the several periods mentioned:

Population of the State in 1810, 20,845.

COUNTIES.	1821	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1876
Adair.....				2,842	8,531	11,449	13,774
Andrew.....				9,433	11,850	15,137	14,992
Atchison.....				1,648	4,649	8,440	10,925
Audrain.....			1,949	3,506	8,075	12,307	15,157
Barry.....			4,795	3,467	7,995	10,373	11,146
Barton.....					1,817	5,087	6,900
Bates.....				3,669	7,215	15,960	17,484
Benton.....			4,205	5,015	9,072	11,322	11,027
Bollinger.....					7,371	8,162	8,848
Boone.....	3,692	8,859	13,561	14,979	19,486	20,765	31,923
Buchanan.....			6,237	12,975	23,861	35,109	38,165
Butler.....				1,616	2,891	4,298	4,363
Caldwell.....			1,458	2,316	5,034	11,390	12,200
Callaway.....	1,797	6,102	11,765	13,827	17,049	19,202	25,257
Camden.....				2,338	4,975	6,108	7,027
Cape Girardeau	7,852	7,430	9,359	13,912	15,547	17,558	17,891
Carroll.....			2,433	5,441	9,763	17,445	21,518
Carter.....					1,235	1,455	1,549
Cass (a).....			4,693	6,090	9,794	19,296	18,069
Cedar.....				3,361	6,637	9,474	9,912
Chariton.....	1,426	1,776	4,746	7,514	12,562	19,135	23,294
Christian.....					5,491	6,707	7,936
Clark.....			2,846	5,527	11,684	13,667	5,699
Clay.....		5,342	8,282	10,332	13,023	15,564	15,320
Clinton.....			2,724	3,786	7,748	14,063	13,698
Cole.....	1,028	3,006	9,286	6,696	9,697	10,292	14,122
Cooper.....	3,483	6,910	10,484	12,950	17,356	20,692	21,356
Crawford.....		1,709	3,561	6,397	5,823	7,982	9,391
Dade.....				4,246	7,072	8,683	11,089
Dallas.....				3,648	5,892	8,383	8,073
Daviess.....			2,736	5,298	9,606	14,410	16,557
DeKalb.....				2,075	5,224	9,858	11,159
Dent.....					5,654	6,357	7,401
Douglas.....					2,414	3,915	6,461
Dunklin.....				1,220	5,026	5,982	6,255
Franklin.....	1,928	3,431	7,515	11,021	18,033	3,098	26,924
Gasconade.....	1,174	1,548	5,330	4,996	8,727	1,093	11,160
Gentry.....				4,248	11,980	11,607	12,673
Green.....			5,372	12,785	13,186	21,549	24,693
Grundy.....				3,006	7,887	10,567	12,215
Harrison.....				2,447	10,626	14,635	17,743
Henry (b).....			4,726	4,052	9,866	17,401	18,965
Hickory.....				2,329	4,705	6,452	5,870
Holt.....				3,957	6,550	11,652	13,245
Howard.....	7,321	10,314	13,108	13,969	15,946	17,233	17,815
Howell.....					3,169	4,218	6,756

## POPULATION OF MISSOURI.—CONTINUED.

COUNTIES.	1821	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1876
Iron.....					5,842	6,278	6,628
Jackson.....		2,822	7,612	14,000	22,896	55,041	54,045
Jasper.....				4,223	6,883	14,928	29,384
Jefferson.....	1,838	2,586	4,296	6,928	10,344	15,380	16,186
Johnson.....			4,471	7,467	14,644	24,648	22,971
Knox.....				2,894	8,727	10,974	12,678
Laclede.....				2,498	5,182	9,380	9,845
Lafayette (c) ..	1,340	2,921	6,815	13,690	20,098	22,628	22,204
Lawrence.....				4,859	8,846	13,067	18,054
Lewis.....			6,040	6,578	12,286	15,114	16,320
Lincoln.....	1,674	4,060	7,449	9,421	14,210	15,960	16,858
Linn.....			2,245	4,058	9,112	15,900	18,110
Livingston.....			4,325	4,247	7,417	16,730	18,074
McDonald.....				2,236	4,038	5,226	6,072
Macon.....			6,034	6,565	14,346	23,230	25,028
Madison.....		2,371	3,395	6,003	5,664	5,849	8,750
Maries.....					4,901	5,916	6,480
Marion.....	1,907	4,839	9,623	12,230	18,838	23,780	22,794
Mercer.....				2,691	9,300	11,557	13,393
Miller.....			2,282	3,834	6,812	6,616	8,529
Mississippi.....				3,123	4,859	4,982	7,498
Moniteau.....				6,004	10,124	11,375	13,084
Monroe.....			9,505	10,541	14,785	17,149	17,751
Montgomery...	2,032	3,900	4,371	5,486	9,718	10,405	14,418
Morgan.....			4,407	4,650	8,202	8,434	9,529
New Madrid...	2,444	2,351	4,554	5,541	5,654	6,357	6,673
Newton.....			3,790	4,268	9,319	12,821	16,875
Nodaway.....				2,118	5,252	14,751	23,508
Oregon.....				1,432	3,009	3,287	4,469
Osage.....				6,704	7,879	10,793	11,200
Ozark.....				2,294	2,447	3,363	4,579
Pemiscot.....					2,962	2,059	2,573
Perry.....	1,599	3,371	5,760	7,215	9,128	9,877	11,189
Pettis.....			2,930	5,150	9,392	18,706	23,167
Phelps.....					5,714	10,506	9,919
Pike.....	2,677	6,122	10,646	13,609	18,417	23,077	22,828
Platte.....			8,913	16,845	18,350	17,352	15,948
Polk.....			8,449	6,186	9,995	12,445	13,467
Pulaski.....			6,529	3,998	3,835	4,714	6,157
Putnam.....				1,657	9,207	11,217	12,641
Ralls.....	1,684	4,346	5,670	6,151	8,592	10,510	9,997
Randolph.....		2,942	7,198	9,439	11,407	15,908	19,173
Ray.....	1,789	2,658	6,553	10,353	14,092	18,700	18,394
Reynolds.....				1,849	3,173	3,756	4,716
Ripley.....			2,856	2,830	3,747	3,175	3,913
St. Charles.....	4,058	4,822	7,911	11,454	16,523	21,304	21,821
St. Clair.....				3,556	6,812	6,747	11,242
St. Francois.....		2,386	3,211	4,964	4,249	9,742	11,621
Ste. Genevieve.	3,181	2,000	3,148	5,313	8,029	8,384	2,409
St. Louis (!)...	8,190	14,909	35,979	104,978	190,524	351,189	538,507
Saline.....	1,176	2,182	5,258	8,843	14,699	21,672	27,087
Schuyler.....				3,287	6,097	8,820	9,881
Scotland.....				3,782	8,873	10,670	12,030
Scott.....		2,136	5,974	3,182	5,247	5,317	5,312
Shannon.....				1,199	2,284	2,339	3,234



## POPULATION OF MISSOURI.—CONTINUED.

COUNTIES.	1821	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1876
Shelby.....			3,056	4,253	7,301	10,119	13,243
Stoddard.....			3,153	4,277	7,877	8,535	10,883
Stone.....					2,400	3,253	3,544
Sullivan.....				2,983	9,198	11,907	14,038
Taney.....			3,264	4,373	3,576	4,407	5,124
Texas.....				2,313	6,067	9,618	10,287
Vernon.....					4,850	11,247	14,419
Warren.....			4,253	5,860	8,339	9,637	10,321
Washington....	3,741	6,779	7,213	8,811	9,723	11,719	13,100
Wayne.....	1,614	3,254	3,403	5,518	5,629	6,068	7,006
Webster.....					7,099	10,434	10,684
Worth.....						5,004	7,164
Wright.....				3,387	4,508	5,684	7,424
Total.....	70,647	140,304	383,702	682,043	1,182,012	1,721,295	2,085,537

(a.) First called VanBuren. (b.) First called Rives. (c.) First called Lillard.

The census of St Louis for 1876 was not taken on account of the insufficiency of the pay allowed for the work, but estimating the population of the city on the basis of the directory of 1876 and adding the population of the county the same as it was in 1870, the population of the city and county would be 538,507, making the total population of the State 2,085,537.

## COUNTIES—WHEN ORGANIZED.

COUNTIES.	DATE OF ORGANIZATION.	COUNTIES.	DATE OF ORGANIZATION.
Adair.....	January 29, 1841.	Dallas (4).....	December 10, 1844.
Andrew.....	January 29, 1841.	Daviess.....	December 29, 1836.
Atchison.....	January 14, 1845.	DeKalb.....	February 25, 1845.
Audrain.....	December 17, 1836.	Dent.....	February 10, 1851.
Barry.....	January 5, 1835.	Douglas.....	October 19, 1857.
Barton.....	December 12, 1855.	Dunklin.....	February 14, 1845.
Bates.....	January 29, 1841.	Franklin.....	December 11, 1818.
Benton.....	January 3, 1835.	Gasconade.....	November 25, 1820.
Bollinger.....	March 1, 1851.	Gentry.....	February 12, 1841.
Boone.....	November 16, 1820.	Greene.....	January 2, 1833.
Buchanan.....	February 10, 1839.	Grundy.....	January 2, 1843.
Butler.....	February 27, 1849.	Harrison.....	February 14, 1845.
Caldwell.....	December 26, 1836.	Henry (5).....	December 13, 1834.
Callaway.....	November 25, 1820.	Hickory.....	February 14, 1845.
Camden (1).....	January 29, 1841.	Holt.....	February 15, 1841.
Cape Girardeau (2)	October 1, 1812.	Howard.....	January 23, 1816.
Carroll.....	January 3, 1833.	Howell.....	March 2, 1857.
Carter.....	March 10, 1859.	Iron.....	February 17, 1857.
Cass (3).....	September 14, 1835.	Jackson.....	December 15, 1826.
Cedar.....	February 14, 1845.	Jasper.....	January 29, 1841.
Chariton.....	November 16, 1820.	Jefferson.....	December 8, 1818.
Christian.....	March 8, 1860.	Johnson.....	December 13, 1834.
Clark.....	December 15, 1818.	Knox.....	February 14, 1845.
Clay.....	January 2, 1822.	Laclede.....	February 24, 1849.
Clinton.....	January 15, 1833.	Lafayette (6).....	November 16, 1820.
Cole.....	November 16, 1820.	Lawrence.....	February 25, 1845.
Cooper.....	December 17, 1818.	Lewis.....	January 2, 1833.
Crawford.....	January 23, 1829.	Lincoln.....	December 14, 1818.
Dade.....	January 29, 1841.	Linn.....	January 7, 1837.

## COUNTIES—WHEN ORGANIZED.—CONTINUED.

COUNTIES.	DATE OF ORGANIZATION.	COUNTIES.	DATE OF ORGANIZATION.
Livingston .....	January 6, 1837.	-Ralls .....	November 16, 1820.
McDonald .....	March 3, 1849.	Randolph .....	January 22, 1829.
Macon .....	January 6, 1837.	Ray .....	November 16, 1820.
Madison .....	December 14, 1818.	Reynolds .....	February 25, 1845.
Maries .....	March 2, 1855.	Ripley .....	January 5, 1833.
Marion .....	December 23, 1826.	St. Charles <sup>(2)</sup> ....	October 1, 1812.
Mercer .....	February 14, 1845.	St. Clair .....	January 29, 1841.
Miller .....	February 6, 1837.	St. Francois .....	December 19, 1821.
Mississippi .....	February 14, 1845.	Ste. Genevieve <sup>(2)</sup> ..	October 1, 1812.
Moniteau .....	February 14, 1845.	St. Louis <sup>(2)</sup> .....	October 1, 1812.
Monroe .....	January 6, 1831.	Saline .....	November 25, 1820.
Montgomery .....	December 14, 1818.	Schuyler .....	February 14, 1845.
Morgan .....	January 5, 1833.	Scotland .....	January 29, 1841.
New Madrid <sup>(2)</sup> .....	October 1, 1812.	Scott .....	December 28, 1821.
Newton .....	December 31, 1838.	Shannon .....	January 29, 1841.
Nodaway .....	February 14, 1845.	Shelby .....	January 2, 1835.
Oregon .....	February 14, 1845.	Stoddard .....	January 2, 1835.
Osage .....	January 29, 1841.	Stone .....	February 10, 1851.
Ozark .....	January 29, 1841.	Sullivan .....	February 16, 1845.
Pemiscot .....	February 19, 1861.	Taney .....	January 16, 1837.
Perry .....	November 16, 1820.	Texas .....	February 14, 1835.
Pettis .....	January 26, 1833.	Vernon .....	February 17, 1851.
Phelps .....	November 13, 1857.	Warren .....	January 5, 1833.
Pike .....	December 14, 1818.	Washington .....	August 21, 1813.
Platte .....	December 31, 1838.	Wayne .....	December 11, 1818.
Polk .....	March 13, 1835.	Webster .....	March 3, 1855.
Pulaski .....	December 15, 1818.	Worth .....	February 8, 1861.
Putnam .....	February 28, 1845.	Wright .....	January 29, 1841.

(1) First named Kinderhook; changed to Camden, February 23, 1843. (2) One of the original Districts; organized as a county on the day mentioned by proclamation of Governor Clark. (3) First named Van Buren; changed to Cass February 19, 1849. (4) First named Niangua; changed to Dallas December 10, 1844. (5) First named Rives; changed to Henry February 15, 1841. (6) First named Lillard; changed to Lafayette in 1834.



Rough Weather on the Prairies.

PART III. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

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Geology, Mines, Minerals,

WATERS,

PRAIRIES, TIMBER AND SOILS OF MISSOURI,

—BY—

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## CHAPTER I.

### GEOLOGY.

The stratified rocks of Missouri belong to the following divisions:

I—QUATERNARY; II—TERTIARY; III—CRETACEOUS(?); IV—CARBONIFEROUS; V—DEVONIAN; VI—SILURIAN; VII—AZOIC.

The rocks of these divisions will be examined in their order from the top, down.

I—Quaternary.—When it is remembered that these formations contained the entire geological record of all the cycles from the end of the Tertiary period to the present time, and that their economical value is greater than that of all the other formations combined, I shall need no apology for entering somewhat into details in recording the phenomena they present.

The Quaternary or Post Tertiary system comprises the Drift and all the deposits above it—all the strata included in the Alluvium and Diluvium of former authors. There are, within this period, four distinct and well marked formations in this State, which we have thus named in the order of their stratigraphical position:

ALLUVIUM, 30 feet thick; BOTTOM PRAIRIE, 35 feet thick; BLUFF, 200 feet thick; DRIFT, 155 feet thick. All of the latest deposits—all that have been formed since the present order of things commenced upon our continent—are included in the

ALLUVIUM.—The deposits observed in the State, belonging to this formation, are, *Soils, Pebbles and Sand, Clays, Vegetable Mold or Humus, Bog Iron Ore, Calcareous Tufa, Stalactites and Stalagmites and Marls.*

*Soils* are a well known mixture of various comminuted and decomposed mineral substances, combined and mingled with decayed vegetable and animal remains, all comprising those ingredients peculiarly adapted to the nourishment of the vegetable kingdom. But the soils of Missouri are made up by the mingling of organic matter with the comminuted marls, clays and sands of the Quaternary Deposits, which cover nearly all parts of the State with a vast abundance of the very best materials for their rapid formation. Hence the soils of the State are very deep and wonderfully productive, save in those limited localities where the materials of the Quaternary Strata are unusually coarse, or entirely wanting.

*Pebbles and Sand.* Many of our streams abound in water-worn pebbles, which constitute their beds, and form bars along their margins and across their channels. These pebbles were derived from the drift and the harder portions of the adjacent rocks. They vary in size according to the transporting power of the streams in which they are found.

The economical value of these pebbles for roads and streets, and the obstruction they often present to navigation, as in the Osage, give them unusual importance in our geology. The Osage, Gasconade, Niangua, Marais Des Cygnes, Sac and Spring Rivers of the South, and the Salt, South and North Fabius and Chariton of the North, all furnish good and abundant examples of those deposits which have been formed by the action of those streams.

Sand is the most abundant material in the alluvial bottoms of the great rivers in the State. Vast quantities of it are constantly borne along by the irresistible current of the Missouri. Its whirling, rolling, turbulent waters form of it extensive bars in incredibly short periods, which they again wear away, often still more rapidly than they were formed. These sand-bars, so common in this stream, frequently extend along its bed several miles, with a breadth varying from one to five or six furlongs, and limited in thickness only by the depth of the water. A slight fall in the river leaves these vast sand-beds dry, when their surfaces are soon covered by a growth of weeds, interspersed with young willows, cottonwood and sycamores. The fickle stream, however, seldom leaves these sand-beds to a long repose, but returns to its old channel by a rapid removal of their loose materials.

At high stages of water, both the Missouri and Mississippi overflow their low bottoms, and leave deposits of a grayish-brown, or a grayish-yellow sand, similar to that in the sand-bars mentioned above. The thickness of these beds depends upon the height and continuance of the overflowing waters, varying from a mere perceptible stratum to several feet.

*Clays.* These are dark bluish-gray, argillaceous strata, rendered more or less impure by fine silicious, calcareous and decomposed organic matter. When the floods of the Mississippi and the Missouri subside, lagoons, sloughs, and lakes are left full of turbid water. The coarser materials soon settle into a stratum of sand, but the finer particles more gradually subside, and form the silico-calcareous clays of their alluvial bottom. Thus, after each flood, new strata of sand and clay are deposited, until the lakes and sloughs are silted up.

Then to sustain vegetable life, the decay of the annual growth, and of the foreign matter which falls or floats into these waters, forms a stratum of humus over the beds of clay and sand previously deposited by the floods and still waters; and each succeeding crop of vegetable matter gives another stratum of humus. In time, these shallow waters became mere marshes, where a rank vegetation rapidly formed thick beds of vegetable mold, for the support of the magnificent forests which now occupy the sites of those ancient lakes and sloughs. Such is the structure of the vast alluvial plains bordering the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers.

The bottom of the Missouri, from the Iowa line to its mouth, presents an area of 3,500 square miles; about 2,000 square miles may be set down as alluvium, while the river, "bottom prairies" and lakes, occupy the remainder. The Mississippi bottom in Missouri, occupies about 4,300 square miles. Thus the alluvial bottoms of our two great rivers alone, give some 4,000,000 acres of land based upon these strata of sands, clays, marls and humus. And the quantity is constantly increasing by the silting up of the sloughs and lakes, as above described. The soil formed upon these alluvial beds is deep, light and rich almost beyond comparison.

**BOTTOM PRAIRIE.**—This important formation, in many respects, resembles that of the *alluvial bottoms* above described, with which it has usually been confounded by geologists; though agriculturists have made a distinction. There are, however, important differences: 1st. The stratification in the prairie is much more uniform, and more regularly extended over wide areas. 2d. In the prairie formation, the strata are not so distinct, nor are they so purely silicious or argillaceous. 3d. It was evidently formed by agencies operating over the entire bottoms, whose action was more uniform and quiet, and continued uninterrupted through longer periods than those now forming the alluvial deposits in the same bottoms. 4th. Where these two formations meet, one can usually trace out the line of demarcation. Either the strata of the prairie pass under those of the alluvium, or are cut off and replaced by them. 5th. The alluvial bottom is continually increased at the expense of the prairie, through the action of the rivers. The current is constantly cutting away the prairie, forming new channels, and filling up the old ones with drift and silt. 6th. No causes now in operation could, at the present level of the country, produce a formation of such extent and uniform structure as the bottom prairie. Several facts show it to be distinct from, and newer than, the bluff. Its composition, structure and position, are entirely different, and in many places the

bottom prairie rests non-conformally upon the bluff, as at St. Joseph, and the mouth of the Big Nemaha.

This formation, like the last, is made up of sands, clays, vegetable mold, variously interstratified. The sand in the upper part is fine and yellowish-brown, like that of the Missouri sand bars; but the lower beds are more purely silicious. The clays are usually dark, bluish-brown and marly, with more or less sand and humus intermingled. The humus or vegetable mold has a brownish or black color; when wet it is somewhat plastic, and slightly tenacious; when dry, it is brittle, and breaks into angular fragments, and can be easily reduced to an impalpable powder. These beds of humus were evidently formed by the growth and decay of plants in the localities where they are found. This formation is confined to the bottoms of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and is more abundant and better characterized on the former. The bottom prairie is about half as extensive as the alluvial bottoms above described, and sustains a soil of equal fertility. This estimate will give us about 1,500,000 acres of these vastly rich savannas, all prepared by nature for the plow. Their agricultural capacities are scarcely inferior to any lands in the world. The organic remains of the bottom prairie, are numerous and well preserved. All the shells of the bluff, save the *Helicina occulta*, have been found in it. The remains of the mastodon have been found in it; and many trees and other plants, all of living species.

The scenery in the alluvial bottom and the bottom prairie is well represented in Section 2 and Plate 12 of my Geological Report.

**BLUFF.**—This formation rests upon the drift, as is obvious whenever the two formations are well developed. In many places, as at St. Joseph and at the mouth of the Big Nemaha, it is seen dipping beneath the beds of the bottom prairie. The bluff formation rests upon the ridges and river bluffs, and descends along their slopes to the lowest valleys. Thus, while the bottom prairie occupies a higher geological horizon, the bluff is usually several hundred feet above it in the topographical. This formation, when well developed, usually presents a fine pulverulent, obsoletely stratified mass of light-grayish buff, silicious and slightly indurated marl. Its color is usually variegated with deeper brown stains of oxide of iron. The bluff above St. Joseph exhibits an exposure of it 140 feet thick, presenting its usual characteristic features. When but sparingly developed, it generally becomes more argillaceous, and assumes a deeper brown or red color, as on the railroad south of Palmyra, where it is a dark-red tinged with purple. In some places the ferruginous and calcareous matter increases, and we find concretions of



marl and iron-stone, either disseminated through or arranged in horizontal belts. At other places, it has more arenaceous matter, and is much more decidedly stratified.

So far as my own observations extend, this formation caps all the bluffs of the Missouri, from Fort Union to its mouth, and those of the Mississippi from Dubuque to the mouth of the Ohio. It forms the upper stratum beneath the soil of all the high lands, both timber and prairie, of all the counties north of the Osage and Missouri, and also St. Louis and the other Mississippi counties on the south.

Its greatest development in this State, is in the counties on the Missouri river from the Iowa line to Boonville; but thence to St. Louis it is not so thick. In some places it is 200 feet thick. At St. Joseph it is 140; at Boonville, 100; and at St. Louis, in St. George's Quarry, and the Big Mound, it was about 50 feet; while its greatest observed thickness in Marion County was only 30 feet.

The fossils of the bluff are very numerous and interesting. I have collected from it, of the *Mammalia*, two teeth of the *Elephas primigenius*, one of the *Mastodon*, the jaw bone of the *Castor fiber Americana*, a molar of a *Bison latifrons*, and the incisor of a *Squirrel*; of the *Mollusca*, seventeen species of the genus *Helix*, eight of *Limnea*, eight of *Physa*, three of *Pupa*, four *Planorbis*, six *Succinea*, and one each of the genera *Valvata*, *Amnicola*, *Helicina*, and *Cyclas*, besides some others not determined.

These *lacustrine*, *fluvial*, *amphibious* and *land* species indicate a deposit formed in a fresh water lake, surrounded by land and fed by rivers.

I have been thus minute in my examinations of the bluff, the bottom prairie, and the alluvial formations, both on account of their vast importance to our agricultural interests, and the comparative little attention geologists have given to them. It is to this formation that the central Mississippi and southern Missouri valleys owe their pre-eminence in agriculture. Where it is best developed in western Missouri, the soil is inferior to none in the country.

The scenery presented by the bluff formation is at once unique and beautiful, and gives character to nearly all the best landscapes on the Lower Missouri.

**DRIFT.**—This formation lies directly beneath the bluff, and rests upon the various members of the Palæozoic series, as they successively come to the surface. In this formation there appear three distinct deposits:—

*Altered Drift*, as it may be called, frequently appears in the banks of the Missouri river. These strata of sand and pebbles seem to be the

finer materials of the drift, removed and re-arranged by aqueous agencies subsequent to the Drift period, and prior to the formation of the bluff. The pebbles are from all the varieties of rocks found in the true drift, but are comparatively small.

*The Boulder formation*, as it was left distributed by those powerful and widely extended agencies, which formed that deposit of the northern hemisphere. It is a heterogeneous stratum of sand, gravel and boulders, all water-worn fragments of the older rocks. A large part is from the Igneous and Metamorphic rocks, in place at the north, and the remainder from the Palæozoic strata, upon which they rest. The Metamorphic and Igneous rocks must have come from the northern localities of those strata, the nearest of which is on the St. Peter's River, about three hundred miles north of St. Joseph. But the Palæozoic fragments are usually from localities near where they rest, as shown by the fossils they contain, and are as *completely rounded* as those from more distant points.

Some of these beds, as in St. Louis County, contain scarcely any pebbles from foreign rocks; but nearly all are rounded portions of the underlying strata. The largest boulders observed in Missouri are five or six feet in diameter. They are usually granite and Metamorphic sandstone.

*Boulder Clay.*—In northern Missouri, the Boulder formation just described often rests upon a bed of bluish or brown sandy clay, through which pebbles of various sizes, are disseminated in greater or less abundance. In some localities this deposit becomes a pure white pipe-clay.

The Altered Drift has been observed more frequently in the north-western part of the State, and is often twenty-five or thirty feet thick. The Boulder formation abounds in all parts of the State north of the Missouri. Its thickness is very variable, from one to forty-five feet. Its development is greater, the boulders larger, and those of a foreign origin more numerous, towards the north. Its thickness varies from one to fifty feet. The Boulder clay is also most abundant in the northern part of the State, and is, in some places, more than one hundred feet thick.

I have seen no fossils in this deposit, save a few logs in the Altered Drift of the Missouri. Some of these are still sound, and burn quite well when dry, as we have proved by building our camp fires with them on several occasions. There are other deposits, particularly in the middle and southern parts of the State, which are not genuine drift; and yet they bear a greater resemblance to that than to any other formation, and occupy precisely the same stratigraphical position.

II.—Tertiary.—There is a formation made up of clays, shales, iron ores, sandstone, and a variety of fine and coarse sands, extending along the bluffs, and skirting the bottoms, from Commerce, in Scott County, westward to Stoddard, and thence south to the Chalk Bluffs in Arkansas.

The *iron ore* of these beds is very abundant, and exceedingly valuable. The Spathic ore has been found in no other locality in south-eastern Missouri, so that the large quantity and excellent quality of these beds will render them very valuable for the various purposes to which this ore is peculiarly adapted.

The *white sand* of these beds will be very valuable for glass-making, and for the composition of mortars and cements. The *clays* are well adapted to the manufacture of pottery and stoneware.

III.—Cretaceous.(?)—Beneath the Tertiary beds above described in the bluffs of the Mississippi above Commerce, the following strata were observed: No. 1, 13 feet, argillaceous variegated sandstone. No. 2, 20 feet, soft bluish-brown sandy slate, containing large quantities of iron pyrites. No. 3, 25 feet, whitish-brown impure sandstone, banded with purple and pink. No. 4, 45 feet slate, like No. 2. No. 5, 45 feet, fine white silicious clay, interstratified with white flint more or less spotted, and banded with pink and purple. No. 6, 10 feet, purple, red and blue clays. The entire thickness is 158 feet.

These beds are very much disturbed, fractured, upheaved and tilted, so as to form various faults and axes, anticlinal and synclinal; while the strata above described as Tertiary, are in their natural position, and rest nonconformably upon these beds.

We have no clue to the age of these rocks, save that they are older than the Tertiary beds above, and newer than the Trenton limestone below. They somewhat resemble some Cretaceous beds found in several places on this part of the continent; and these facts have led me to the inquiry, whether they are Cretaceous. Our future investigation may show their true position.

We have observed no fossils in these rocks.

IV.—Carboniferous —This system presents two important divisions: UPPER CARBONIFEROUS, or *Coal-Measures*; LOWER CARBONIFEROUS, or *Mountain Limestone*.

The COAL-MEASURES are made up of numerous strata of sandstone, limestone, shales, clays, marls, spathic iron ores and coals. We have observed about 2,000 feet of these coal-measures, containing numerous beds of iron ore, and at least eight or ten beds of good workable coal.

These rocks, with the accompanying beds of coal and iron, cover an area of more than twenty-seven thousand square miles in Missouri.<sup>1</sup>

The geological map, accompanying, shows the division between the great body of the coal-measures, on the north-west, from the older rocks on the north-east. Besides the large body of coal-measures on the north-east side of this line, there are extensive beds in Cole, Moniteau, St. Charles, St. Louis and Callaway Counties. The common bituminous and cannel coals are the only varieties of this mineral observed. These exist in vast quantities—one might almost say inexhaustible.

The fossils are numerous and interesting. So far as our observations extend in Missouri, the *Fusulina cylindrica*, *Spirifer cameratus*, *S. plano-conveza*, *S. hemplicata*, *S. Kentuckensis*, *Productus splendens*, *P. æquicostatus*, *P. Nebrascensis*, *P. Wabashensis*, *P. Calhounianus*, *Chonetes mesoloba*, *C. Parva*, *C. Smithi*, *Myalina subquadrata*, *Allorisma regularis*, *A. terminalis*, *Leda arata*, *Pleurotomaria sphaerulata*, *Campophyllum torquium*, and *Chaetetes milleporaceus* are confined to and very characteristic of the coal-measures. The discovery of the fact that these fossils are confined to the coal-measures, has enabled us to point out the existence of the coal-measures, and the coal beds contained in them, over an area of many thousand miles, where some geologists had supposed no coal-measures and no coal existed.

IN THE LOWER CARBONIFEROUS rock we have observed *Upper Archimedes Limestone*, 200 feet; *Ferruginous Sandstone*, 195 feet; *Middle Archimedes Limestone*, 50 feet; *St. Louis Limestone*, 250 feet; *Oolitic Limestone*, 25 feet; *Lower Archimedes Limestone*, 350 feet; *Encrinital Limestone*, 500 feet.

The *Upper Archimedes Limestone* is developed in Ste. Genevieve County and contains the following fossils: *Productus cora*, *P. elegans*, *Spirifer Leidyi*, *S. incrassatus* (?), *S. spinosus*, *S. lineatus* (?), *Spirigera hirsuta*, *Athyris subtilita*, *Atrypa serpentina*, *Orthis umbraculum* (?), *Fenestella lyra*, *F. swallvana*, *F. Meekana*, *Pentremites pyriformis*, *P. sulcatus*, *Agassizocrinus dactyliiformis*, and *Poteriocrinus occidentalis*.

The *Ferruginous Sandstone* is variable in its lithological character. In some portions it is very white and saccharoidal; in others, fine, impure particles are disseminated through the mass, and the color becomes a

<sup>1</sup> The Missouri coal basin is one of the largest in the known world. Besides the 27,000 square miles in Missouri, there are in Nebraska at least 10,000 square miles; in Kansas, 12,000; in Iowa, according to Dr. Owen, 20,000; in Illinois, 30,000; making in all, at least 100,000 square miles.

dirty brown; and in a few localities, as near Fulton, Callaway County, it is a coarse conglomerate. But generally, when well developed, it is a coarse-grained, heavy-bedded friable sandstone, colored with various shades of brown, red, and purple, as it appears in the bluffs near Salt Creek, Sulphur Springs, some two miles west of Osceola; or clouded with yellow and red, as on Turkey Creek, in Cedar County. The upper part is more regularly stratified and finer grained, contains more argillaceous matter, and has a light-brown yellowish-gray or cream color. It is very soft when quarried, and may then be dressed for building purposes; but exposure renders it much harder and more durable. This sandstone contains large quantities of oxides of iron, brown and red hematites, which, in many places, form extensive beds of excellent ore. The large quantities of iron in this sandstone have led me to give it the provisional name, *Ferruginous Sandstone*. It is found skirting the eastern borders of the coal-measures, from the mouth of the Des Moines to McDonald County.

The *St. Louis Limestone* is made up of hard crystalline, and compact, gray and blue, somewhat cherty limestones, interstratified with thin partings of blue shale. Its stratigraphical position is between the Ferruginous Sandstone and the Archimedes limestone, as seen near the Des Moines, and near the first tunnel on the Pacific Railroad. It is found in Clark and Lewis Counties, but attains its greatest development in St. Louis, from which the name is derived. The most characteristic fossils yet described, are, *Palæchinus multipora*, *Lithostrotion Canadense*, *Echinocrinus Nerei*, *Poteriocrinus longidactylus*, and *Atrypa lingulata*.

The *Lower Archimedes Limestone*. In this formation are included the "Arenaceous bed," the "Warsaw or second Archimedes Limestone," the "Magnesian Limestone," the "Geode bed," and the "Keokuk or Lower Archimedes Limestone" of Prof. Hall's section, and the lead-bearing rocks of south-western Missouri, which though different from any of the above beds, are more nearly allied to them than to the Enebrinital limestone below. All of the above beds are easily recognized in Missouri, save, perhaps, the Warsaw Limestone, which is but imperfectly represented in our north-eastern counties, where the "Keokuk limestone," the "Geode beds" and the Magnesian limestone, are well developed. The most characteristic fossils described, are *Fenestella Worthenii* (?), *F. Owenana*, *Agaricocrinus Tuberosus*, *Actinocrinus Humboldtii*, *Spirifer incrassatus* (?), *Orthis Swallowi*.

This formation extends from the north-eastern part of the State to the south-west, in an irregular zone, skirting the eastern border of the

Ferruginous Sandstone. The extensive and rich lead deposits of southwestern Missouri are partly in this formation. These mines occupy an area of more than one hundred square miles, in Jasper, Newton and the adjoining counties.

The *Encrinital Limestone* is at once the most extensive and best characterized of the divisions of the Carboniferous limestone. It is made up of brown, buff, gray and white, coarse, crystalline, heavy bedded limestones. The darker colored, impure varieties prevail near the base, while the lighter and more purely calcareous strata abound in the upper part. It everywhere contains globular, ovoid, and lenticular masses of chert, disseminated or arranged in beds parallel to the lines of stratification. These masses of chert are more abundant in the upper beds; in fact, the upper beds are made up almost exclusively of this mineral. The strata of this formation are frequently intersected by joints resembling the sutures of the cranium. The remains of corals and mollusks are very abundant; some of the strata are made up almost entirely of their exuviae, especially of the joints and plates of *Crinoides*, known in England as "*St. Cuthbert's beads*." In the south-west, these strata rest upon some 70 or 80 feet of hard, porous and thick-bedded silicious rock, which are included in this formation, as they have more affinities with it than with the Chemung below. There are nine divisions of this formation in Missouri, which are quite well marked by their fossils and lithological characters. The Encrinital limestone extends from Marion County to Greene, forming an irregular zone on the east of the Archimedes beds.

V.—Devonian.—This system contains CHEMUNG GROUP, HAMILTON GROUP, ONONDAGA LIMESTONE, ORISKANY SANDSTONE.

The Devonian rocks occupy a small area in Marion, Ralls, Pike, Callaway, Saline and Ste. Genevieve Counties; also narrow belts along the carboniferous strata to the south and west.

THE CHEMUNG GROUP presents three formations, very distinct in lithological characters and fossil remains. They have received the following provisional names: *Chouteau Limestone*, 85 feet; *Vermicular Sandstone and Shales*, 75 feet; *Lithographic Limestone*, 125 feet.

*The Chouteau Limestone*, when fully developed, is in two divisions.

At the top, immediately under the Encrinital limestone, we find some 40 or 50 feet of brownish-gray, earthy, silico-magnesian limestone, in thick beds, which contain disseminated masses of white or limpid calcareous spar. This rock is very uniform in character, and contains but few fossils. Reticulated corals, and Fucoidal markings, like the

*Cauda-galli*, are most abundant. In the quarry it is quite soft, but becomes very hard on exposure, and forms a very firm and durable building rock. It is also hydraulic and forms a good cement.

The upper division passes down into a fine, compact, blue or drab, thin-bedded limestone, whose strata are quite irregular and broken. Its fracture is conchoidal, and its structure somewhat concretionary. Some of the beds are filled with a great profusion of most beautiful fossils. In many, the organic substance has been replaced by calcareous spar. The most characteristic are *Spirifer Marionensis*, *Productus Murchisonianus*, *Chonetes ornata*, *Atrypa gregoria*, *A. Occidentalis*, *A. Obscuraplicata*, *Leptaena depressa*, *Avicula Cooperensis*, *Mytilus elongatus*, and several new species of *Trilobites*.

In the north-eastern part of the State, the Chouteau limestone is represented by a few feet of coarse, earthy, crystalline, calcareous rock, like the lower division of the Encrinital limestone, as there developed. There is, indeed, in this part of the State, no change of lithological characters as you pass from the Encrinital limestone to this formation; but the change in the organic remains is both sudden and great.

*The Vermicular Sandstones and Shales.* The upper part of this formation is usually a buff, or yellowish-brown, fine-grained, pulverulent, argillo-calcareous sandstone. It is usually perforated in all directions with pores, filled with the same materials more highly colored, and less indurated. This portion, when exposed to atmospheric agencies, often disintegrates, and leaves the rock full of winding passages, as if it were worm-eaten.

This formation contains but few fossils, and those are in the upper portions. *Spirifer Marionensis*, *Productus Murchisonianus*, *Chonetes ornata*, *Aviculacircula*, the *Fucoids*, above named, and the *cauda-galli*, are the most numerous. These beds can always be detected by the lithological characters and its peculiar *Fucoids*.

The *Lithographic Limestone* is a pure, fine, compact, even-textured, silicious limestone, breaking rather easily, with a conchoidal fracture, into sharp, angular fragments. Its color varies from a light drab to the lighter shades of buff and blue. It gives a sharp, ringing sound under the hammer, from which it is called "pot-metal," in some parts of the State. It is regularly stratified in beds varying from 2 to 16 inches in thickness, often presenting, in mural bluffs, all the regularity of masonry, as at Louisiana, on the Mississippi. The beds are intersected by numerous fractures, leaving surfaces covered with beautiful dendritic markings of oxide of iron or manganese.

It has but few fossils. The most abundant are *Spirifer Marionensis*, *Cyrtia cuspidatus*, *Productus Murchisonianus*, *P. minutus*, *Proteus Missouriensis*, *Filicetes gracilis*, a *conularia*, *Fucoides caudagalli*, (?) and several large-chambered shells. The Chemung rocks extend from Marion County to Greene, along the eastern border of the carboniferous strata.

The HAMILTON GROUP is made up of some 40 feet of blue shales, and 107 feet semi-crystalline limestone, containing *Dalmania Calliteles*, *Phacops bufo*, *Spirifer mucronatus*, *S. sculptilis*, *S. congesta*, *Chonetes carinata*, *Favosites basaltica*.

ONONDAGA LIMESTONE. This formation is usually a coarse gray or buff, crystalline, thick-bedded and cherty limestone, abounding in *Terebratula reticularis*, *Orthis resupinata*, *Chonetes nana*, *Productus subaculeatus*, *Spirifer euruteines*, *Phacops bufo*, *Cyathophyllum rugosum*, *Emmonsia hemispherica*, and a *Pentamerus*, like *galeatus*.

No formation in Missouri presents such variable and widely different lithological characters as the Onondaga. It is, generally, a coarse, gray, crystalline limestone; often, a somewhat compact, bluish concretionary limestone, containing cavities filled with green matter or calc-spar; in a few places, a white saccharoidal sandstone; in two or three localities, a soft, brown sandstone, and, at Louisiana, a pure white oölite.

The ORISKANY SANDSTONE of Missouri is a light-gray limestone, which contains the *Spirifer arenosa*, *Leptaena depressa*, and several new species of *Spirifer*, *Chonetes*, *Illænus* and *Lichas*.

VI.—Silurian.—Of the UPPER SILURIAN series, we have the following formations: *Lower Helderberg*, 350 feet; *Niagara Group*, 260 feet; *Cape Girardeau Limestone*, 60 feet.

The *Lower Helderberg Group* is made up of buff, gray and reddish, cherty, and argillaceous limestones, blue shales, and dark graptolite slates, *Dalmania tridentifera*, *Chierurus Missouriensis*, *Calymene rugosa*, *Orthis hybrida*, *O. elegantula*, and several species of *Platystoma*, are the prevailing fossils.

*Niagara Group*.<sup>1</sup> The upper part of this formation consists of red, yellow, and ash colored shales, with compact limestones, variegated with bands and nodules of chert. *Halysites catenularia*, *Columnaria inequalis*, *Calymene Blumenbachii*, and *Caryocrinus ornatus*, are the most characteristic fossils.

The *Cape Girardeau Limestone*, occurring on the Mississippi about one mile above Cape Girardeau, is a compact, bluish-gray, brittle lime-

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Shumard for the information possessed respecting the *Niagara*, *Lower Helderberg* and *Cape Girardeau Groups*, and the *Oriskany Sandstone*.



stone, with a smooth fracture, in layers from 2 to 6 inches in thickness, with thin argillaceous partings. These strata contain a great many fossils, principally Trilobites and Crinoides. In a slab, 3 by 3 inches, were found four genera of Trilobites, namely: *Cyphaspis*, *Girardeaunensis*, *Acidaspis Halli*, *Proteus depressus*, *Asaphus*, *Nov. Sp.* None of the Trilobites have been before mentioned in this country, and, so far as I can ascertain, the species are distinct from European forms. According to Barande, the first three genera occur in the greatest number in the Upper Silurian period, and are very sparingly represented in the Lower Silurian groups. The Crinoids belong mostly to the genera *Glyptocrinus*, *Homocrinus*, *Tentaculites*, and *Palæaster*; and the shells to *Leptaena*, *Orthis* and *Turbo*—all being of undescribed species.

LOWER SILURIAN.—We have thus far observed ten formations belonging to this series: *Hudson River Group*, 220 feet; *Trenton Limestone*, 360 feet; *Black River and Birds-eye Limestone*, 75 feet; *1st Magnesian Limestone*, 200 feet; *Saccharoidal Sandstone*, 125 feet; *2d Magnesian Limestone*, 230 feet; *2d Sandstone*, 115 feet; *3d Magnesian Limestone*, 350 feet; *3d Sandstone*, 60 feet; *4th Magnesian Limestone*, 300 feet.

*Hudson River Group*.—There are three formations, which we have referred to this group.

1st. Immediately below the Oolite of the Onondaga limestone, in the bluffs both above and below Louisiana, we find some 40 feet of blue, gray and brown, argillaceous, magnesian limestone. The upper part of these shales is in thick beds, presenting a dull, conchoidal fracture, and containing *Asaphus megistos*, and *Caymene senaria*. The lower part of this division becomes more argillaceous, and has several thin beds of bluish-gray, crystalline limestone, intercalated, which contain many fossils of the following species: *Leptaena sericea*, *L. alternata*, *L. Planumbona*, *Orthis jugosa*, *O. subquadrata*, and *Rhynconella capax*. There are also strata of calcareo-arenaceous slate, in the same position, filled with remains, which I am unable to distinguish from Prof. Hall's *Palæophycus virgatus*, and another contorted species. There also, beds of slate, similar to those above mentioned, at the base of these shales, whose surfaces are covered with great numbers of the *Lingula ancyloidea*.

2d. On the Grassy,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles northwest of Louisiana, about 60 feet of blue and purple shales are exposed below the beds above described. They contain three species of *Lingula*: *Lingula quadrata*, *L. fragilis*, and still another not named.

3d. Under the 2d division are some twenty feet of argillo-magnesian limestone, similar to that in the 1st division, interstratified with blue

shales. *Orthis subquadrata*, *O. jugosa*, *Leptaena alternata*, *Rhynchonella capax*, and *Asaphus megistos* are abundant.

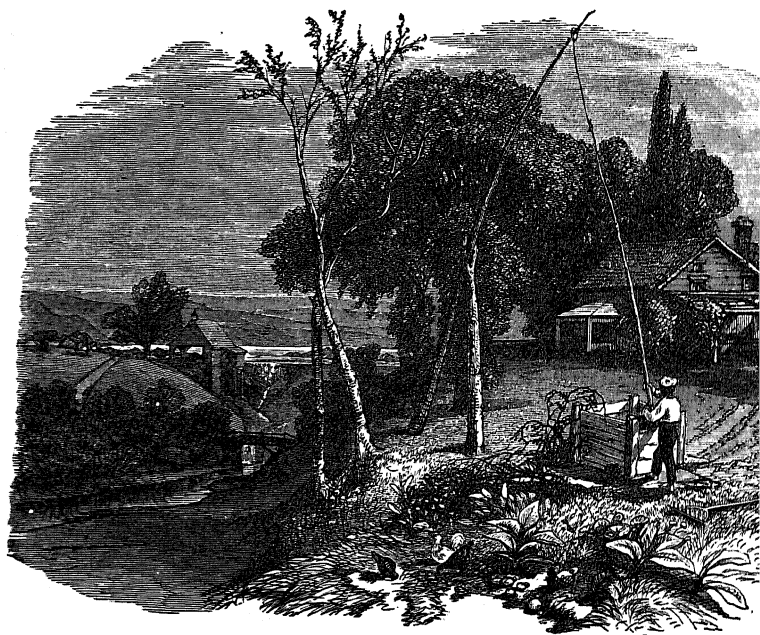
These rocks crop out in Ralls, Pike, Cape Girardeau and Ste. Genevieve Counties. On the Grassy, a thickness of 120 feet is exposed; and they extend below the surface to an unknown depth.

*Trenton Limestone*.—The upper part of this formation is made up of thick beds of hard, compact, bluish-gray and drab limestone, variegated with irregular cavities, filled with greenish materials; while the beds below are filled with irregular cylindrical portions, which readily decompose on exposure, and leave the rocks perforated with numerous irregular passages that somewhat resemble those made in timber by the *Toredo navalis*. These beds are exposed between Hannibal and New London, north of Salt River, and near Glencoe, St. Louis County, and are 75 feet thick. Below them are thick strata of impure, coarse, gray and buff, crystalline, magnesian limestone, with many brown, earthy portions, which rapidly disintegrate on exposure to atmospheric influences. This part may be seen in the bluffs of Salt River, 150 feet thick. The lower part is made up of hard, blue and bluish-gray, semi-compact, silico-magnesian limestone, interstratified with light buff and drab, soft and earthy magnesian beds. Fifty feet of these strata crop out at the quarries south of the plank road bridge over Salt River, and on Spencer's Creek in Ralls County. The middle beds sometimes pass into a pure white crystalline marble of great beauty, as at Cape Girardeau and near Glencoe. Fossils are abundant in all parts of the formation. *Leptaena deltoidea*, *L. Sericea*, *L. alternata*, *Orthis pectinella*, *O. testidudinaria*, *O. tricenaria*, *Rhynchonella capax*, *Murchisonia gracilis*, *M. bellicincta*, *Receptaculites sulcata*, and *Chaetetes lycoperdon* are most common.

*Black River and Bird's-Eye Limestones* are bluish-gray or dove-colored, compact, brittle limestones, with a smooth conchoidal fracture. The beds vary in thickness from a few inches to several feet. Near the base, the rock is frequently traversed in all directions by vermicular cavities and cells. *Gonioceras anceps*, *Ormoceras tenuifolium*, *Cythere sublevis* are the most abundant fossils.

The 1st *Magnesian limestone* is developed in many parts of the State. It is usually a gray or buff, crystalline, cherty, silico-magnesian limestone, filled with small, irregular masses of a soft white or greenish-yellow, silicious substance, which rapidly decomposes when exposed, and leaves the rock full of irregular cavities, and covered with rough, projecting points. These rugged, weather-worn strata crop out in the prairies, and cap the picturesque bluffs of the Osage in Benton and the neighboring counties.





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These beds often pass into a homogeneous buff or gray crystalline magnesian limestone, which is frequently clouded with blue or pink, and would make a good fire-rock and building stone. At other places the strata become compact, hard and clouded, as above, forming a beautiful and durable marble.

Some of the upper beds are silicious, presenting a porous, semi-transparent, vitreous mass, in which are disseminated numerous small, globular, white, enameled oolitic particles. They are sometimes in regular and contiguous strata; at others, in irregular masses, presenting mammillated and botryoidal and drusy forms of this beautiful mineral. In some parts of Benton and the neighboring counties, these masses left by the denuded strata, literally cover the surface, and render the soil almost valueless for ordinary cultivation. Other strata abound in concretions, or organic forms, which resemble wooden-button molds, with a central aperture and one convex surface. Masses of calcareous spar are quite abundant in the upper beds. The lower part of this formation is made up of thin, regular strata, of a soft, earthy, light-drab or cream-colored silico-argillaceous magnesian limestone, called *cotton-rock*.

Above the beds already described, we find, in several places in the State, a succession of hard, silicious, dark, bluish-gray, semi-crystalline limestone, interstratified with grayish-drab, earthy, magnesian varieties, all in regular layers, destitute of chert. *Straparollus laevata*, a small variety of *Cythere sublevis*, and a large *Orthoceras*, have been observed in these rocks.

The *Saccharoidal Sandstone* is usually a bed of white friable sandstone slightly tinged with red and brown, which is made up of globular concretions and angular fragments of limpid quartz. It presents very imperfect strata, but somewhat more distinct lines of deposition, variously inclined to the planes of stratification.

This interesting formation has a wide range over the State. Its thickness is very variable, from 1 to 125 feet. At times it thickens very rapidly, so much so as to increase 30 or 40 feet in a few hundred yards. In a bluff about 2 miles north-west of Warsaw, is a very striking illustration of this change of thickness. This sandstone crops out along the bluff, between the 1st and 2d Magnesian limestone, and in a few yards decreases in thickness from 20 feet to 1 foot. Where thinnest it is semi-vitreous, and the line of demarcation between it and the limestone is very distinct. A very large *Orthoceras* is found in this sandstone.

*The 2d Magnesian Limestone* in lithological character, is very much like the 1st Magnesian limestone, above described.

*The 2d Sandstone* is usually a brown or yellowish-brown, fine-grained sandstone, distinctly stratified in regular beds, varying from 2 to 18 inches in thickness. The surfaces are often ripple-marked and micaceous. It is sometimes quite friable, though generally sufficiently indurated for building purposes. The upper part is often made up of thin strata of light, soft and porous, semi-pulverulent, sandy chert or hornstone, whose cavities are usually lined with limpid crystals of quartz. Fragments of these strata are very abundant in the soil and on the ridges, where this sandstone forms the surface of the rock. It sometimes becomes a pure white, fine-grained, soft sandstone, as on Cedar Creek, in Washington County, in Franklin, and other localities.

*The 3d Magnesian Limestone* is exposed in the high and picturesque bluffs of the Niangua, in the neighborhood of Bryce's Spring, where the following strata were observed :

No. 1, 50 feet of the 2d Sandstone; No. 2, 80 feet of gray and crystalline silico-magnesian limestone, somewhat clouded with flesh-colored spots and bluish bands; No. 3, 50 feet of blue and white ferruginous chert, interstratified with hard, compact and flesh-colored silicious limestone; No. 4, 190 feet like No. 2, save some beds are hard, compact, buff or flesh-colored silicious limestone; No. 5, 20 feet of light-drab, fine grained crystalline silico-magnesian limestone, often slightly tinged with peach-blossom, and beautifully clouded with darker spots and bands of the same hue or flesh-color. It is distinctly stratified in beds of medium thickness; No. 6, 50 feet like No. 2; No. 7, 30 feet of the 3d Sandstone.

It also covers large areas in the south-east mining region. It is the great mineral-bearing rock of Missouri.

*The 3d Sandstone* is a white, saccharoidal sandstone, made up of slightly-cohering, transparent, globular and angular particles of siliceous. It shows but little appearance of stratification, yet the well-marked lines of deposition, like those of a Missouri sand-bar, indicate its formation in moving water, on the Niangua and Osage.

*The 4th Magnesian Limestone* presents more permanent and uniform lithological characters than any other of the Magnesian limestones. It is usually a grayish-buff, coarse-grained, crystalline Magnesian limestone, containing a few crevices filled with less indurated silicious matter. Its thick, uniform beds contain but little chert. The best exposures of this formation are on the Niangua and Osage Rivers.

This *Magnesian Limestone Series* is very interesting, both in its scientific and economical relations. It covers a large portion of southern and south-eastern Missouri, is remarkable for its extensive caves and springs, and contains nearly all the vast deposits of *lead, zinc, copper, cobalt*, the *limonite ores of iron*, and nearly all the marble beds of the State. It indeed contains a large part of all our mineral wealth.

The lower part of the 1st Magnesian limestone, the Saccharoidal sandstone, the 2d Magnesian limestone, the 2d Sandstone, and the upper part of the 3d Magnesian limestone belong, without doubt, to the age of the Calcareous sand-rock; but the remainder of the series, to the Potsdam sandstone.

**VII.—Azoic Rocks.**—Below the Silurian rocks, as above described, we find a series of Silicious and other slates, which contain no remains of organic life. These rocks, therefore, we refer to the so-called *Azoic Age*. They contain some of the beds of *Specular Iron*.

In Pilot Knob we have a good exposition of these Azoic Strata. The lower fossiliferous rocks rest non-conformably on these strata.

**IGNEOUS AND METAMORPHIC ROCKS.**—There is a series of rounded knobs and hills in St. Francois, Iron, Dent, and the neighboring counties, which are principally made up of *granite, porphyry, diorite*, and *greenstone*. These Igneous and Metamorphic rocks contain some of those wonderful beds of *Specular Iron*, of which Iron and Sheperd Mountains are samples. This iron ore often occurs in regular veins in the porphyry.

#### HISTORICAL GEOLOGY.

In the short space allotted me, it will be possible to give a mere outline only of the wonderful events, which transpired during the formation of the rocks above described, and the development of our State into its present physical condition.

If we go back to the time when this continent began to emerge from the primeval ocean, the geological record will inform us that Pilot Knob, Shepherd Mountain, and some of the neighboring heights, were among the first portions of land that appeared above the waters. When Pilot Knob became an island, there was an unbroken ocean on all sides, save an island to the north-west, the top of the Black Hills, a larger cluster to the north-east, in New York and Canada, and a small cluster to the south-west.

These islands were formed in the Azoic Seas by the eruptions that forced up the porphyry, granite, the azoic slates and iron beds of Pilot Knob, and the neighboring heights.

In the tranquil cycles which succeeded, the ocean was peopled with innumerable species of *Mollusca*, *Zoophytes*, *Protozoans*, and *Trilobites*. Plants too appeared in the waters. But for some reasons these animals were not abundant in the waters about Pilot Knob.

This is what we call the *Age of Mollusks*; and in it were deposited the series of magnesian limestones and sandstones, so largely developed in the southern and eastern portions of the State. In the middle portion of this age, mollusks, with conical shells as large as saw-logs, made their appearance.

Towards the close of this age the higher portions of South Missouri became dry land, and the surrounding waters were filled with vast numbers of Corals, Trilobites, bivalve, spiral and conical shells. At the end of the Age of Mollusks, the land emerged as high up the Mississippi as Louisiana, and all that portion of the State colored yellow on the map, became dry land; and the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic were separated by a chain of islands along the line of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence.

The next period, the Age of Fishes, was characterized by tranquil seas filled with coral reefs, around which sported the primeval fishes. Huge Nautili spread their sails over the placid waters, and plants clothed the rising continent in green. At the close of this age the Pacific retired a little to the north-west, and left a narrow belt of Devonian rocks along its sinuous shores. These are colored in green on the map.

For many cycles the seas remained tranquil and continued to be filled with numerous fishes, corals, stone lilies, trilobites, star fish and algae, while the vast beds of Carboniferous limestone were deposited. Reptiles and insects appeared upon the land. But toward the close of this period turbulent times intervened. Rocks were broken up, rounded to boulders and pebbles, or ground to sand, and drifted to the sea and piled into vast beds, in the central portions of the Mississippi Valley.

St. Louis now rose above the waters and formed a peninsula which had its connection to the South with the older part of the continent. A shallow bay extended around St. Louis to the north and west. It widened out over all the coal regions of Illinois and Kentucky, and out into the Pacific through St. Charles. All north-west Missouri, and the coal regions of Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Arkansas and the Indian Territory were covered with warm shallow waters, steaming under the rays of tropical suns.

A hot atmosphere filled with vapor and carbonic acid nourished the rapid growth of trees, ferns, lepidodendrous sigillaria, and other plants.



in vast forests. Steaming marshes, fens and lagoons abounded. The lands were many times raised and submerged, and the forests swept away into vast beds, which formed the coal deposits over more than 100,000 square miles in the States above named. The turbulent waters deposited the clays and sands intercalated with the coal beds. Clear, tranquil waters returned filled with fishes, mollusks and corals, and the limestones of the coal-measures were deposited.

Such changes followed each other in some twenty successive courses, revolving through the vast cycles of the *Age of Plants*.

At the close of this period the Pacific had retired westward to Sioux City and Manhattan; the Gulf of Mexico extended up as high as Cape Girardeau, and a part of Scott County was a large island.

During the succeeding *Age of Reptiles*, while the vast saurians, like the Zeuglodon, were sporting in the waters that covered the Lower Mississippi Valley, and the flying Pterodactyli were flapping their wings over the shores of the Pacific, in Wyoming and Colorado, Missouri was quiescent, producing her quota of animal and vegetable life.

In the succeeding *Age of Mammals* Missouri remained as before, but the regions bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and those on the Upper Missouri and westward to the Pacific, underwent various depressions and elevations by which several dynasties of wonderful animals were buried in the rocks which now contain their remains. At the close of this vast period the continent assumed its present form, with some unimportant exceptions. The Gulf of Mexico still extended above the mouth of the Ohio. Our large rivers had cut their present channels to depths varying from 100 to 500 feet, and in width from 1 to 10 miles. Mighty waters poured over the solid strata and wore for themselves these vast channels to the sea.

But a change came over the continent. Some mighty power of water or ice, or both, swept over the surface, grinding the softer rocks to atoms and rounding the harder into pebbles. Vast boulders were moved hundreds of miles and dropped in strange places.

Another change, and a large part of the Upper Mississippi and the Lower Mississippi Valleys were covered with a vast fresh water lake. The land was covered with forests similar to our own. The land and waters were peopled with many of our present races of animals. The beaver built his dams as now. The squirrel ate the same mast and the deer cropped the same herbage. But the huge elephant and mastodon were then lords of the soil. The *Bluff* formation was deposited in this lake. Another change and the lake was gradually drained and the

waters subsided to the channels of the rivers. The currents of the great rivers were sluggish, they were spread from bluff to bluff, and the *Bottom Prairie* was deposited, covering the valleys of our great rivers.

Again the level changed, the great rivers became more rapid, and cut their present channels in the Bottom Prairie.

The alluvial deposits were formed, the Gulf was driven back to its present limits, the swamp country was added to our State, the soil was formed, and Missouri was finished.

The *Age of Man* commenced, and the *Geological Record* gives place to *History*.

#### DEVELOPMENT AND NATURAL SELECTION.

But in this countless array of animals, whose orders and genera and species have come and gone through the vast cycles since Pilot Knob announced the rising continent, among them all, do we find one species of animal developed from another? *Nay, verily.*

Species come without progenitors, maintain their identity for countless ages, and utterly perish, leaving nothing developed to call them ancestors.

But have not the species, and genera, and orders, improved by *natural selection*? *Not at all.*

When we examine through their whole existence, they degenerate rather than improve. In some instances they do improve for a time; but in almost all instances they retrograde again, and finally perish miserably.

The Trilobite was one of the first animals that appeared in the primeval ocean; he lived through the entire palæozoic period. They sometimes improved and sometimes degenerated; but finally they dwindled down to a few insignificant species, and utterly perished.

The Trilobite stood at the head of the primitive orders. He had the world for his field and all time was before him. He perished by no catastrophe; and yet natural selection did not improve him, much less save him from utter extinction.

At the close of the *Age of Mammals*, the elephant and mastodon were at the head of the order on this continent. They had space enough, climates enough, time enough, and none to molest or make them afraid, and yet natural selection did not save them. They dwindled away and died out.

The genus *Cyrtia* and the species *Spirifer cameratus*, and a thousand others, might be named to show that natural selection, where it had the widest field, the longest time, and the most favorable circumstances, failed utterly to make new species. Such at least, is the testimony of the rocks of Missouri.

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## CHAPTER II.

### MINES AND USEFUL MINERALS.

There is no territory of equal extent on the continent, which contains so many and such large quantities of the most useful minerals as the State of Missouri. Some good fortune has set the boundaries of this State around a portion of country filled with an unusual amount of the mineral substances useful in the arts and manufactures. Several of those most useful are found in such quantities that the supply is virtually inexhaustible. There are some that no demand for home consumption, or for foreign supplies, can exhaust within the time allotted for the rise, progress and decay of nations.

Only small portions of the precious metals have been discovered in Missouri; nor is it desirable that there should be more. It is true that deposits of silver and gold concentrate population very rapidly, and yield many large fortunes; but history does not show that countries yielding silver and gold have been permanently more prosperous. Gold built up California very rapidly, and it is now filled with a great and prosperous people: but gold does not keep them there, nor does it induce the present immigration. The beautiful climate and wonderful agricultural resources are its greatest present attractions.

The most important mineral resources of the State are Coal, Iron and Lead, but as these have been treated of under distinct heads, in another portion of this volume, the reader is referred to the articles bearing those headings.

If Missouri will work up her iron and coal, she may become as powerful and rich as England. She has more territory and better soil, more and better iron, and quite as much coal.

People who work iron partake of its strong and hardy nature. They move the world and shape its destinies. The region tributary to St. Louis, has more of the very best varieties of iron ore than can be found available for any other locality in the known world; and the facilities for working these vast deposits are unsurpassed. The country is well watered; timber is abundant; and all is surrounded by inexhaustible coal beds. These facts alone will make St. Louis the great iron mart of the country.

**Copper.**—Several varieties of copper ore exist in the Missouri mines. The copper mines of Shannon, Madison and Franklin Counties have been known for a long time. Some of those in Shannon and Franklin were once worked with bright prospects of success, and some in Madison have yielded good results for many years.

Deposits of copper have been discovered in Dent, Crawford, Benton, Maries, Green, Lawrence, Dade, Taney, Dallas, Phelps, Reynolds and Wright Counties. But the mines in Franklin, Shannon, Madison, Crawford, Dent and Washington give greater promise of yielding profitable results than any other yet discovered. When capitalists are prepared to work these mines in a systematic manner, they may expect good returns for the money invested.

**Zinc.**—Sulphuret of zinc is very abundant in nearly all the lead mines in south-western Missouri, particularly in the mines of Newton and Jasper, in the mountain limestone. The carbonate and silicate occur in the same localities, though in smaller quantities. Zinc ores are also found in greater or less abundance in all the counties on the A. & P. R. R., but the distance from market and the difficulties in smelting the most abundant of these ores,—the sulphuret—has prevented the miners from appreciating its real value. It often occurred in such large masses as to impede very materially the progress of mining operations. For this reason black-jack was no favorite with the miners of the south-west. Many thousand tons had been cast aside with the rubbish as so much worthless matter, but the completion of the A. & P. R. R. has given this ore a market, and converted into valuable merchandise the vast quantities of it which may be so easily obtained in Jasper, Newton, and other counties of the south-west. Considerable quantities of the sulphuret, carbonate and silicate also occur in the eastern lead regions:—at Perry's Mine, at Mount Hope Mine, near Potosi, at Frund Mine, Jefferson County, and in other localities. Little has been done to test the value of the ores of zinc in these and other localities in the State, but a beginning has been made with promising results. There is an

extensive vein of calamine in Taney County, which will doubtless prove very valuable.

Cobalt exists in considerable quantities at Mine LaMotte. It has been found in one other locality.

Nickel is also worked at Mine LaMotte in considerable quantities.

Manganese.—The peroxide of manganese has been found in several localities in Ste. Genevieve and other counties.

Silver occurs in small quantities in nearly all the lead mines in the State, in combination with the lead.

Gold, though often reported in sundry localities, has never been profitably worked in any part of the State.

Tin.—Ores said to have large quantities of tin, have attracted much attention, and much money and labor have been spent in efforts to mine and reduce them, but as yet without pecuniary success.

Platinum has been reported by some explorers as existing in small quantities in dolerite dykes in Madison County. But I could never detect any in the localities pointed out by those who reported its discovery.

Marble.—Missouri has numerous and extensive beds of marble of various shades and qualities. Some of them are very valuable, and will become a very important item in the State resources.

*Fort Scott Marble* is a hard, black, fine-grained marble, with veins of yellow, buff and brown. It receives a fine polish, and is very beautiful. It belongs to the Coal Measures. I discovered it in several places in Kansas near the Missouri line. It doubtless extends into Missouri.

There are several beds in the St. Louis limestone, in St. Louis County, which have attracted some attention as fine marbles. Some of them are very beautiful and durable.

The 4th division of Encrinital Limestone is a white, coarse-grained, crystalline marble of great durability. It crops out in several places in Marion County. One of the best localities is in the bluffs of the Mississippi, between McFarland's Branch and the Fabius. The Lithographic Limestone will furnish a fine, hard-grained, bluish-drab marble, that would contrast finely with white varieties, in tessellated pavements for halls and courts.

The Cooper marble of the Devonian Limestone, has numerous pellucid crystals of calcareous spar disseminated through a drab or bluish-drab, fine, compact base. It exists in great quantities on La Mine River, in Cooper County, on Lee's Creek, and in some other places in Marion

County. It is admirably adapted to many ornamental uses. There are many extensive beds of fine variegated marbles in the upper Silurian limestones of Cape Girardeau County. They crop out in many places extending from Apple Creek, on the northern boundary of the county to Cape Girardeau, and thence along the bluffs facing the swamps to the south-west. Cape Girardeau marble is also a part of the Trenton Limestone located near Cape Girardeau. It is nearly white, strong and durable. This bed is also found near Glencoe, St. Louis County.

There are several beds of very excellent marble in the Magnesian Limestone series. Near Iron-ton are several beds of semi-crystalline, light-colored marbles, beautifully clouded with buff and flesh colors. They receive a fine polish, are durable, and well fitted for many varieties of ornamental work and building purposes. But one of the most desirable of the Missouri marbles is in the 3d Magnesian Limestone on the Niangua. It is a fine-grained, crystalline, silico-magnesian limestone, light-drab, slightly tinged with peach blossom, and beautifully clouded with deep flesh-colored shades. It is 20 feet thick, and crops out in the bluffs of the Niangua for a long distance. This marble is rarely surpassed in the qualities adapted to ornamental architecture.

There are also several other beds in this and the other magnesian limestones. Some are plain white, others are so clouded as to present the appearance of breccias. The beautiful Ozark marbles are well known. Some of them have been used in ornamenting the Capitol at Washington and for other purposes. Wherever the magnesian limestones come near the igneous rocks, we may expect to find them so changed as to present beds of these beautiful variegated marbles. Many of our marbles have been used in St. Louis for various purposes.

**Limestones.**—There is a great variety of excellent limestones in all parts of Missouri, which will furnish any quantity of the best materials for that class of building stones. Some of these limestones have been much used, and others will supply the increasing demand, as the means of transportation are extended to interior localities.

**Hydraulic Limes** are abundant in numerous localities. Some of them have been tested with good results. The middle beds of the Vermicular Sandstone in Cooper and Marion Counties are hydraulic. The upper beds of the Lithographic Limestone in Marion, Ralls and Pike Counties, possess marked hydraulic properties; and several limestones in Cape Girardeau County appear to be hydraulic.

The upper beds of the Chouteau Limestone in Boone, Cooper, Moniteau, Pettis and other counties are in the highest degree hydraulic.

They resemble the hydraulic strata at Louisville. The upper and lower strata of the Hudson River Group have the same properties. The same is true of some portions of the Magnesian Limestone series, as developed in some parts of south Missouri. From these sources we may confidently expect an abundant supply for home consumption and all demands for exportation.

**Gypsum.**—Though no extensive beds of gypsum have been found in Missouri, there are vast beds of the pure white crystalline variety on the line of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, on Kansas River, and on Gypsum Creek. It is also found in several other localities accessible to Missouri by both rail and boat, as at Fort Dodge in Iowa, and on the Republican and Blue Rivers in Kansas.

**Sulphate of Baryta**, in its pure white form, is very abundant in Missouri. It occurs in large beds in the mining regions, as the gangue of our lead veins, and as large masses, especially in the magnesian limestones of the Lower Silurian rocks. It is largely utilized as a pigment in connection with lead. It may be made valuable for the same purposes in connection with some of our ferruginous and argillaceous paints. Its weight and durability will give these materials more body and stability.

**Quick Lime.**—All of the limestone formations in the State, from the coal measures to the Fourth Magnesian, have more or less strata of very nearly pure carbonate of lime, which will consequently make good quick lime.

**Clays.**—Potters' clay is found in great abundance and worked in many localities in the State.

**Kaolin** has been discovered at a few places, and worked at one or two.

**Brick Clays** have been found and worked in nearly all the counties where there has been a demand for them. The argillaceous portions of the bluff formation make good brick, as shown in the brick yards of nearly all the towns on our large rivers. The brick yards of St. Louis are supplied from this source. Some of the tertiary clays will make the very best brick.

**Fire Bricks** are manufactured from the fire-clays of the lower coal series in St. Louis County. These bricks possess fine refractory properties. There are many beds of fire-clay in the Coal Measures. Some beds of the Hudson River Group in Ralls and Pike Counties, of the Hamilton Group in Pike and Marion, and of the Vermicular Sandstone and Shales on North River, seem to possess all the qualities of the very best fire-clays. The quantity of these clays is great, almost beyond

computation. No possible demand could exhaust it. Good fire-clays exist in all the north-western counties.

**Fire Rock** has often been observed. Some of the more silicious beds of the Coal Measures are very refractory. The upper strata of the Ferruginous Sandstones, some arenaceous beds of the Encrinital Limestone, the upper part of the Chouteau Limestone, and the fine-grained, impure beds of the Magnesian Limestones, all possess qualities which will enable them to withstand the action of fire. But the Second and Third Limestones, used in the furnaces at Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, are the most refractory rocks yet examined.

**Paints.**—There are several beds of purple shales in the Coal Measures which possess the properties requisite for paints used in outside work. Yellow and red ochres are found in considerable quantities. Some of these paints have been thoroughly tested, and found fire-proof and durable. There are extensive beds of ferruginous clays, which will make paints of the very best qualities for all the shades of brown and dark red. These ores mixed with baryta and lead will make excellent and beautiful pigments.

**Sandstones**, of various shades of buff, red and brown, occur in all the geological systems of the State. Many of them are firm and durable, and they present colors suited to various styles of architecture. They also furnish an abundance of fire-rocks.

**Granite and Diorite** of several varieties occur in Missouri. The most abundant is a coarse-grained, red granite of great beauty as a building material for heavy, strong work. Some of the beds of this granite are quite durable, but the most of it is readily decomposed by atmospheric influences. We also have fine gray granites and diorites, which split and work well, and are the most durable, substantial and desirable of all our building stones.

**Road Materials.**—Missouri has a large abundance of the very best materials for streets and roads. Limestones of the very hardest and most durable kinds occur everywhere. The Green Stone, Trap, and so-called Gray Granites of Madison and adjoining counties, will make most excellent block paving. But the red granite is usually too coarse and brittle, and decomposes too rapidly for paving stones.

**Pebbles and Gravels** are also abundant in the Drift and in the beds of many of our streams. These materials in the Drift are of the most durable kinds, and would make better streets than limestone McAdam. There are inexhaustible quantities of this gravel and pebbles in St. Louis and several other counties.



This brief and general view of the deposits of useful minerals in Missouri, shows that Nature has been lavish of the materials necessary for the growth and stability of a populous State. If, in connection with these vast and varied mineral products, we take into view the well-known facts that Missouri and the adjacent States possess soils of wonderful fertility, and in varieties suited to all the staple crops and fruits of the temperate zone; that the whole region is intersected by rivers and creeks, and watered by countless living springs; that it is supplied with boundless forests of nearly every variety of the best timber on the continent; that numerous railroads and thousands of miles of river navigation center here; that we are in the great highway of the moving populations of both hemispheres,—we shall have more of the causes and conditions of growth, wealth and permanence than have ever surrounded any people of ancient or modern times.

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## CHAPTER I..

### WATERS OF MISSOURI.

But few portions of the world are so well watered as Missouri. Springs in vast numbers, great variety, and of all sizes, come welling up to refresh and beautify in all parts of the State. Streams, too, scarcely equaled in size, beauty and variety, water every part of our territory.

**Navigable Waters.**—The Mississippi washes the entire eastern border of the State, a distance of 500 miles. The Missouri washes the western boundary from the north-east corner southward some 250 miles, to the mouth of the Kansas, and thence south of east, through the heart of the State, to its junction with the Mississippi.

Besides, these two mighty rivers have many tributaries within the State, which are more or less navigable for steamboats, keel boats and barges. On the right bank of the Missouri, the Gasconade, the Osage, and La Mine are navigable. The lumber business of the Gasconade makes its navigation a matter of importance. The trade of the towns on the Osage has induced steamers to make regular trips as high as

Warsaw. Barges and keel boats might pass up as high as the State Line. On the left bank, the Platte, Chariton and Grand Rivers are navigable for keel boats and barges, and even steamboats have made some few trips on their waters. The Des Moines, Salt River and the Meramec, the St. Francois and White Rivers have been navigated by boats on a few important occasions.

**Smaller Streams.**—There are a vast number of smaller streams, such as are called rivers, creeks and branches. A glance at the map will show how well these are distributed over the entire surface, supplying an abundance of water to all parts of the State.

**Springs.**—The State is well supplied with bold springs of pure waters. Out of the bottoms, there is scarcely a section of land but has one or more perennial springs of good water. Many of these springs are large, even beyond the conception of those who have not seen the rivers which flow from them and drive the mills and machinery placed upon their waters. One may serve as a sample. Bryce's Spring on the Niangua, drives a large flouring-mill, and flows away a rapid river forty-two yards in width. These vast springs are very numerous in the south part of the State.

**Salt Springs** are very abundant in the central part of the State. They discharge vast quantities of brine, in Cooper, Saline, Howard and the adjoining counties. These brines are near the navigable waters of the Missouri, in the midst of an abundance of wood and coal, and might furnish salt enough to supply all the markets of the continent. Considerable salt was made in Cooper and Howard at an early day.

**Sulphur Springs** are also numerous throughout the State. The Chouteau Springs in Cooper, the Monagaw Springs in St. Clair, the Elk Springs in Pike, and the Cheltenham Springs in St. Louis County, have acquired considerable reputation as salubrious waters, and have become popular places of resort. There are good sulphur springs in many other counties of the State, and the waters of most of them are similar to the waters of the Chouteau and Elk Springs.

**Chalybeate Springs.**—There are a great many springs in the State which are impregnated with some of the salts of iron. Those containing carbonates and sulphates are most abundant; some of these have acquired considerable reputation as medicinal waters. Sweet Springs, on the Blackwater, and the Chalybeate Spring in the University campus, are perhaps the most popular of the kind in the State.

**Petroleum Springs.**—Tar and Oil Springs, as they are called, are found in Carroll, Ray, Randolph, Cass, Lafayette, Bates, Vernon and

other counties of the State. Many of these springs discharge considerable quantities of oil. The variety called lubricating oil, is the more common. It is impossible to say with certainty whether petroleum will be found in paying quantities in these localities; but the fact that it has been flowing from springs in such quantities would indicate some abundant source; and there is scarcely a doubt that there are reservoirs of considerable quantities. Where these reservoirs are, no one can tell with certainty, and all explorations, as even in the best petroleum regions, must be undertaken in a considerable degree of uncertainty.

**Water Power.**—There are numberless streams that might be dammed and made to drive machinery. Such places are most numerous in the southern part of the State, where the streams have rock beds to support the dams and make them permanent. I have noticed excellent localities of the kind on the Osage, Niangua, Pomme de Terre, Sac, Spring River, Big River, Castor, Meramec, Bourbeuse, Gasconade, Currant River, White River, Grand River, La Mine, etc. But the most valuable water-powers are the large springs which are so abundant throughout nearly all the counties in the southern part of the State. Many of these springs are now used to drive mills of various kinds. They are particularly abundant on the waters of the Meramec, Gasconade, Bourbeuse, Osage, Niangua, Spring, White, Sugar, Big, Currant, Little and Black Rivers.

No water power can excel that at Bryce's Spring, on the Niangua. It discharges about 11,000,000 cubic feet of water per diem, with no perceptible variation of temperature or quality. The temperature is about 60° Fahrenheit, so warm that no ice forms in it to obstruct the machinery; and the quantity is so regular that the machinist may know how much power it will exert each hour from the beginning to the end of the year, and can construct his dams and machinery economically, with just enough strength to meet the necessities of the case; whereas, in streams, the uncertain rise and fall of the water and ice are sources of great loss and annoyance.

There are hundreds of these springs sufficiently large to drive mills and factories; and the time is not far distant when these vast limpid fountains will make a thousand burrs and saws whirl to their dashing music.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PRAIRIE AND TIMBER.

Many articles have been written to show "How the prairies were made," but the more appropriate question would be, "How the forests were made," since the prairie preceded the forests, and the forests are constantly encroaching upon the prairies.

When the country emerged from the waters which last covered it, the marls of the bluff formation occupied nearly all the surface of the State, and a rank vegetation of grasses and other plants sprung up, forming one vast prairie. Young trees grew with the other vegetation, but the fires which overran the country killed them out of the dryer and richer portions. They grew apace where the fires were too weak, by reason of water or a scarcity of vegetation, to destroy them. As the forests increased in size, they acquired power to withstand and check the fires; and thus they have gradually encroached upon the prairie, until more than one-half of the State is covered by our magnificent forests.

If a line be drawn from Hannibal to the southwest corner of the State, much of that portion to the northwest of the line will be prairie, and that on the southeast of it will be timber. Large areas of timber skirt the streams and cover portions of the uplands on the prairie side, and long arms of the prairie extend along the divides into the timbered side, as from Macon down along the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railway to St. Charles, from Cass eastward along the Pacific Railroad to Cole, and from Newton up along the highlands through Greene to Webster and eastward; and small patches of it checker the whole timbered region, even to the swamps of the southeast.

The bottom prairies are level, and often sublime in their vast extent; while upland prairies are rolling and grand in their endless succession of undulations, like the ocean subsiding from the effects of a storm.

The following trees of Missouri will show a great variety of the very best kinds of lumber for domestic, farm and manufacturing purposes: Pine, walnut, cherry, ash, maple, birch, hickory, oak, linden, cottonwood, poplar, and sweet, black and yellow gum, cedar, cypress, sycamore, locust, coffee-tree, elm, pecan, chestnut, tulip tree, (the "white and yellow poplar" of Kentucky and southern Missouri,) beach, willow, hackberry, mulberry, tupelo, catalpa, ironwood, hornbeam and

box-elder are found in great abundance in the State, and some of them in all their known varieties. There are six species of hickory, three of locust, eighteen of oak, and varieties of other trees in like proportion. All these kinds of trees grow very large in our deep rich soils and our warm climate. The following, selected from the catalogue, will give an idea of the vast size to which these trees grow in our State: Sycamores, 130 feet high and 43 feet in circumference; cypress, 130 feet high and 29 feet in circumference; walnuts, 110 feet high and 22 feet in circumference.

But no figures, no descriptions can give an idea of the grandeur and glorious beauty of our forests. Like Niagara, they must be seen, examined from above and below, and re-examined, visited and revisited before they can be fully appreciated. One must walk in the midst of these mighty monarchs of the forest until he feels like a pigmy among giants; and must admire the grape-vines hanging like huge cables from their lofty branches, and mingling their purple clusters with the highest foliage, and the large orange flowers of the trumpet-creeper, and the crimson foliage of the American ivy, warming and beautifying their sombre shades; he must see these glories before he can appreciate the sublime beauty and grandeur of our forests.

Here, too, the utilitarian can find woods suitable for all the useful purposes to which they are applied. Millions of these varieties of lumber are destroyed every year in opening farms. Meanwhile we are importing millions in furniture and agricultural implements, and lumber for the various kinds of carpentry. There is poor economy in importing furniture from the Ohio and its tributaries, when we are destroying upon our farms more and better lumber of the same varieties, every year.

## CHAPTER VII.

### SOILS.

In the resources of the State, the soils must stand in the first rank, since they are the great source of national prosperity and power, and the basis of individual wealth and happiness. Adam commenced dressing the soil in Eden, and his successors have ever found its cultivation their most useful and delightful employment. No department of agricultural science is more defective than the classification and nomenclature of soils.

The varieties of soil pass into each other by such minute gradations that it is well nigh impossible to point out any definite lines of separation. In the popular nomenclature we have some very general names, which are very definite when considered in some of their relations, as *timbered lands* and *prairie lands*. These names do not indicate the quality of the soils any further than they are produced by these relations. To the same class of names belong *bottom lands* and *uplands*, sometimes called *bluff lands*. These terms, like those named above, point out important natural divisions of our soils, though they have no reference to the fertility of those in either division. Each division contains soils of all grades of productiveness, from the best to the poorest. And yet these timbered lands have one advantage over the prairie. If two soils be taken side by side, both based upon the same formation and both subject to the same influences during their formation, save one has produced trees and the other grasses, and the trees have decayed on the one and the grasses have burned on the other—the former will have more decaying vegetable matter, and will be lighter, warmer, and more kindly in cultivation. But if both be put under the same culture, this difference will gradually disappear, as the vegetable matter will decrease in the one and increase in the other. This difference in these classes of soil, rendered the timber lands much the more popular among the older settlers.

THE PRAIRIE LANDS occupy nearly one-half of the entire area of the State. They possess all the varieties of soil found in the timber, and are identical with them, save in the differences above named. The grasses are as diversified and as distinctly mark the varieties of soil on the prairies, as do the trees in the timber. The resin-weed, crow-foot, and wild sorghum, indicate as good soils on the prairies as do the elm,

hickory and walnut in the timber. But, as the trees are more conspicuous and better known, the varieties of soils are best known by the timber they produce.

These divisions of soils have other natural distinctions well marked by location, as *bottom timber* and *upland timber*. The former is in the river bottoms, and the latter in the highlands. So also we have *bottom prairie* and *upland prairie*. These lands are still further divided so as to indicate the quality of the soil with a marked degree of certainty by their natural productions, their chemical composition, and by their physical structure. The determination of the qualities of the soils by the natural productions, is best understood by our farmers, as all are well aware that the soil that produces hackberry and elm is much better than the soil that produces black-jack and black hickory: that the former will yield abundant crops, while the latter will produce but a very inferior growth. In this division are those soils marked by the growth of particular trees and shrubs, from which they derive their names.

*Hackberry Lands* possess the best upland soils in the State. The growth is hackberry, elm, wild cherry, honey-locust, coffee tree, pignut hickory, chestnut and burr oak, black and white walnut, mulberry, linden and papaw.

The *Crow-foot Lands* of the prairie region, have soils very similar in quality to the hackberry lands, and these two soils generally join each other where the timber and prairie lands meet. These soils, covering about 5,500,000 acres, abound in the western counties, from Atchison to Cass, and eastward to Saline and Howard. They also cover small areas in other parts of the State. The productive and durable qualities of these soils are surpassed by none in the country. It has sufficient sand for the water to drain off rapidly in wet weather, and enough of clay, lime, magnesia and humus to retain the moisture in the day. It rests on a bed of fine silicious marls, which will render it perpetually fertile under deep tillage. These productive powers are well illustrated in the gigantic forests and luxuriant grass produced by it. White oaks grow upon it 29 feet in circumference, and 100 feet high; linden, 23 feet in circumference, and 100 feet high; burr oak and sycamore grow still larger. Herds of buffalo, elk, and deer were entirely concealed from the hunter by the tall prairie grasses on the crow-foot lands.

Hemp, tobacco, corn and the cereals grow upon it in great luxuriance, and no soil is better adapted to fruits of all kinds. These 5,500,000 acres of the best land on the continent, are capable of feeding and sustaining 2,000,000 people. A population of 1,000,000 could live on these rich, broad acres in comfort and luxury.

*Elm Lands* are but little inferior to the hackberry. The name is derived from the American elm, which grows so large and abundant in the magnificent forests of these lands. The principal growth is elm, hackberry, honey-locust, black walnut, cherry, blue ash, black oak, redbud, and papaw. This soil has about the same properties as the hackberry soils, save that the sand is finer and the clay more abundant, owing to the finer nature of the marls from which it is derived. This soil abounds, interspersed with hackberry lands, in the region above named; and in the east, it covers large areas in Marion, Monroe, Boone, Cooper, St. Louis, Greene and many other counties.

The *Resin Weed Lands* of the prairie, have about the same quality of soil. This soil occupies an area of about 3,000,000 acres. Its heavy forests and luxuriant prairie grasses, and its chemical properties, clearly indicate its great fertility; and the marls upon which it is based fully assure its durability. A grape-vine growing on this was 22 inches in circumference, and 180 feet long, and an elm 22 feet in circumference, and 90 feet high. Hemp, tobacco, corn, wheat and other staple crops grow luxuriantly, and all kinds of fruits, adapted to the climate, do well.

*Hickory Lands* hold the grade next to the elm lands, and are characterized by a growth of white and shell-bark hickory, black, scarlet and laurel oaks, sugar maple, persimmon, dogwood, haw, redbud and crab-apple. In the south-east the tulip tree, beech and black gum, grow on soils of about the same quality. This soil is more clayey and not so deep, and has a sub-soil more impervious, and the underlying marls have less sand and lime and more clay. Large areas of prairie in the north-east and south-west have soils of nearly the same quality, often called "mulatto soils" in some parts of the State. There is also a soil based upon the red clays of southern Missouri of about the same quality. It is a highly productive soil, which is greatly improved and rendered more durable by deep culture. Our farmers hold it in high estimation for the culture of corn, wheat and other cereals, and the grasses. Its blue-grass pastures are equal, if not superior, to any in the State. Fruit is cultivated with marked success. The area is very great in the central and eastern counties north of the Missouri, and in many of those south—6,000,000 acres may be a fair estimate of the area.

*White Oak Lands* occupy ridges where the lighter materials of the soil have been washed away. They sustain a growth of white and black oak, shell-bark and black hickory, dogwood, sassafras, redbud and fragrant sumach. The surface soil is not so rich in humus as the last variety, but the sub-soil is quite as good, and the underlying marls not



so clayey and impervious. In many places the sub-soil is better than the surface, and the land may be greatly improved by turning it to the surface. The white oak ridges produce superior wheat, good corn and the finest quality of tobacco. Grapes, peaches, and other fruits yield abundant and sure crops. This soil occupies many of the ridges in the region north of the Missouri and east of the Chariton, and those south of the former river and north of the Osage, as well as south of the Osage and the Missouri—1,500,000 acres may be a fair estimate.

*Post Oak Lands* occupy ridges generally on the south side of the Osage, and produce post and black oak, hickory, sassafras, dogwood and sumach. The growth is about the same as the white oak ridges, substituting the post for white oak. This soil is based upon a light-colored marl, with less lime and sand than is found in the marls underlying the white oak ridges; but it produces good crops of the staples of the country, and has for several years yielded the best tobacco of the West. Fruits of all varieties cultivated in our latitude excel on this soil. Deep culture will render this land more productive and durable. The area covered by post oak lands is very large, but not definitely known—probably 3,000,000 acres.

*Black Jack Lands* have few trees, save black jack and black hickory; sometimes a few grapes and some sumach. They occupy the high flint ridges which are usually underlaid with hornstone and sandstone, and some strata of magnesian limestone. The sub-soil is usually a lifeless sandy clay, and the soil full of fragments of flint. This is the poorest soil in the State, and will be of little use save for pastures and vineyards. The cultivation of grapes on these flint ridges will be more expensive, but the juices may be rich enough to pay the extra expense. They will produce excellent wines, and become profitable grape lands when wines shall be more esteemed for their quality than their quantity. These lands occupy a large portion of the flint and sandstone ridges on the south of the Osage, perhaps 3,000,000 acres.

*Pine Lands* have a growth of pine, post, white and black oak, black hickory, dogwood and sassafras. They have an inferior, sandy soil, and occupy the plateaus, hills and ridges of southern Missouri, which are underlaid by the sandstones of the magnesian limestone series. The area of this soil is not fully determined, but it will not be less than 2,000,000 acres. The soil is sandy and thin, and would be greatly benefited by clay and humus; but plaster and clover, or buckwheat, are the most available means of improvement.

Other soils are better determined by a consideration of both the trees

they produce and the rocks from which they are derived. Of this class are the—

*Magnesian Limestone Soils*, which are based upon and derived from the magnesian limestone or mineral-bearing series of southern Missouri, and produce black and white walnut, black gum, white and whahoo elms, sugar maple, honey locust, rock chestnut, scarlet and laurel oaks, blue ash, white and shell-bark hickory, buckeye, hazel, sumach and dogwood. These lands occupy the slopes, hillsides and narrow valleys of the southern and southeastern part of the State, and the northern slopes of the Missouri east of Boone County. The soil is dark, light and warm, rich in lime, magnesia and humus. It is very productive and durable. The region occupied by it is often so broken as to be inconvenient for ordinary culture in farm crops. It is, however, well adapted to fruit. It covers an area of 10,000,000 acres.

This large area, extending from the Missouri River to Arkansas, and from Marshfield to Cape Girardeau, is a table-land varying in the elevation from 500 to 1,500 feet. It is cut by deep winding valleys in the south and north, and broken into knobs and ridges towards the east. Large bold springs of pure, cool waters gush from every hillside, and fill the valleys with limpid streams. Magnificent forests abound, and wild grapes everywhere mingle their purple clusters with the foliage of the elm and the oak, the mulberry and the buckeye.

The climate is delightful. The winters are short and mild, the summers long and temperate. Its skies vie with those of Italy, and its fountains and streams, valleys and mountains, equal their favorite prototypes in classic Greece. No soil can surpass this for the grape, and the mild winters and long summers, favored by the warm dry winds of the southwest, are most favorable for maturing its rich juices.

Such are the soils on the uplands of Missouri. The bottom lands are not less important and interesting. They present the following varieties. The whole is divided into *Bottom Prairie* and *Bottom Timber*:

*Bottom Prairie* has a light, rich, deep, dark and productive soil, clothed with luxuriant native grasses, among which a species of sorghum is conspicuous. Before these savannas were pastured, the grasses grew to a height varying from five to ten feet.

The bottom prairie soil is rich in all the elements of fertility. It is deep and light, and but slightly affected by excessive wet or dry weather. Hemp, tobacco, and all the staple crops grow on it with great luxuriance. The bottom prairie covers a large portion of the Missouri Bottoms above Glasgow, and some considerable areas in St. Charles,

Marion and the southeastern counties on the Mississippi. Some of these prairies on the Missouri are 20 or 30 miles long, and from 2 to 10 miles wide—as the broad Wyaconda and Huppan Cuty. The area of these lands is constantly decreasing by the action of the river and the encroachments of the forest; but there still remains about 300,000 acres of these rich and beautiful natural meadows.

*The Bottom Timber* has several natural divisions, well recognized by the people of the country, and designated as "high bottom," "low bottom," "wet bottom" or "swamp," and "cypress."

*High Bottoms* have a deep, porous and rich sandy soil, which produces a gigantic growth of elm, sugar maple, white ash, cherry, locust, linden, sweet gum, buckeye, burr, red, Spanish, swamp and scarlet oaks, thick shell-bark hickory, hackberry, pecan, black walnut, plum and mulberry. Grape-vines, trumpet and Virginia creepers, poison oak, wistaria and staff-tree climb the highest trees, and mingle their scarlet and purple flowers and fruits with the highest foliage.

The fertility of this soil is well attested by its chemical properties, and the large trees grown upon it. The following, among other samples, were measured in 1857:

Sycamore.....	43 feet in circumference .....	65 feet high.
Catalpa .....	10 " " .....	90 " "
Cypress .....	29 " " .....	130 " "
Cottonwood.....	30 " " .....	125 " "
Black Walnut.....	22 " " .....	110 " "
Spanish Oak.....	36 " " .....	90 " "
Grape Vine.....	33 inches " .....	160 " long.

This soil covers about 2,000,000 acres, occupying all the bottoms which are above the usual high waters along our rivers. It is very productive, and so deep and porous that the crops are but little affected by dry and wet seasons. Hemp, corn, tobacco, and the cereals, are produced in rich abundance.

*Low Bottoms* have a soil similar to the high bottoms, but they are so low as to be covered with water at ordinary overflow. Sycamore, cottonwood, silver maple, box-elder, red birch, buckeye, willow, river and frost grapes and poison ivy, are the most common productions. They grow to vast proportions. The overflows render these lands nearly useless for farming purposes; but when the floods are kept out by levees, they are the most productive and valuable. There are large areas of these lands in Southeast Missouri—in the State nearly 1,000,000 acres.

*Swamp* and *Wet Bottom* are terms usually applied to a variety of bottom lands very similar to the two preceding, but different in being so located as to be saturated with or nearly covered with water. This excess of water renders them useless for ordinary culture. They sustain a heavy growth of pin, swamp and red oaks, holly, spice bush, white and black ash, red birch, box-elder, button bush, sycamore, cottonwood, whahoo elm, sweet gum, water locust, white and red maple, poison oak, frost and river grapes.

*Cypress*.—This name is given to low bottoms which are covered by standing water for a large part of the year. The decomposition of vegetable matter in these waters adds a new deposit of vegetable mould annually to their rich soil, which sustains a very heavy growth of cypress, tupelo, sour gum, water locust, white and red maple, pin and Spanish oaks. These *cypresses* are numerous and very extensive in Southeast Missouri. Buffalo Cypress and Honey Cypress are good samples. The central and wettest portions of them usually have deposits of bog ore. These soils are useless for ordinary farming purposes; but their timber is unique, abundant and valuable. The area of swamp and cypress lands will reach 1,000,000 acres.

Such are the soils of Missouri, as they are recognized by the people of the State from their natural productions; and a large range of chemical analyses fully sustain the popular estimate of these lands as to fertility. The area attributed to each has been determined with tolerable accuracy by observations extended over nearly every county of the State for a period of 20 years.

PART IV.—MATERIAL WEALTH.

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THE

Resources, Productions, Possibilities,

—OF—

MISSOURI.

BY ROBERT ALLEN CAMPBELL, C. E.,

*Author of "Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri," Etc.*





Nature Unsubdued.

## CHAPTER I.

"SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS."—GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE.—BOUNDARIES, DISTANCES, ETC.—TABLE OF COUNTIES, THEIR POPULATION, ETC.—AREA AND TOPOGRAPHY.—RIVERS, CAVES, QUARRIES AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

"AND God said to them, \* \* \* fill the earth and subdue it. \* \* \*  
 "Behold, I have given you every herb scattering seed, which is on the  
 "face of all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of a tree,  
 "scattering seed, to you shall it be for food; and to every beast of the  
 "earth and to every fowl of the heavens and to every thing that creeps  
 "on the earth, wherein is a spirit of life, all green herbage for food."

So man is given for his sustenance every herb scattering *seed* (that is propagated by seed), leaving him the choice among them all of such varieties as are suited to his nature, necessities or tastes. To him is also given every fruit tree, and every tree pleasant to the sight, that in like manner he may, from among them all, choose such as he likes best to beautify the landscape, and such as bear fruits most pleasing to his taste, or best adapted to his nourishment. To the animals is assigned all green herbage without distinction.

This great gift, with the accompanying boon of choice, embodied in the command, "fill the earth and subdue it,"—carried with it the indescribable blessing of Labor.

Man commenced to subdue the earth by tilling the soil, thus rendering the herb scattering seed more bountiful in its production, and also developing trees more pleasing to the eye, which likewise produced in greater abundance fruits more nourishing to the body and more luscious to the taste.

Adam was a gardener. Cain, his first born, was a farmer. Abel, next in age, was a stock-raiser. When these agriculturists required tools with which they could more readily subdue the earth, and, when their surplus products rendered the support of another class of workers possible, mining for metals and the making of the necessary implements now commenced, and we hear of Tubal Cain, the first manufacturer.

If man looks upon the earth as it is in a state of nature, he finds but little that is ready for his use. But few can live, and that few but scantily and precariously, upon the spontaneous productions of the land. Boundless material, however, and limitless resources are all about him, which, by labor and the skill born of labor, he can call to his service, subduing the earth, causing it to yield an abundance to sustain the life and satisfy the wants of every living creature.

The mineral treasures, veiled in crude ore, lie hidden below the surface, often deep in the earth, and, when discovered, must be brought to the light by laborious toil; and are even then valueless until the manufacturer by enlightened and experienced labor, through difficult, tedious and exact processes, fits them for application to man's necessities and service.

Through the impulse and command to subdue the earth have resulted all the wonderful changes recorded in history. It has developed thought, stimulated invention, quickened the dormant powers of combination, and converted into actual, living realities, the latent possibilities of brain and muscle. The race has been developed from its primitive crudeness of a pair, subsisting upon the natural productions of the earth, to its present



unnumbered millions, with all the comforts and blessings of the highest civilization, by obeying—often it is true unwillingly—the Lord's command to fill the earth and subdue it.

Out of this labor, too, arises the right of property, the origin and bond of civil society. He who from a piece of timber, taken from the common forest, fashions a useful implement, thereby makes it his own, and it cannot be rightfully taken from him, for no one can justly appropriate to his own use, without a fair and satisfactory exchange, the product of another's skill and labor. So, he who originally takes possession of an unappropriated field, and by his own labor prepares it for use, thereby makes it his own, and it cannot rightfully be taken from him. Labor, therefore, expended upon the bounties of nature so as to increase their production or better fit them for the use and benefit of mankind, is the foundation of all rights in property; and all the blessings of civilization, enlightenment and society are the direct result of obedience to the Divine command and impulse—"fill the earth and subdue it."

The elements of wealth in a State, then, must consist of the available bounties of Nature upon which labor can be largely and profitably expended, and of the labor of her citizens which is put forth, to fit for and apply to man's use the gifts of Nature to her children. In short, nature's gift and man's labor are the factors of which material wealth is the product.

The natural advantages of Missouri will be partially understood from the following general description.

**Boundaries, Distances, Etc.**—Missouri is bounded, on the north, by Iowa, from which it is separated for about thirty miles by the Des Moines River; on the east, by the Mississippi River, which separates it from Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee; on the south, by Arkansas; and west, by the Indian Territory, Kansas and Nebraska. It lies between the parallels of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  and  $40^{\circ} 30'$  North latitude, except the small projection in the extreme southern part of the State between the St. Francis and Mississippi Rivers, which extends south to the 36th parallel.

The width of the State between its extreme east and west points is nearly 350 miles; on the northern boundary, along the Iowa line between the Missouri and Des Moines Rivers, is about 210 miles; on the southern boundary, between the south-west corner of the State and the Mississippi River, is about 280 miles. A line from St. Louis due west to the Kansas line is about 235 miles, and this is about the average width

of the State. The length of the State, north and south, (not including the strip between the St. Francis and Mississippi Rivers, which is about 34 miles long,) is about 280 miles. From the extreme northwest corner to the extreme southeast corner of the State is about 450 miles, and from the northeast to the southeast corner about 320 miles.

Area.—The area of Missouri is 65,350 square miles or 41,824,000 acres, and contains 2.28 per cent. of the area of the United States, exclusive of Alaska. It is the largest State except Minnesota, which borders on the Mississippi River, and is in area the eighth State in the Union. Missouri is nearly as large as Illinois, Massachusetts and Connecticut, and is equal to the combined area of Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, and is a third larger than England.

The State is divided into one hundred and fourteen counties. We append a list showing their names, date of organization, area in acres and population according to the United States Census of 1870.

	DATE OF SETTLEMENT	ORGANIZATION.	AREA ACRES.	POPULATION.
Adair.....	1828	Jan. 29, 1841.	356,420	11,448
Andrew.....	1836	Jan. 29, 1841.	273,025	15,137
Atchison.....	1839	Feb. 14, 1845.	329,751	8,440
Audrain.....	1830	Dec. 17, 1836.	441,927	12,307
Barry.....	1828	Jan. 5, 1835.	561,760	10,373
Barton.....	....	Dec. 12, 1855.	378,100	5,087
Bates.....	1824	Jan. 29, 1841.	538,638	15,960
Benton.....	1834	Jan. 3, 1835.	468,432	11,322
Bollinger.....	1800	Mar. 1, 1851.	381,081	8,162
Boone.....	1812	Nov. 16, 1820.	430,600	20,765
Buchanan....	1799	Feb. 10, 1839.	272,329	35,019
Butler.....	1800	Feb. 27, 1849.	437,935	4,298
Caldwell.....	1830	Dec. 26, 1836.	275,480	11,390
Callaway.....	1803	Nov. 25, 1820.	517,736	19,202
Camden.....	1834	Jan. 29, 1841.	465,209	6,108
Cape Girardeau <sup>1</sup> .....	1794	.....	362,450	17,558
Carroll.....	1817	Jan. 3, 1833.	441,535	17,445
Carter.....	....	Mar. 10, 1859.	325,405	1,455
Cass.....	1830	Feb. 19, 1849.	439,506	19,296
Cedar.....	1832	..... 1843.	322,000	9,474
Chariton.....	1812	Nov. 16, 1820.	457,397	19,135
Christian.....	1822	Mar. 8, 1860.	347,520	6,707
Clark <sup>2</sup> .....	1829	Dec. 16, 1836.	332,000	13,667
Clay.....	1819	Jan. 2, 1832.	254,423	15,564
Clinton.....	1830	Jan. 15, 1833.	264,623	14,063
Cole.....	1816	Nov. 16, 1820.	234,466	10,292

<sup>1</sup> Organized under the territorial laws in 1818.

<sup>2</sup> One of the original districts of Louisiana.

	DATE OF SETTLEMENT	ORGANIZATION	AREA ACRES.	POPULATION
Cooper.....	1812	Dec. 17, 1818.	355,172	20,692
Crawford.....	1815	Jan. 23, 1839.	465,313	7,982
Dade.....	1833	Jan. 29, 1841.	320,000	8,683
Dallas.....	1838	Dec. 10, 1844.	344,611	8,383
Daviess.....	1831	Dec. 29, 1836.	358,601	14,410
DeKalb.....	1833	Feb. 25, 1845.	263,608	9,858
Dent.....	1828	Feb. 10, 1851.	558,720	6,357
Douglass.....	....	Oct. 19, 1857.	495,360	3,915
Dunklin.....	....	Feb. 14, 1845.	110,799	5,982
Franklin.....	1803	..... 1818.	560,338	30,093
Gasconade....	1812	Nov. 25, 1820.	323,176	10,093
Gentry.....	1840	Feb. 12, 1841.	312,587	11,607
Greene.....	1829	Jan. 2, 1833.	438,424	21,549
Grundy.....	1834	Jan. 2, 1841.	263,357	10,567
Harrison.....	1839	Feb. 14, 1845.	464,294	14,635
Henry.....	1831	Dec. 13, 1834.	476,160	17,401
Hickory.....	1837	Feb. 14, 1845.	260,998	6,452
Holt.....	1838	Feb. 15, 1841.	272,761	11,652
Howard.....	1807	Jan. 23, 1816.	288,234	17,233
Howell.....	1838	..... 1857.	590,679	4,218
Iron.....	1810	Feb. 17, 1857.	353,804	6,278
Jackson.....	1808	Dec. 15, 1826.	417,089	55,041
Jasper.....	1832	Jan. 29, 1841.	409,319	14,928
Jefferson.....	1773	Dec. 8, 1818.	402,252	15,380
Johnson.....	1833	Dec. 13, 1834.	516,797	24,648
Knox.....	1832	Feb. 14, 1845.	323,195	10,974
Laclede.....	1816	Feb. 24, 1849.	474,879	9,380
Lafayette <sup>1</sup> .....	1815	Nov. 16, 1820.	403,671	22,623
Lawrence.....	1831	Feb. 25, 1845.	384,000	13,067
Lewis.....	1819	..... 1832.	320,560	15,114
Lincoln.....	1799	Dec. 14, 1818.	396,148	15,960
Linn.....	1832	Jan. 7, 1837.	388,993	15,900
Livingston.....	1833	..... 1837.	333,952	16,730
McDonald.....	1830	Mar. 3, 1849.	352,978	5,226
Macon.....	1831	..... 1838.	529,920	23,230
Madison.....	1722	Dec. 14, 1818.	291,200	5,849
Maries.....	1838	Mar. 2, 1855.	313,416	5,916
Marion.....	1800	Dec. 23, 1826.	280,509	23,780
Mercer.....	1837	Feb. 14, 1845.	283,466	11,557
Miller.....	1815	Feb. 6, 1837.	374,628	6,616
Mississippi.....	1800	Feb. 14, 1845.	253,440	4,982
Moniteau.....	1815	Feb. 14, 1845.	262,443	11,375
Monroe.....	1819	Jan. 6, 1831.	422,455	17,149
Montgomery.....	1800	Dec. 14, 1818.	327,129	10,405
Morgan.....	....	Jan. 5, 1833.	372,107	8,434
New Madrid.....	1780	.....	188,421	6,357
Newton.....	1829	Dec. 31, 1838.	400,204	12,821
Nodaway.....	1840	Feb. 14, 1845.	554,137	14,751
Oregon.....	1816	Feb. 14, 1845.	357,729	3,287
Osage.....	....	Jan. 29, 1841.	375,336	10,793
Ozark.....	....	Jan. 29, 1841.	472,320	3,363
Pemiscot.....	1780	Feb. 19, 1861.	327,725	2,059

<sup>1</sup> Organized as Lillard County. Changed to Lafayette in 1834.

	DATE OF SETTLEMENT	ORGANIZATION.	AREA ACRES.	POPULATION
Perry.....	1796	Nov. 16, 1820.	295,856	9,877
Pettis.....	1818	Jan. 26, 1833.	446,289	18,706
Phelps.....	1826	Nov. 13, 1857.	429,163	10,506
Pike.....	1811	Dec. 14, 1818.	420,860	23,077
Platte.....	1827	Dec. 31, 1838.	267,000	17,352
Polk.....	1820	Mar. 13, 1835.	422,400	12,445
Pulaski.....	1816	Dec. 15, 1818.	371,200	4,714
Putnam.....	1837	Feb. 28, 1845.	331,488	11,217
Ralls.....	1811	Nov. 16, 1820.	295,878	10,510
Randolph.....	1820	Jan. 22, 1829.	307,677	15,908
Ray.....	1816	Nov. 16, 1820.	360,226	18,700
Reynolds.....	1812	Feb. 25, 1845.	494,379	3,756
Ripley.....	1819	Jan. 5, 1833.	380,160	3,175
St. Charles.....	1762	.....	339,690	21,304
St. Clair.....	1835	Jan. 29, 1841.	447,040	6,747
St. Francois.....	1794	Dec. 19, 1821.	280,091	9,742
Ste. Genevieve.....	1735	.....	316,711	8,384
St. Louis.....	1764	.....	295,780	351,189
Saline.....	1810	Nov. 25, 1820.	458,095	21,672
Schuyler.....	1836	Feb. 24, 1845.	185,655	8,820
Scotland.....	1833	Jan. 29, 1841.	278,748	10,670
Scott.....	1798	Dec. 28, 1821.	262,058	7,317
Shannon.....	1819	Jan. 29, 1841.	670,000	2,339
Shelby.....	1830	Jan. 2, 1835.	332,560	10,119
Stoddard.....	1823	Jan. 2, 1835.	465,137	8,535
Stone.....	1790	.....	339,200	3,253
Sullivan.....	1836	Feb. 16, 1845.	313,720	11,907
Taney.....	1826	Jan. 6, 1837.	437,381	4,407
Texas.....	1816	Feb. 14, 1845.	700,000	9,618
Vernon.....	1820	Feb. 17, 1851.	536,000	11,247
Warren.....	1801	Jan. 5, 1833.	262,474	9,637
Washington.....	1765	Aug. 21, 1813.	475,399	11,719
Wayne.....	1800	Dec. 11, 1818.	459,784	6,068
Webster.....	1830	Mar. 3, 1855.	380,160	10,434
Worth.....	1840	Feb. 8, 1861.	174,720	5,004
Wright.....	1832	Jan. 29, 1841.	414,720	5,684

**Topography.**—Missouri is divided by the Missouri River into two distinct parts, marked by different physical characteristics. The portion of the State north of the Missouri River, although quite rolling, is generally less hilly and broken than most of the country south of the river.

North of the river there is a beautiful diversity of bluffs, slopes and levels, prairie and timber, generally well watered by numerous rivers and creeks, with an almost uniform course of south or south-west into the Missouri, or south-east into the Mississippi River.

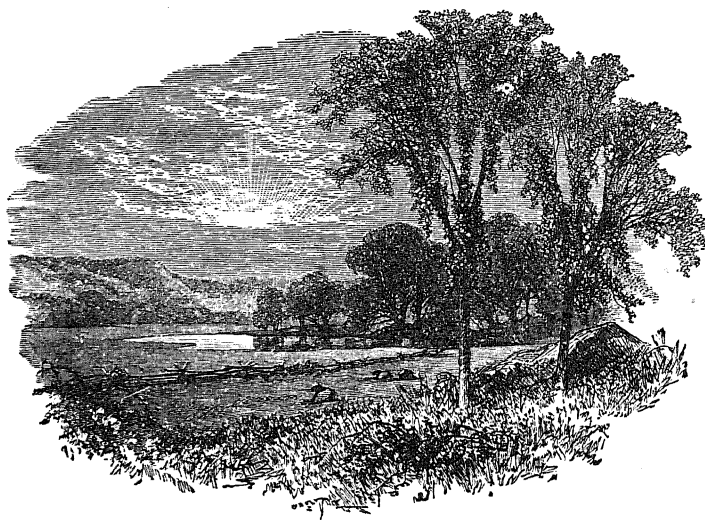
The general surface of a country is governed by the constituents of the underlying rock formations. Where they consist mostly of limestones

which approach near the surface, we find a rugged tract of country. Where sandstones prevail, the slopes are more gentle. Where clays or shales exist, we have flat land. Alternations of these will present combinations of the foregoing. The coal measures include varieties of all these, and generally alternately arranged. The thickest entire limestone group is thirty feet, with shales above and below; so, of course, our area of broken land is limited. The thickest groups of limestone occur in the lower part of the upper coal measures. Along the line of their outcrops may be occasionally seen rugged and steep hillsides, which characteristics may be observed from Cass County on the south, through Jackson, Platte, Clay, Ray, Caldwell, Daviess, Gentry, Worth and Harrison. Higher in the series are thick shale formations, as seen at Weston and St. Joseph.

The country northward is flat and rolling, as we find through Gentry and Worth, Platte, Buchanan and DeKalb. Above these are alternations of thick and thin strata of limestone, with sandstones, shales and clays, and the resultant is the undulating and rolling portions of northwest Missouri, lying near and extending west from Platte River. The bluffs of the Missouri, in the region of the upper coal measures, attain an elevation of from 250 to 330 feet above the bottom land, and the elevation of the highest ridges inland is but little, if any more. The summits of the highest ridges in Nodaway County, above One Hundred And Two and Platte Rivers, are but little over 200 feet, and none of the adjacent bluffs exceed 50 feet in height; the same may also be said of Nodaway River, except near where it joins the Missouri Bluffs, where they measure 250 feet. On North Grand River the immediate bluffs measure from 30 to 120 feet, within the upper coal district. As we descend, the hills recede. Near the base of the upper coal series it is often 200 to 250 feet from the valleys to the top of remote ridges. Lower down, in the middle coal series, we have a great thickness of sandstones and shales, with long and very gentle slopes, and the bluffs near streams from 25 to 50 feet high, rising to 100 feet at a half mile to a mile distant. We also observe another characteristic near the junction of the upper and middle measures. The upper sandstones, 100 or more feet in thickness, have been mostly denuded, leaving isolated mounds of sandstone, capped by lower limestones, of the upper coal measures. They are generally 80 to 100 feet above the general surface of the lower plains. This enables us to trace out the boundaries between the upper and middle coal series very readily. The mounds near Harrisonville, Cass County, reach to the top of the middle coal series, as also Center

Knob and knobs north in Johnson County, and Wagon Knob in Lafayette County, and are generally capped with limestones, which occupy the base of the upper coal series.

In Lafayette County we have a remarkable ridge coming in from the southwest and extending northwardly, just west of the line between ranges 27 and 28, including a width of about one mile. Gray's Knob, although separated from the main ridge, occupies the northern terminus of it. It is generally capped with limestone, but sometimes the limestone has been broken up and worn away, leaving exposed the underlying sandstone. The denudation on the east side is apparently not so much



Sniabar Valley.

as on the west, but on the west the erosion has been very great, extending to a depth of at least about 100 feet with a width of over twelve miles. This tract includes the beautiful Greenton Valley, Texas Prairie and Sniabar Valleys.

The various branches of the Sniabar have cut their channels through this valley to a depth of from 40 to 100 feet. Along the Missouri River, in the vicinity of the middle series, the bluffs do not attain the height found in the upper series. They vary in height from 100 to 165 feet. In the lower part of the middle coal measures, we again observe the phenomena of mounds capped with limestone, the base of the mounds extending into the lower measures. We here find evidences of a great denudation, for the mounds are frequently over 100 feet in height, sloping with a long and gentle descent, blending into the wide-stretching intervening plains.

This is the case along the west line of Missouri from Fort Scott to Cass County; others occur along the border of Bates and Vernon, and occasionally in Henry. A range of mounds passes north-east from near Clinton to the north-east part of Henry County, and from thence, at intervals northwardly in the east part of Johnson County. The lower coal measures being mainly composed of sandstones and shales with but few limestone beds, we find the country correspondingly flat. The bluffs along the streams are not often over 50 feet in height, and blend into the higher land by gentle slopes. The southern portion of Missouri, including the Ozark Ridge and most of the State south of the Missouri and Osage Rivers, excepting the two western tiers of counties, is elevated from 1,000 to 1,400 feet above the sea, and includes only lower silurian rocks, flanked by lower carboniferous. On the west flank near the State Line, the country is not often over 800 feet above the sea. On the west and north flank of this high land the coal measures commence. On the south side of the Missouri River we find the middle and lower coal not over 800 or 900 feet above the sea. In North Missouri the same formations are about 800 to 1,000 feet above the sea. The elevation of the eastern and southern outcrop of the upper coal measures near the base is 875 to 990 feet. Toward the north-west part of the State the upper measures are more elevated, and may reach from 1,000 to 1,100 feet above the sea.

Nearly all that portion of the State lying south of the Missouri River is affected in its physical features by the Ozark Range, and the various ridges that branch from it. This important range of hills is probably a part of that ridge which starts at Long's Peak and passes through Kansas, entering Missouri in Jasper County, and then, traversing the State in a course slightly north of east, passes into Illinois at Grand Tower, and thence into Kentucky opposite Golconda, and finally it merges itself into the Cumberland Mountains. While in Kansas, this ridge divides, and its northern branch passes into Missouri, in Cass County, and soon disappears near the head waters of LaMine. The southern or main branch of this ridge, which, as we have seen, forms the Ozark Range, is the divide between the waters of the Missouri River on its northern slope, and those of the Mississippi on its southern; and in its course through the State it is marked by different characteristics. From Jasper County on the west, until nearly three-fourths of the distance across the State, the Ozark broaden out with a wide arable summit, and are best described as a series of high table lands, possessing none of the essential characteristics of a range of mountains. Their elevation above the Mississippi

River at St. Louis, varies from 500 to 1,500 feet, the highest points being found in Greene County.

In the eastern part of Missouri, particularly in the vicinity of Iron and adjoining counties, the ridges are narrow, irregular and precipitous, and often abound in isolated hills from 400 to 850 feet high.

The traveler in the interior of Missouri is often surprised to see spread out before him a scene in which cliffs and prairies, bottoms and barrens, naked hills and heavy forests, rocks and streams all follow each other in rapid succession and wonderful variety, mingled in the most pleasing harmony.

The rich alluvial bottom lands of the Missouri and Mississippi are confined to narrow strips (varying in width from a few feet to several miles) between the several channels of those rivers and the bluffs that line their sides. Only a very small portion of these bottoms above Cape Girardeau are subject to overflow. Below Cape Girardeau these bottom lands become very much more extensive, and embrace several counties. A large part of this area is swampy, and a limited portion is subject to overflow.

On this low land are to be found some of the most productive farms in the State. The portions now swampy and most, if not all, of the overflowed lands are susceptible of drainage, and will, when thus dried, become the garden spot of the State.

**Rivers.**—Two of the largest rivers in the United States, if not in the world, give Missouri the benefits of their navigation. The Mississippi River flows along the eastern border of the State for a distance (including its windings) of nearly 540 miles. The Missouri River courses along nearly one-half of the western border of the State, separating it from Nebraska and Kansas for a distance of about 250 miles, and then bears off in a direction a little south of east for 436 miles farther, until it reaches its confluence with the Mississippi River. Both of these rivers are navigable by large steamers far beyond the limits of the State.

The principal tributaries which the Missouri River receives within the State are the following: Nishnabotna, Big Tarkio, Nodaway, One Hundred And Two, Platte, Grand and Chariton Rivers, and Cedar Creek and Loutre River from the north; and the Blue, Big Sniabar, LaMine, Osage and Gasconade from the south. The Osage—the principal tributary within the State—four hundred miles in length—is navigable some two hundred miles from its mouth for light-draught steamers, and passes through some of the richest lands and most picturesque bluff scenery in



the State. The principal tributaries received by the Mississippi River north of the Missouri within the State are the Fox, Wyaconda, North Fabius, South Fabius, North, Salt and Cuivre.

South of the Missouri the Mississippi receives the Des Peres and Mera-mec Rivers, and numerous creeks—among them Establishment, Saline, Apple, and others. Little, Castor, St. Francis and Black Rivers, rise on the south-eastern spurs of the Ozark Hills, and flow southwardly through the low ends of south-east Missouri into Arkansas, and thence into the Mississippi. Current, Eleven Point and the numerous tributaries of White River drain the southern slope of the Ozark, flowing through the latter river into Arkansas and thence into the Mississippi. The numerous tributaries of Elk and Spring Rivers drain the south-western part of the State.

**Caves.**—There are several very interesting and quite remarkable caves in the State.

*Hannibal Cave*, situated one mile below the City of Hannibal and about a quarter of a mile from the Mississippi River, is approached through a broad ravine hemmed in by lofty ridges which are at right angles with the river. The antechamber is about 8 feet high and 15 feet long; this descends into the Narrows, thence through Grand Avenue to a spacious hall called Washington Avenue through which the Altar Chamber, which is a ferruginous limestone (lithographic stone) formation, is reached, where crystal quartz, carbonate of lime and sulphate of magnesia abound.

Stalactites and stalagmites are continually forming by limestone percolations. In Bat Avenue Chamber, the bats may be seen hanging from the ceiling in clusters, like swarms of bees, some of them fifteen inches from tip to tip. Washington Avenue, over 16 feet high, with long corridors of stalactites and stalagmites, is the largest division of the cave. It contains a spring, and a deep pool in which are found the wonderful eyeless fish.

The Devil's Hall is a spacious chamber with a horizontal ceiling and a level floor. Alligator Rock, Elephant's Head, two natural wells filled with limpid water, Table Rock, twenty feet in height, with regular steps for ascent, are objects of interest, and with a thousand other curiosities and surprises will amply repay tourists for their exploration.

*Murphy's Cave*, in Ides Hill, near the center of Hannibal, and *Ure's Cave*, in the rear of the same hill, are of considerable interest, but not so extensive as the Hannibal Cave. There are several caves of interest in St. Louis County.

*Cliff Cave*, or Indian Cave, 13 miles below St. Louis, is one of the most interesting. It is now used by the Cliff Cave Wine Company as a wine cellar.

There are several caves in Miller County, the largest of which is on the Big Tavern Creek, in the bluff near its confluence with the Osage River. The entrance is about 25 feet square, and 30 to 40 feet above the river in a solid limestone bluff, but as yet it has been only partially explored. During the late Civil War it was used as a safe retreat by the "bandit" Crabtree. The stalactic formations are of strange and fantastic appearance, some of them looking like colossal images of marble, and the whole effect by torch-light is solemn and weird.

Further up the stream are two other large caves, but little explored. One is used by a German as a brewery.

Phelps County contains several interesting caves, the most accessible of which is Friede's Cave, about 9 miles north-west of Rolla. Its mouth is 60 feet in width and 35 feet in height. It has been penetrated to a distance of three miles without finding any outlet. The Stalactite Chamber is a beautiful apartment of 200 yards in length, varying from 15 to 30 feet in width and from 5 to 30 feet in height. The Bat Chamber contains thousands of wagon loads of guano, which is extensively used by the farmers of the neighborhood. The cave also contains quantities of saltpetre, and during the war large amounts of powder were manufactured there.

There are several caves in Christian County. The principal one, which is a favorite resort for picnic parties, is two and a half miles northeast of Ozark. Its entrance is through a rock-arch 50 feet across and 80 feet high. About 400 feet from the entrance, the passage is so contracted that the explorer must crawl through on his hands and knees. A fine stream of water, clear and cold, gurgles down through the cave. About twelve miles south of Ozark, near the Forsyth road, on the top of a very high hill is a small opening, which, about 100 feet from the surface, expands into a hall 30 feet wide and about 400 feet long, the sides and top of which are of rock lined with beautiful stalactites. In Stone County at least twenty-five caves have been explored, and many more discovered. One mile from Galena is an extensive cave from which the early settlers procured saltpetre in large quantities. About two and a half miles above this is a smaller one of great beauty. From the ceiling depend glittering stalactites, while the floor sparkles with fragments of gem-like lustre. A pearly wall, of about half an inch in thickness and fifteen inches high, incloses a miniature lake, through whose pellucid waters the wavy stalagmite bottom of this natural basin can be plainly seen. This fairy-like

bath tub, fit for Venus to lave in, hidden away in the secret recesses of the earth, surprises and gains admiration from all beholders, and the sacred stillness of the vaulted chamber renders its name, "The Baptismal Font," a peculiarly fitting one. A cave about twelve miles from Galena, is becoming well-known among curiosity-seekers in the adjacent country. The entrance chamber is a large dome-shaped room, whose ceiling is very high; a glittering mound of stalagmites rises in the center of the room, nearly one-third the height of the ceiling; stretching out at right angles from this are long shining halls leading to other grand arched chambers, gorgeous enough for the revels of the Gnome King, and all the genii of the subterranean world. One cannot but think of the nether world, as, wandering down a labyrinthian passage, he reaches the verge of an abyss, striking perpendicularly to unknown and echoless depths. The name, "Bottomless Pit," is well bestowed on this yawning gulf.

*Knox Cave*, about seven miles northwest of Springfield, has been explored nearly a mile, and varies from 20 to 70 feet in width and from 6 to 30 feet in height, and is 75 or 100 feet below the surface of the ground. For some distance from the mouth it is rugged limestone rock, hung with the most beautiful stalactite formations, constantly dripping with water.

*Fisher's Cave*, six miles southeast of Springfield, is of similar dimensions and has a beautiful stream of water flowing out of it, and several chambers connecting with the main one, as yet unexplored.

There are a number of saltpetre caves along the banks of the Gasconade which were once profitably worked. Some of the saltpetre was shipped down the river to St. Louis, but the greater portion was used in making gunpowder at a number of manufactories in the State. Some of these caves are large and interesting, consisting frequently of a succession of rooms joined to each other by arched halls of a considerable height, with walls of white limestone, upon which, as well as upon the floors, the saltpetre is deposited, and is generally so pure as to need but one washing to prepare it for use or export. When these caves were first discovered it was not unusual to find in them stone-axes and hammers, which led to the belief that they had formerly been worked for some unknown purpose by the savages. It is doubtful whether these tools were left there by the Indians or by another and more civilized race which preceded them.<sup>1</sup>

There are caves of more or less extent and importance in many of the bluffs fronting on the Gasconade.

<sup>1</sup> This subject is fully discussed by Mr. A. J. Conant in the Article on Archæology.

There are numerous caves in Perry County, two of which penetrate beneath Perryville. None of these have been fully explored; but Dr. Shelby penetrated one to the distance of four miles, and believes that beneath this part of the county a curious subterranean world exists.

*Connor's Cave*, seven miles southeast of Columbia, has an entrance twenty feet wide, and eight feet high, and has been partially explored for several miles.

There are extensive and beautiful caves in Texas, Webster, Lawrence, Laclede, Oregon, and several other counties.

About 14 miles south-south-west of Marshfield, Webster County, in the neighborhood of some mines known as Snake Lead Diggings, there is a lake of oval shape, covering an area of about two acres. This lake, curious in many respects, is on the top of a hill, and locked in by a sunken wall of limestone, about one hundred feet in height, or more properly depth, for the summit of the hill seems hollowed out and lined with this limestone basin, whose walls stand perpendicularly, inclosing the lake solidly except on the west side, where a gap occurs that one can descend with the aid of two twenty-foot ladders. This mysterious lake has never been sounded. The crevices of the rocks surrounding the lake are filled with a substance resembling sperm, that burns like a candle, and in the basin are some old cedar logs, though no cedar grows nearer than eight miles to this weird region, whose name of Devil's Den suggests sorcery to the superstitious.

The "Grand Gulf" is a natural curiosity in the south-western part of Oregon County. In a section where the surface is comparatively level, the traveler suddenly comes upon this "gulf," three-fourths of a mile in length, 50 to 100 feet in width, and about 150 feet in depth, and bridged by a rocky formation.

"Les Mamelles," two and a half miles north-west of St. Charles, six miles from the Mississippi, and one mile from the Missouri, are two smooth mounds, of regular surface, without trees or shrubs, but covered with grass, projecting into the prairie some distance from the main bluffs. These mounds have an elevation of about 150 feet, and afford an extensive view of a most beautiful country.

A clergyman was many years since conducted to Les Mamelles, by the hill route leading through the woods. Emerging from the front, the vista opened, disclosing to his astonished vision a scene of surpassing loveliness. A beautiful level plain spread out before him for miles, east, west and north, dressed in living green, variegated with many-hued

prairie flowers; the whole encircled by the bluffs of the two rivers, whose crags and peaks, reflecting the rays of the evening sun, presented the appearance of towns and villages and ruined castles. To the north lay the Marais Croche Lake, like an immense mirror set in emerald. For a few moments the clergyman stood in mute astonishment. When he recovered his speech, he exclaimed, "I have never before seen anything that gave me a proper conception of the Promised Land."

The Grand Falls of Shoal Creek, in the north-western part of Newton county, are renowned for their beauty, and are a place of resort for pleasure parties from the vicinity.

A short distance above Rocheport, Boone County, are high cliffs of rocks, containing Indian hieroglyphics and numerous caves and springs. There is a natural bridge of considerable interest at Rockbridge, or McConathy's Mills, six miles south from Columbia, and in the southern part of the county there are numerous Indian mounds.

There are in Carroll County several high mounds, rising from one hundred to four hundred and fifty feet above the level of the surrounding country. Bogard, north of the center of the county, is the highest; the next highest is Stokes; then Potato Hill Mound, etc.

The Natural Bridge, five miles south of Springfield, is a great resort for pleasure seekers. Grand Tower, about one mile below the town of Wittenburg, Perry County, on the west side of the river, about sixty feet from the shore, is a tower of solid rock about 75 feet high, from which a fine view of the river, the bluffs and the city of Grand Tower on the opposite bank, may be had.

The Simmons Iron Mountain, situated about one mile south-west from Salem, is a nearly isolated hill, covering about 30 acres, and about 90 feet above the surrounding plateau. The main body of the hill seems to be composed of second sandstone. Specular surface ore extends over a large district, increasing in frequency and size towards the summit, where it occurs in boulders several feet in diameter.

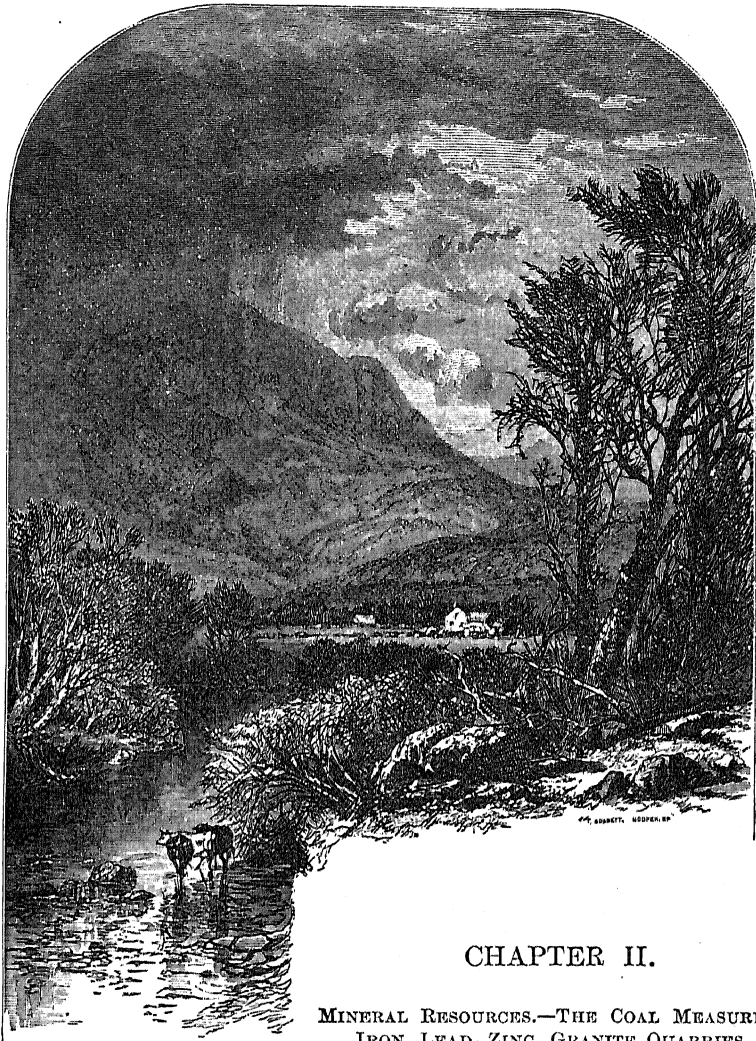
Pilot Knob, 581 feet high, 1118 feet above the level of the Mississippi at St. Louis, is an almost isolated, nearly conical hill, with a perpendicular peak connected at its eastern base with a lower range of hills that gradually slope off to the east. At the height of 440 feet on the south side of the mountain is exposed a stratum of specular iron ore, about 275 feet in length, and 19 to 24 feet in thickness. It served as a landmark and guide to the Indians and pioneers: hence its name.

Shepherd's Mountain, 79 feet higher than, and one-eighth of a mile west of, Pilot Knob, covers an area of 800 acres, and is rich in magnetic ore.

Cedar Mountain, west of Pilot Knob and considerably less in height, contains a large vein of specular iron ore, discovered by Francis Tunica, then topographical engineer connected with the State geological survey.

The "Ozark Hills" region of the State abounds in scenery that is by turns beautiful, picturesque and sublime. Scenes like the following in Iron County might be painted by the hundred, without exhausting the beauties and interest of that wonderful region.

The *Granite Quarry*, about six miles north-west from Ironton; the *Shut In*, about two miles south-east; and the *Cascade*, about ten miles west of the same place. The *Granite Quarry* is a solid bed of granite 60 or 70 feet high, covering from 100 to 200 acres. Scattered over the top of this mountain of stone are huge boulders rounded and worn smooth, some of them 25 feet high, and weighing hundreds of tons. Some of them have but a small base resting upon the solid ledge, and it seems as if a man could set his shoulder against them and send them thundering to the mountain's base. A trial, however, will prove to the contrary. The granite is of a superior quality, and has been extensively used by the Government in the erection of public buildings, and 300 men are now employed in the quarry. The *Shut In* is a cleft-like mountain-pass, at its narrowest point about 100 yards wide, a mile in length, and its sides of rock from 30 to 50 feet high. Through this chasm runs a bright and sparkling stream that empties into the St. Francis River. The *Cascade* runs over the top of Cascade Mountain, falling down its perpendicular rocky sides about 200 feet to the bottom of a narrow mountain gorge. Opposite and almost within stone's throw, rises another mountain 300 feet high, and nearly perpendicular. In summer, one standing at the top of this cascade and looking into the abyss, sees the foliage and vegetation at the bottom wear a funeral blackness; higher up, the color changes to a dark green, and grows paler as it nears the top, where it is of the hue of summer. The continual rush of water in the spring floods over this precipice, and the continued dropping of the summer stream, have worn in the rock large tanks or cisterns holding from 10 to 200 hogsheads of water. These reservoirs seem to be always full. In Dent Township there is a cavern of wonderful beauty and great extent, that has never been fully explored. *Stony Battery* is a gorge or canon about three-fourths of a mile long, between the mountains in the southern part of the county. The stones, which in past ages had fallen into it from the mountain above, have been removed, and it now serves for the bed of a stream and for a road. It opens at the south into a fertile valley of considerable extent.



Scene in Iron County

## CHAPTER II.

MINERAL RESOURCES.—THE COAL MEASURES.—  
IRON, LEAD, ZINC, GRANITE QUARRIES, ETC.

Missouri was known as a country of mineral wealth long before it was under the control of the United States. The pioneers, who first visited this country, came in search of minerals and furs, and the region became famous for both about the same time. From that time to the present, the most sanguine enthusiast has not fully measured the magnitude of our mineral wealth, the knowledge of which has been increased by new discoveries, until now, new as is the country, and undeveloped as are our richest deposits, we are in point of mineral *productions*, the ninth State

in the Union. This rank does not at all represent the rank in the *value* of mineral deposits, and hence of possible production, but only the rank in annual production, which can be, and ere long will be, so increased that Missouri will rank in iron, coal and building stone, as she now does in lead, the first State in the Union.

The census of 1870 showed that the mining interest employed 3,423 hands, paying \$1,938,792 in wages, expending \$570,781 for material, using a capital of \$3,489,250, and producing ore valued at \$3,472,513. Since that time some of the mines then known have been more extensively worked, and new discoveries, as well as more thorough developments of known deposits, have largely increased the known mineral wealth of the State.

For instance, the lead interest of the State is, in the census report of 1870, credited with employing a capital of \$208,000; 457 hands, and producing \$201,885 worth of metal. But the single county of Jasper, which, in 1870, employed five hands, and produced \$37,500 worth of lead, in 1876 produced over \$750,000 worth of lead, almost four times as much as the entire State product in 1870, and more than the entire nation produced that year. While the other mining interests have not all increased in this proportion, this will serve to illustrate the possibilities of the future, when Missouri will take the rank her natural advantages render inevitable.

There is no possible doubt that when Missouri shall by an enlightened and liberal policy secure an exhaustive geological survey and examination of the State, that the mineral deposits will be so clearly defined, their quantity, quality and situation so definitely described that they will invite from eastern states and foreign countries the capital and experience which will place her as the leading mining State of the Union. We have had plenty of "glittering generalities;" what capitalists and practical manufacturers want is metes and bounds, established by reliable surveyors; quantities, calculated from actual examination and measurement; and percentages of ore and metal deduced from careful and repeated analyses by scientific, reliable and responsible chemists and metallurgists.

Whenever the State shall decide to determine these facts and employ a force of sufficient number and intelligence to do the work carefully, thoroughly and speedily, then a new era of prosperity will dawn upon our Commonwealth. A good beginning has been made; let it be only a beginning which shall be speedily and generously finished.



**Coal.**—Whatever may be the mineral resources of any state or country, much of the success in mining, manufacturing and commerce, must largely depend upon the quantity, quality and situation of its mineral coal. No very great and independent success can be had in any of these departments without a bountiful supply of these "black diamonds." Fuel must be had, for the use of fire is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of man over animal creation.

Heat must be generated for the thousand avocations of civilized life, and nothing is so available and so reliable, either to warm a room, drive an engine, smelt an ore or generate a power to raise and transport its own latent strength, as coal. These precipitated sunbeams were laid away in ante-diluvian times under the earth, and there stored up for the use, comfort and progress of mankind in these latter glorious days.

While coal has been for a long time known to exist in some scattered localities, it remained for the geological survey of the State to discover the great area of our coal deposits, and to determine their thickness, situation, availability and boundary. Coal is spoken of as *black diamond*, the difference being only one of form and color; but the difference is vastly in favor of the coal, which is immeasurably more valuable—for the muscular strength of earths' inhabitants from Adam down to the present and continuing on until the Millennium, would scarcely constitute a unit or factor by which to determine or compare the incalculable latent power stored up in the Missouri coal fields.

In any attempt to calculate the power or appreciate the value of this unmeasured deposit of earths' most bountiful and most available mineral, and its influence on the State at large, as well as upon every inhabitant, we must bear in mind that this almost infinite power is ready to come forth at the touch of man, and may be controlled by his lightest wish. A match can release, and a finger may direct, the force which can minister to the wants of all mankind, by clothing the entire earth in beauty, or which could send the world flying in fragments from the force of the explosion, rendering the earth unfit for man's habitation, even if a man should by a miracle be left to live upon it. We must bear in mind, too, that these coal beds underlie one of the richest agricultural regions on the continent, within a State whose manufacturing and commercial facilities and resources are scarcely inferior to any, and adjacent to the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and our numerous railroads, and especially that they are near the two great trans-continental lines.

The coal fields of Missouri not only cover a greater area than any other mineral deposit in the State, but also employ more hands in their working,

use a larger capital, and produce more wealth, which is more generally divided among the operatives.

Another very important fact in relation to our coal fields is, that while it makes comparatively little difference to the consumer whether the iron or lead that he uses is mined in Missouri, Pennsylvania or Sweden, it is of the utmost importance to him whether his coal is mined in his own county or a distant part of the State. Coal in the county, or on the same railway or water-course, within easy distance, means cheap fuel for the household, and a cheap supply of an indispensable element in successful manufacturing.

Coal mining requires only a small amount of permanent investment, and none of the expensive appurtenances for reduction which are demanded by iron, lead and zinc ores. Lying, as it does, near the surface, over a large area in this State, it requires only a limited capital for its successful production, and it finds a ready and constant cash market at the mouth of the mine, or in the towns along the railway lines or rivers. This speedy and certain return for a moderate outlay will readily explain why coal mining continues to flourish, when other mining interests languish, and why the amount of its volume is only slightly reduced while some other mines are closed altogether.

The Missouri coal fields underlie an area of nearly 25,000 square miles, including about 160 square miles in St. Louis County, 8 square miles in St. Charles, and some important outliers and pockets, which are mainly cannel coal, in Lincoln, Warren and Callaway Counties. This area includes about 8,400 square miles of upper coal measures, 2,000 square miles of exposed middle, and about 14,600 square miles of exposed lower measures.

The upper coal measures contain about four feet of coal, including two seams of one foot each in thickness, the others being thin seams or streaks.

The middle coal measures contain about seven feet of coal, including two workable seams of twenty-one and twenty-four inches, one other of one foot, that is worked under favorable circumstances, and six thin seams.

The lower measures contain about five workable seams of coal, varying in thickness from eighteen inches to four and one-half feet, and thin seams varying from six to eleven inches, and several minor seams and streaks. In all, thirteen feet six inches of coal. We therefore have in Missouri a total aggregate of twenty-four feet six inches of coal. The thinner seams of coal are not often mined, except in localities distant from railroad transportation.

Miners usually prefer to work in a bed of two feet to two and one-half feet in thickness to even one of greater thickness.

All beds over eighteen inches thick are workable coals. The area where such may be reached within two hundred feet from the surface is about 7,000 square miles. Most of the State underlaid by the coal-measure, is rich farming land. That underlaid by the upper measures includes the richest, and equal to any upon the globe. The southeastern boundary of the coal-measures has been traced from the mouth of the Des Moines, through Clark, Lewis, Scotland, Adair, Macon, Shelby, Monroe, Audrain, Callaway, Boone, Cooper, Pettis, Benton, Henry, St. Clair, Bates, Vernon, Cedar, Dade, Barton and Jasper counties into the Indian Territory, and every county on the north-west of this line is known to contain more or less coal. Great quantities of coal exist in Johnson, Pettis, Lafayette, Cass, Chariton, Howard, Putnam and Audrain.

Outside of the coal-fields, as given above, the regular coal rocks also exist in Ralls, Montgomery, Warren, St. Charles, Callaway and St. Louis, and local deposits of cannel and bituminous coal in Moniteau, Cole, Morgan, Crawford, Lincoln and Callaway. Prof. Swallow said in 1865, "If the average thickness of workable coal be one foot only, it will give 26,800,000,000 tons for the whole area occupied by coal rock. But in many places the thickness of the workable beds is over 15 feet, and the least estimate that can be made for the whole area is 5 feet. This will give over 134,000,000,000 tons of good available coal in our State."

And the same authority adds in 1874: "Such were our estimates of the coal in Missouri in 1855. Since then new beds have been opened in the area above designated and large tracts discovered in other parts of the State, along the whole line of the south-eastern outcrop of the lower coal strata, from the mouth of the Des Moines to the Indian Territory. Along the lines of all the railroads in North Missouri, and along the western end of the Missouri Pacific, active and systematic mining has opened our coal beds in a thousand localities, and developed a series of facts which render it absolutely certain that our former estimate falls far below the real quantity in the State. Prior to 1855 no coal beds had been discovered on the Missouri River between Kansas City and Sioux City, save a few thin beds in the upper coal-measures, and practical men were slow to believe the geologist could detect the existence of coal beneath the surface. But some brave men at Leavenworth City have sunk a shaft to one of the lowest coal beds, 700 feet beneath their city, and more than 500 feet below the Missouri River at that point. The

success of this enterprise proves the deductions of science, that our lower coal beds, which crop out along the eastern boundary of our coal-field, from Clark county to Vernon, dip beneath the surface and extend to the west as far, at least, as Leavenworth, or beyond the western boundary of Missouri.

"This and other similar developments prove that our estimate of the coal in the State at 134,000,000,000, tons is much too small. But since that is enough, we need not make figures. But it is not the coal of Missouri alone, which is tributary to St. Louis. The 12,000 square miles of coal-measures in Kansas, as much more in the Indian Territory and Arkansas, and still larger areas in Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Kentucky, are so located as to form around St. Louis a circle of fuel at once accessible and inexhaustible."

And later explorations add still another important area to the known coal-fields of Missouri, by defining the recently-discovered and profitably-worked deposits in Barton and Jasper Counties.

**Lead.**—There is probably no country on the globe so rich in lead deposits as Missouri. The mineral occurs in lodes, veins and disseminations, which are as yet only partially determined. The number, extent, dip and thickness of these deposits have not been but partially ascertained, but enough is known to show that their range and richness exceed any other known Lead-bearing region in the world.

Galena occurs in this State in ferruginous clay that becomes jointed, or, separating in distinct masses, quite regular in form, when taken out and partially dried also in regular cubes, in gravel beds, or with cherty masses in the clays associated with the same.

These cubes in some localities show the action of attrition, while in others they are entirely unworn. Lead is found in the carboniferous rocks, but perhaps the greater portion is obtained from the magnesian rocks of the lower Silurian, and, in one or two localities, galena has been discovered in the rocks of the Azoic period. At Dugal's, Reynolds County, Lead is found in a disseminated condition in the porphyry.

**SOUTH-EAST LEAD DISTRICT.**—The topographical character of the disseminated belt which, so far as known, occupies about one-half of the northern portion of Madison and the same amount of land in St. Francois County is a succession of elevations, valleys and in several localities, considerable hills or small mountains.

The elevations in the region of the Fox Mines, two miles west of Fredericktown, present a dark reddish porphyry cropping out from their

summits and scattered along their sides. Further down, and near the bottom of the valleys, also in many places lapping the porphyrys are the second sandstone and third magnesian limestone. Over the greater part of the disseminated lead region indicated, the rocks will be found to carry the same lithological character as those already named, and over none of this region have we observed rocks of a later geological age than the Lower Silurian, but let it not be inferred that these formations are uniform throughout this district, for, at the Fox Mines the second sandstone is entirely wanting, its place being occupied by twelve feet of a hard, brownish, crystalline silico-magnesian limestone.

Mine LaMotte, discovered about 1720 by LaMotte and Renault. It was not, however, until this territory was ceded to Spain, that any considerable mining for lead was done in this part of Missouri. Mine a Breton, was discovered by M. Le Breton.

Moses Austin of Virginia, secured from the Spanish Government a large grant of land near Potosi, and sunk the first regular shaft, and after taking out large quantities of lead, he, in 1789, erected the first reverberatory furnace for the reduction of lead ever built in America.

In some portions of Ste. Genevieve, Jefferson and other south-eastern counties, lead has been found, but not in any considerable quantity.

In all this region, we find crystallized cubes of galena in the tallow clay, occurring as float. In Franklin, Washington and Jefferson counties, galena is found in ferruginous clay and coarse gravel, often associated with small masses of brown hematite iron and the sulphuret of iron; sometimes lying in small cavities or pockets. The most noted of the Franklin County mines are the Virginia, Mt. Hope, Golconda, Evans, Skewes, Elliott, Darby, Patton, Massey, Berthold, Gravelly, Enloe and Hamilton. The first mentioned has produced by far the greater portion of lead from this section.

At the Webster Mines the silicate and carbonate of zinc are found always accompanying the lead. At the Valle Mines, silicate of zinc and baryta occur as well as hematite iron ore. The great Mammoth Mine was a succession of caves, in which millions of pounds of lead were found adhering to the sides and roof, and on the bottom with clay and baryta. The Sandy, Tarpley, Edging, Yankee, Miller and many other diggings are well known, though now producing but little lead.

The Frumet or Einstein Mines are the most productive that have ever been opened in Jefferson County, and are now yielding also large quantities of zinc ore. The Jenner Mine near by, is perhaps as rich in ore as the Frumet.

Dr. Dyer's mine has attracted considerable attention from the richness of the ore and the presence of silver in the same. The Darby Diggings, on the Benton claim, are valuable mines, but the galena is so mixed with baryta that crushing and separating is necessary to secure the lead in a condition for reduction.

In Washington, lead-mining has been carried on for a greater length of time uninterruptedly, and more acres of land have been dug over that have produced lead than in any other county in the State. The galena has been usually found in the gravel and clay overlying the magnesian rocks, and in a few instances assumes a lode form in fissures of the same.

At the mines of the Memphis Lead Company, southeast of Potosi, are found small cubes of lead disseminated through a hard geodic limestone, in which sulphate of baryta and silicate of zinc are in association. At Mine a Reed the lead follows a well-defined fissure in the second magnesian limestone, occurring in flattened masses or depressed cubes with laminar structure; but all resting upon their *edges* in the fissure.

Old Mines, Cannon, Scott, Bellefontaine, Austin, Burts, Layton, Cook, Elliott, Shore, Old Ditch, Turkey Hill, Richwoods, and more than a hundred other mines need no special description.

In St. Francois County lead deposits are found in the ferruginous clay and gravel. Though they have produced many millions of pounds in past years, these mines are not now extensively worked.

Over portions of Madison County considerable lead is found in the clay.

Several locations in Iron County show a good prospect for lead.

In Wayne, Carter, Reynolds and Crawford lead has been found, and in the eastern portion of the last named county considerable was mined a few years ago.

Ste. Genevieve County has a deposit of lead known as the Avon Mines on Mineral Fork, where mining and smelting has been prosecuted for many years. In this vicinity lead has also been found as "float" in several places.

Lead exists in the small streams in several places in the western parts of Cape Girardeau County.

In the region described, at least two thousand square miles are underlaid with lead, upon which territory galena can be found almost anywhere, either in the clay, gravel openings, or in a disseminated condition. The lead production of this portion of the State, though on the increase, is not one-tenth what it would be could capital and skilled labor be made to understand its galeniferous wealth.

THE CENTRAL LEAD DISTRICT comprises, as far as known, the counties of Cole, Cooper, Moniteau, Morgan, Miller, Benton, Maries, Camden and Osage, and here, again, a marked difference is observed in formation and association.

The galena is first discovered in isolated caves scattered through a joint or tallow clay of a yellowish color.

In two localities, the cotton rock has been found to carry galena in paying quantities.

At the Pioneer Mines and many other places in the vicinity, galena occurs in the clay, but a few inches below the surface. Large masses of lead in crystallized cubes are found in the clay at a depth of from six to eight feet, sandwiched between masses of cotton rock, sandstone and chert, associated with sulphate of baryta and tallow clay. There is no regularity to the dip, inclination, or association, until the regular beds of second magnesian limestone are reached. Here the galena passes into large openings in the rock, and becomes disseminated in the edges of the walls as well as completely mixed with the baryta.

In Cole County the lead is uniformly met with in the joint clays, cherty conglomerate, finally assuming the vein and lode form in the magnesian limestone series. In this region lead is more uniformly found where surface exposures are met with, than in any other part of the State. In shafts that have been sunk nearly one hundred feet in the rock, rich deposits of lead have been found. Near Locust Mound, in the western part of the county, lead is found in magnesian limestone passing down between well defined walls, and held by a gangue of baryta, calc spar, and brown hematite iron in the form of "pipe ore." It is a most singular and interesting formation and association. The galena and baryta are formed into round bale-like masses, with the pieces of pipe iron stuck through them in all directions. The "Old Circle," three or four miles distant, was discovered several years ago, and more than 3,000,000 pounds of lead mined; but the water came in, the war began and operations ceased.

Recently the lead development of Cole County has been more to the northwestern corner, passing into Moniteau and Cooper Counties. In the former several, valuable mines have been opened. The West Diggings have been extensively developed and proved rich. The mineral is found in connected cubes in limestone rock and lies in lodes and pockets.

Lead has been found in several places in Cooper County. Near Otterville, there are two probably-paying leads. Galena has been found at five places in Osage County: Carter's and Hunsucker's mines, seven miles

from Shiler's Ferry, have yielded considerable galena of excellent quality. The lead was discovered in a horizontal lode running along the surface of the ground, and resting in an opening in the second magnesian limestone. Lead has been found thirteen miles west of Vienna, associated with sulphuret of iron.

Many discoveries have recently been made in the vicinity, which have not been fully developed but give promise of great richness.

Camden possesses considerable deposits of lead, and in the vicinity of Linn Creek a number of mines have been successfully worked, and new developments are yielding large quantities of mineral. Lead has also been found in many localities along the Little and Big Niangua, and as the entire northern portion is underlaid with the magnesian limestone formation, it may be discovered in many places where its existence has never been suspected. Miller County is particularly rich in galeniferous ore.

Paying lead has been found north of the Osage River. On the Gravois, Big Saline, Little Saline, and Bush Creeks, and the Fox, Walker, Mt. Pleasant and Saline Diggings have yielded millions of pounds of lead. Benton County contains a number of lead deposits, the most important being the Cole Cany Mines. Lead has been found as a "float" in many localities.

Morgan County, like Washington, can boast of having lead in every township, either as "clay mineral," "float" or in veins, lodes, pockets and caves. The magnesian limestone series of Morgan, in which the lead ores now are or have all existed, are the most complete and well defined of any in Missouri.

Mineral was first found here in the clay and among the loose chert and conglomerate covering the surface. Going down to 2d magnesian limestone, openings or crevices were found filled with clay, baryta and lead in irregularly-formed cubes of masses. These lodes are quite regular, and give more and richer ore as they are followed down into the 3d magnesian limestone. There seems to be a region here, representing more than a thousand acres where lead is everywhere found by digging a few feet.

The most extensive deposits of lead in Morgan have been found south of the center of the county, yet in the north-western part are several well known lodes.

We cannot even name the hundreds of places in this county where lead is found in paying quantities. There seems to be a region, covering two hundred square miles, entirely underlaid by lead. These wonderful deposits are as yet but partially worked.



When deeper mining is done, the region will probably be found much richer than is now anticipated.

THE SOUTHERN LEAD REGION of the State comprises the counties of Pulaski, Laclede, Texas, Wright, Webster, Douglas, Ozark and Christian. The mineral deposits of this region are as yet undeveloped, very little practical mining having been done.

In Pulaski County, lead has been discovered in several localities. Laclede County has a number of lead deposits: one about eleven miles from Lebanon, where the ore is found in a disseminated condition, in the soft magnesian limestone.

In the south-western portion of Texas County, along the head waters of the Gasconade River, there are considerable deposits of lead ore.

Wright has a number of lead mines almost unworked, which are located in the southeastern portion of the county, and are a continuation of the deposits in Texas County.

In Douglas County, near the eastern line, and near Swan Creek, are considerable deposits of galena.

Ozark and Christian have a number of lead deposits, zinc being invariably found in connection.

THE WESTERN LEAD DISTRICT comprises Hickory, Dallas, Polk, St. Clair, Cedar and Dade Counties.

In Hickory County, quite extensive mining has been carried on, the largest deposits having been found near Hermitage. In the northern portion of the county and along the Pomme de Terre River, lead occurs as "float" and in the rock formation. The more prominent lodes are found in the second magnesian limestone, with a deposit occurring in the third. The lead deposits of Hickory County are richer and more fully developed than any other in this district.

Dallas County has a few deposits of lead, but no developments have been made sufficient to determine their extent.

Float lead has been found in various localities in Polk County.

In St. Clair County, the galeniferous deposits are in the second sandstone, and in the ferruginous clay, with chert, conglomerate and gravel.

Cedar County presents a deposit of lead, copper and antimony. Galena is found in the clay and gravel.

In Dade, a considerable quantity of galena has been found in the south-eastern corner of the county.

THE SOUTH-WEST LEAD DISTRICT OF MISSOURI comprises the counties of Jasper, Newton, Lawrence, Stone, Barry and McDonald. The two counties first named, produced more than one-half of the pig lead of

Missouri, and may well be proud of their immense deposits of gale-niferous wealth.

The lead mining resources of Jasper and Newton Counties are simply inexhaustible. The *Granby Mines*, discovered in 1855, yielded, up to the commencement of the war, 35,414,014 lbs. of lead; and since that time to May 1873, 19,675,205 lbs., in addition to large amounts of which no account was kept. The yield is now larger than ever, and eleven furnaces, which run night and day, are barely sufficient to smelt the ore. These mines are in and around the town of Granby. Other mines—the *Cornwall*, township 26, range, 33; and the *Thurman*, township 27, range 33—have been and are now yielding largely. The *Mosely*, *Cedar Creek*, *Bowman*, *Seneca*, and other mines, have produced more or less, and new and wonderful deposits are continually being found. Lead ore seems to have been obtained here from the earliest recollection, and furnished supplies to the Indians during their occupation. Formerly, smelted lead, merchandise and “spirits” were the principal return to the miner for his labor, as the distance from market and general condition of the country precluded enlarged capital and enterprise. Since the war, capital has developed the hidden wealth, and systematized labor and rendered it remunerative. This, with the additional railroad facilities, has brought the county prominently and rapidly before the public, as one of the wonderful mining districts of the world.

Among the public-spirited men whose enterprise and energy most largely contributed to the development of the lead region, the late Peter E. Blow and his brother, the Hon. Henry T. Blow, stood foremost. Before the civil war, the former had established mining and smelting works in Newton County. These were destroyed by the contending forces which early in the struggle overran that portion of the State. But when the tread of armies had ceased, the works were re-constructed, and operations renewed with increased energy and large reinforcements of capital. The success which followed their undertaking, and the abundant returns on their investment, led many others to embark in similar ventures; population poured in, and the fame of the lead deposits spread to all points of the compass.

New mineral lands are constantly being thrown open to miners, and developed, and it is reasonable to predict that the future production of lead will greatly exceed that of the past. Nearly all the companies have control of large tracts of land which they wish developed, and liberal inducements are offered to miners who wish to secure claims. Zinc

mining is also becoming an important interest; the ore, large quantities of which are shipped to La Salle, Illinois, sells at \$10 per ton.

The total production of lead in Jasper County for the Centennial year, was, according to the estimates of the best authorities, over half the entire lead production of the State, more than the entire lead production of any other State in the Union. Then, all hail to Jasper, the banner lead county of the world, that all the world will know as such. But all the world will not know that this, the greatest lead-producing county of the greatest lead-producing State, does every year raise from her farms, products of more value than has ever been in any one year dug in lead from her mines.

**Iron.**—Missouri is one of the richest States in iron ores on the American Continent. These ores are, however, very unequally distributed over the State. The districts covered by the coal measures, although containing clay ores and carbonates of iron, do not contain them in such quantities and in such positions as to make them workable. These ores in the coal measures occur either as single nodules or as thin beds, and lie from twenty to sixty feet below the surface, and not close enough to the coal beds to be mined conjointly with them. These ores are, besides, not very rich in themselves. The only point where the region of workable iron ore reaches north of the Missouri River is in Callaway County, where red, earthy hematite occurs.

South of the Missouri River, and between it and the fortieth township line, there are valuable deposits, mostly of limonite, in Franklin, Osage, Morgan and Benton Counties. This kind of ore also occurs nearly over the whole central and southern part of the State. In the southern part, the counties of Stoddard, Bollinger, Wayne, Ozark, Douglass, Christian and Greene, contain considerable deposits of it. But by far the richest portion of the State in iron ores is that zone lying between the Mississippi in the east, and the Upper Osage River in the west. Limonite banks are scattered over the whole of this region, being, however, concentrated in three districts. The most eastern of these districts is composed of Bollinger, Wayne and the southern part of Madison Counties; the second, but smaller concentration, is in the southeastern part of Franklin County; while the third and most important one of this ore is found in the middle Osage River, between Warsaw and Tuscumbia, in Benton, Morgan, Camden and Miller Counties. This latter district extends also to the Upper Osage, above Warsaw, into St. Clair and Henry Counties. The Upper Osage also contains good deposits of red hemattites.

The specular ores are much more concentrated than either the limonites or the carboniferous hematites, and also occur in much larger masses. There are two important specular ore districts, different by their geographical positions, different entirely by the mode of occurrence, and the geological position of their ores; but quite similar, on the other hand, in the mineralogical character and the chemical composition of these ores. The one of these districts is the Iron Mountain District in the east, extending only over a small area in southern St. Francois and northern Iron Counties, but containing two enormous deposits, besides numerous smaller ones. The ore is here in veins, beds and other less regular forms in the porphyry. The second specular ore district lies more towards the center of the State, yet mainly in the eastern half. Its principal deposits, as far as known, are concentrated in the three Counties of Crawford, Phelps and Dent. The occurrence of the specular ores, however, extends somewhat into the surrounding Counties of Washington, Franklin, Maries, Miller, Camden, Pulaski and Shannon. Many of these deposits are disturbed and broken and altered in regard to their position and contents.

We infer, then, that there are three principal and important iron regions in Missouri, namely:—

I. The eastern region, composed of the south-eastern limonite district, and the Iron Mountain specular ore district. This region has its natural outlet, at present, over the Iron Mountain Railroad.

II. The central region, containing principally specular ores, and having its commercial outlet over the St. Louis, Salem & Little Rock and the St. Louis & San Francisco, formerly Atlantic & Pacific railroads.

III. The western or Osage region, with its limonites and red hematites. This region will ere long establish an iron industry of its own. It is remote from the present ore markets, and near the coal fields on the west. Its present connection with these markets is down the Osage River to Osage City, and from there either over the Missouri Pacific Railroad, or down the Missouri River.

These three principal regions combined form a broad ore-belt running across the State from the Mississippi to the Osage, in a direction about parallel to the course of the Missouri River, from south-east to north-west, between the thirtieth and fortieth township lines. The specular ores occupy the middle portion of this belt, the limonites both ends of it. The latter are besides spread over the whole southern half of the State, while the subcarboniferous hematites occur only along the southern border of the North Missouri coal field, having thus an independent

distribution, and being principally represented in Callaway, St. Clair and Henry Counties.

*Iron Mountain* is the greatest exposure of specular iron yet discovered. It is the result of igneous action, and is the purest mass or body of ore known. The work of years has only just uncovered the massive columns of specular ore that seems to pass down through the porphyry and granites, to the source of its existence. The region about, so covered with the ore debris, is being cleaned up, and the specular ore chips that are being shipped by thousands of tons, will last many years longer. The broken masses have the same general color and quality as the vein ore of Iron Mountain. The fresh fracture presents a light gray, tinged distinctly with blue. The crystallization is often coarse, presenting an irregular fracture. All the ore is more or less magnetic: the streak is a bright cherry red, and possesses the hardness of 6. Analysis shows it to contain from 65 to 69 per cent. of metallic iron.

The ore of *Shepherd Mountain* is called a magnetite. In some portions of the veins, it shows itself to be granular, brown in color, and to have a clear black streak. Other portions present all the qualities of a specular ore. In portions of the specular, as well as magnetite, beautiful crystals of micaceous ore are found. The streak of the specular and micaceous is a dark red; the hardness about 5, with 64 to 67 per cent. of metallic iron. The magnetic qualities of this ore are quite variable, usually the strongest at or near the surface, but this is not the case in all the veins. The ore of Shepherd Mountain is superior to any yet developed in Missouri, not quite as rich as that of Iron Mountain, but so uniform in character, and devoid of sulphur and phosphoric acid, that it may be classed as superior to that, or any other ore that we have.

The ore of Pilot Knob is fine-grained, very light bluish gray in color, and with a hardness representing 6, with a luster sub-metallic. There is a most undoubted stratification to the deposition, occurring as before indicated. The ore of Pilot Knob gives 53 to 60 per cent. metallic iron, and is almost free from all deleterious substances. The ore below the slate seam is much the best, containing only about 5 to 12 per cent. of silica, while the poorer ores show sometimes as high as 40 per cent. There have been more than 200,000 surface feet of ore determined to exist here; the depth of the deposit has probably not yet been reached.

The *Scotia* Iron Banks, located on the Meramec River, in Crawford County, are most remarkable formations. They have been worked a number of years, supplying the Scotia Iron Works with ore and also shipping quantities to the East. Here the specular ore is a deep, steel-

gray color, and with a metallic luster. The crystals are fine and quite regular in uniformity. This ore is found in the shape of small to immense boulders, resting in soft red hematites, that have been produced by the disintegration of the specular ores. These boulders contain a great number of small cavities in which the ore has assumed botryoidal forms; and upon these, peroxide iron crystallizations are so formed, that a most gorgeous show of prismatic colors is presented. The hardness of this ore is about 6; the soft red ore in which it occurs not more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$ .

In these banks, there are some carbonates and ochraceous ores, but not in any quantity to deteriorate or materially change the character of the other ores. Many of the boulders present a soft, red mass with a blue specular kernel in the center. This ore is found to be slightly magnetic, and gives 58 to 69 per cent. metallic iron.

The *Iron Ridge* ores, in Crawford County, which have been worked for a number of years, are very much of the same character as those of Scotia. Specular boulders, imbedded in soft red hematite, make up the deposit. Some portions of the specular ore masses are remarkably metallic in luster, while others are a dull, dark, grayish-red. These boulders are very uniform in character, showing about sixty per cent. of metallic iron.

*Lewis Mountain* Iron bank, situated in Iron County, near Arcadia, is a vein of hard, blue specular iron ore, about four feet thick, in porphyry. It has not been worked sufficiently to determine its extent.

*Buford Mountain*, Iron County, contains an extensive bed of decomposed specular ore, that possesses highly manganiferous qualities, which can be economically worked.

In the mines of *Hogan Mountain* the ore, which is specular, of micaeous structure, of good quality, coarsely crystalline and giving 50 to 60 per cent. metallic ore, is found in pockets or chambers, many of which have been developed.

The *Shut-in*, *Russell*, *Ackhurst*, *Culberston* and *Big Bogy Mountain* banks are located in Iron County. These ores exist in porphyry and are all specular; those of Ackhurst's bank are also manganiferous.

*Cedar Hill* ore is a grayish, hard specular, without any magnetic qualities, and with a sub-metallic luster. It contains silica in about the proportion that Pilot Knob ore does, and lies in porphyry that is clearly stratified. It has not been sufficiently developed to determine its extent. It gives 65 per cent. of metallic iron.

The *Meramec* bank is six miles south of St. James, Phelps County.

The ores are specular and red hematite which occur in the second sandstone, and yield 62 per cent. metallic iron. This bank has been worked for more than twenty years, and the ore yield is yet liberal in supply.

The *Benton Creek* bank is situated in Crawford County, on a creek of that name. The hill, on which this bank is located, shows a great amount of brown hematite and specular boulders upon the outside. The ores are also very much broken up, but compacted by the central dip of the hill. Across the elevation there is a large dyke of excellent specular ore. The center of this elevation is probably a mass of specular ore.

*Simmons Mountain*, one-half mile south of Salem, Dent County, is about 100 feet high, and covers nearly 40 acres. The second sandstone is the country rock, and at the summit is uncovered, and mixed with specular and brown ores. Down the elevation larger masses of ore are met with, that have the appearance of being drifts from the main deposit higher up. Shafts have been sunk in this elevation, determining more than 30 feet of solid ore. The ore is a splendid close, compact, brilliant specular, very hard and free from deleterious substances. The ores of this mountain do not show near as much metamorphism as many of the other banks in the second sandstone of this region. The ore is quite strongly magnetic, and gives a bright red streak. Pretty extensive mining operations are now being carried on this deposit. It is one of the largest specular iron deposits (Iron Mountain alone excepted,) that is known in the State.

The *Taylor* bank, about 8 miles north of Salem, has an extensive deposit of brown hematite; at or near the foot of the elevation the specular ores present themselves in considerable quantity.

The *Pomeroy* bank is about 3 miles north of Salem; the ore is first discovered upon the west side of an elevation 140 feet high. The ore is first found in clay and chert, and like the Taylor, has brown ore high up the elevation. Farther down the hill the second sandstone is in place, and the center of the elevation is probably an immense storehouse of specular ore.

*Beaver Creek* bank is situated about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of Rolla, in Phelps County. The body of ore seems to be immense, and the work already done fully confirms the highest anticipations of its owners. The ore is a heavy specular, changing to a red hematite.

The *Thurmond* bank north and east of Stanton, lies pretty well upon the south side of a sharp hill, with hematite and red ore down almost to a ravine to the south. A number of holes have been dug, in all of

which brown and red, specular and ochraceous ores are found. A shaft was sunk here a number of years ago for copper, and nearly 40 feet of red hematite, oxide and specular ore was passed through, indicating a large deposit.

The *Cherry Valley* banks, east of Steelville, are considerable deposits of specular ore, large quantities of which cover several hundred feet of the hills upon the surface and occupy the center of the elevations. The banks seem to be entirely undisturbed, and are probably important deposits.

*Steelville* bank, two miles west of Steelville, is a very disturbed deposit. The ore is presented in the shape of soft red hematite, with masses of specular ore, in no regular beds or formation.

The *Arnold* bank, near Benton Creek, Dent County, has large quantities of specular ore scattered over the hill. Shafts sunk to gain an intelligence of the extent of the bank, have struck ore at the foot of the elevation.

The *Orchard* bank, at Salem, shows the hill to be made up of yellow and red sandstones impregnated with iron, the ore being found in small fragments in considerable quantity.

*Santee & Clark's* bank, is situated on the east side of Dry Fork River, about four miles from St. James, in Phelps County.

The ore is specular and red hematite, and is found very irregular in a high elevation.

The *Buckland* bank, in Phelps County, shows considerable soft red hematite and specular ore.

*Kelley* banks No. 1 and No. 2 are in Phelps County. No. 1 is in second sandstone. The ore is a heavy, pure specular of good quality. No. 2 is also in sandstone, with clay chert and carbonate of iron. The deposit is very irregular; up the elevation a large mass of brown ore is found; while farther down, the specular ore rests in beds of debris.

At *Taylor's* bank, near Rolla, the ore is found in clay and sandstone. The soft red ore is found in a bed almost isolated from the specular, and with it, as well as with specular boulders, the carbonate of iron is found in considerable quantity. The main body of this deposit has probably not yet been reached:

The *Fitzwater* bank in Dent County, Anderson, Carson, Reuben Smith and Ganter, situated in Crawford County, are very much the same in character. The ores are specular boulders that overlie the sandstones, and very probably will be found to occupy irregular beds in the elevations, and possibly pass down through the sandstones.



*Ferguson* bank in Crawford County, presents fully eight feet of depth in specular and red ores, the surface covered with specular boulders.

At *Smith's* banks, 1 and 2, Phelps County, the elevations are covered with a great quantity of small masses of specular ore, and shafts sunk disclose red paint ore with the specular boulders. In No. 1, the ore in many places has crystallized in the pipe form. The true body of ore in both these banks has probably not yet been struck.

At *Primrose* bank, in Washington County, a number of shafts sunk failed to reach the main body of ore that the surface boulders indicate is there, from their occurrence in a depression on the elevation.

The *Jameson* bank, 3 miles south of Salem, is upon a high elevation, where sunken places show considerable quantities of specular ore. Upon the eastern slope of the elevation, a great quantity of ore is scattered upon the surface.

The *Zeigler* bank, east of Salem, shows specular ore upon the surface and gives promise of good results.

There are also several other important banks in Crawford County, among which we may name *Buckland*, *Dovey*, *Isabella*, *Clark* and *Card* banks.

Some of the most extensive red hematite banks in the State are located in Franklin County. Along the Bourbeuse, upon the lands of General L. B. Parsons, there are 13 exposures of fine red hematite iron ore. In another place there is presented a large deposit of red hematite, undeveloped, but probably quite extensive.

Near Dry Branch Station, is an elevation, capped at the summit with saccharoidal sandstone, beneath which there is a large body of red and specular ore. The red hematite, however, predominates, and is remarkably pure and free from sulphur or other deleterious substances. The sinking of a number of shafts upon this hill reaches the deposits in several places, in all of which the red hematite shows itself to be the prevailing ore. This ore will be found to work well with the hard specular and ores of the silicious character, like Pilot Knob.

The *Kerr* bank, situated two and one-half miles northwest of St. Clair Station, is a large deposit of brown and red ore. A number of shafts have been sunk upon the hill occupying 50 or 60 acres, and ore struck in most of them. A drift has been run in at the base of the hill, and several feet in thickness of red hematite exposed. Here has been found a large deposit of spathic ore in most beautiful crystallization.

Adjoining this on the west, is a bank where shafts sunk 38 feet, have gone down all the way in solid red hematite, with boulders of blue specular ore.

In the vicinity of Stanton, are 13 exposures of red hematite iron ore.

In *Gasconade* County, 3 miles west of Japan Post Office, there is a considerable deposit of red hematite. Masses of ore are found over the surface mixed with boulders of saccharoidal sandstone.

The *Shaft Hill* bank, in Callaway County, is a quite extensive red hematite deposit. The ore occurs all around a considerable elevation upon the surface, in the form of loose boulders. The ore in the hill, where it has been struck by shafts sunk, shows complete lines of stratification, and is about four feet thick.

The *Dun, Knight, Henderson* and *Bloomfield* banks, Callaway County, are all of like character.

The *Parker, Brown* and *Miller* banks in Henry County, and the *Marmaduke, Gover* and *Collins* banks in St. Clair County, are all exposures that have not been developed. They lie in sandstone, much of which is highly impregnated with iron.

In Miller, Maries, Cole and Camden Counties, there are a number of red hematite banks of considerable promise.

The *Chenoz* bank, in Wayne County, is a very large deposit of red hematite; within a circuit of five miles there are a number of very promising exposures.

In Bollinger, Stoddard and Butler Counties, along the line of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railroad, there are a number of red hematite banks of considerable promise.

In the northern portion of Texas and Wright Counties, are some half dozen promising red ore banks. There are banks of red hematite in Morgan, Benton, Cedar and Laclede Counties.

At the *Loufey* bank, one mile from Castorville, there are more than two thousand tons of fine brown hematite ore in sight from the top of the hill to its base. The masses that will weigh ten to twenty tons partly exposed, while the whole hill is so ferruginous that vegetation has scarcely secured a foothold upon it.

At Cornwall Station, the *Ford* bank is a very large bank of limonite, and has furnished a large amount of good ore.

The *Lutz, Francis, Bess* and many other banks in Bollinger County are of the same character.

In Wayne County there are over seventy different limonite ore banks: the *Crane, Ford, Clarkson, Williamson* and *Hulse* being fair representatives.

In Miller, Maries, Camden, Cole, Moniteau and Callaway Counties, there are very extensive limonite banks. In Morgan, Benton, St. Clair, Cedar,

Hickory and Vernon Counties, considerable brown hematite has been found. In Franklin, Gasconade, Phelps, Crawford, Laclede, Christian, Webster and Green Counties, large limonite beds have been found. In the Moselle region very large deposits have been opened and worked for many years. In Osage County there are a number of promising brown ore banks, as well as fine specular and red hematite.

**Zinc.**—The ores of zinc in Missouri are almost as numerous as those of lead. They are distributed throughout nearly all the geological strata and scattered through nearly every mineral district; but the principal supply of the metal for commercial purposes is obtained from a very few ores, the more important of which are zinc blende (sulphuret of zinc), the carbonate of zinc and the silicate of zinc; and furnished by a comparatively few localities.

In reference to their geological position, the ores are in two classes. The first class includes all zinc ores which occur in the regular veins of the older rocks and hence associated with other metalliferous ores. The second mode of occurrence, and the ore by far of paramount importance in Missouri is that of the Third Magnesian Limestone of the Lower Silurian series, where it usually occurs in association with galena in the cave formation. The localities where the ore is principally worked are the Granby, Joplin and Valle Mines districts.

Zinc blende (33.10 parts of sulphur and 66.90 of zinc) is frequently found in beautiful crystals, especially in the southwest part of the State. When pure it is transparent, white or honey-color, with a resinous lustre. It usually, however, contains more or less iron and is then opaque and dark brown or black, under which form it is known to miners as black-jack. Although widely diffused and abundantly found, this form of ore, on account of the necessarily long and careful roasting required in its reduction is not economically or generally smelted.

Silicate of zinc is certainly the most abundant and valuable zinc ore in Missouri, and furnishes a large percentage of the zinc produced in the State. It is known among the miners as "dry bone" and usually occurs crystallized, associated with the lead ores in the cave formation, usually colorless but occasionally passing into different shades of yellow and gray—transparent with a glassy lustre. It has, through heating, acquired polarity—the positive pole being at the upper end and the negative at the lower end of the prismatic crystals which are found very small and fine, fixed on the inner walls of cavities, whose incrustations are found to be of the same material.

Carbonate of zinc—zinc spar—smithsonite, and like the above also called "dry bone" by the miners, is very similar in general appearance to the silicate. Its crystallization is hexagonal (the silicate is prismatic.) It is softer than silicate, less brilliant and heavier. It is easily tested by the application of muriatic acid, when the carbonic acid which it contains will effervesce. Before the blow-pipe the carbonic acid is discharged, when it acts like oxide of zinc. The carbonate is, in Missouri, always associated with the silicate, though not so abundant as the latter. It is also usually found with the sulphuret of zinc, from which some claim it is mainly produced, as it is often found joined with sulphuret at the inner surfaces and with a sulphuret nucleus in the interior and still of an unchanged structure.

There are three zinc-reducing works in the State, all located at Carondelet. They have an aggregate capacity of reducing about forty-five tons of ore, producing about sixteen tons of spelter daily. These three establishments use about two-thirds of the ore produced in the State, the balance being shipped to other points. Owing to the low price of and limited demand for spelter, the production of ore and its reduction has been limited. A revival of business will, however, call into immediate activity the miners and smelters of zinc.



Manufactures of the Olden Times.

### CHAPTER III.

#### MANUFACTURING.

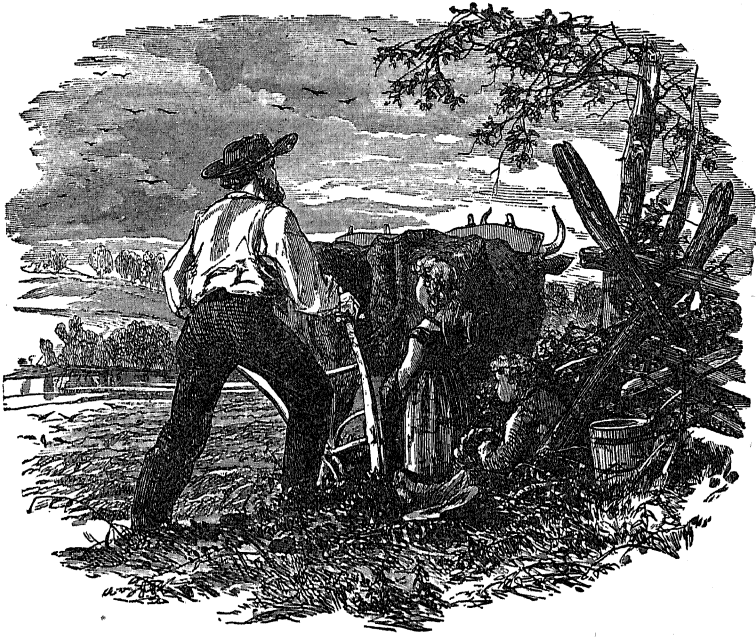
The State of Missouri presents every facility for successful and extensive manufacturing:—abundant timber of the best quality; exhaustless deposits of coal, iron, lead, zinc, marble and granite; unmeasured water-power, distributed over the State; a home market among an industrious and wealth-accumulating people, and a system of navigable rivers, and railway trunk lines and branches, that permeate, not only the State, but reach out in direct lines from gulf to lake, and from ocean to ocean.

The Centennial year showed Missouri as containing 14,245 manufacturing establishments, using 1,965 steam engines, representing 58,101 horse power; 465 water wheels, equalling 7,972 horse power, and employing about 80,000 hands. The capital employed in manufacturing was about \$100,000,000; the material used in 1876 amounted to about \$140,000,000, the wages paid were \$40,000,000, and the value of the products put upon the market was over \$250,000,000.

Of the manufacturing in Missouri, over three-quarters of the whole is done in St. Louis, which produced in the Centennial year nearly \$200,000,000 worth of manufactured articles, thus clearly placing her as the third manufacturing city in the Union, leaving a large gap between herself and Boston and Chicago, each of which manufactures a little over one-half as much as St. Louis, and are nearly tied as to third place.

The leading manufacturing counties of the State are St. Louis, about \$200,000,000; Jackson, \$1,250,000; Buchanan, \$6,000,000; St. Charles, \$4,000,000; Marion, \$3,000,000; Franklin, \$2,750,000; Greene, \$1,250,000; Cape Girardeau, \$1,200,000; Platte, \$1,100,000; Boone, \$1,000,000; Lafayette, \$1,000,000; followed by Macon, Clay, Phelps, St. Francois, Washington, and Lewis.

The products of the different lines of manufacturing interests are as follows: Flouring mills, \$38,194,000; carpentering, \$18,673,000; meat-packing, \$16,679,000; tobacco, \$12,496,000; iron and castings, \$12,000,000; liquors, \$11,245,000; clothing, \$10,022,000; lumber, \$8,652,000; bagging and bags, \$6,914,000; saddlery and harness, \$6,-508,000; oil, \$5,520,000; machinery, \$5,400,000; printing and publishing, \$5,123,000; molasses, \$4,968,000; boots and shoes, \$4,920,000; furniture, \$4,800,000; paints and painting, \$4,320,000; carriages and wagons, \$4,300,000; marble, stone-work and masonry, \$3,874,000; bakery products, \$3,792,000; brick, \$3,780,000; tin, copper, and sheet-iron, \$3,600,000; sash, doors and blinds, \$3,120,000; cooperage, \$3,000,000; blacksmithing, \$2,712,000; bridge building, \$2,400,000; agricultural implements, \$2,400,000; patent medicine, \$2,400,000; soap and candles, \$2,400,000; plumbing and gas-fitting, \$1,800,000. For more extended notices of the manufacturing interests of the State see notice of different industries and manufactories in the several cities.



Our Greatest Wealth.

## CHAPTER IV.

**AGRICULTURE.—COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE MINERAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF MISSOURI.—ACREAGE AND VALUE OF FARMS.—CLASSIFICATION OF SOILS.—TIMBER AND PRAIRIES.—STAPLE PRODUCTS, ETC.**

“The Farmers are the founders of civilization.”

Agriculture is the original, most constant, most certain, and only never-failing source of independence and wealth. Mining, manufacturing and commerce flourish when agriculture gives bountiful returns, and when the latter languishes, they die. They may well be termed the younger sisters, who at all times look to their elder sister, Agriculture, for their supplies, and who in every emergency call upon her for defense.

The mining interests of Missouri are so vast, it being the ninth State in the Union in that department, and so much has been written on that subject, that many are apt to think of and speak of our mineral wealth as though it overshadowed all other interests. Missouri is, however, the *seventh* State in the Union on the basis of agricultural production.

We have elsewhere spoken of and somewhat described our untold mineral wealth, which fully merits all the glowing encomiums ever bestowed upon that department by the most enthusiastic writer. Conceding all that may be said about the magnitude and importance of the

mineral and manufacturing interests of the State, we think the least examination of the statistics must convince any one of the superior magnitude and importance of the agricultural interests of the State; and the more extensive the examination, the more apparent the difference and the greater prominence is given to the overwhelming importance of tilling the soil. The census of 1870, which is the latest we have, and taken at a time when mining and manufacturing and agriculture were less productive than at present, and far from being perfect, is nevertheless the best source of statistics we have. While the figures are undoubtedly too small for the Centennial year, they are probably proportionably more correct than can be compiled.

So that if any one, by critical examination, increases any single item, it is only fair to assume that similar care will, in like manner and nearly in like proportion, increase any other item. We therefore present the following figures from that census to show the magnitude of our mining and manufacturing interests, and then to exhibit the immensely greater importance of our agricultural resources :

	HANDS EMPLOYED.	CAPITAL.	PRODUCTS.
Mining.....	3,423	\$ 3,489,250	\$ 3,472,513
Manufacturing.....	65,354	80,251,244	206,213,429
Agriculture.....	263,918	492,789,746	103,035,759

For convenience of reference we give the above important figures in another form :

	AGRICULTURE.	MINING.	MANUFACTURING.
Hands Employed.....	263,918	3,423	65,354
Capital.....	\$492,789,746	\$3,489,250	\$80,257,244
Value of Products.....	103,035,759	3,472,513	206,213,429

The value of farm products is mainly the net result of the capital and the labor employed, while in manufactures it represents the same items, with the addition of the material used and the depreciation by wear of the machinery employed. After making these allowances in such manner as to give, net, the increased value of the manufactured articles over material used and wear of implements employed, the result, instead of \$206,213,429, would be, as near as we can estimate, about \$50,000,000.

Another and a very important item in the valuation of these three great pillars of all prosperity, must be borne in mind: that, whereas the value of mining property must lessen as the ore is taken away and thereby the quantity diminished; and whereas, all property and machinery used in manufacturing must depreciate in value by wear and tear; that, on the



the contrary, farms increase in value as they are tilled, and the more thorough the tillage the more rapid the increase in value.

We speak here simply of the intrinsic value, not calculating the naturally increasing value of all real estate, which will affect all classes of real estate in nearly the same proportion, and hence need not be considered in a comparative statement.

Taking our vast mining interest as a unit of measurement, we see that our agricultural interest employs nearly *eighty* times as many men, and *one hundred and forty-one* times as much capital.

Again, the value of the agricultural products of St. Louis County is each year equal to or exceeds the entire annual mineral products of the whole State. The annual agricultural products of Saline, Franklin and Johnson counties each exceed in value two-thirds of the annual mineral products of the State.

The counties of Pike, Clay, Cooper, Lafayette, Platte and St. Charles each produce yearly from their farms more than one-half the value of all the annual mineral product of the State.

The greatest mineral product of any one county, except St. Louis, in Missouri for 1876, was valued at \$750,000, while there were in 1870 fifty-six counties (and probably seventy-five counties in 1876) which exceeded this in value of agricultural products, while eleven counties in farm products each more than doubled that amount.

And while we all hear of Joplin as the wonderful "Lead Center," and while Granby has a world-wide reputation as a mining town, the fact is that, even in the palmiest days of mining, the counties of Newton and Jasper, in which these famous mining districts are situated, produce each year more value from their farms than has ever been in one year dug from their mines.

Again, taking the annual mineral production of the State as a unit, we have corn equal to *ten*; slaughtered animals equal to *six*; wheat, to *four*; hay to *one*; tobacco, about *one*; and butter, about *three-quarters*.

In considering the agricultural capacity of the State, we must also bear in mind that while there are 41,824,000 acres of land in the State, that only 9,130,615 are under cultivation in any shape. This number of acres cultivated may easily be quadrupled, and the average yield per acre nearly as largely increased, so that ten times the present amount of yield is no fanciful or even exaggerated estimate of the agricultural possibilities of Missouri. It is only a fair anticipation of our future, that the time will come when Missouri will produce by tilling the soil

one-half as much as is now raised in the entire United States. Then we may say with the poet,

"Let her glad valleys smile with wavy corn,  
Let fleecy flocks her rising hills adorn."

The census of 1870 shows that Missouri contains 148,328 farms, of which 691 contained less than 3 acres, 10,113 between 3 and 10 acres, 17,431 between 10 and 20 acres, 55,988 between 20 and 50 acres, 38,595 between 50 and 100 acres; 24,898 between 100 and 500 acres, 514 between 500 and 1,000 acres, and 9 containing 1,000 acres or more. The average size of Missouri farms was 146 acres. The total value of Missouri farms was \$392,908,047; the value of live stock on farms, \$84,-285,273; the value of farming implements and machinery, \$15,596,426; total value of all agricultural property, \$492,789,746.

The average value of each farm in Missouri was \$2,648; of live stock upon each farm, \$568; of farming implements and machinery upon each farm, \$105. The average value of each farm, including live stock and the farming implements and machinery thereon was \$3,321. The total value of all agricultural products of the State was \$103,035,759; the average value produced annually upon each farm, about \$700.00; and the average value produced in each county, \$903,822. St. Louis County is not only the commercial and manufacturing center, but, including the stone quarries, is also the greatest mining county in the State, and, strange as it may seem, also leads in agricultural productions, with an annual result of \$3,556,476.<sup>1</sup> Next in order comes Saline, \$2,695,617; Franklin, \$2,551,092; Johnson, \$2,417,873; Pike, \$2,052,574; Clay, \$2,032,770, followed in order by St. Charles, Cooper, Platte, Lafayette, Lincoln, Callaway, Cass, Jackson, Pettis, Macon, Andrew, Audrain, Greene, Monroe, Lawrence, Ray, Chariton, Howard, Warren, Carroll, Buchanan, Sullivan, Henry, Lewis, Livingston, Harrison, Boone, Bates, Clinton, Perry, Caldwell, Jefferson, Linn, Knox, Nodaway, Atchison, Holt, Davies, Gentry and Randolph.

Some of the leading agricultural productions of the State were as follows: Corn, 66,034,075 bushels; winter wheat, 13,222,021 bushels; spring wheat, 1,093,905 bushels; wheat, total, 14,315,926 bushels; oats, 16,578,313 bushels; rye, 559,532 bushels; barley, 269,240 bushels; Irish potatoes, 4,238,361 bushels; sweet potatoes, 241,253 bushels; cotton, 1,246 bales, wool, 3,649,390 pounds; honey, 1,156,444 pounds;

<sup>1</sup>The vegetable market of St. Louis is an important element in this item.

hay, 615,611 tons; wine, 326,173 gallons; sorghum molasses, 1,730,171 gallons.

Missouri seems to be the combined result of the gradual rising of the great sedimentary basin of the Mississippi, together with the volcanic upheaval of many different portions at different ages of the pre-historic times.

The whole area of the State is excellently drained by the complete system of large rivers, and their innumerable tributaries. The hills and projecting ridges, with the channels worn by these various streams, are important features of the State's topography.

Besides the broader and deeper valleys along the larger water-courses, which present vast alluvial deposits of inexhaustible fertility, there



Mountain Scenery.

are an infinite number and variety of lesser extent, especially in the central part of the State, among swelling hills and sloping ravines, where precipitous bluffs and rugged gorges add to the picturesque effect of the landscape.

The State contains nearly all classes of soil. Argillaceous, calcareous and silicious soils, arenaceous and alluvial loams, are represented by turns in the different geological formations, of the State, often blended with each other in such minute gradations as to make their classification a task of some difficulty.

Missouri may be practically divided into two sections by an irregular line running from Hannibal to the south-west corner of the State. West of this line will be found nearly all the prairies of the State, while east of it lies the great bulk of its best timber land. To this general division numerous exceptions occur. Many prairies, of greater or less extent, are found in the timbered portion of the State, while timber is frequently found, in considerable quantity and excellent quality, west of the line drawn, and groves of forest trees invariably skirt the streams flowing through the prairies.

In this beautiful domain, so vast in extent and varied in feature, with pleasing contrasts of hill, slope and vale, meadow and table land, bottoms and sandy heights, timber land and prairie, the climate is so charmingly tempered between the extremes of heat and cold, and the soils are so varied in composition, exposure to the sun, and in the capacity for receiving and retaining moisture, that not only a fair, but an abundant crop of everything belonging to this latitude, may be readily, economically and successfully cultivated.

A volume interesting and profitable might, and we trust will some day soon, be written upon the soils of Missouri. We have space for only a few general observations.

The character and quality of soil depends largely upon the underlying geological formations. Where sandstones prevail, the soils over them need frequent rains, else the crops suffer from drouth. A sub-stratum of clay with a little lime, devoid of sand and poor in humus will retain too much moisture at the surface, and in dry seasons the clays become too hard for profitable cultivation. Where limestone underlies, the soils are dark, usually deep and productive. The soils having decomposed limestone are black, warm, productive and reliable. Iron in this soil imparts a red or warm color, and indicates fertility and long endurance.

Missouri may be divided into five districts :

*First.* What we may call the real prairie land of the State, is almost synonymous with the upper coal measures lying west of a line which leaves the Iowa boundary near northern line of Mercer County, and then running a little east of south into Chariton, near Salisbury, thence southwestwardly through the southern parts of Saline and Lafayette, the central part of Johnson, southwestwardly through the southern part of Cass, and the western part of Bates, and leaving the State near the northwestern corner of Vernon County. This district will include much of the richest farming land of the State. There are, of course, occasional

tracts of inferior land included with these limits, but the soil is generally of uncommon fertility. This soil is generally based on a deep bluff deposit or on limestone, and is for the most part calcareous. It is generally at least a foot thick and quite black, yielding good crops of corn, grass, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes and turnips; and lands that have been in cultivation thirty years, yield as abundantly as when first cultivated. Blue grass grows well when the prairies have been grazed down, and is probably for wheat about equal to the lands in eastern Missouri.



Scene in Lafayette County.

As an evidence of the desirableness of this part of the State for farming purposes, although it is the most recently settled part of Missouri, it is now the most populous. The counties in this district south of the Missouri River, had become almost entirely depopulated at the close of the war in 1865, but now are as thickly settled as any counties in the State.

THE SECOND DISTRICT lies just east and south of the above, bounded on the south and east by a line leaving the Kansas line near the south-west

corner of Barton County, passing into the western part of Cedar, through St. Clair, Benton, the north-west part of Morgan, through the southern part of Cooper, the southern parts of Boone and Callaway, along the bluffs north of the Missouri River into St. Charles County, and thence south along the line of the Mississippi Bottoms to the Iowa line. Several counties lying south of the Missouri may yet be shown as properly belonging to this district. This district is mainly underlaid by the lower coal measures, and the better portion is based upon limestone. The soil near the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers is the rich mellow soil based on loose bluff formations, while in the interior the foundations are stiffer clays and the soil not quite so rich and warm. There are several well marked varieties among the soils of this district. That in the west and northern portion consists chiefly of prairie, often spreading out in North Missouri, into flat prairies. That in the south-west is rolling country with generally a sandy soil. The corn yield is generally good. The timbered lands in Eastern Missouri and in the counties along the Mississippi River produce very fine crops of wheat. A fine variety of tobacco is also produced on the thinner timbered lands. The hills near the Missouri River yield good crops of fruit nearly every year—the peach rarely failing, the grape always fine.

This division of the State includes some extensive tracts of our best land. Such may be found in Howard, Boone, Callaway, Marion, Ralls, Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles and St. Louis.

In the counties of North Missouri, and in St. Louis County, blue grass grows as fine as in the famous Kentucky blue grass region.

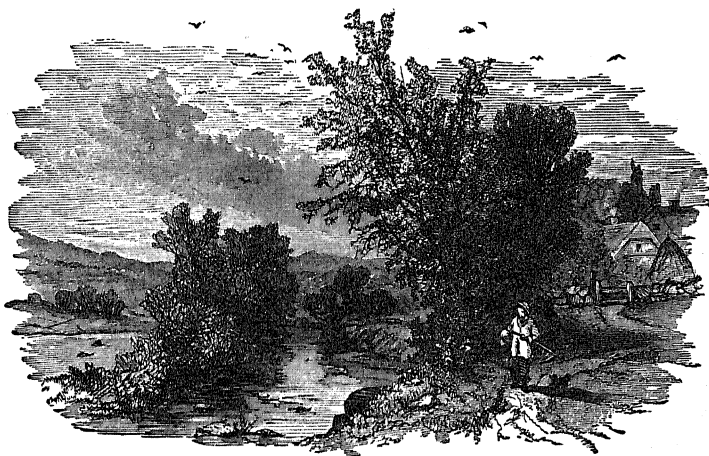
THE THIRD DISTRICT occurs mainly in Southwest Missouri, and is generally a strip lying along the border of the last described portion. It includes a strip in McDonald, Barry, Lawrence, Christian, Greene, Polk, Dade, Jasper, Barton, Cedar, Hickory, St. Clair, Benton, Morgan, Cole, Moniteau, Osage, Gasconade, Franklin, St. Louis and Jefferson, and thence passing southwardly.

The soil is generally somewhat gravelly, and often mingled with red clay. Good crops of wheat and corn and fine crops of fruit are produced, especially in those counties along the Missouri River, whose hills yield fine peach and grape crops every year.

THE FOURTH DISTRICT embraces all that portion of Southern Missouri not included in the above described sections, nor in the bottom and swamp lands. It constitutes an extensive tract, elevated higher than other parts of the State, it being from 1200 to 1500 feet above the sea. It is underlaid by sandstones and limestones, with an occasional

elevation of porphyry or granite in the eastern part. The country is broken by stream channels, cutting down two hundred to three hundred feet below the tops of the bluffs, with valleys often as much as four hundred feet below the main distant ridge.

Near the streams it is generally very rugged, with either abrupt or steep ascent to the hills. When the main streams are wide apart the country spreads back into a flat land, with light-colored soil, supporting chiefly a growth of post oak. When a little more hilly, black oak and black hickory are common.



Scene near St. Charles.

There are extensive tracts within this district where the soil is either too thin or too rocky to admit of present cultivation. But all these lands will grow the grape.

When those parts of Missouri that contain the richer soils are entirely settled up, and the land costs too much for careless farming or for men of moderate means to purchase, attention will then be turned to this extensive district, where, by proper economy and thrift, good crops can be produced. There are frequently very rich valleys in this district which yield equal to any of the richer lands of the State. The valleys along the streams, near the south line, produce fine crops of corn and cotton.

IN THE FIFTH DISTRICT will be found the bottom lands of the State, which are composed of finely-divided and thoroughly mixed sand, clay and humus in varying proportion, and are readily again divided into *Bottom Prairie* and *Bottom Timber land*.

*The Bottom Prairie* has a rich, deep, dark, light, warm, productive soil of varying depth, which, both in a state of nature and when cultivated, yields immense growths of vegetation.

The bottom prairies, when underlaid with porous sub-soil, are but little affected by excessive rains or drouth, while those (mainly in the north and west,) based upon clays are productive, and reliable when ditched or drained so as to carry off the spring freshets.

The bottom prairie occupies a great part of the Missouri Bottom; the largest areas being near Wyaconda, Huppan City, above Glasgow and near St. Charles. Some of these prairies contain from 20,000 to 50,000 acres.

*The Bottom Timber land* is in character very similar to the above, but ranges in all grades from high, dry, arable, productive land, bearing almost an upland growth and variety of timber, through the low bottom, wet bottom and swamp or cypress swamp.

The radical difference in these varieties of Timberland Bottom is the amount of water in the soil or above the surface, and this varies from the best amount for production purposes, through the spongy bottom with constant saturation and occasional overflow, to the swamp, where water stands most of the year or constantly covers the surface, with varying depths depending on local rains or the height of the rivers. All these bottoms are valuable now for their timber. The higher bottoms yield bountiful crops. The swamp regions are mainly in the southeast part of the State, embracing most of the counties of Pemiscot, Dunklin, New Madrid, Mississippi, Scott, Stoddard, and parts of Butler and Cape Girardeau. These lands are surpassingly rich, and large areas are still covered with swamps, but the time will come, and that before many years, when these swamps will be drained, and these reclaimed lands will then compete in productiveness with the richest lands in the world. Fine crops of cotton are annually raised in this part of Missouri, and these 1,000,000 acres now given up to waste and water will yet be tilled until "the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

**Timber.**—"The groves were God's first temples." No description can adequately portray the beauty, grandeur and sublimity of our native forests. They are indeed—

"Majestic woods of ev'ry vigorous green,  
Stage above stage, high waving o'er the hills  
Or to the horizon wide diffused,  
A boundless, deep immensity of shade."

A few spots yet remain untouched by the leveling axe of the ever-advancing pioneer, but they are rapidly becoming less in extent and



fewer in number, and a decade more will leave them only in the memories of those fortunate enough to have seen them, or in the words which the poet, inspired by their presence, has given to those less favored with genius and opportunity. In the rich warm soils of the river bottoms, especially in the southeastern part of the State, walnut trees 110 feet high and 22 feet in circumference, oak trees 125 feet high and 20 feet in circumference, and sycamores 130 feet high and 12 feet in diameter, are



Forest Scene.

recorded from actual measurement. These monarchs of the forest, holding aloft their spreading branches, from which are beautifully festooned the scarlet flower, the wild grape and other graceful drapery, will be recorded in scientific reports, sung in the nation's songs, or preserved in fact or picture as monuments of antique greatness, while their less prominent, but equally valuable, companions will be worked up for man's comfort, convenience and use.

In many places within the State, various species of wood adapted to the mechanic arts are still found growing in great abundance. Ash,

walnut, birch, cherry, *populus Canadensis* or cotton wood, cedar, cypress, several varieties of oak, hickory and maple, mulberry, beech, chestnut, elm, locust, coffee tree, catalpa, tulip tree, and many other useful trees and shrubs, grow on the uplands as well as in the valleys. Large bodies of yellow pine cover several counties in the south and southeast. A portion of these lands is still held by Government, subject to entry.

The preservation and renewal of timber is a question of vital importance, not only to our State, but to the nation. The certain scarcity and consequent high price of timber, from the thoughtless waste and wanton destruction of our forests, now so frequently—we might almost say generally—in practice, demands the attention of intelligent and practical men. Fully one-half the full-grown timber of Missouri has been removed, much of it uselessly destroyed, within forty years. Should this wholesale destruction increase or even continue, we may well stand appalled at the impending ruin of such an essential element of comfort, necessity and prosperity.

**Prairies.**—The prairies over the greater part of Western Missouri, do not exhibit the level and dreary uniformity common to some neighboring States; they are, on the contrary, rolling in successive, wave-like ridges, and broken mounds, meandered by numerous streams, the irregular grooves skirting which diversify the scenery, and give a very picturesque effect. These fertile fields produce luxuriant growths of native grasses, almost equaling in nutritious properties the cultured varieties.

In the spring and early summer, these beautiful prairies, clothed with their grassy carpets, and studded with innumerable flowers of various sizes and brilliant hues, present a scene of unsurpassed loveliness.

“These are the Gardens of the Desert, these  
The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,  
For which the speech of England has no name—

\* \* \* \*

Man hath no part in all this glorious work:  
The hand that built the firmament hath heaved  
And smoothed these verdant swells, and sown their slopes  
With herbage; planted them with island groves,  
And hedged them in with forests. Fitting floor  
For this magnificent temple of the sky—  
With flowers whose glory and whose multitude  
Rival the constellations! The great heavens  
Seem to stoop down upon the scene in love.—  
A nearer vault, and of a tenderer blue,  
Than that which bends above the eastern hills.”

With the exception of a very few localities of unimportant extent, this immense area of prairie is not only tillable, but even of surpassing fertility, producing, with comparatively little labor, immense crops, especially of wheat, corn and other grain.

In some of the southern counties, especially in the overflowed and swampy region of the south-east, extensive areas are covered by "cane-brakes," the dense foliage of which affords, during the entire year, shelter and food for stock, and a cover for numerous wild animals. This land is nearly all susceptible of drainage, when some of it will be the richest soil in the State.

CORN far exceeds in value any other product of the State. It is in fact equal in value to one-fourth of all the agricultural products of the Commonwealth.

The semi-tropical temperature of our summers, the arenaceous and clay loams of our uplands, and the alluvial and sandy loams of the bottoms, point to Indian corn as the great staple of the Mississippi Valley.

Corn is a native of America, has been cultivated in Mexico and in Peru from time immemorial, and, next to rice, furnishes food for the greater number of the human race. It is the most valuable gift of the New World to the Old.

A deficiency in this crop directly raises the price of beef, pork and butter, and indirectly affects the price of all other breadstuffs. It is one of the surest crops, and a total failure of this staple seems almost beyond the reach of possibility. No crop is so easily worked, so little liable to damage by variation of climate, or to injury in the field or granary, or yields so large an increase,—often a thousand-fold.

Corn is profitably raised in every county in the State: Saline carrying the banner with over 2,000,000 bushels; Johnson, Clay, Cass, Lafayette, Jackson, Platte, Holt, Atchison, Nodaway, Ray, Cooper, Carroll, Henry, Clinton, Boone, Andrew, Buchanan, St. Louis, Callaway, St. Charles, Pettis, Chariton, Howard, Bates, following in the order named, with from 2,000,000 to 1,000,000 bushels each. The product of the State for 1876 was about 75,000,000 bushels.

To fully appreciate the importance and beauty of this Queen of cereals, it must be seen as it covers the deep, porous alluvium bottoms of a western river; its millions of stalks clothed in majestic and richest green, waving their feathery plumes and swaying their pendant and silky tassels

in the summer breeze, beneath the gleaming, glittering, life-giving radiance of a July sun. Well may the poet sing :

“A song for the plant of my own native West,  
Where nature and freedom reside,  
By plenty still crowned, and by peace ever blest,  
To the corn! the green corn of her pride!  
In climes of the East has the olive been sung,  
And the grape been the theme of their lays,  
But for thee shall a harp of the backwoods be strung,  
Thou bright, ever beautiful maize.

“With spring-time and culture, in martial array  
It waves its green broadswords on high,  
And fights with the gale, in a fluttering fray,  
And the sunbeams, which fall from the sky;  
It strikes its green blades at the zephyrs at noon,  
And at night at the swift-flying fays,  
Who ride through the darkness, the beams of the moon,  
Through the spears and the flags of the maize,

“When summer is fierce still, its banners are green,  
Each warrior's long beard groweth red,  
His emerald-bright sword is sharp-pointed and keen,  
And golden his tassel-plumed head.  
As a host of armed knights set a monarch at naught,  
They defy the day-god to his gaze,  
And, revived every morn from the battle that's fought,  
Fresh stands the green ranks of the maize.

“But brown grows the autumn, and sere grows the corn,  
And the hills are all mellowed in haze,  
And dry grow the leaves which protecting infold  
The ears of the well-ripened maize.  
At length, Indian Summer the lovely, doth come,  
With its blue frosty nights, and still days,  
While Fall, creeping on like a monk 'neath his hood,  
Plucks the thick-rustling wealth of the maize.

“And the heavy loads creak to the barn large and gray,  
Where the treasure securely we hold,  
Housed safe from the tempest, dry-sheltered away,  
Our blessing more precious than gold!  
And long, for this manna that springs from the sod  
Shall we gratefully give Him the praise,  
The source of all bounty, Our Father and God,  
Who sent us from heaven the maize!”

LIVE STOCK.—Next to the corn crop, and very largely dependent upon it, is the value of live stock, which aggregates nearly \$100,000,000, the yearly product being about \$25,000,000. Nearly half this value is imparted by the corn fed to animals intended for slaughter. Missouri very happily unites the most desirable requisites for successful stock-raising. Occupying a middle place between her Northern and Southern sisters, she suffers neither from the long-continued and excessive heat of the one, nor from the fierce frosts and interminable winters of the other. Within her boundaries there are something over 67,000 square miles of country rarely blessed with hill and valley, and plain of unequaled fertility, watered by the innumerable tributaries of the Missouri and Mississippi, and suited to the successful cultivation of the products which supply the daily wants of man and beast. In nearly every section of the State, blue grass, the husbandman's staunchest friend, grows spontaneously and luxuriantly. Its solid sod affords pasture for horses and cattle for nine months in the year, and even on the bare hills of the mining counties, fine range may be found for flocks such as might have been the pride of Job in his latter and better days.

With an abundant supply of water in every section; with extensive ranges of prairie and timber land; together with the abundant crops of corn, oats and hay for winter consumption, there is no reason why Missouri should not be the great stock-raising State of the Union.

Saline leads in this element of wealth, followed in order by Audrain, Platte, Clay, Clinton, Cass, Andrew, Boone, Lafayette, Callaway, Johnson, Cooper, Pike, Howard, Atchison, Lincoln and Pettis.

WHEAT may be a native of Africa or Asia, and it matters little which, for we accept it, not on nativity, but on the sounder basis of character. While wheat is third on the list of agricultural productions in point of *value*, it confessedly and deservedly stands at the head in importance as an article of human food. The flour made from wheat, especially when not too finely bolted, contains more nutrition of a better kind than is given by any other cultivated cereal.

Except in a few of the northern counties, spring wheat is but little grown, the main attention being bestowed on the winter varieties, which are especially a favorite crop upon the *loess* and clay loams and white oak uplands of the State. The fact that Missouri flour<sup>1</sup> carries the

<sup>1</sup> The *Medal of Merit* at the World's Exposition at Vienna, in 1873, for the best flour in the world, was awarded to COLONEL GEORGE C. THILENTUS, of Cape Girardeau. This flour was manufactured at the Cape City Mills, from wheat grown in Cape Girardeau County, in 1872.

Vienna premiums, is alike the glory of our farmers and millers, and gives our State just cause for congratulation.

The average yield and certainty of the crop has been materially increased by the use of the drill in seeding. The drill saves seed, and deposits it in regular quantity and at any required uniform depth, thus protecting the roots from alternate frosts and thaws, a consideration of the utmost importance on sandy or thin clay soils, in our open winters.

St. Charles County leads in this valuable staple, producing nearly 1,000,000 bushels annually. Franklin raises nearly three-fourths as much, and is followed in order by Johnson, St. Louis, Pike, Lafayette, Howard, Saline, Cooper and Lincoln.



Farm Scene in Northern Missouri.

**OATS.**—The oat is of all gramineous plants the easiest of culture, growing on any soil that admits of plowing and harrowing. Although better adapted to a more northern climate, where it grows to greater perfection, both in quantity and quality, it is still an important crop in Missouri, where the yield is annually of more value than the yearly product of all the mines in the State. While the oat crop is an important one, it does not figure very largely in our market, as it is mainly for home consumption.

**TOBACCO.**—The variety of tobacco generally cultivated in America is a native of Mexico or the West Indies, and is an annual, belonging to the *Solanum* family, which also includes the potato, tomato and some other important plants. Missouri ranks sixth among the tobacco-producing States. While the late civil war exercised a depressing influence upon tobacco culture, it still forms one of our most important agricultural interests. Missouri tobacco enjoys a fine reputation for excellence, and the State, no doubt, embraces some of the best tobacco lands in the country. Careful and improved methods of cultivation and curing will no doubt increase the quantity produced, and ere long give a quality equal to any grown in the same latitude. It is a staple in every county in the State, Chariton leading off with an annual production of 3,000,000 pounds, followed by Callaway, Lincoln, Howard, Franklin, Randolph and Pike producing nearly 1,000,000 pounds each.

**COTTON.**—This textile plant is probably indigenous to both hemispheres. Herodotus of old described it as a tree "having for its fruit fleeces more delicate and beautiful than wool." The variety raised in Missouri is known as common or upland cotton, *Gossypium Herbaceum*. Only the southern part of the State comes within the isothermal line which incloses the cotton belt of the United States. It is only within this belt that we find the required mean summer temperature, and the necessary length of the growing season to render cotton profitable as a general crop.

The principal cotton-growing counties of Missouri are, Stoddard, leading off with a yield of about 500 bales, followed by Scott, Pemiscot, Butler, New Madrid, Lawrence and Mississippi; while some thirty counties yield different amounts down to a single bale, besides important "garden patches" used in home consumption and not baled or reported. From this we readily see that while Missouri cannot hope to rank among the leading cotton States of the Union, and that while this greatest of all textile plants must in a measure ever remain as a leading staple to latitudes lower than our own, still its cultivation can be made sufficiently remunerative to very materially augment our agricultural production. All the southern counties will certainly give increased attention to its cultivation, and as the southeastern bottom lands are drained, the production of this important staple will doubtless be largely increased.

**HAY AND GRASS.**—This very important crop is receiving more attention, and as the State is more closely cultivated, the annual yield will be largely increased in amount and very greatly improved in quality. The quality and quantity of live stock is so intimately connected with the

grasses of the State, that this product will merit and receive the increased attention which its magnitude demands. Although our winters are short and our hay crop almost exclusively used for home consumption, still, its value equals in amount the entire mineral production of the State.

**POTATO.**—This most valuable esculent is a native of South America, and was unknown in Europe until 1586, when it was introduced into England. It is the healthiest, most nutritious, most productive and cheapest edible plant grown. Although some parts of Missouri present too warm a soil and too tropical a climate to raise the best grade of potatoes, still the crop is a general one and the quality good, while the quantity is sufficient for home consumption with a considerable surplus for the southern market.

**THE SWEET POTATO** is a member of the Morning Glory family and a native of the East Indies, and was known to civilization as a delicacy and an important edible long before "The Potato." It delights in a sandy loam and a semi-tropical climate, is one of our surest and most profitable crops, and fills the same place in the Southern States that the Irish Potato does in the north.

**WOOL.**—The soil and climate of Missouri are peculiarly well adapted to sheep-raising. With adequate protection against dogs and for the extinction of wolves, sheep-farming will be greatly increased, and become highly profitable.

**SORGHUM**, which was so largely cultivated during the war, is still raised in considerable quantities for local consumption.

**BROOM CORN, BUCKWHEAT, CASTOR BEANS, WHITE BEANS, PEAS and HOPS** are successfully grown in limited quantities.

**GARDEN VEGETABLES** are an important article both of food and commerce. Peas, beans, turnips, onions, tomatoes, cabbage, and many other economic plants suited to our soils and climate, are found in our markets at all seasons; and in St. Louis County this department of industry yields about \$500,000 annually.

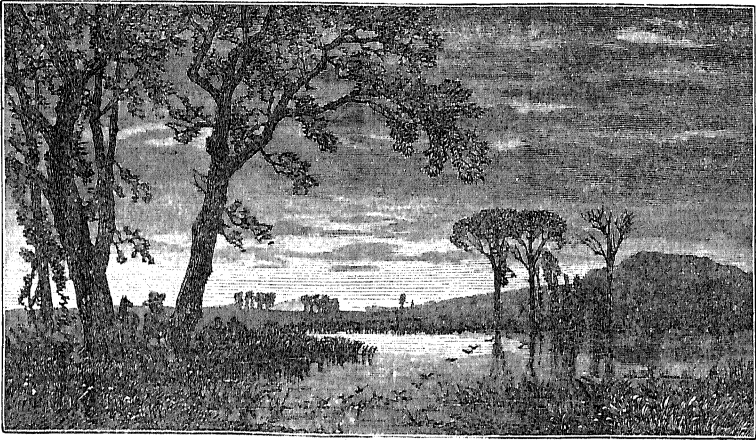
**ORCHARD PRODUCTS.**—The management of an orchard is among the most delightful as well as most certain and remunerative occupations in the whole range of agriculture.

Fruits of every kind and variety usual to the temperate zone flourish in Missouri, and display their delicate luxuries in our orchards and upon our tables in great profusion. The golden apple, the juicy pear, the downy-cheeked peach, attract by their beauty and delicious taste, and afford a healthful and important article of consumption and domestic economy. Chills and fever, the stumbling block of the physician, may



be greatly controlled, if not entirely prevented by a liberal and general use of the fruit raised where the malaria exists.

**APPLES.**—The soil of Missouri is favorable to the Apple, and it attains its highest perfection on our numerous bluffs and ridges of moderate elevation. The fruit matures during a long succession of months, and is found in our markets in abundance and at reasonable prices nearly all the year round. Apple orchards of greater or lesser size are met with in every part of the State, and the products are shipped South and West in considerable quantities.



Scene in Pemiscot County

**THE PEAR.**—In the cultivation of this fruit a deep, well-drained, moderately fertile soil is indispensable to success. Our pears, while not so showy or highly colored as the varieties grown in California, surpass them in juiciness and delicate flavor. The most serious impediment to profitable pear culture is the scourge known to pomologists as the Frozen Sap or fire blight, for which no certain remedy has as yet been found. It prevails with more or less intensity throughout every State situated east of the Rocky Mountains.

**THE PEACH** is often chary of its delightful favors in the northern part of the State, but under the milder and more genial clime of the South and Center, peaches of the most excellent quality are produced in plenty. The consumption of peaches is confined mainly to home use and the St. Louis market.

**CHERRIES** of the acid Morrello type, abound in great plenty and bear constant crops. Duke, Bigarreau and other varieties of the sweet cherry are not entirely hardy, and are grown only in a limited way. Plums,

Apricots and Nectarines succeed well, but their culture is neglected on account of the repeated and annually—recurring destruction of the unripe fruit by several insects belonging to the family of *Curculionidæ*.

**SMALL FRUIT.**—Various kinds of cultivated berries come in during the summer, supplying the eye and the palate with a variety of fragrant and delicious dainties; while their pleasantly-acidulated juices exert a wholesome influence upon the human system at this approach of warm weather. Great progress has been made in small fruit culture and a much wider area is now devoted to their cultivation than formerly.

*Strawberries, Gooseberries, Currant, Raspberries and Blackberries* yield satisfactory returns for the capital and labor invested.

**GRAPE-GROWING** has promised wonderful results for the State, but so far the promise has not been fully realized, and just now many are raising the vital question, "Will grape-growing and wine-making in Missouri pay in the future?" This question is one of vast importance, not only to those who have invested time and money in the vine, but also to the future prosperity of the State: for it is asserted, by those who ought to know, that Missouri contains more acres of land adapted to grape culture than is occupied by all the vineyards of France.

There is no doubt that many who have entered into grape-growing with visions of luscious grapes, excellent wines, and plethoric purses, have not realized their anticipations. As a few engaged in viticulture and wine-making have been uniformly successful, while the many do not make it pay, there must be good reason for both results. The causes of failure will be found in ignorance of the cultivation required for the grape, or of the manipulation necessary in making the wine, or in the neglect to use these fundamental and vital elements of success.

From innumerable interviews with all classes of grape-growers and vintners, it seems certain that, in this department, disappointment and failure wait upon ignorance and neglect, while paying success just as certainly follows intelligent culture and scientific wine-making.

Grape vines will grow anywhere, and produce grapes in almost any situation, but it is very foolish to suppose that every soil and situation will yield grapes, either of fair quality or in such quantities as to make it pay. There is a great difference in the quality and quantity of the same variety of grape, on different soils. This is fully appreciated in all grape-growing countries, and Missouri will not be any exception.

Only careful study and large experience can fully determine how the peculiar character and excellence of each variety of grape can be best developed, by giving it the required soil, necessary situation, best exposure to sun, breeze and climatic influence.

Certain localities will ere long become as noted for their wonderful products of certain varieties of grapes and flavor of wine, as the famous districts of the Old World. Only intelligent, careful and persistent experiment can determine the locality, the variety, or the result.

The localities selected must be properly prepared, and when the variety best suited to that location and the desired result, has been properly planted, the cultivation and attention must be careful, intelligent and thorough. Grafting of the finer varieties on the hardier roots, may, and probably will, prove the panacea for many ills.

If the grapes are to be marketed, take only good evenly ripened bunches; pick out all unripe, decayed, dried or broken berries; handle carefully, pack in shallow boxes or baskets, send them to market in the freshest and most perfect condition possible, and they will, as they always do, bring twice the price that can be obtained if they are roughly picked, thrown promiscuously into large boxes or baskets, with the unripe and imperfect berries, hauled in lumber wagons, over rough roads, and presented in the market buised, broken, beaten into a jelly.

Good wine can only be made from good grapes, by those who understand the business and have the facilities. To obtain the best results, the vintner must know what is required from the grape, and what from the treatment. He must be able to analyze the grape, and have the instruments and appliances to perform this operation, thus determining the proportions of sugar, acid, flavor, etc., and must know how to assist Nature by adding what she has not supplied, as well as by diluting whatever may be in excess. Each variety will require peculiar handling during the several stages of pressing, racking and keeping the wines. He must have the necessary casks, cellars, buildings, all of which requires much capital.

It requires but little thought to see that the best results will be attained here as it is in most wine-growing countries, when the many raise the grape, while a few in each locality who have skill, experience and capital, manufacture the wines. This division of labor is already adopted in most branches of combined agricultural and manufacturing industries. One class raises the grain, cattle, cotton, tobacco, while another class manufactures the flour, packs the meat, spins the cloth, or prepares the fine-cut or kinnikinnick.

In addition to the *Concord*, and *Norton's Virginia*, our grape-growers are giving attention to the *Martha*, an attractive market grape, a healthy and hardy variety. The *Herbemont*, needing a southern exposure and warm light soil, is very productive, and makes a delicate wine. The

*Goethe*, doing best in a sandy soil, needing severe pruning, and ripening late, is very productive, a splendid table and market grape, and makes a good wine. The *Massasoit* delights in a sandy soil, considerable care in pruning, is an excellent grape, very productive, of beautiful color, and early. It is a favorite in the market, and makes an excellent white wine. The *Rulander* and the *Louisiana* are superior grapes and yield very fine wines. The *Cynthiana* is hardy, healthy and productive, and adapted to general culture. It yields the choice red wine, which received the Golden Medal at the Vienna Exposition, thus giving it a world-wide reputation.

To show what is thought of Missouri wines abroad, we quote from a letter written by Mr. Dougssset, of Montpellier, France, and received by one of our most successful and reliable vintners. He writes: "I duly received the two boxes of wines sent by you. They were exhibited by me before the International Congress of Viticulture just held at Montpellier, and tested by a committee of thirty members, officially appointed for that purpose. They were about the best connoisseurs of France. Norton's Virginia and Cynthiana, as red wines; Martha, Goethe, and above all, Hermann and Rulander, were highly praised; and the general opinion is that after we have re-stocked our vineyards with American vines, we will not regard the loss of our own very much. As to Concord, Ives, Wilder, North Carolina, Clinton, Herbemont and Cunningham, they will very likely become the vines for general cultivation in our arenaceous and in our black soils."

This flattering verdict from such a critical and rival source should stimulate our wine-growers to renewed exertions, and fill them with the brightest hopes for the future of ready sales and good prices for first-class wines.

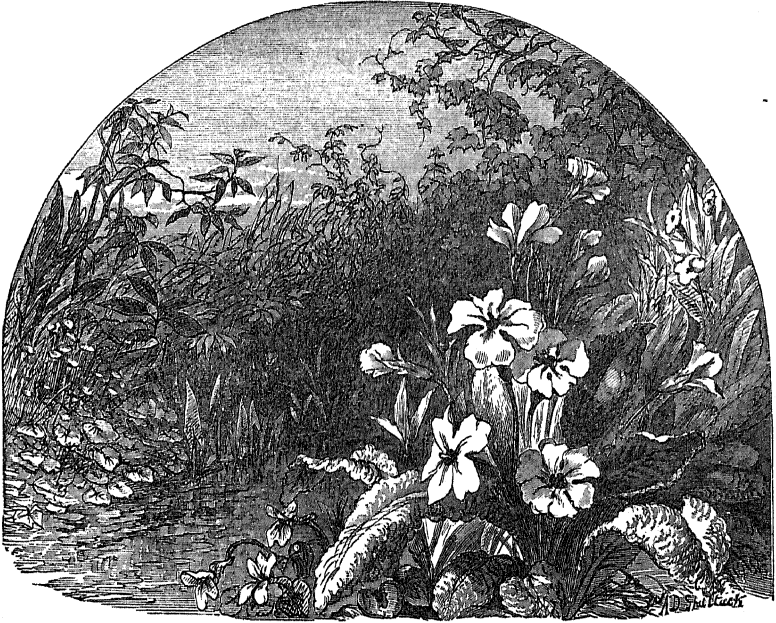
Missouri needs only faithful, careful grape culture to become one of the greatest wine-producing countries on the face of the earth.

**Floriculture** — Which is an industry attaining its greatest growth in a community of taste, intelligence and wealth, is already a large factor not only in the development of the refinement and love of nature which is the constant result of the study and cultivation of flowers, but is likewise an interest of considerable material value. It employs in St. Louis County alone about \$250,000 of capital and 250 hands, with a constantly increasing volume.

**SHAW'S GARDEN**, the foremost botanical collection in the country, is an object of pride to every citizen of the State, and of interest to every visitor, and has done and is constantly doing a most valuable work in

bringing to notice the great beauty of flowers and illustrating the methods of their cultivation. It was established in 1837, and has been ever since under the able and intelligent management of its founder, Mr. Henry Shaw. Within its hundred acres are collected an unbounded variety of native and exotic trees, shrubs, plants and flowers, in the propagation and improvement of which is brought to bear every advantage of nature and every appliance of scientific cultivation.

With such a park of floral magnificence, where all are invited and welcomed, the knowledge of and interest in floriculture, both ideal and material, must ever increase. And we will probably find this beautiful industry doubled within the next decade.



Wild Flowers.