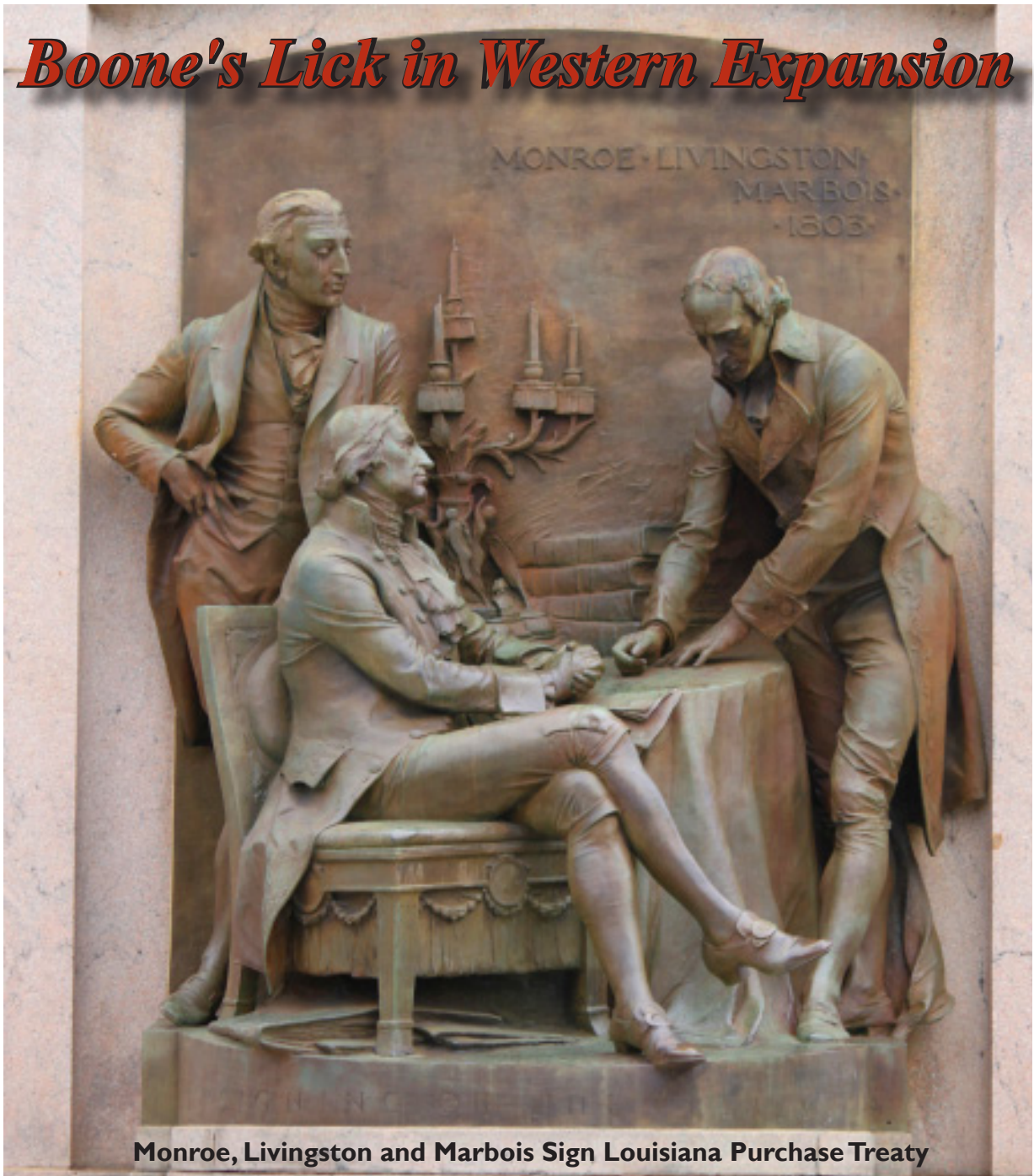


Boone's Lick in Western Expansion



Monroe, Livingston and Marbois Sign Louisiana Purchase Treaty

'The synergism of Eastern wealth, the Louisiana Purchase, the Thomas Jefferson administration, the Missouri Indian trade, commercial visions for Santa Fe, and initiatives of bold adventurers spawned the famed Boone's Lick in 1805.'

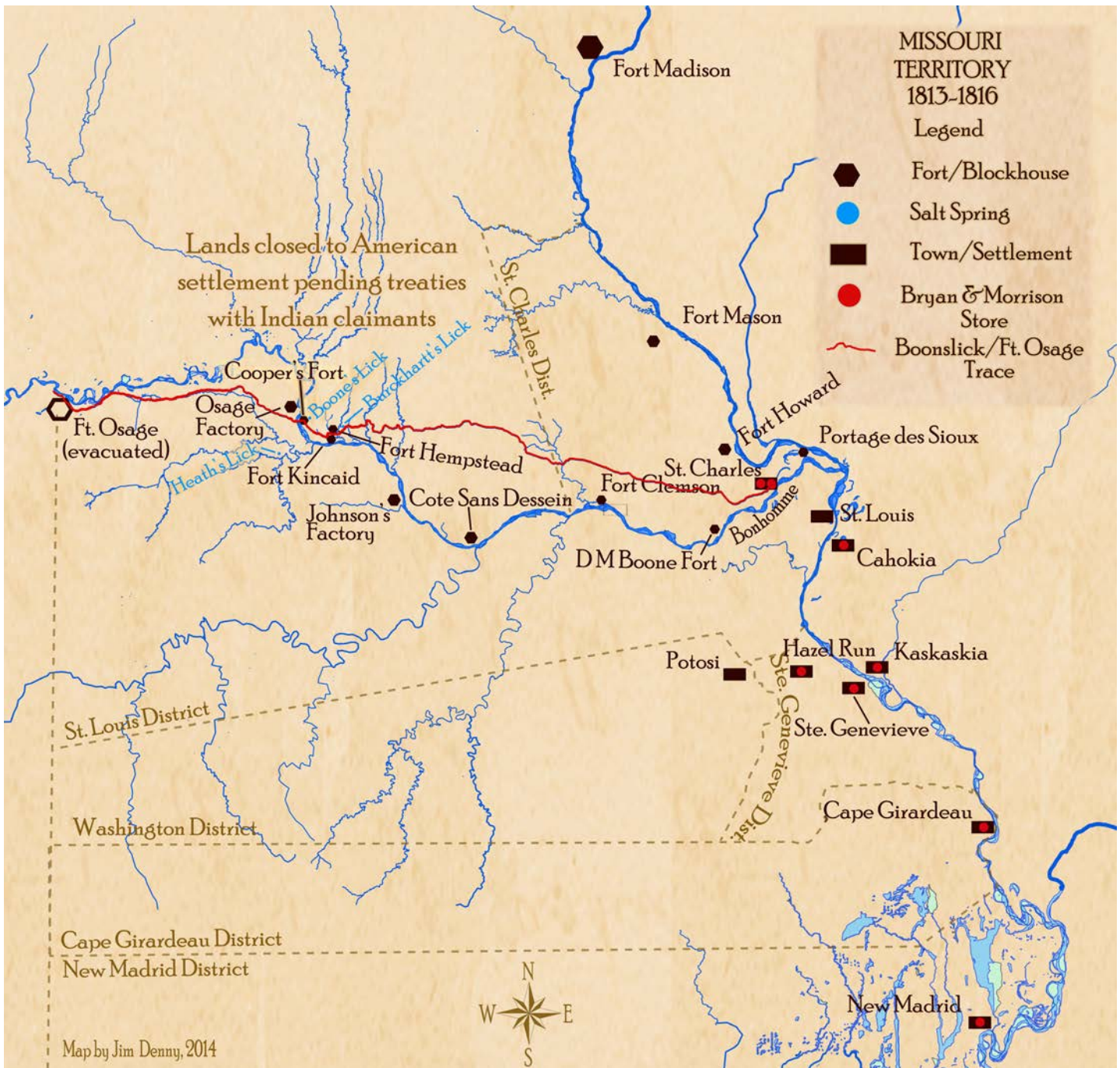
Missouri Territory 1813 – 1816

This original color-coded **Missouri Territory Map 1813 – 1816** by Missouri historian James M. (Jim) Denny provides an accurate visual representation of the Louisiana/Missouri Territory in the early nineteenth century when the Boonslick Region was about to enter a period of rapid settlement following the end of the War of 1812 (Treaty of Ghent in December 1814). However, it took nearly two months before news of the war's end reached the U.S., and cessation of conflicts with Indian tribes (notably the Sauk or Sac) who sided with the British did not end in the Boonslick until later in 1815.

The map details the extensive commercial empire of Bryan and Morrison trading company, which ranged from Cape Girardeau to the south, along the Mississippi River, north to St. Louis and St. Charles and to military installations along the Upper Mississippi River, and west along the Missouri River to Fort Osage (The map does not represent the much larger Bryan and Morrison's marketing empire in the Ohio and mid-to-lower Mississippi River Valleys). Denny's map also notes lands closed at that time to American settlement pending treaties with Indian claimants.

The map is a splendid visual guide to Lynn Morrow's excellent essay on "Boone's Lick in Western Expansion" and will help readers to clearly understand the forces in play and the key geographic points of the essay.

Map by James M. (Jim) Denny ©



Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly is published four times a year by the Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233.

We encourage our members and others interested in history to contribute articles or other information of historical interest, including family histories, pertaining to the region. Please address all contributions and correspondence related to the periodical to the editor, Don Cullimore, 1 Lawrence Dr., Fayette, MO 65248, or email to: don.cullimore40@gmail.com, phone: 660-248-1732. Editorial guidelines may be obtained from the editor. Publication deadlines are February 1 for the March (Spring) issue; May 1 for the June (Summer) issue; August 1 for the September (Fall) issue; and November 1 for the (Winter) December issue.

The Boonslick Historical Society was founded in 1937 and meets several times a year to enjoy programs about historical topics pertinent to the Boonslick area. Members of the Society have worked together over the years to publish historical books and brochures and to mark historic sites. They supported the founding of Boone's Lick State Historic Site, marked the sites of Cooper's Fort and Hanna Cole's Fort and have restored a George Caleb Bingham painting of loan to The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art at Central Methodist University, Fayette, Mo.

Membership dues are \$15-Individual, \$25-Family, \$50-Sponsor, \$250-Patron, \$500-Life. The dues year is January through December. Receive our quarterly publication, Boone's Lick Heritage, and attend annual Society events highlighting the region's history. To become a member, send a check made out to the Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233.

Officers and Board Members 2013

Cindy Bowen, Armstrong, President
Sam Jewett, Boonville, Vice President
Paula Shannon, Boonville, Treasurer
Denise Gebhardt, Glasgow, Secretary
Don B. Cullimore, Fayette
Mike Dickey, Arrow Rock
Brett Rogers, Boonville
Connie Shay, Fayette
Tom Yancey, Fayette

Editorial Staff

Don B. Cullimore, Editor
Cathy Thogmorton, Graphic Designer

BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY

Boonslick Historical Society Vol. 13, Nos. 3-4 • Fall-Winter 2014

History with a Dose of Salt

Salt. Sodium chloride. Salt of the earth, indeed—a mineral essential to human life, to animal life. And it was a mineral essential to the nineteenth-century frontier economy emerging in the Boonslick region of North-Central Missouri ... and to the broader frontier economy emerging in the Louisiana/Missouri Territory following the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803.

By that single \$15-million transaction (with no money down and 10 percent credit, with the United States eventually paying \$23-million), the optimistic Americans acquired a vast territory (828,000 square miles) that stretched from the swamps of Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico to the Rocky Mountains and Canada. The Missouri Territory, along with the great Missouri River, was to play a major geographical – if not also economic – role in the expansion of empire, or “Course of Empire” as the late historian and author Bernard DeVoto would note in his classic work on how the drama of discovery and exploration of North America defined the American nation in the three centuries preceding the Louisiana Purchase.

In this special issue of *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly*, Missouri historian Lynn Morrow, in an extensive essay, tells us how salt served as a catalyst for the broader forces, national and regional, coalescing in the Louisiana/Missouri Territory at the nation's turn into the nineteenth century ... as a young and restless nation pushed its boundaries toward the far West. Synecdoche perhaps is the operative noun: what was happening in the Missouri Territory – in the Boonslick – would reflect and foretell the greater story of the nation's expansion that would eventually reach the Pacific Ocean and absorb, by military force and occupation, all of the Southwest lands formerly part of the Spanish-Mexican Empire.

Morrow relates how three families – The Mackays, the Boones, and the Morrisons, principally William and James – and a supporting cast of various personalities, along with the commercial exploitation of salt, helped shape and define the Boonslick Region and western expansion in the Louisiana/Missouri Territory between the 1790s and about 1830. He tells how local personalities and events were responding to national concerns and direction flowing from commercial interests in Philadelphia and political interests in the nation's capital (think President Thomas Jefferson's instructions to famed explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, both of whom were involved in Missouri's Territorial government following their 1804-06 Corps of Discovery expedition up the Missouri River to the Pacific Northwest).

In Morrow's extensive research leading to his essay, he also uncovered numerous historical documents dealing with land grants and concessions (many of which were disputed), plats of property ownership in early St. Charles, trade with the Native Americans, and mercantile inventories of goods sold and traded, including salt, throughout the Territory.

As with salt as an essential element for human life, we would advise our readers and other aficionados of history that Lynn Morrow's fine essay, “Boone's Lick in Western Expansion: James Mackay, the Boones, and the Morrison,” is an essential element for nourishment of the mind and a broadened awareness of our cultural history.

Front Cover: Bronze by Karl Bitter shows Robert Livingston (standing), James Monroe (seated), and Francis Barbe-Marbois signing the document more commonly known as the “Louisiana Purchase” in which the United States purchased a vast territory from France west of the Mississippi River in 1803. It is located by the reflecting pond on the north side of the State Capitol.

– Don B. Cullimore

Boone's Lick in Western Expansion: James Mackay, the Boones, and the Morrisons

By Lynn Morrow ©

THE PLACE NAME BOONE'S LICK IS FOREVER ETCHED INTO MISSOURI HISTORY. A COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF BOONE'S SALT LICK, HOWEVER, REMAINS ELUSIVE. WE HAVE A NOTABLE STUDY —

Robert Bray's archaeological and historical investigation during the 1980s. A generation ago, Bray pointed out the lack of critical examination of the relevant sources, a trend that has continued. It may be useful for historians to have a modern outline with questions for continuing a quest for a substantive history of this famous place. It is a tale set in the center of Missouri's complex land history, the promotion of American expansion, and the obscure early nineteenth-century industrial history of exploiting and marketing salt. All of the Mackay-Boone-Morrison colonial-territorial administrative history is part of the St. Charles District or county, the only American political subdivision on the north side of the Missouri River until 1816; it is but one story in broad trends in Missouri territorial government that was influenced by appointments to the federal administration in St. Louis.

Germane to the difficulty of many "early histories" is the paucity of primary sources and a contradictory nature within them, particularly sources in the oral or interview traditions. Is the source credible? In what context was it created? Is the source biased? What are the facts and do they answer the Who? What? When? Where? Why? and How? Do the facts agree with one another? If not, what is most plausible? Government arbiters made final decisions about Missouri territorial land disputes, such as James Mackay's Saline, asking those questions. Local historians need to do more of the same working toward the best evidence; however, sometimes, like the Board of Land Commissioners, we have to choose among the competing evidence – the Board's decisions often became exhibits in subsequent litigation for real estate, while historians' presentations of the same undergo revisions. Frontier history is interwoven within the dimensions of underdeveloped civil authority, transportation, and communication.

A word about salt. Europeans found Indians evaporating sea salt upon their arrival in the New World – they needed it for salting fish. Jamestown residents in 1607 included salt on

their list of commodities most desired. Jesuit missionaries learned to make salt for the Indian trade and its exchange never left the negotiations between Europeans or Americans with the North American tribes. Colonial Americans boiled salt in the eighteenth century and settlers dispersed salt operations into the new eastern states, but high-quality salt had to be imported from Europe. In the late eighteenth century trans-Appalachian settlers found high-quality, briny waters in abundance often with higher salinity than ocean salt. Legendary Kentucky families congregated near these salt licks. Precious iron kettles – underappreciated frontier tools – became an expensive item required for salt-boiling, processing saltpetre for gunpowder, and in manufacturing sugar cane.

Merchants and industrialists built gristmills, sawmills, and distilleries near salines to form frontier central marketing places for agricultural and non-agricultural products.

During the eighteenth century, adventurers, hunters, and river men of all description traversed the Missouri River, and all its tributaries in modern Missouri. The search for dens of beaver and bear and marketable animal pelts led them to discover dozens of salt deposits. The knowledge of briny waters became part of the "fabled Louisiana" mineral promotions, joining that of precious ore minerals, as explorers included the discovery of salines in reports to their superiors. Salt not only sustained and promoted concentrated frontier settlements, as it did in the Booneslick region, it was mandatory to cure animal skins for the Indian trade, to transport salted meat, and everyone needed it to sustain livestock and their own human diet.

Entrepreneur, George Morgan, in 1789, wrote to his Spanish superiors that his New Madrid colony would employ surveyors to "note in his field book the true situations of all mines, saltlicks, salt springs and mill seats," the exact charge that Congress made to surveyors in Ohio 1796. Moses Austin wrote in 1797 that there were "Salt Springs on Each side of the [Mississippi] River," and Pierre Chouteau, prior to the launch of the Corps of Discovery, gave salt samples to Meriwether Lewis to send to Thomas Jefferson. Lewis and Clark, upon arrival at the Pacific Ocean, assigned salt making to soldiers so they could rely upon a sufficient supply for the

Lynn Morrow is the former director of the Local Records Preservation Program, Missouri State Archives. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in history from Southwest Missouri State University (now Missouri State University), Springfield.

trip back. All the while, Kentucky salt-boilers came to Upper Louisiana and kept a sharp eye out for the indispensable mineral. As frontiersmen and mechanics moved into the territory, they asked for, received, and pre-empted mill seats and mineral lands, which included salines — first, those in eastern Missouri, then up the Missouri River Valley.

The extension of western trade followed the construction of military installations that required supply contractors. Once over the Appalachians, they moved through the Ohio River Valley, into the Great Lakes, to the trans-Mississippi West, all stockmen's frontiers leveraged with salt. Frontier families traveled the Boone's Lick Road, and then the Santa Fe Trail, and all kept apprised of who had salt and where it was. Boone's Lick was a timely outpost to enable western commerce connected to Jefferson's visions of Louisiana. Today, all of us aspire to be "worth our salt." The principal characters of this essay certainly filled that bill.

James Mackay

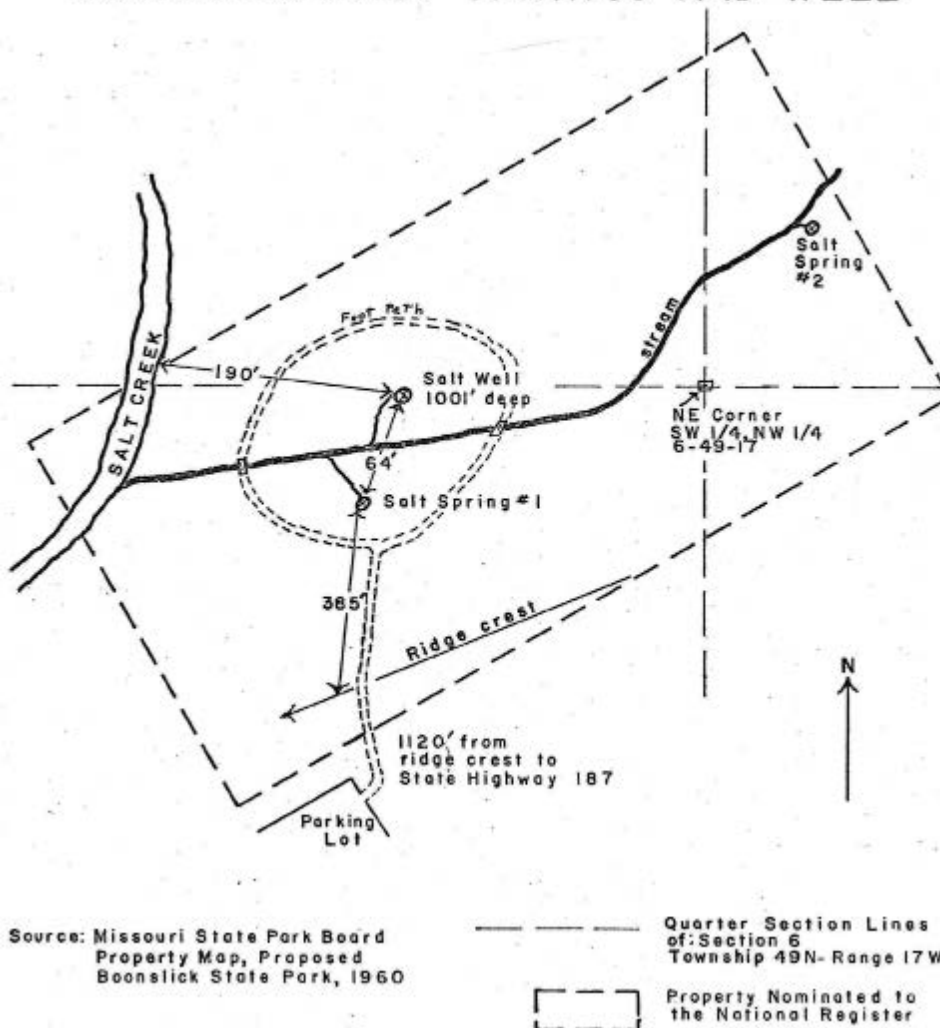
James Mackay claimed a large saline from May 1797 until his death in 1822, and in 1833, the Second Board of Land Commissioners awarded the property to his heirs. The saline was commonly known along the Missouri River in vernacular speech as "Mackay's saline" even until statehood. Why was that? And, how did Mackay lay claim to the "Saline on Bonne Femme" that came to be known as US Survey 3328, commonly called "Boone's Lick"?

James Mackay was an archetypal frontier adventurer. He traveled over vast distances, shrewdly selected partnerships and friends, and once in St. Louis, kept his visions in the trans-Mississippi focused westward. His efforts earned him prestige and a respectable fortune. By 1797, the adaptable Scotsman had experience in the Canadian-British fur trade, traveling to the Mandan Indian villages in the upper Missouri River Valley during the 1780s; he journeyed to Cincinnati in the early 1790s for trading opportunities, then moved to Cahokia in 1793, and the next year to St. Louis.

Upon arrival in St. Louis, the colonial Spanish authorities and Mackay organized a 1795-1797 expedition up the Missouri River to the Mandans. Mackay and his partner, John Evans, produced a map of their mission and delivered their journals to officials in New Orleans. This work became Mackay's "services rendered" to the Spanish government which in turn brought land concessions and government titles to him. Mackay submitted his petitions for concessions to Charles Delassus, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Upper Louisiana. Mackay wrote, "The petitioner, confiding in your justice, hopes that his zeal for his Majesty's service, and the small salary which he enjoys, shall be strong motives in the opinion of a chief who, like you, makes his happiness consist of distributing favors to the officers who have the honor to serve under his orders. In this belief, he hopes to obtain of your justice the favor which he solicits." Delassus did not disappoint Mackay.

French-Canadians in the eighteenth-century sought valuable beaver fur up every tributary of the Missouri River and in doing so accumulated backwoods intelligence for the location of salines, lead deposits, and caves for niter mining to produce gunpowder.

BOONSLICK SALT SPRINGS AND WELL



Source: Missouri State Park Board
Property Map, Proposed
Boonslick State Park, 1960

Sketch of Boone's Lick saline as it may have appeared in the early 19th century.

Courtesy of Missouri State Archives

Following large game, fur traders repeatedly visited salines and killed uncounted animals at them, as Daniel Boone did in Kentucky. Although historians do not believe that James Mackay left the Missouri River during the 1790s to inspect the Saline on Bonne Femme, he certainly knew about it from French-speaking trappers and fur traders.

Lieutenant Antoine Gautier (rendered Gauthier, Gaultier, or Gagnier) may have been Mackay's source of intelligence for the lick. Gautier began receiving concessions in 1796 as a result of his military services. He commanded the small fort, San Juan del Misuri, reputedly near La Charette in the mid-1790s, and laid claim to a 4,000-arpent concession bordering the saline that extended to the Missouri River. Such a large concession proved Gautier, a man with "river intelligence," had the ear of the government. After the Louisiana Purchase, the Americans appointed Gautier as captain in the St. Charles militia.

In 1797, the Spanish government appointed Mackay as an official deputy surveyor, serving under Antoine Soulard. Mackay soon presented to his supervisor a 400 arpents claim (340+ acres) to a saline in the "Missouri Country" (a term used by contemporary westward-looking politicians and traders) and began surveying private land claims for colonial settlers. The following year, Mackay became captain of the militia and commandant in a Kentucky-emigrant district, founded as St. Andrews, later called Bonhomme, a service center where he had a commercial gristmill on the south side of the Missouri River. Settlers remembered Mackay's weekly hoisting of the Spanish flag to advise residents that it was Sunday. Governor Zenon Trudeau reported in 1798 that the energetic Americans' "houses are already better than those of the Creoles and Canadians in the villages." Diligent in accumulating concessions, Mackay received some 55,000 arpents in land from the Spanish government as compensation for his military and civil services. As Bonhomme prospered, more Kentuckians settled across the river in the Femme Osage

Creek area that became known as the Boone Settlement in 1799; the great bottom land of Boone Settlement extended from Femme Osage up the Missouri River to a point across from Labbadie Creek. Mackay's growing prominence was due, in part, to his linguistic skills in speaking and writing in English, Spanish, and French. Government records reflect Mackay's widespread activity with references to his given name as James, Santiago, and Jacques.

In March 1800, at age forty-one, Mackay wed a young bride in Bonhomme, Isabella Long, daughter of a large, industrious, and affluent family of mill builders. Daniel Morgan Boone, too, came to Bonhomme, already a concentration of 300 Americans with nearly 100 slaves. In May 1800, Morgan came to court and marry young Sara Lewis, daughter of John Lewis, another family who prospered in mill building and

commerce. The Commandant's wife, Isabella Mackay, attended Morgan and Sara's wedding in St. Charles. In 1802, James Mackay's authority extended into the cross-river settlements of Kentuckians and French-Canadians with an additional appointment as commandant of the St. Charles District. At the same time, Daniel Boone served as a junior administrative official, a syndic (similar to a justice of the peace) in the Femme Osage settlements. Likely, the Boone and Mackay family members knew something of each other if only by reputation.

By late 1803, rumors, then news, penetrated Louisiana circles that the Americans had purchased the western territories and that a group of explorers sent by Thomas Jefferson was coming. Would anyone help the Americans with geographic intelligence of fabled Louisiana? Lewis and Clark met with survey-

ors Soulard and Mackay, "the only two reputable cartographers in Upper Louisiana." Soulard had mapped much of the Missouri River and Mackay had done the same up to the Mandan villages. At William Clark's invitation, Mackay journeyed to Wood River to meet with Clark overnight in January

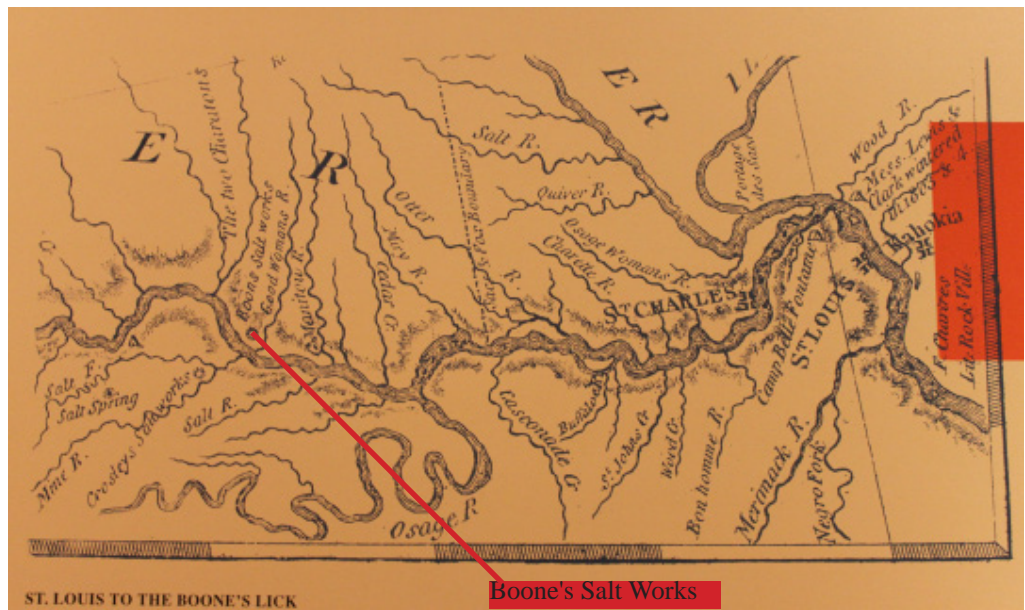


Granite historical marker at Marthasville denoting Spanish land grants to Daniel Boone and family west of St. Charles near Matson. Known as the Boone Settlement, it extended from Femme Osage west to opposite the mouth of Labbadie. Photo by Don Cullimore

1804. Soulard and Mackay both risked reprisals from their Spanish authorities to meet secretly with the Americans, but obviously decided to identify themselves as resources for the incoming government. The Corps of Discovery leaders, of course, took all the cartographic help offered, including Mackay's famous draft map from the mid-1790s.

After the adventurers left on their voyage, Mackay's risk-taking paid off. The governor of the new American lands, William Henry Harrison in Vincennes, in 1804, appointed Mackay as an associate judge of the common pleas and quarter sessions court in St. Louis District. That October, Harrison made a personal appearance in St. Louis that celebrated the inauguration of American government. As soon as formalities transpired, Mackay and Soulard traveled to St. Charles to survey the town and assess landowners for costs to create new real estate records for the Americans. Judge Mackay, experienced in the bureaucracies of the British, French, and Spanish, embraced American administrative changes, and surveyed selected colonial concessions of his in order to have updated American claims in December 1804, the earliest calendar that convened in any new American judicial district.

In 1805, the Americans continued Mackay's appointment as a judge in St. Louis District. Morgan Boone replaced his aging father in the Femme Osage district and became justice of the peace and judge on the court of quarter sessions and common pleas. Nathan Boone considered opening a commercial salt-boiling industry at a saline upriver, one that he personally encountered the previous winter during a commercial hunt. The Boones convinced St. Charles trader, James Morrison, to hire two Frenchmen to acquire water samples at the saline for testing (was one of the Frenchmen, concessionaire Antoine Gautier?). The test had moderate results. This group – Nathan, brother Morgan with his available slave labor, and the financial backing of Morrison – formed a work crew and piloted a new salt business. It began modestly, exports were successful, but by late fall, Sac and Fox Indians stole stock and destroyed some of their investment in a raid that significantly damaged the salt works. The frontier industry, the most western concentration of American emigration up the Missouri River Valley, was exposed to ongoing conflict between the Osage and Sac and Fox tribes and the new construction and small labor force offered easy pickings for marauding Indians. The Boones and Morrison, encouraged by an acceptable level of profits, decided to rebuild their damaged salt works, and in



Map from William Clark's 1804-06 voyage shows Louisiana Territory from St. Charles west to what is now Saline County. Note "Boons Salt Works" now in Howard County. The Morrisons and Boones operated the lick, but paid an annual rent of \$500 during 1806-09 to James Mackay, who claimed ownership of the property. Map courtesy Missouri State Parks

doing so, greatly enlarged it.

At this time – 1805 – new American administrative and commercial enterprises began amidst extreme anxiety and dispute among leading French and American families over the status of the previous decade of land concessions in the Missouri Country, now a part of a new United States. Land speculator Mackay conveyed a claim in September to Captain Amos Stoddard, the first American officer to command Upper Louisiana. By late 1805, Congress established a Board of Land Commissioners to sort out private claims to real property. Certainly, many in the Kentucky emigration already had experience in confused land claims east of the Mississippi. After the Boones and Morrisons commenced larger operations in 1806, Mackay, with his legal standing and public presence, confronted merchant James Morrison with his claim to the saline. It is doubtful that either Morrison or the Boones wanted to argue with a government official who could have the St. Charles sheriff arrest them for trespassing and subpoena them for damages in superior court litigation, even under a cloud of clear title. The salt-boiler entrepreneurs agreed to an annual rent of \$500 to Mackay, a small fortune in 1806 and an amount that suggests that early Boone's Lick profits were considerable.

Amid the transfer of governments, surveys and land speculation continued unabated in an actual and paper "land rush." Some elites, such as Mackay, continued purchasing real estate by acquiring property assignments into 1808, as the better informed sought industrial sites for grist and saw mills, salines, distilleries, and mines. There were two large blocks of political opinion about what the future of these land claims should be. Generally, the large land claimants were the Americans of the Ste. Genevieve mining district and the wealthy French of St. Louis, including Antoine Soulard and

Scotsman James Mackay. The other side included the accelerating American emigration, their lawyers, and smaller land claimants. Land speculation and the status of taxes were hot topics that evolved into a public brawl, rhetorically and, in some cases, literally. Eventually, the opposition to the landed elites claimed that the French and James Mackay “had broken into the record books to alter water courses and double the size of confirmed claims.”

The business before the new Board of Land Commissioners kept Mackay’s name before the public, as he lobbied for his own claims, while he surveyed and earned considerable pay surveying for others. Mackay’s clients included familiar family names, e.g., Baldrige, Bay, Bellew, Bowles, Callaway, Cerre (Soulard’s in-laws), Cottle, Hildebrand, Janis, Long (Mackay’s in-laws), Musick, Sullens, Woods, Zumwalt, and many more in St. Charles and St. Louis districts. This brief recitation of his clients, who certainly continued community debates on land ownership, helped keep current the use of “Mackay’s saline” in local conversations.

Mackay began his presentation of claims to the recorder of land titles at the Land Commission in 1806, the same year that he surveyed the St. Louis commons, south of where the Board met. At the onset, under the Congressional Act of 1805, the old Spanish private land survey was not conclusive, but was “proper evidence” for the federal jury of three commissioners to consider. Mackay provided his Spanish passport given by Zenon Trudeau for his “voyage of discovery up the [Missouri] river,” and commendations for his “opening of roads [from Bonhomme to St. Louis] and establishing good police regulations, both military and civil” for the Bonhomme area. The following July 1807 the commissioners began ruling on Mackay’s concessions and surveys. Commissioner J. B. C. Lucas, an experienced, educated, and politically adept lawyer, appointed by Thomas Jefferson, was ideologically opposed to granting large Spanish claims. Lucas became the most severe, conservative critic on the Board, and an especially effective opponent of Mackay. Lucas, also a new territorial superior court judge, had sought the commission work and “demanded and won a concurrent appointment as a member of Upper Louisiana’s board of land commissioners.” His enemies became vocal and tried to oust him from his federal office, but Lucas prevailed.

Without doubt, many claims were fraudulent as documents were antedated, rewritten, and Americans filled out Spanish “blank concessions” when they arrived, as had resident Frenchmen. However, many claims disputed early on

were later confirmed through appeals and litigation. But in 1807 Mackay began to hear denials to his concessions, including one with a saline, described as “10 by 40 arpens situate on the Saline, La River Boon [Bonne] Femme.” Reasons stated in the official document included: one, “because the applicant was written on erasure in the concession; two, his place of residence was also written on erasure; three, the quantity, situation and quality of the land demanded were also written on erasure; and four, in consequence of these, said claim is fraudulent and of no validity. Further proof is required of the party.” Mackay disputed the rulings and the Board allowed him to file for a rehearing to consider additional evidence. The timing of the hearings was also bad for Mackay. The mysterious, but very public, James Wilkinson/Aaron Burr conspiracy era was ending. The new Meriwether Lewis administration, including the shrewd William Clark and acting governor and recorder

of land titles, Frederick Bates, were in town for bureaucratic “quality control” in the territory — they and J. B. C. Lucas did not want to be embarrassed by real estate shenanigans.

In 1808, in the face of a balky land commission, the large land speculators quit purchasing assignments of concessions, and Mackay pulled up stakes at Bonhomme to move to the Gravois district (Crestwood), south of St. Louis City.

The frontier veteran, who had given his name to a prominent saline, apparently wanted to be nearer the federal deliberations, territorial politics, and his French supporters. In August 1808, William Clark, Nathan Boone, and Eli Clemson headed a military entourage upriver and overland to establish Fort Osage at Fire Prairie in modern Jackson County. Near Arrow Rock, Clark noted, “Passed thro a butifull small plain Makays about a mile wide and crossed a Cart Road leading from Boons Lick to the Missouri ... sent 2 men to the Lick ...” Antoine Gautier had assigned his concession to Mackay, who claimed the bottom land in sight, but the commercial salt export of the Boone-Morrison lessees brought the “Boons Lick” name into vernacular speech, joining “Mackay’s saline” in conversation along the Missouri River.

Mackay, with support from his best friend Antoine Soulard (who had lost his general surveyor’s job to an American in 1806), appeared before the Board of Land Commissions for years to come, as Soulard, too, spent the rest of his life defending his work and testifying for old colleagues. In November 1809, the commission denied several claims — town lots, small and large acreages — including the “Saline on Bonne Femme.” The same commission denied Daniel Boone’s colonial concession the following month. Over the next five



Missouri militia, primarily from St. Charles District, led by William Clark, Nathan Boone, and Eli Clemson, built Fort Osage in 1808. Image courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri

years, Mackay did receive affirmations on ten claims, but the Board denied at least twenty-one, including town lots, rural and riverside properties, and claims assigned to Mackay from others. Mackay's control over his claims for tens of thousands of arpents was quickly disappearing, but he was still a prominent landholder.

Mackay did not give up on the now more well-known "Boone's Lick," although James and Jesse Morrison continued manufacturing there; Mackay fought for several of his other denied claims, too. By June 1812, business acquaintance,

Antoine Gautier, assigned 609 arpents to Mackay that lay northeast of St. Charles on the Marais Temps Clair. Still later, in April 1814, recorder Frederick Bates and the Land Commission published a formal rejection of a previous Gautier-assigned claim to Mackay — that is, the one that bordered the Missouri River and lay adjacent to "Mackay's saline." In the face of wartime woes deep in 1814, journalists evoked the vernacular transition in the name, using old and new. The Missouri Gazette, August 14, 1814, reported Indian depredations near "Mackay's Saline (Boon's Lick) ..." and the Missouri Gazette on October 29, 1814, published, "The inhabitants of Mackey's Saline (Boon's Lick) are in great consternation by the appearance of a large body of Indians in their neighborhood, a Mr. Braxton Cooper was killed there a few days ago." Had Mackay's large

claim been affirmed in the center of Booneslick settlement, far west of St. Charles, residents would have surely revolted, as settlers throughout Missouri territory had squatted on tens of thousands of acres and waited for the private claim adjudication to end and the opening of public land offices to file pre-emption claims. The land rush following the end of the War of 1812 attracted travel writer, John Palmer, who interviewed surveyor Joseph C. Brown in 1817 in St. Louis about Booneslick settlement. Brown combined terms as one, "Boone's Lick, Mackay's Saline," in his geographic descriptions denoting the public recognition of both. (In this essay, use of Boone's Lick refers to the lick itself, Booneslick refers to the general region.)

Mackay carried his struggle to the newspapers. He issued a notice in the November 1817 Missouri Gazette warning settlers on his lands. The article claimed he had "already given notices for the removal of those settled on his lands ... com-

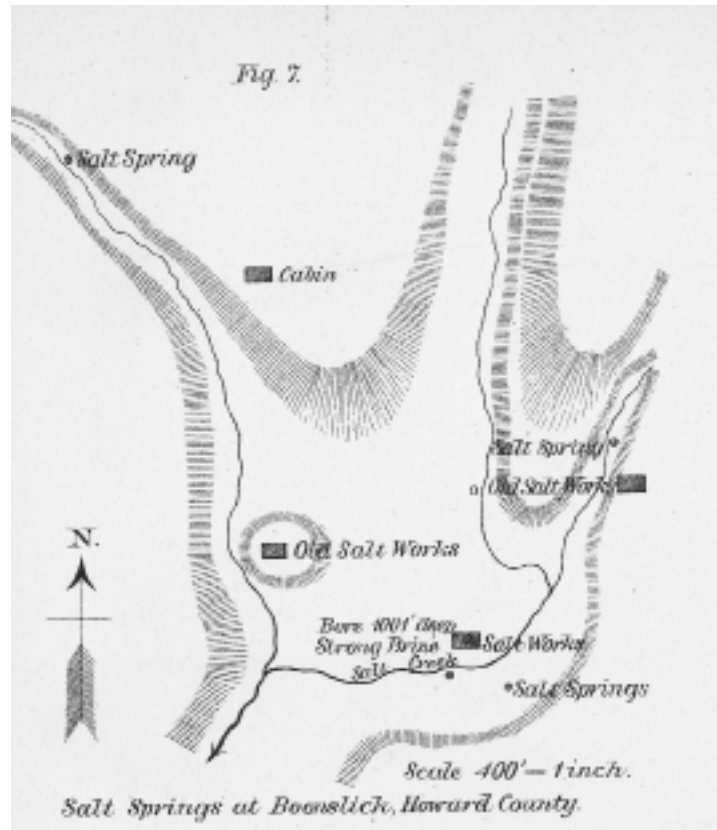
plaining of their encroachments on my property." Mackay tried to intimidate those at Boone's Lick writing, "I do hereby forewarn all persons settled on my lands in St. Louis, St. Charles, and Howard in the Territory of Missouri to remove immediately unless they obtain a lease from Nicholas Burckhartt of Howard County." The context suggests that the newly appointed sheriff Burckhartt, who also managed a salt works, knew the ad was coming. The Morrisons ignored Mackay. The following year, James Morrison petitioned the Committee on Private Land Claims in the House of Representatives

in D.C. for the same property, but did not receive confirmation, thus, Boone's Lick conclusive ownership remained in a bureaucratic limbo (its land history is described later in this essay).

Weeks later, in December 1817, James Mackay and Antoine Soulard argued again before the Board of Land Commissioners. Soulard recounted Mackay's distinguished career and added, "he [Mackay] was charged with the additional trouble of receiving the Americans and others who emigrated to this country" Two years later, in October 1819, Soulard said he ordered the survey of the Bonne Femme saline concession and added that "Mackay was my deputy and did exhibit to me the said original concession of 400 arpents

and Saline ... in 1797." Then, Soulard added that Mackay said, "He had been prevented from effecting said survey [in 1797] which he much regretted" Mackay echoed a common complaint by those who held colonial concessions — it cost a lot of money and time to survey properties and many did not do it, choosing instead to rely upon the traditional way of doing business in Spanish Missouri. Soulard presented the original concession to the Board, signed by him "for the more complete identification of the said document." Mackay's evidentiary claim in the Land Commission's file for the saline thickened. By now, Mackay had served as a member of the Missouri territorial legislature and had a newly-erected brick mansion house in south St. Louis, where he lived until he died in 1822. His house and gravesite have disappeared and he died virtually penniless—but not without land claims.

Mackay's evidentiary problem with the Board of Land Commissioners was the lack of proper local government re-



Late 19th-century drawing of multiple salt springs and the central salt works at "Boonslick." Courtesy Missouri State Archives

cords, a circumstance that we take for granted today. Delassus described his policy for granting colonial land concessions. He granted the request; made an order for the survey; and delivered both to the petitioner, e.g., Mackay. Delassus “kept no books” nor did he make a register of his decree or order of survey. Whether the surveyor did so, or not, “was no concern of his,” said Delassus. The grant of land was political and an exercise of royal authority, and “subject to no supervision,” a circumstance that J. B. C. Lucas and Frederick Bates used to examine evidence from their American background. Raymond Wood noted that Lucas “even hounded Mackay beyond the grave” in pressing his own personal claims for Mackay’s land.

Mackay and Soulard’s friendship represented a sterling example of frontier loyalty and bureaucratic perseverance that few could surpass. Their efforts in the new Missouri Country to acquire the famed “Boone’s Lick” concession for Mackay’s use ultimately succeeded for Mackay’s heirs. The Second Board of Land Commissioners affirmed earlier denied private land claims more liberally, aided by a succession of Congressional acts. Mackey’s heirs were able to receive an equal quantity of public land elsewhere. History’s irony, of course, is that neither James Mackay nor Antoine Soulard lived to see it.

What Mackay’s heirs and Missouri settlers did see is that James Mackay’s former lessee, James Morrison, a representative of a wealthy merchant family in Philadelphia, spent nearly thirty years managing and marketing Boone’s Lick salt. His family’s efforts resulted in a lasting legacy in Missouri history.

Boones and Morrisons

The synergism of Eastern wealth, the Louisiana Purchase, the Thomas Jefferson administration, the Missouri Indian trade, commercial visions for Santa Fe, and initiatives of bold adventurers spawned the famed Boone’s Lick in summer 1805. Long ago, University of Missouri professor Lewis Atherton explored the dramatic influence of Philadelphia merchants in the western trade, primarily the post-War of 1812 commerce of Americans. But, the Boone’s Lick founding was a precursor of major Eastern capital risk in the Missouri Country and central to territorial political and economic strategy in Jefferson’s westward-looking administration.

The Bryan and Morrison Company in Philadelphia was among the very first to invest in the western trade, influencing the waterfront world of business from Pittsburg to New Orleans to Kaskaskia during the 1790s, then the Missouri River settlements after the Louisiana Purchase. While James Mack-

ey and Daniel Boone’s family kept their eyes on westering migration and commerce, the Bryan and Morrison merchant families moved into the South and the West selling wholesale and retail manufactured goods, and purchasing agricultural commodities, and natural minerals, such as lead and salt. The diffusion of trans-Appalachian salt-making technology into modern West Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri contributed to the expansion of their business empire, driven and effectively managed by William Morrison (1763-1837) at Kaskaskia, the family leader in the West.

A note on Boone’s Lick v. Boonslick or Booneslick

If readers are confused by what appear to be interchangeable usages of the terms “Boone’s Lick,” “Booneslick” and “Boonslick” in the *Boone’s Lick Heritage Quarterly*, which is published by the “Boonslick Historical Society,” we sympathize with you and offer an editor’s *mea culpa* and an explanation. In Morrow’s learned essay, he uses the term “Boone’s Lick” to refer to the historic Boone’s Salt Lick located in Howard County. “Booneslick” or the alternative “spelling” “Boonslick” refers to the general region around Howard, Cooper, Saline and Boone counties in Central Missouri and, in a broader sense, to the geographical area between St. Charles County to the east and Fort Osage in Jackson County in the West. — The Editor

Natural salt springs attracted bisons and other animals that created a network of buffalo traces among the larger salines. Daniel Boone and those who walked the Wilderness Road followed “a well-beaten buffalo trail” into central Kentucky, said Nathan Boone, where the brines of the Ohio River Valley were stronger than ocean salt and pioneers developed Bullitt’s Lick,

“Kentucky’s prime salt supplier,” south of Louisville, and eastward the famed Kanawha River salt springs flourished. North of the Ohio River, nature located great salines at French Lick, Indiana, and southeastern Illinois near Shawneetown, and developers built influential, commercial salt works in Ohio. On the Mississippi, salt extraction thrived near Ste. Genevieve. For the decades discussed in this essay, men managed their business on credit with barter at the core of commercial exchange. They accepted dollars and cents when they could get them and merchants offered discounts to attract them. Traders’ invoices listed valuations for salt in commodity exchange.

In 1790 Guy Bryan (1754-1829) in Philadelphia sent his nephew, William Morrison, to Kaskaskia to open western markets; Morrison became an archetypal merchant-capitalist. The salt commodity became a staple in their American military contracts to supply frontier garrisons, the Indian trade, and farmers’ river trade. In trans-Appalachia, the federal government reserved mineral salt lands north of the Ohio, leasing production to contractors. The Americans finalized Indian treaties in the Old Northwest that excluded tribal access to salines that, in turn, accelerated trade among enterprising American salt merchants at the expense of Native Americans.

As soon as the Americans established territorial courts to mitigate long distance trade in the Louisiana Purchase, Kaskaskians Pierre Menard and William Morrison began a generational legacy of saline ownership and management with alternating partners and agents. Menard controlled the Saline below Ste. Genevieve, c.1804-1830, and William Morrison (and, later, two of his brothers) controlled the marketing of

salt at Boone's Lick, 1805-1834. The two Illinois merchants cooperated with respective favors during their decades of riverside trading, including Morrison's employment of two of Pierre's brothers as pilots for his commercial boats. This personal relationship presaged others that Morrison cultivated with Moses Austin in the lead mines, Charles Gratiot in St. Louis American retail trade, and Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's launch of the Corps of Discovery. Lewis and Clark purchased corn, hired horses, and signed a creditor's note to William Morrison in December 1803. In May 1804, Captain Lewis indebted the Corps for \$1500 of goods supplied by Charles Gratiot, but the assigned federal bills were transferred to William Morrison for credit. This omen of good will resulted in William Clark's lifelong personal and business bond with Morrison. Seventeen recruits from Kaskaskia volunteered with Lewis and Clark; at least some of the five boatmen likely hired out to Morrison, the primary employer of Kaskaskia rowers.

The fur trade dominated the emerging market revolution in the West. William Morrison was among the first Americans to diversify a major business in the underdeveloped mid-Mississippi River Valley. He not only dealt in furs and pelts, he acquired postal contracts, marketed salt, invested in surplus livestock, financed saw and grist mills and ferries, and invested in lead mines, tenant farming, slaves, and vast land speculation. During the American era, 1806-1831, the firm counted over 1,340 customer credit accounts. William favored land speculation the most, holding clear title to 37,000 acres at his death in 1837. He marketed wholesale goods to New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, and St. Louis. In this economic transformation, William Morrison and his five brothers, and additional nephews and cousins, represented the most powerful American trading family that influenced business in territorial Missouri; William eventually built seventeen stores throughout his network. Historian William Foley noted that the prestigious Morrissons "operated from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from Pittsburg to the Rockies."

During William Morrison's first decade of business, "no salt springs could rival the Illinois Saline," as Morrison's trade moved between Pittsburg to New Orleans, and he exported Illinois salt into Missouri. By 1802, Morrison, with his expanding fleet of boats and barges, shipped east, too. In 1804, Kaskaskia opened a federal land office that served speculators, like Morrison. The US Saline in southern Illinois, the largest salt works referenced in this essay, produced revenue near the Ohio River that became important financial support for Illinois territorial government at Kaskaskia, where Morrison served in a variety of official appointments, as did his neighbor Pierre Menard and fellow merchant John Edgar. Morrison unabashedly used his political influence to enhance his business prospects. His network required that he establish trusted connections at several salines in order to maintain a consistent supply of barreled or boxed salt to his customers. Morrison's biographer wrote that his lack of competition allowed him to gouge his clients for high profits in wholesale and retail until local governments and courts for plaintiffs were well established by 1810. Court rooms, however, were never strange venues for William, as he litigated wherever he did business

Date	Description	Amount	Balance
	Collective April 1807		
	Beef Chouteau		
	Beef		
15	To 400 ^{lb} Beef 500	20	80
	To 426 ^{lb} Beef 500	21	99
	To 30 Gallons Whiskey 96	28	71
	To 6 Bushels Salt 480	24	80
	To 438 Flour 500	22	91
May	To 3 Naived Pork 600	36	60
	To 472 ^{lb} Beef 500	23	60
	To 528 ^{lb} Beef 500	26	90
2	To 600 ^{lb} Beef 500	57	60
3	To 430 ^{lb} Beef 500	21	50
	To 1600 Flour 500	30	50
5	To 762 ^{lb} Beef 500	38	94
6	To 475 ^{lb} Beef 500	29	74
	To 368 Gallons Whiskey 96	38	36
7	To 30 Bushels Corn 30	30	80
8	To 200 ^{lb} Beef 500	40	40
	To 101 ^{lb} Beef 426	21	25
10	To 1 Cow 32 ^{lb} Beef 5	16	20
13	To 1 Beef 400 ^{lb} 5	20	
		594	21

Morrison daybook shows Indian agent Pierre Chouteau's April 1807 account with the Bryan and Morrison, Cahokia, Illinois, store. Chouteau purchased thousands of pounds of beef, pork, corn, whiskey, and Boone's Lick salt that had to be carted to the Mississippi River and ferried to his warehouse in St. Louis. It is but one example of thousands of accounting pages in the Morrison business records. Bryan and Morrison, Cahokia, Daybook, courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri-Rolla.

in scores of suits in multiple states over commercial debts. Over the years, William brought his younger brothers to Kaskaskia where he trained them, converted them to his agents, and assigned economic projects to them. In 1798, he sent his thirteen-year-old brother Jesse with Archibald McNabb to Cape Girardeau to manage a store, as Louis Lormier became an outlet for salt and Philadelphia commodities for his trade with Shawnees and Delawares. All the Morrison accounting was tallied regularly in Kaskaskia, where all the brothers resided from time to time. James, among all the other brothers, came to administer the largest part of the business, save William, and became a significant Illinois land speculator with William. In 1803, thirty-six-year-old James moved to St. Charles and opened a wholesale and retail store, while Jesse continued at Cape Girardeau, and later Ste. Genevieve. The Morrissons realized profits immediately on the Missouri River, aided by the use of William's boats, James' federal license to trade with the Osage Indians in western Missouri, and in hiring Americans and French in St. Charles. On

June 18, 1804, James transferred \$4,900 in merchandise, such as, coffee, gunpowder, hats, textiles, and whiskey, to Robert Spencer for sales and distribution. A month later, July 12, 1804, James Morrison (1767-1848) addressed White Hair, Son of the Chief of the Osage Nation of Indians at Osage Village, that low water had prevented his delivery of goods and that Pierre Roy would deliver them soon. In the same

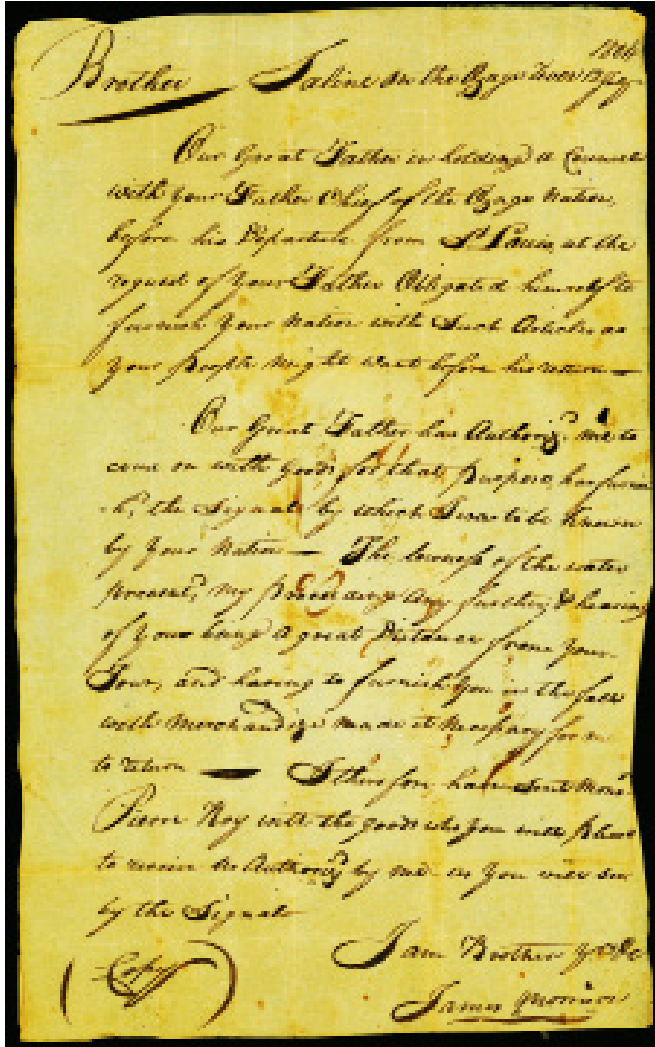
married Saucier's granddaughter Angelique, and Jesse Morrison (1787-1875) later married Eleanor Saucier, another sister of Chouteau's wife. Long distance traders commonly solidified their commercial trust in family relations, a strategy also employed by the Boones.

James Morrison sent his thousands of skins and pelts to William's Cahokia store, just south of St. Louis in the American Bottom, where the Bryan and Morrison Company accumulated large revenues, especially in high-priced beaver. In 1806, the Morrisons contracted with voyageurs at Cahokia with merchandise "to be traded in the Missouri" and Morrison boats returned with Boone's Lick salt for regional sales. James and Jesse picked up special requests, e.g., ladies shoes, boots, and cash money at Cahokia. Pierre Chouteau purchased thousands of pounds of provisions – beef, corn, flour, pork, salt, and whiskey, – and had it carted to the Mississippi River and ferried to St. Louis. By summer 1808, James had already distributed over \$30,400 in goods on the Missouri River. The flow of commercial resources from the Missouri River Valley into Cahokia, the Morrisons' largest profit center, became more than James could manage, so in September 1808 William assigned 22-year-old Jesse to permanently join 41-year-old James in St. Charles.

The youthful and energetic Jesse was already familiar with St. Charles, as he and James began purchasing local real estate together in 1802. Jesse served the family by traveling to Philadelphia to organize and ship wagons of goods to Pittsburg and accompanied them on boats to Kaskaskia. His mobility resulted in familiarity with all the Morrisons' Mississippi Valley stores. By 1807, James and Jesse paid St. Charles taxes on twelve acres and four houses (likely includes warehouses) and all three Morrison brothers were already plaintiffs in St. Charles district court seeking commercial debts. From St. Louis, U.S. Indian agent, William Clark, dispatched a variety of administrative orders to contractor James Morrison, who implemented them for several tribes. Morrison performed such minor work as delivering flour "to the negro man of General Clark," and major transactions in sending beef, candles, flour, pork, and salt on a barge to the Osage Indians.

The Morrisons promoted "Mackay's Saline," or Boone's Lick, and by 1810 the lick supplied the major portion of salt for the company enterprises (previously, William Morrison acquired most of his salt from Pierre Menard and the Illinois federal saline). Historian John Tevebaugh wrote that negotiations for Boone's Lick "probably began as early as 1805," a prediction confirmed by this study. By that time, a Morrison trade boat regularly plied the waters of the Missouri River with goods for the Osage. The Morrison business journals indicate that already in 1806 James Morrison's efforts at his St. Charles store supplied 33% of the family revenues totaled at Bryan and Morrison's office in Kaskaskia — the Morrisons supply of trade goods to Pierre Chouteau helped generate wealth for all of them and kept the Osage dependent upon these intermarried French and American trading families.

The Louisiana Purchase put the Morrisons in an expansive mood. In 1804 William Morrison sent a Frenchman with a stock of goods to Santa Fe to open a far western depot. The Frenchman, Jean La Lande, decided instead to stay, spending



James Morrison July 12, 1804, letter to White Hair, Son of the Chief of the Osage Nation at Osage Village, regarding the delivery of coffee, gunpowder, textiles, and whiskey to the village.
Letter courtesy Morrison Family Papers, Missouri History Museum

month, the Morrisons sent agent-trader Archibald McNabb to establish a long-term presence at the Osage towns. By 1805, McNabb had already received over \$10,600 in "goods for the Missouri," as William Morrison titled his agent's account, and James Morrison supervised the administration of the family business on the Missouri River.

James' continuing access to the Osage was assisted by his marriage to Emilie Saucier, the sister of Pierre Chouteau's wife, both daughters of French engineer and Portage des Sioux founder, Francois Saucier. By 1806, Pierre Menard

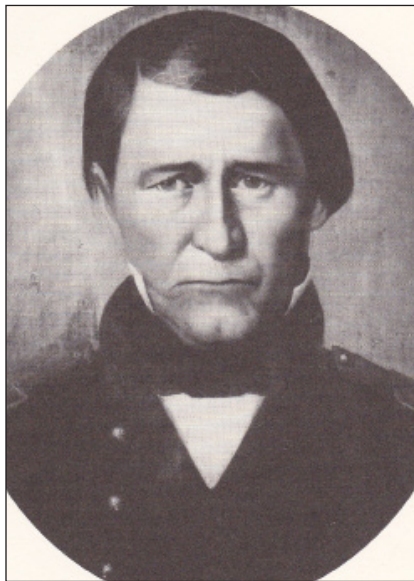
Morrison's assets never to return. By the War of 1812, James and Jesse Morrison were still trying to collect the debt. But, in 1805, William Morrison continued to imagine expanding his reach westward. That year, at Kaskaskia, the Morrisons were poised for their first annual \$100,000 in receipts – they were in the right place at the right time.

Pivotal Decisions

In January 1805, Nathan Boone and Matthias Van Bibber had recently returned from a harrowing, cold weather ordeal up the Missouri River. They retreated from Osage Indians,

who were incensed that Boone and Van Bibber were illegally trapping on their lands, and the pair fled across the Missouri River near modern Arrow Rock. They continued in their first overland travel by foot on the north side of the Missouri while battling an early snowfall. They followed a game trace, hoping to bag something to eat, that led them to the briny spring water of Mackay's Saline. A half century later, Lyman Draper summed up his interview with Nathan Boone about these hunters encountering the mineral water writing, "... discovered it was salt water, several springs and a spring branch runs a mile and then links into the alluvial soil of the Missouri bottom. Some Indian hunters had seen it and Captain James Mackay had either seen it or got information and laid a concession on it, but did not get it confirmed." Suffering from prolonged exposure, Nathan and Matthias luckily encountered James Callaway's hunting party several miles below modern Rocheport, where the beleaguered pair feasted on buffalo and deer. Their impaired physical state required that they be transported on litters back home for an extended recovery through winter.

In spring 1805, a revived Nathan and a young helper, traveled upriver to the Osage in southwest Missouri in an attempt to negotiate for his commandeered horses, beaver skins, traps, and gear from the previous fall. Nathan had earlier tried to convince the Osage that he and Van Bibber were contractors to the Chouteaus while in Osage territory, but Nathan could not produce a license or acceptable proof to them; Nathan did not know the secret signal for licensed traders that James Morrison and the Osage used (see illustration of Morrison's letter to the Osage). Instead, like his father and brother Morgan, Nathan preferred to risk poaching on Osage Indian lands.



Nathan Boone

*Courtesy Archives and Manuscript Division,
Oklahoma Historical Society*

The Osage commonly had problems with Boones and others trespassing. Pierre Chouteau kept the Osage apprised of who had commissions as agent, such as James Morrison, the first licensed American Indian trader on the Missouri River. Nathan's appeal garnered little Osage sympathy, but for two traps, and he failed to recover anything further, resulting in a significant economic loss. Back home, Nathan had discussed exploiting the salt springs he had seen the year before with his brother Morgan, their father, and others in St. Charles District. Was there commercial potential?

Why did 24-year-old Nathan want to be in the salt business? We can speculate. Nathan grew up hearing about the adventures of his father, older brothers Morgan and Jesse, and kith and kin involved in a frontier salt trade on the edge of an Indian frontier. Jesse, who had remained in Kentucky, became a Greenup County judge and was a salt inspector for the Little Sandy salt works, the area where the Boones assembled to commence their immigration to Missouri. Older Boone relations had trained Nathan in other frontier economies, but he was the only male in his family not to have worked at a saline.

The implementation of a new business in 1805 became complicated by the death of their sister in Kentucky, Rebecca Boone Goe. Morgan journeyed to Brushy Creek and returned to Missouri with five of his sister's children. The Boone Settlement in St. Charles District had to make room for the expansion of their family; Daniel and Rebecca left Morgan's farm and large dog-trot house with its dramatic vista of the Missouri River Valley and moved to Nathan's improvement and backwoods log cabin on Femme Osage Creek. Moreover, Nathan's seven-week sojourn in Osage lands, during his failed spring attempt to recover his property, pushed any new initiative deep into the 1805 calendar.

Nevertheless, did the image of salt-making continue to hold romance for Nathan? Did he want to equal the frontier experience of his elders? Perhaps. Nathan's personal entreaty to the 36-year-old Morgan, the far more experienced mechanic of the two and the brother with slave labor, was crucial for any decision to open an industrial salt works. The primary asset of the penurious Nathan was his youthful enthusiasm for the project.

The Boones, requiring a politically-connected marketing partner, talked to James Morrison in St. Charles. At age thirty-eight, Morrison was a wealthy, slaveholding river trader. He hired a couple of local Frenchmen to go upriver with Nathan on horses to obtain a ten-gallon sample of the water to test. The salinity sample tested more moderate than hoped, but the gamblers agreed to take a risk, attracted by expected profits in the salt market.

That summer, in July 1805, James Wilkinson became military general, governor, and superintendent of Indian affairs for Missouri territory, stationed at St. Louis. He was early Kentucky's first salt merchant. In 1786 he founded Frankfort, KY, a town that grew up around Wilkinson's salt warehouse. This new federal administrator headed west to meet American and French decision-makers in Thomas Jefferson's "center of Western operations" in St. Louis.

The new governor's party traveled to the military posts and market towns of Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and Fort Massac –

the army's port of entry on the Ohio River – prior to his arrival at Kaskaskia in June 1805. There, Wilkinson consulted with mid-Mississippi Valley elites – French and American – about political and commercial issues. Moreover, Pierre Chouteau, James Morrison's brother-in-law and partner in Osage trade, joined Wilkinson at Kaskaskia to ride in his boat back to St. Louis and socialize with the new governor. Upon arrival in St. Louis, Wilkinson knew that William Morrison held the regional postal contracts, exported boat loads of lead from the quarrelsome Ste. Genevieve District, was the principal American trader in St. Louis, and, of course, partnered with Pierre Chouteau himself and supplied other leading French elites, such as, Charles Gratiot and Gabriel Cerre with Philadelphia goods – the same eastern wholesale town that just supplied Wilkinson's military post at St. Louis. By September, the governor sent a license to James Morrison that renewed his authority for the Osage trade and Chouteau was on his way to the Osage towns on a good will mission to seek their permission to build a trading factory and military fort on their lands. Historian Bill Foley wrote that these overtures to the Osage were Wilkinson's "first step" to govern his new responsibilities. The Osage were receptive about the factory-fort, but had to wait several years. Wilkinson knew that hostilities existed between the Osage and the Sac and Fox and hoped to negotiate peaceful resolutions.

By any measure, the 1805 Boone's Lick salt works' initial season was a short one. The Morrisons and Boones would not have been ready to launch their project until summer, at the earliest. The Morrisons did not commence the installation of costly operations without permission from the Jefferson administration represented by James Wilkinson. Tradition relates that a couple of the Baldrige brothers from St. Charles District worked with the Boone brothers to construct the works, and later James and Daniel Baldrige, John Manley, and the Boones marked a riverfront trace from Femme Osage Creek to Bonne Femme Creek. Bryan and Morrison financing and the Boone entourage with mechanical skills founded the first industry in the Missouri River Valley. Future commercial

success demanded an overland salt road located further from the Missouri River for a teamsters' reliable supply line to and from St. Charles.

Conveniently, William Morrison's trading ally in St. Louis, Charles Gratiot, supplied the first dozen of expensive kettles. The bi-lingual Gratiot, contrary to most French elites, became an early American partisan, and upon seeing the increase in American immigration in 1796, welcomed them by establishing a retail store, mill and distillery west of St. Louis to garner their business. He also financed a tannery and salt works on the Meramec River. Gratiot's Lick manufacturing was negligible, so he transferred his kettles to the Morrisons, who had become Gratiot's Philadelphia supplier of wholesale goods. At that time, Governor William Henry Harrison had recently appointed Gratiot the presiding judge of the court of quarter sessions in St. Louis. William Morrison's judicious trading alliances in the trans-Mississippi paid off again.

The Morrisons had more to talk about than just manufacturing salt with federal Indian agent, Governor James Wilkinson, and the Boones – the saline was "on Indian lands." The Jefferson administration wanted to keep a close eye on governmental policy and regulations in the new Missouri Country. All legal Missouri River trade, proclaimed Wilkinson, had to have a license and authority to exploit minerals that lay within the western boundary of Upper Louisiana. The governor declared to the Secretary of War in late July 1805 that "I demand attested copies of the Invoices of every cargo destined to the Missouri, before I take a bond or grant a license..." Given Wilkinson's abiding interest in reaching Santa Fe one day, he and William Morrison's similar goals helped their relationship to mature quickly. An outpost at Mackay's Saline would get both of them closer to the great southwest and the General knew the strategic necessity of salt. Wilkinson, surrounded by fractious St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts, surely welcomed an amicable Morrison arrangement in the only relatively calm political district in his administration.

In 1805, the St. Charles District extended "indefinitely westward," but not really. The federal government simply had not established a specific boundary beyond the Sac and Fox treaty line at the mouth of the Gasconade, or functionally, Loutre Island. Americans westward and north of the Missouri River, for convenience, used the judicial government in St. Charles, but the relationship in the Indian lands was a different matter – west of Loutre Island settlers did not have civil government, paying no taxes for official territorial support while living there.

Permission to establish an industry within overlapping Sac and Fox, Ioway, and Osage Indian and American government claims was the province of the territorial governor and his Congressional superiors. Pierre Chouteau, in 1804, regained a trader's license with the Osage on the Missouri River, the Morrisons also had a license to trade with them, and everyone could profit from a new supply of salt. Wilkinson and his successor



Karl Bodmer illustration of Sac and Fox Indians who were involved in the boundary dispute west of the Sac and Fox treaty line at the mouth of the Gasconade River, near Loutre Island. *Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri*

Meriwether Lewis both allowed Mackay's Saline or Boone's Lick salt works to engage in manufacturing. Chouteau was crucial in the amicable negotiations, as insulted Osage warriors were a threat to the salt works, but it was not in their material interest to object. In fact, the Osage had a proprietary interest in stable salt-boiling, especially when one of their licensed agents, James Morrison, managed the operation. Ultimately, the agitated Sac and Fox realized the value of the salt works to them as well – like the Osage, they profited from a convenient salt supply for their catch in commercial hunting.

The disputed boundary issue and its complexity that Wilkinson, Lewis, and Chouteau had negotiated, abruptly surfaced in 1808. The federal court in St. Louis acquitted two Ioway Indians for two murders that occurred above Boone's Lick on the grounds that the territorial court could not rule outside the United States. Likewise, Meriwether Lewis enforced this oversight when he refused to allow Benjamin Cooper's infringement upon the Indian lands near Boone's Lick, and ordered the Americans back to Loutre Island. The western immigrants hated both decisions. Politics would soon change.

William Morrison's wholesale business grew, in part, with a highly capitalized beginning, backed by his uncle in Philadelphia. Their western trading was integrated at most levels as they maximized profits. They owned their own bateaux, barges, flatboats, and keelboats and hired river men out of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and St. Charles to accommodate their own transportation that widened the profit margin in wholesale to retail. The Morrisons acquired salt on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, but needed an extraction site on the Missouri River to consistently meet their contracts and to push westward. Envisioning the addition of Morrison-controlled salt in their inventories, William sent Jesse Morrison to Nashville, TN, where he loaded more kettles on William's boat and shipped them to Boone's Lick. Production began, but in December 1805, Wilkinson reported that Sac and Fox "bad men," had raided and damaged the salt works and stolen resident cattle. An isolated small facility was not very defensible.

Wilkinson contacted the Sac and Fox leadership and warned them about their depredations and perhaps in a diplomatic gesture encouraged them to take advantage of Boone's Lick for their own trade. Whatever the case, a tentative truce at the lick ensued. Notwithstanding this early conflict with young Sac and Fox raiders in late 1805, Jesse Morrison acquired additional kettles the following year in Nashville, and business looked promising. The Morrisons and Boones enlarged the industrial site thereby increasing the resident labor force to some twenty men available to protect the installation. Remembering this expansion by the Morrisons, Jesse reflected to Lyman Draper that Indians "supplied us abundantly, as game was very plenty, buffaloes plenty within a few miles of our salt works."

Wilkinson dutifully reported salt deposits in the West to his superiors in the War Department in Washington D.C. In 1805 he sent his protégé, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, up the Mississippi to explore the region, in part, to find salt deposits for western expansion. A

young Pike began his career Fort Massac in 1795, where Wilkinson inspected the garrison in 1797. Pike, the post paymaster, rose in the officers' ranks in 1799 and accepted command of Kaskaskia in July 1803, where he welcomed Wilkinson to the post in June 1805.

In 1806, Wilkinson brought Pike to St. Louis and ordered him up the Missouri River, but not before he consulted with James Morrison in St. Charles for an intelligence briefing. On July 17, 1806, the military explorer met Morrison at his house in St. Charles to discuss, in particular, the Osage Indians. Included in the conversation was Morrison's explanation about Jean La Lande's debt and James entrusted Pike with details and authority for its collection in Mexico. More important for geography and place name history, Pike wrote to Wilkinson on July 22, 1806, that Sac Indians were upriver at "Boons Lick," the first known written reference to the salt works using that phrase. The salt-boilers and territorial government had reached a workable understanding with the Sacs, as production continued. Pike's "southern exploration [of the West] paved the way for a viable route linking the United States to Santa Fe," wrote historian Jay Buckley. In Upper Louisiana, Boone's Lick, the westernmost Anglo improvement in the trans-Mississippi, encouraged river men at St. Charles and La Charette to establish another traders' entrepot in 1808 at Cote sans Dessein in modern Callaway County. The village became a stopover for Boone's Lick barges and boats allowing frontier families to "pack their goods in salt from the Boone's Lick," remembered one resident.

Commercial and Military Expansion

In hindsight, the Morrisons in 1805 entered a decade-long western trading bonanza with the immigrant Americans and the federal government. They had little competition and, importantly for Boone's Lick, the Morrisons had the requisite venture capital. By 1810, Boone's Lick "was the chief supplier of salt for the Bryan and Morrison enterprises" in the West. Their salt trade was buoyed by the necessary parallel trade in other pursuits, primarily that of government contract-



Clark and Boone's militia camped at Loutre Lick in 1808 on its way to build Fort Osage. Nathan owned the land grant, but after the War of 1812, sold it to Isaac Van Bibber. Photo by Don Cullimore

ing. In September 1810, William Morrison did not hesitate to ask William Clark to assist Archibald McNabb to “put [a barge] into the water.”

The Morrisons’ communication in the West was materially aided by their federal contracts with the US Postal Department. In 1805, they managed routes in the West that included Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and St. Charles, towns that all had Morrison retail stores. Their reliability in the Osage Indian trade and general mercantile competence led to their contracting at military posts in 1806. Bulk salt was always on the invoice, but salted pork, flour, and whiskey were high dollar volume sales. The Morrisons began as sub-contractors at Fort Massac on the Ohio River and at Cantonment Belle Fontaine, fifteen miles downriver from St. Charles. Jesse Morrison made a fall 1805 merchant trip to Philadelphia to acquire wholesale goods for the military. He rode with them on a barge from Pittsburg, and William pulled brother Jesse and William Christy out of Ste. Genevieve and assigned them to Belle Fontaine. In 1806, the Morrisons included salt as part of hundreds of thousands of rations issued to federal soldiers and local militias in the upper Mississippi and Missouri River Valleys — each 100 rations required two quarts of bulk salt. The military contracts were crucial in the Morrisons’ commitment to the reconstruction, expansion, and profitable marketing at Boone’s Lick. Federal payments in specie to the Morrisons were especially welcome on the money-scarce frontier.

The War Department in 1808 ordered William Clark to establish a long-awaited government trading factory near the Osage towns. Clark turned to Mackay Wherry’s St. Charles militia who summoned Nathan Boone and local rangers to pilot the army overland, in part, because Nathan had already explored inland travel above Boone’s Lick. Nathan, not able to work at the saline during military duty, turned to neighbors downriver in Boone Settlement for help. He sub-leased his manufacturing interest at the lick on August 15, 1808, to the inter-related James Murdock and John Zumwalt families in a three-year agreement (1808-1811) signed at Femme Osage. The document, witnessed by Daniel Boone, put Murdock and Zumwalt “in possession of a certain Lick on the waters of the Missouri known by the name of Macky’s Lick....” Nothing is known about the Murdock and Zumwalt history at the lick

for those years.

The Kentucky Murdocks were not strangers to the Boones, as James Murdock had moved from Greenup County, KY, in 1803, to the Boone Settlement, and John Zumwalt came to the neighborhood in 1806. The younger Murdock generation eventually married into the extended Boone family (Murdock is variously spelled Murdough, Murdouck, and Murdock). The Murdocks and Zumwalts were familiar with the Boone’s Lick shipments to Gardiner’s Landing on Femme Osage Creek that supplied the Boone Settlement with salt; James Morrison reputedly maintained a mercantile warehouse near the landing. The Boone Settlement commonly discussed the pioneer Boone’s Lick salt works, after all, dozens of men in St. Charles District had passed by there overland and by boat when they built Fort Osage.

Captain Eli Clemson led the upriver flotilla to the construction site in six keel-boats, including William Morrison’s commissary boat, piloted by one of his brothers. As the soldiers journeyed overland, Clark commented on August 27 about a large lick on the east side of “Otter River” (Loutre River), “this lick is claimed by my pilot Nathan Boon,” where the army camped. Clark noticed the lick “was much used” (after the War of 1812, Nathan sold the property to Isaac Van Bibber). Continuing westward for four days, and seeing much buffalo sign in modern central Missouri, Clark concluded “this Country is full of salt.” The soldiers easily killed buffalo, bear,

and deer in Missouri’s salt country. Once in southern Howard County, Clark noted in his journal, “Mackay’s plain” and “Boons Lick” with a cart road leading to the Missouri river. Clark recorded “small licks in every direction on both sides” of the river, in fact, “the strongest & most water” was on the Lamine River. Nathan surely told the General that the Boones and Morrisons were party to an annual rent for the nearby lick paid to James Mackay, who lived at Bonhomme, and they may have discussed the Mackay Saline claim that was still before the Board of Land Commissioners (who in November 1809 concluded that Mackay’s claim ought not be confirmed). After unloading at Fire Prairie where they intended to build the new fort, Clark sent Morrison’s boat back downriver for more provisions.

On the Femme Osage, the ever-curious 74-year-old Dan-



Modern-day recreation of Fort Osage near Sibley in Jackson County. Plans for this military installation began in 1808 as part of the federal government’s western expansion into the Louisiana Purchase. It served as a military outpost and a trading and meeting grounds for Native Americans. Photo courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri

iel Boone cast his wandering eyes upriver. In fall 1808, the military occupied Fort Osage and the salt works was in full production. The famed Pathfinder, his grandson William Hays, Jr., and Morgan's slave, Derry Coburn, with several horses traveled west on the south side of the Missouri River onto Osage lands in modern Lafayette County. The group received the same unwelcome advance as Nathan and Van Bibber had four years earlier. The Americans, in hasty retreat on horseback, discarded their traps and furs to facilitate their escape from irate Indians at Sni-A-Bar Creek and fled back to the Femme Osage. Old Boone, like Nathan four years earlier, meditated about his costly loss throughout the winter.

In May 1809, Boone drove his large freight wagon to St. Louis, where he visited with Major James McCormick. McCormick reported that Boone purchased supplies for his sons at Boone's Lick and headed back west. Daniel Boone drove his horse-drawn wagon along a faint Boone's Lick Route to the salt works. Once arrived, the old trapper solicited Nathan's help to go across to the Osage prairies to search for his lost traps; Daniel needed to trap to pay his promissory note that purchased his wagon on credit. Nathan joined his father as they crossed at Arrow Rock, but their trip led to no avail. Daniel guided his wagon back to St. Charles on the emerging salt road.

The water route to Boone's Lick, from St. Charles to near Arrow Rock, was obvious to river travelers. Becoming better-known was the overland route blazed by militiamen under Clark's command — horse, wagon, and foot travel by the Boones and others bringing supplies and livestock to and returning from the lick created a path. Fort Osage factor, George Sibley used it in December 1809, returning to St. Louis for business and in February 1810 retraced his overland route to Boone's Lick and Arrow Rock. Ultimately, the cheaper overland salt road became favored by most western travelers.

Missouri's territorial roads, such as the route to Boone's Lick, represented challenges that varied seasonally and with the amount of use. Silas Bent, the territorial surveyor, helped describe them in December 1811. He told the Board of Land Commissioners "that almost every traveler turns out of the most trodden track and that in the course of every winter & spring several new traces are made, old traces become obscured ... hogs find in this ground roots for which they dig over the ground ... and the road may have been perpetually changing." This phenomenon worsened near the more settled regions and it accounts for a veritable spider-web of early traces in frontier St. Louis and Howard County.

Occasional movement overland between Boone's Lick and Fort Osage helped form a trace between those entrepôts. The Morrison merchant competition with other traders and various tribes at Fort Osage (conducted by agent Harvey Foot and a Morrison-paid interpreter) required trips back and forth between the fort and Boone's Lick for salt and more;

often transported by water, too. The small regional market in Booneslick settlement began in 1810, noticeable with its several dozen families and slaves, purchased salt. Also, in 1810,



The Missouri River overlooking bottoms near Old Franklin. The Lamine River flows into it a short distance upriver. In 1809 William Morrison sent men to the Lamine Valley to manufacture salt at "Heath's Lick," which became one of the primary salines in Missouri. Photo by Don Cullimore

after Morgan Boone left the salt business in 1809, and Nathan, with his military interests that resulted in his episodic presence that was not conducive for an industrial supervisor, the Morrisons found "a worthy man," Braxton Cooper, to manage the salt works. The Coopers had transacted minor business with William Morrison in summer 1806, purchased kegs of salt from the Boones and Morrisons when they briefly lived in Hancock's Bottom in St. Charles District in 1807, and later at their residence on Loutre Island.

We can speculate on the timing of the Cooper immigration to the Booneslick. Meriwether Lewis and the Osage signed a revised treaty in August 1809, when the Osage claimed to release their Indian land on the north side of the Missouri River, i.e., the Boone's Lick neighborhood. Did the Osage purposely irritate the Sac and Fox with this announced agreement over undefined borderlands in the Missouri River Valley? With dozens of men traveling, boating, and riding in and out of Boone's Lick, was there a public perception that the area had grown noticeably safer? A year later, Meriwether Lewis was dead, an interim Governor Frederick Bates resided in St. Louis, and the new Governor Benjamin Howard did not arrive there until September 1810. The Coopers may have taken advantage of a weak territorial government, or more likely, like thousands of their forbearers in the vanguard of frontiers, ignored institutions housed in St. Louis. By then, the Coopers had made their decision to move further upriver. The Morrisons gladly provided keelboat transportation to the Cooper entourage traveling from Loutre Island to the bottoms near Arrow Rock and Boone's Lick. The Morrisons' auspices proved to be another wise business decision for their salt trade.

So noticeable was the flourishing Missouri River trade at

James and Jesse's store in St. Charles that William Morrison joined two more ventures in 1809. One was the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, with its intentions to explore the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains, and a second established another Morrison mercantile at St. Charles. Even though William Morrison sent his brother Samuel, and cousin William Bryan, with famed St. Louis traders as they left St. Charles in June, the Morrisons were unable to establish a permanent Rocky Mountain outpost. In the long run, they didn't have to. The Morrisons provided middle-man service for St. Louis traders in 1810, by shipping a \$34,450 cargo of fur to Pittsburg. The Morrisons settled on fur trading risks closer to home as they renewed their Osage license and marketed goods to Missouri and Mississippi River regional tribes. Bryan and Morrison historian, John Tevebaugh, concluded that the Morrisons' receipts in fur and western trade between 1807 and 1812 were the highest in company history.

Christy and Heath

William Christy had worked for William Morrison on the Ohio River and with Jesse Morrison at Cape Girardeau and Ste. Genevieve; he became the new manager in St. Charles, a post he maintained for all six years of its operation. Successful commerce soon demanded more investment. William Morrison, approved once again by the territorial government, sent merchant Christy and St. Charles District attorney John G. Heath upriver to the Lamine River to manufacture salt at "Heath's Lick." The Lamine salt works became one of several in an area on the south side of the Missouri River (the Missouri General Assembly in 1822 recognized Heath's Lick as one of the primary salines in the state). Near the Missouri River, the saline property was located in Pierre Chouteau's massive 30,000 arpents land grant that he received from the Osage Indians, including his "Chouteau's Lick," that became

enmeshed in decades of hearings and litigation that Chouteau (like James Mackay's heirs) eventually won in the 1830s. Like Mackay's claim, Chouteau's lay in a bureaucratic entanglement as others marketed minerals and timber from his survey, but Chouteau does appear to be complicit in the Lamine salt trade – he stood to benefit, too. The Morrisons, federal vendors, supplied rations for Indian distribution to Indian agent William Clark and sub-agent Pierre Chouteau, including salt, from both Boone's and Heath's licks. Christy and Heath pursued business, hired workmen and boatmen, and joined other salt-boilers to extract marketable salt.

Activities at Heath's Lick resembled those at Boone's Lick as the two Morrison-driven salt works cooperated with labor and shipping. In 1809, as the Morrisons had previously done for Boone's Lick, Christy arranged the river transport of salt kettles from the famed US Saline on the Ohio River to the Mississippi and up Missouri River with hired slave and free boatmen labor. James Callaway provided several head of oxen and received payment in salt at \$2.00 per bushel. The oxen and other supplies went upriver with wagons on the developing Boone's Lick Road and drovers brought cattle to Boone's Lick for butchering. Lamine River entrepreneurs, and those at Boone's Lick, generally used the cheaper teamster and wagon transport for supplies rather than the labor-heavy and costly keelboat navigation – daily wage labor upriver on keelboats was 50% more than downriver and nearly two weeks longer than going downriver to St. Louis – only the wealthy Morrisons provided keelboats regularly in their multi-faceted company. John G. Heath, too, journeyed west across the overland salt road, arrived at Boone's Lick, and hired Nathan Boone for canoe transportation across the Missouri River.

Perhaps the Morrison-backed salines shared some of the cooper and blacksmith work at the two industrial sites, as coopers produced barrels and kegs locally and setting the

barrel hoops was crucial for safe shipment. The men tending kettles at both licks required kegs of tobacco, salt pork, shoes, blankets, iron, knives, and more, as boatmen hauled heavy, barreled salt downriver to the Morrison stores at St. Charles and washed the boats prior to their return upriver. At St. Charles in 1812 the salt commanded \$2.00 per bushel, but by spring 1813, the price rose to \$3.00. War dramatically inflated other commodities likewise.

A clear understanding of the cycle of business history at Heath's Lick, like Boone's Lick, is unknown. However, by 1815, Pierre Chouteau did sue the Heath's Lick operation for trespass and cutting his timber, which may have led John and his brother Robert Heath to move across the river to Boone's Lick. The Heaths joined the Boone's Lick salt-boilers in work, promoted the region in *Niles' National Register*



Replica of a Missouri River flatboat used in the Morrison fleet to transport supplies on the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. Flatboats and keelboats carried trade goods, including salt and agricultural produce, to military posts, Indians, settlers, and merchants, and docked at their home ports in St. Charles and Kaskaskia. Courtesy Missouri State Parks

in Baltimore, toiled with William Becknell in salt production, and still later with Becknell in the Santa Fe trade. Christy became the St. Charles County circuit clerk and recorder and the auditor for the Missouri territorial government, while John G. Heath served in the territorial House of Representatives. After the Santa Fe trade began, Americans in Saline County exploited their primary salines, such as those on Salt River, west of the Missouri River crossing at Arrow Rock.

Decisions for the Boones

In the long run, Morgan and Nathan Boone probably preferred soldiering for William Clark and managing their farms over supervising a salt works. Laborers needed to continually chop wood, draw water and tend kettles, remove and dump ashes, retrieve the crystallized minerals, pack the salt properly, herd and feed horses, cattle, and working oxen; others hunted, butchered, and cooked meat; all had to recover from injuries and sickness, and to settle grievances among themselves. The demanding, hot, heavy work took its physical toll on everyone. Sources suggest that dozens of men were involved at Boone's Lick during these territorial years. Perhaps workers asked for temporary leave to ride downriver and back on the

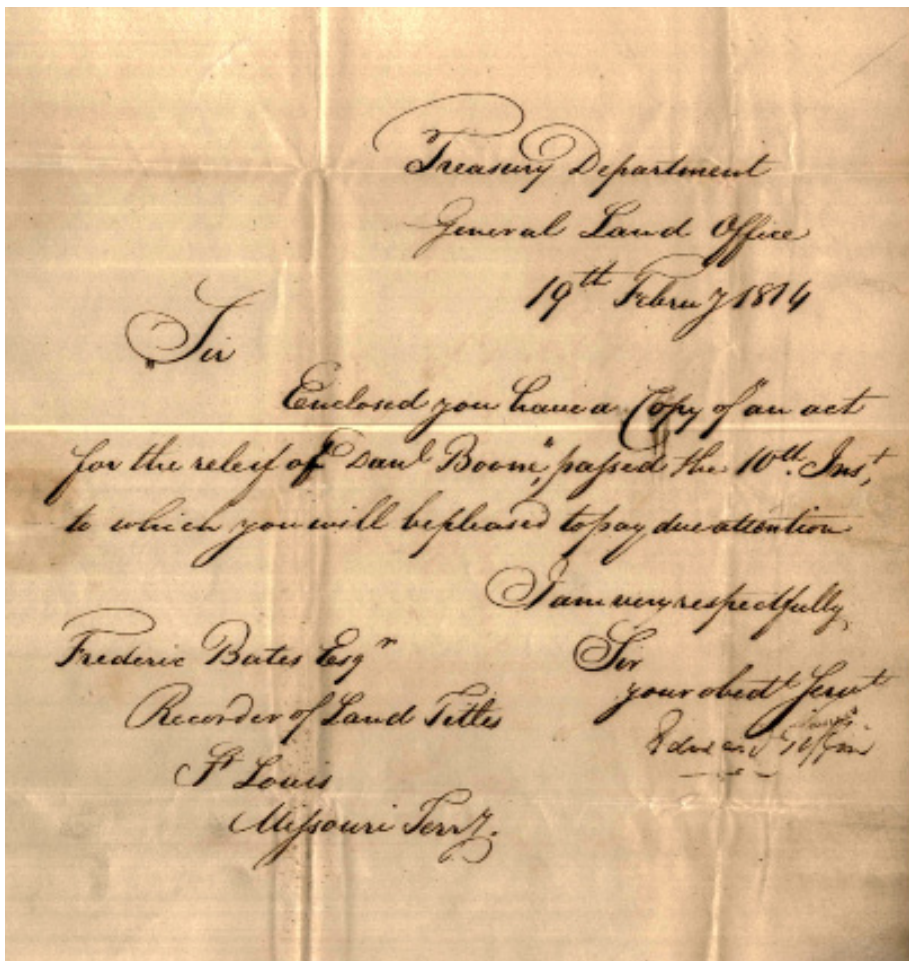
Boones' barge to visit families and friends. On the water, one Morrison keelboat required a pilot and eight-to-ten men, and perhaps some crew members rotated. The lick managers' militia duties, too, required cooperation and scheduling. The Boones and James Morrison, as militia officers, were required to attend and supervise periodic St. Charles musters – the Boones had tougher scheduling to manage than Morrison. Nathan Boone had had eight of his militiamen fined for being absent at the October 1807 muster; how common that



Engraving of Daniel Boone by D. C. Hinman after painting by Charles Harding. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri

was, we don't know (the fines ranged \$1-\$2 each). In the absence of a documentary agreement among the Boones and the Morrisons, we don't know who was responsible for what at Boone's Lick, only that there was a division of the responsibilities and profits.

Salt, successfully delivered, commanded a good relative price, but so did the labor of kettle tenders, blacksmiths, coopers, and wood choppers, more than most agricultural work downriver. The fall 1805 losses in stolen cattle and damages to the salt works and subsequent thefts of stock by Indians had a severe impact on the Boones, but not on the Morrisons. The Boones did not have a military commissary contract or licensed Indian trade at Ft. Osage, neither did they own a keelboat, but they did have a barge. Historian Jeffery Smith underscored the Morrison diversification when he noted that "No other [military] factory received more goods than Osage during this 1808-1811 period and only one generated more revenue from furs," the same years that Nathan Boone leased his commercial salt interest. What is clear is that the venture capital available for investment and recovery from lost resources was ample for the Morrisons, and very risky for the Boones. In fact, after Nathan severed his legal ties in early 1812, the Morrisons doubled the number of salt



February 1816 letter from the Federal Treasury Department, General Land Office, to Frederic Bates, Recorder of Land Titles, St. Louis office, announcing the award of Daniel Boone's land concession. A Congressional Act confirmed a 1799 land grant that the Board of Land Commissioners denied in 1809. Courtesy Missouri State Archives

works furnaces that also required more laborers — the Morrisons' military contracts demanded the expansion, while the Indian trade and Missouri River Valley settlers depended on them, too. The Murdock-Zumwalt agreement matured in fall 1811 and Nathan, then thirty-years-old and head of his own growing family, looked forward to ending his unstable salt-boiling career.

After Nathan executed his lease to Murdock and Zumwalt in 1808, it appears that he was only episodically at the lick. In 1811 he was already spying and enhancing downriver defenses until he began a time-consuming recruitment role in February 1812. In between militia duty and business obligations during Nathan's last season at the lick in the winter



The limestone three-story Nathan Boone house at the Boone Home and Heritage Center near Defiance. Daniel Boone died here on September 26, 1820, at age 86. The site is managed by Lindenwood University. Photo courtesy Missouri State Archives

of 1811-12, his seventy-seven-year-old father, Daniel Boone, once again appeared. Daniel, Jesse Van Bibber, and James Cole arrived at the works, cutting short their hunting expedition, seeking safety again from Indian conflict, this time with the Ioway on the north side of the Missouri River. Nathan convinced his father to go home with Van Bibber, wrote participant, James Cole.

In 1809, Morgan Boone severed his lick management, selling his interest to James Morrison, as Nathan did later. Once again, William Clark called upon his militia officers. In the face of growing tensions between England and the United States, Clark assigned Morgan, business partner, James Morrison, and Timothy Kibby — senior territorial militia officer appointees in July 1806 — the duty to begin reinforcing downriver settlements with enhanced defenses. As Edwin James later described in 1819, “They are simply strong log houses, with a projecting upper story, and with loopholes for musketry.” In other words, citizen forts, except for the few, multiple building picketed enclosures and stockades. But someone had to superintend the installations to modify buildings to prepare St. Charles District for potential assaults from their enemies.

Morgan may have returned to the lick for a short time, primarily to make resolution of whatever assets he had there, and by 1810, Morgan had returned to Boone Settlement. Morgan may have become more concerned about protecting his family and began the reinforcement of his own domicile with pickets, probably comparable to a contemporary military standard of 10' long and 6" in diameter. Nathan also built defenses, but during the war Nathan left his own modest log cabin twice to “fort up” with others at Morgan's much larger barricades for safety, perhaps underscoring Morgan's vision to construct the strongest fortifications in the region. Additionally, since the older Morrison brothers had assigned Jesse Morrison to Boone's Lick in 1809, Morgan remained downriver, in part, to expand his agricultural productions to supply the increasing country produce, e.g., barrels of pork, beef, lard, and skins from hunting, required by friend James Morrison in the burgeoning Morrison trade. It is likely that during Nathan's lease of his lick interests in 1808-1811 that he, too, became an agricultural supplier to the Morrisons. The Morrison brothers always purchased agricultural commodities locally, whether in Illinois or Missouri. Morgan continued work as a slaveholder, speculated in modest commercial risk, and after the war, capitalized an Ozarks water-powered saw mill around 1818 in the Gasconade River watershed.

In fall 1805 Nathan had been the youngest and the most financially challenged to commence salt-boiling. His famous interview with Lyman Draper records that the troublesome thefts of livestock made profits elusive. In November 1811, as Braxton Cooper continued lick management for James Morrison, Nathan borrowed \$550 to continue in business. His security, Gabriel Long, suggests that the wealthy Long merchants of Bonhomme, in St. Louis County, may have served as middlemen for Boone's Lick salt. Nathan's decision to begin recruiting for William Clark, less than three months after signing the note, indicates that Nathan's romance with salt manufacturing was over. It is quite probable that Nathan simply could not satisfactorily supply the Morrisons with the demanding salt production, an understanding that Morgan reached two years earlier. Meanwhile, the Morrisons still boated thousands of dollars of goods that included Boone's Lick salt to their store at Ft. Osage.

In December 1811, Nathan Boone and crew floated downriver in what was probably Nathan's last trip to St. Charles with salt. He had earlier made arrangements with his father, relatives, and friends to meet them at Loutre Island. The family had engaged another frontier pursuit — a fall camp high up in the Gasconade River basin to mine bat guano in a large cave and process it for gunpowder. Old Boone served as camp hunter, Morgan's slave Derry as cook, while Isaac Van Bibber, Stephen and James Cole, and Thomas Massey managed another kettle-boiling mineral extraction. The work crew met Nathan's boat at the Cole's residence on Loutre Island, opposite the mouth of Gasconade River. Nathan docked in St. Charles and prepared to end his manufacturing interests.

Nathan's 1811 debt followed him deep into the wartime years, requiring a \$750 bond. By June 1813, presiding judge, James Talbot, in St. Charles circuit court issued a subpoena for Nathan to answer the plaintiffs request for debt and damages. Although Nathan had served visibly and actively for Clark early in the war, from our distant view today, it appears that Nathan's military presence in the field declined, certainly his major field expeditions ended. He continued scouts, patrols, and other duties, but like most militia officers who engaged the cycles of duty, he spent the major part of his time managing his profitable farm in Femme Osage Township, where he and his kinsmen developed several of the best farmsteads in St. Charles County.

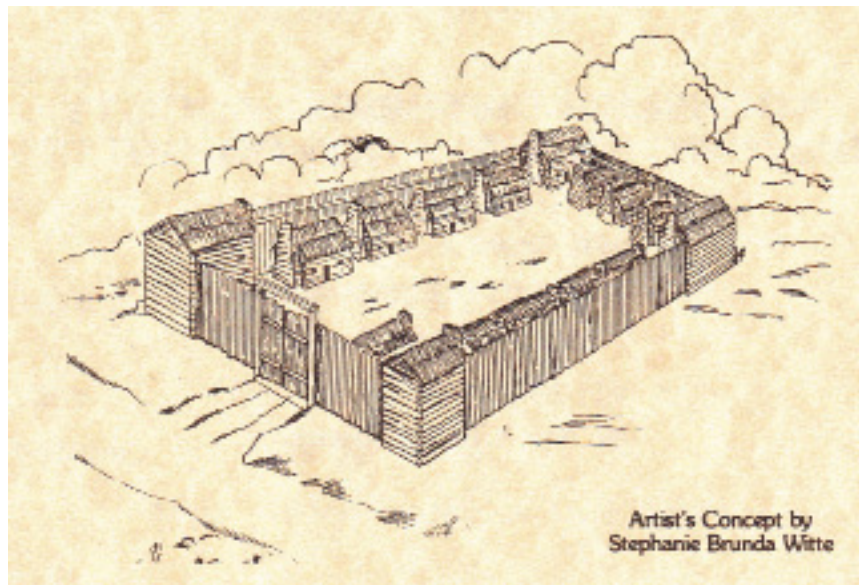
It is likely that in summer 1813 Nathan had family matters on his mind. His mother died in March and his widowed father moved from Nathan's to Flanders and Jemima Callaway's on Tuque Creek. Nathan may have reflected upon his property-less father's life. Was Nathan anxious about his future economic well-being? Perhaps his reflections helped him to adopt Morgan's strategy to step up country produce supply to the Morrises to get out of debt and accumulate resources. Certainly, he was not profiting on militia pay and his remunerative career in surveying was yet in the future, but in 1816, he did finally receive notice of the impending confirmation of his land claim on Femme Osage Creek.

Superior agricultural profits in supplying the Morrises for a few years and with no reason not to expect that that relationship wouldn't continue, Nathan planned construction on his stone country mansion in 1816 that would take three years to build. Did he owe promissory notes for it at completion? How else could a constrained war-time businessman in 1813 continue to aspire to elite economic success along the Femme Osage? Perhaps the still young 35-year-old militia officer, surveyor, and commercial farmer imagined a country seat that would rival the stone mansion of his long-distance patron in Kaskaskia, William Morrison. County government certainly took notice of Nathan's new house as taxes on his log cabin of \$30.00 in 1818 rose to \$220.00 for the new domicile in 1819, a 733% increase — Nathan finally reached housing parity with his older relatives David and Jonathan Bryan and his brother Morgan. Nathan also invested in slaves, as he assumed the trappings of an elite Missouri agriculturalist. (In November 1814, the St. Charles circuit court relieved Nathan from his 1813 bonded liability due to a related Supreme Court case that concerned the deceased Timothy Kibby's probate insolvency case. However, upriver near Boone's Lick, Robert Cooper sued Nathan in St. Charles circuit court in April 1817 for an unsatisfied \$150 promissory note, but final disposition is unknown.)

At Boone's Lick, following the installation of the government trading factory at Fort Osage, business accelerated

with the military, Indians, and included the Boone's Lick salt works. Morrison's camp stores at Fire Prairie, and elsewhere, did commerce with trappers, hunters, peaceful tribes, and any customer willing to bargain. Factor George Sibley ordered butter from John Hancock at the lick, requested salt by the barrel from Jesse Morrison to pack butchered hogs, borrowed Morrison's horse, and used Morrison's keelboat to transport men and correspondence downriver. Sibley's correspondence included a negotiated payment to James Callaway for the hire of his male slave, Book, at Fort Osage and to use Morrison's boat to transport Book back home at the end of the agreement. Sibley conducted additional business for resources at the lick, especially with the Morrises, and later with their manager Braxton Cooper.

The gradual exit of Nathan, and in particular Morgan in 1809, had called for an important personnel change at Boone's Lick. The success of William Morrison's western empire revolved around the personal engagement of devoted brothers and nephews. Moreover, the ruling of the Board of Land Commissioners in November 1809 that James Mackay did not have a proper claim to the lick (and that Morrison's 5-year lease to Mackay was near expiration) encouraged the Morrises in their mineral extraction and marketing. By then,



Artist's Concept by Stephanie Brunda Witte

The Cooper brothers—Benjamin, Braxton, and Sharshall—led the vanguard of permanent settlers. A stockaded Cooper's Fort included several cabins located near Boone's Lick. Sketch courtesy Boonslick Historical Society

James Morrison considered his family's claim, with their improvements to the lick, stronger than Mackay's. So, brother Jesse Morrison moved into lick management, and Morgan Boone moved out.

Perhaps, at this time, the Morrises encouraged the territorial government to relax its restrictions, or to just look the other way, and allow Americans to settle in forested Howard County. Maybe the government, as in the settlement of Kentucky, just couldn't keep the Americans off the Indian lands any longer. Even with the Osage treaty of 1808, no specific boundaries existed for northern and western St. Charles Dis-

tract, nor for the Osage claims north of the Missouri River; disgruntled Sac and Fox were still angry over their 1804 treaty that took their claim to lands north of Missouri River. The Osage northern bands gradually removed southward from the environs of Fort Osage – by 1810, they were nearly gone – and that may have lessened the potential for the region to be caught in between Osage and Sac intertribal hostilities. As with other American frontiers, exact boundaries for the Booneslick lay in the future. Whatever the case, the Morrisons stood to benefit from having trusted friends and more labor near their investment at the salt works. Thus, from a Morrison point-of-view, the way was open for the Coopers and other frontier families to commit themselves to a new home near the already famous Boone’s Lick. Pioneer lifeways got underway. A year later, in 1811, the Coopers, Hancocks, and others were already in St. Charles circuit court as defendants stemming from a violent fracas at Boone’s Lick.

Morrisons, Becknell, and Competition

International agitations between England and the United States translated into frontier anxieties and subsequent violence in the Booneslick. British-allied Indians, the Sac and Fox and Ioway, sought to harass, steal from, and kill residents. Most Americans survived the several years of uncertainty. Benjamin Howard in summer 1812 warned Booneslick settlers, “within the Indian limits” to move downriver for protection, as their presence was a “violation of our treaty with the Indians.” However, the Sac and Fox Indians decided “they were not dissatisfied with their intrusion, because the white people work a valuable saline,” wrote Governor Howard in June 1812. The Indians did not complain to the federal government about the salt-boilers’ trespass, as the Sac and Fox hunters traded at Boone’s Lick for salt to use in their market hunting. So, the Americans remained. By December 1812, Colonel Daniel Bissell recommended that in case Fort Osage was evacuated that the federal military should construct a “blockhouse and stockade at what is called Boone’s Salt Works.” Did Major James Morrison suggest that move? Had it come to fruition, the Morrisons would have reaped an economic windfall in transportation savings in their military contract, and the expanded wartime

salt works with more than three dozen men and slaves coupled with a few dozen federal soldiers would have concentrated a significant opposition to the British allies. Near Christmas, field officers Morgan Boone, James Morrison, and Timothy Kibby were appointed to administer oaths of office in St. Charles in the newly-organized Missouri Territory.

Sac and Fox sympathies changed, and many frontiersmen beseeched the federal government for restitution of property losses to Indian tribes sustained before and after the war. Early examples include: James Murdock lost a horse and hunting supplies on July 19, 1810, at Loutre Island; John Hancock and Sharshal Cooper lost horses at Boone’s Lick Saline on July 17, 1811; and September 1812, Joseph Cooper lost three horses at Boone’s Lick Saline. Governor Clark and the territorial assembly in January 1814 petitioned Congress to “obtain the extinguishment of the Indian Title to ... Boone’s Lick, beyond the Indian boundary...” but it was too little, too late. The loss in property and lives intensified in the last year of the war, 1814 and early 1815, becoming the worst of times. The post-war claims made clear that the horse and livestock decimation was severe — a good horse was worth more money than a good log cabin. Saddles, guns, cured meat, clothing, leather, crops in the field, stables, barrels, and houses all had to be replaced.

While the Morrisons maintained salt production in the face of occasional Indian depredations, market competition began southeast of Boone’s Lick. By late 1811, James Richardson had purchased and installed a furnace, 46 kettles, and hired labor to commence salt-boiling at Richardson’s Lick. Like the Morrisons before him, Richardson acquired a business partner in James Alcorn, and hired boatmen to bring others central to his industry from downriver to the western outskirts of St. Charles District. He hired boatman Robert Wilds to transport Christopher Burckhartt’s family and slaves from Bonhomme to Bonne Femme Creek. With the new salt works established, Robert Cooper hired slaves to Richardson for hard labor, and by 1812, river man Robert Wilds shipped Richardson salt to St. Louis. Christopher’s son, Nicholas S. Burckhartt, joined in the work, eventually purchasing the lick from Richardson – including its cart, oxen, hogs, farm and grainery – in 1815.



Missouri Territorial map of 1820 shows part of Howard County, which was established in 1816 by the General Assembly. It was created from St. Louis and St. Charles Counties. The jurisdiction encompassed 22,000 square miles, equivalent to one third of the current state of Missouri. Over time, the area was divided into more than 40 counties, including several in Iowa. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri

The salt works became a catalyst for the founding of Franklin, its commercial port to the south.

The war did, however, negatively impact all local salines although men like Andrew Carson had all the work they wanted raising corn and digging potatoes, hauling wood, and kettle tending at Richardson's. But, in 1813, cautious men sometimes "forted up" and the brave continued the mineral industry. Others left for the security of St. Charles. Men who remained traveled to Richardson's Lick to make salt for their own domestic use; perhaps settlers had an arrangement with the Morrisons at Boone's Lick, too. Christopher Burckhartt left the lick to reside safely in Kincaid's Fort, while son Nicholas in 1814 retreated to friends in Kentucky until war's end. Richardson encamped at Fort Hempstead. But, work did not end. The hardy Bonne Femme salt-boilers "had to keep out a guard for the Indians" while continuing a business that benefited the survival of Booneslick settlement, not unlike what Kentuckians did a generation earlier. Richardson and Burckhartt's employees, as at Boone's Lick, lived and boarded at the salt works "cooking their own victuals till the old gentleman [Christopher Burckhartt] moved back to the works in 1815; then all boarded together." Local blacksmiths contracted their labor to the salt merchants. Carpenter Joseph Wright said that the "salt was then [a] very ready sale [so] that it was frequently bought and taken away before the brine was done dripping from it."

Wartime conflict interrupted Boone's Lick salt-boiling, but just how much is unclear. On site, the Morrisons needed production to meet their military and private sector contracts. In 1811, the firm of Bryan and Morrison committed themselves to provide military rations to "all other places in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri territories where troops may be marched or stationed," an enormous logistical challenge for the next three years. It tested William in the fall when he traveled to Vincennes to personally supervise the supply of William Henry Harrison's troops, including Lieut. Col. Zebulon Pike (and Jesse Boone), on their way to confront Tecumseh's Shawnees at Tippecanoe. Morrison had contract agents at six posts that "doubled as managers of Bryan and Morrison post stores" in an anxiety-laden war. All three of the federally-contracted Morrison brothers (William, James, and Jesse) managed keelboats on the major rivers. Business records show that James and Jesse directed "52 different voyages made to Belle Fontaine and the upper posts" during three years of wartime contracts. Major James Morrison, in 1813, commanded a federal presence at strategic Portage des Sioux, supervising land and river island defenses, so Jesse and William bore the responsibility of supplying their brother, aided by the good judgment of William Christy at the "St. Charles Store," as it was termed in the Morrison accounting ledger. Concomitantly, Jesse served as

paymaster and kept militia accounts for the federal troops.

Aware of legal obligations, the Morrisons had to anticipate customer demands for Boone's Lick salt and agricultural rations. Morrisons' agents purchased country produce from riverside farmers to meet their inventory needs. A period contract for salted pork required 200 pounds of pork per barrel "well secured with salt so as to make a sufficiency of brine without the aid of water." Moreover, coopers crafted the barrels from "good white oak and seasoned and without any sap in the staves or heading and at least 12 good hoops on each barrel and to be so tight as to contain the brine the pork is to be delivered in to the town of St. Charles." These quality control standards, if not met along the Missouri River, functioned as guidelines for any potential litigation by the purchaser.

The larger Boone's Lick forts were too strong for raiding parties to attack successfully. Several of the smaller forts consisted of little more than a single blockhouse or fortified cabin. The blockhouses that constituted Reed's and McMahan's forts were burned by Indians during the spring of 1814.

The Arrow Rock Visitors Center display of artifacts and information about the Boone's Lick area notes that single cabins and small stockades built by settlers were more prone to attacks by Native Americans, who were reluctant to attack the larger installations.

Courtesy Missouri State Parks

James and Jesse managed the stockpile "at Fort Osage, Belle Fontaine, Fort Madison, and others" from their St. Charles warehouse. Boone's Lick, near Cooper's Fort and the men who lived in Cooper's Bottom, provided steady labor, and kept the lick open more often than if the saline had not been in the middle of a concentrated settlement. Harvey Foot at Morrisons' store, Ft. Osage, still coordinated thousands of dollars of "peltries" augmented by reliable salt supplies. The fact that the military closed Fort Osage in June 1813 and moved it to Arrow Rock bluffs until the following spring, made business between the lick and that small federal facility easier for awhile. During this time, the Morrisons in St. Charles also supplied the short-lived John Johnson trading factor for the Sac and Fox at Little Moniteau Creek. While Booneslick and Missouri River settlers lost a great deal in resources during the war, the war itself "witnessed the apogee of business success for the house of Bryan and Morrison."

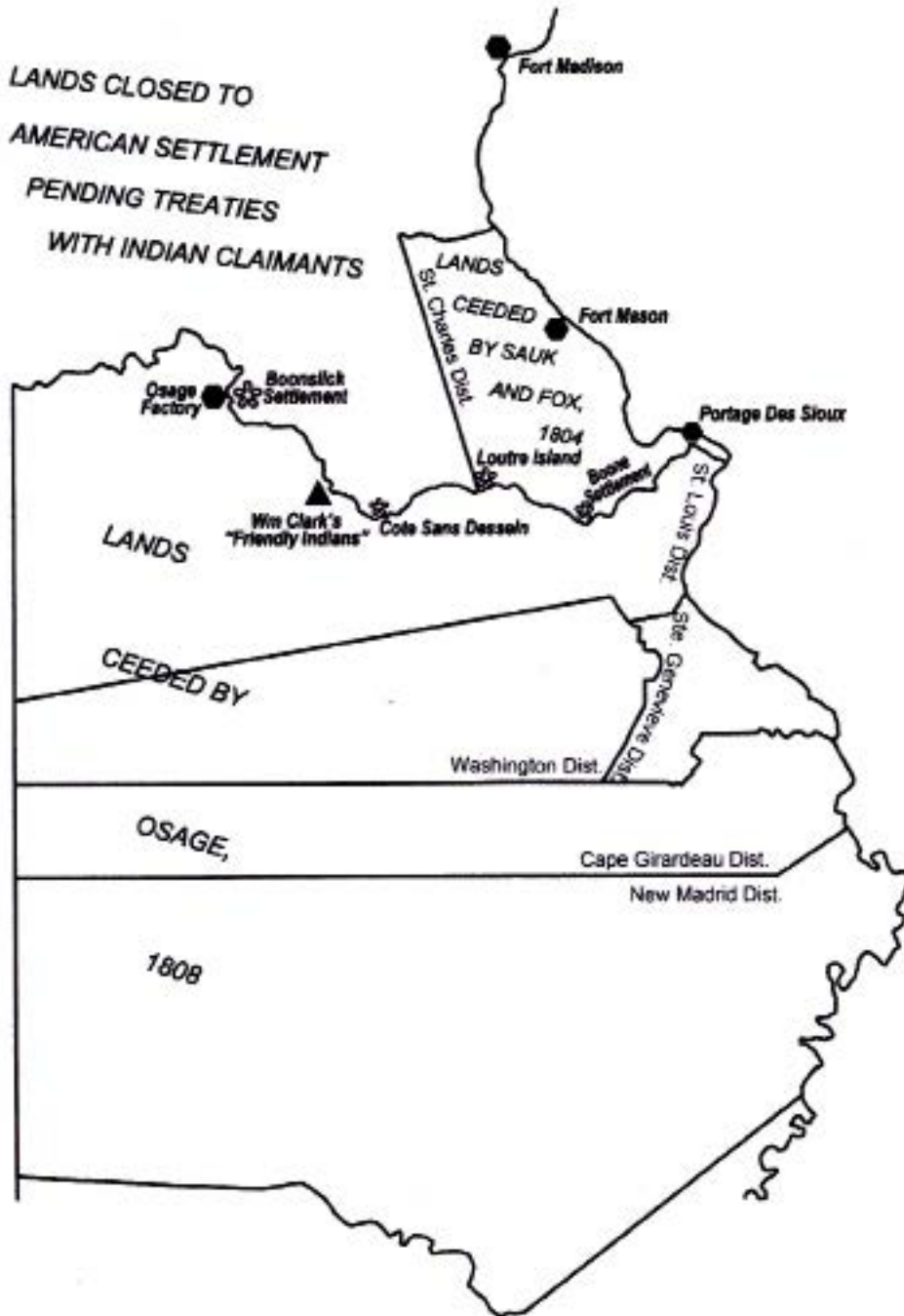
The Morrison, Chouteau, and Osage trade boomed. "Between 1811 and 1813, Chouteau arranged for the Morrisons to provide 10,000 pounds of flour, 18,000 pounds of salt pork, 260 gallons of whiskey, and similar quantities of beef and

salt [from Boone's Lick]." The Bryan and Morrison defense contractors' investments in lead mineral shipments from the southeast Ozarks, buoyed their profits on the Missouri River, as did their agricultural produce business in the Femme Osage and American Bottoms, supported by slave labor and tenant-agricultural agreements, a traditional profit sector for them. War did not stop their land speculation. With the announcement of more Illinois lands for sale, in October 1814, General William Clark recommended selected options to Major James

Morrison, who hired William Russell as his agent to file Morrison's militia rights and other claims at the Kaskaskia land office.

Southerners at frontier salines usually owned and/or hired male slaves to shoulder a lot of the hard, physical work, especially wood chopping, but there are few documents about slaves at Boone's Lick. In 1814, a Draper informant told about Moses, who in the face of an Indian alarm, rode one of the Morrison horses back to St. Charles. Flanders Callaway's slave Moses had worked for years up and down the Missouri River, serving the Callaway family in agriculture and market hunting. Moses cut a lot of wood at Boone's Lick, too. Hostilities heated up in 1814. Charles "Indian" Phillips, a hunter for meat for Boone's Lick laborers and who lived at Cooper's Fort during the war, guided frightened John and Robert Heath downriver to safety. Once in St. Charles, the Heaths may have reported a deteriorating situation to their Morrison allies. Whether they alerted the merchants, or not, an anxious Jesse Morrison piloted a keelboat from St. Charles, "double-manned his boat, about twenty men ..." and planned to salvage what he could from the salt works. On arrival at the abandoned lick, he found that Indians had shot holes through the kettles and had unsuccessfully burned, but damaged the log houses. Morrison, and his men with recovered equipment, boarded the keelboat and returned to St. Charles.

Following news of the peace in 1815, the Morrises, their many employees, and selected or hired slaves resumed salt production. William Clark asked William Morrison for an inventory of supplies at the wartime Missouri posts, as the military planned for peacetime. Peace, however, proved illusive for Heaths' slaves. Heaths' Negroes, Nat and Harry, chopped wood in the never-ending need for Boone's Lick furnace fuel, but



Territory of Missouri 1813 map shows lands closed to American settlement pending treaties with Native American claimants. Missouri's territorial government, however, allowed salt production on disputed Indian lands from 1805 to 1815. After this decade, and the formal end of American-Indian hostilities, a veritable land rush came into the Boonslick. Map courtesy James M. (Jim) Denny

in May 1816, they were kidnapped and killed by Ioway Indians. Salt-boilers who used bonded labor also risked having to search for runaways. When hired slaves absconded eastward, managers sent word to alliances in Franklin who relayed a description of the slave and details for a reward “on the road to St. Charles that he may be detected.”

William Becknell

The business and history of persons associated with the post-war lick is as sketchy as pre-war, although there is litigation yet to be analyzed. The Morrisons arranged to partner with Boonslick managers and labor to service their Missouri River sales of salt. William Becknell is commonly associated with these late territorial years, and he, too, trained with the Morrisons in St. Charles District.

Becknell served for five years as a private in the US Army, honorably discharged in May 1809 at Fort Massac. Becknell went to St. Louis, then across the river to St. Charles in 1810, locating among Americans just west of town. The 23-year-old ambitious Becknell found his way to employment with the Morrisons. The Morrisons traditionally chose industrious men, not afraid of risk-taking, for commercial alliances – men like Archibald McNabb, Morgan and Nathan Boone, Harvey Foot, William Christy and John Heath, and William Becknell – and made them agents of the Morrisons’ wide-ranging reach. It is unclear how soon the Morrisons hired Becknell, but by 1812 he was using salt to purchase cattle on their behalf. The local St. Charles trading firm of Robert and Thomas McKnight had begun to import goods from Baltimore and had already shipped a stock of them in 1811 to the Booneslick settlement “said to be on Indian lands” upriver, said a deponent in a contemporary Missouri Supreme Court case, and one that involved William Becknell.

By spring 1812, the McKnights and Morrisons consulted with each other about a proposed Santa Fe trading excursion led by Robert McKnight. The Morrisons, as they did for Zebulon Pike, gave McKnight authority to collect an old trading debt owed them by the Frenchman La Lande in Santa Fe. The McKnight party left St. Charles for the Boone’s Lick, where Becknell represented the Morrisons’ interests. The McKnight’s took the Boone’s Lick Road to the famed saline arriving about the first of June. Becknell gave a horse to McKnight, as part of an assigned debt and trading arrangement made by the Morrisons. Jesse Morrison had given a letter of authority to McKnight to present to Becknell for a “rifle gun” that McKnight wanted. Months later, the Mexican military at Santa Fe imprisoned the McKnight party, who didn’t return to St. Charles at the agreed-upon time. Thus, in June 1813, the Morrisons sued the McKnights in a case that went to the Missouri Supreme Court involving the horse, the gun, an interpreter’s debt, and seventeen barrels of salted pork that the Morrisons sold as rations to federal troops in Missouri. The actual financial settlement of that case is unknown (the McKnight party remained in prison and did not return to St. Louis until statehood).

Becknell knew the way between St. Charles and Boone’s Lick. More importantly, Becknell’s talents and association with the Morrisons gave him an entree to leadership. During

the war, Becknell served under Morgan Boone, then with James Callaway. After serving with Callaway on the Mississippi River, where the rangers built the short-lived Fort Johnson in September 1814, the army re-assigned Becknell to Fort Clemson on Loutre Island. In March 1815 when Indians killed Captain Callaway and several militiamen, it was Becknell who reported the sad news to the St. Louis press. Clearly, Becknell knew many Missouri River war veterans and participants in the upriver Missouri trade well before moving westward. He and Benjamin Emmons of St. Charles briefly operated a salt works some ten miles south of the Missouri River, perhaps on Blackwater River, prior to Becknell’s more enduring residence in Howard County. The Morrisons engaged Becknell as an agent, and if the pattern of business established by the Morrisons continued with Becknell, the new Booneslick trader also began supplying country produce to the Morrisons, while assuming oversight of the Boone’s Lick salt works.

Becknell owned property in Franklin by fall 1817. On occasion, he and his associates used Cooper’s fort as a warehouse to store salt for traders with keelboats to pick up for delivery to Ft. Osage. The salt merchants sold bulk salt by barrels and by bushels. The bushel price rose to \$5.00, inflated by the dynamic regional market prior to the Panic of 1819. Elected as captain of the militia by his peers, Becknell had stature locally. Ironically, he purchased a ferry license from sheriff and salt competitor Nicholas Burckhart in December 1818 to capitalize on the Boone’s Lick Road traffic moving across the Missouri River to Arrow Rock. Becknell’s profits, prior to the national depression, encouraged his real



William Becknell, known as Father of the Santa Fe Trail, is part of Trail Monument at New Franklin designed by artist Harry Weber. Photo by Don Cullimore

estate purchases.

The Morrisons and Becknell provided the Missouri River country with Boone's Lick salt in the boom years of post-war immigration. No one but James Mackay challenged the Morrisons' claim to the salt works and that was by public rhetoric. In September 1815, Indian title to Boone's Lick ended, as did many issues that had concerned "Louisiana's ill-defined borders" for more than a decade. The Missouri territory, however, was still embroiled in chaotic private land claims and pre-emption disputes with the Board of Land Commissioners and Congress. Jesse told Lyman Draper that they pre-empted the saline, but federal bureaucracy moved slowly. Secretary of the Treasury, William Crawford, wrote to the General Land Office that the Booneslick "settlers ... were not within the pale of the territorial law nor within its protection" during the war, notwithstanding Congressional pre-emption acts in 1813 and 1814. Finally, in April 1816, Congress approved pre-emption for the Booneslick region, and the common military and commercial travel along the salt road caused correspondents to William Clark to refer to "Boons Lick Road." But, a Franklin land office to receive land claims did not open until 1818, and it was not until March 1819 that preemptions in Howard County could be filed with the land register.

Finally, James and Jesse Morrison were eligible to file for Mackay's old saline. It turns out that the next decade of Boone's Lick real estate history resulted in a confusing tale itself. The root of perplexity lay in an overburdened US Treasury department, its regional government land offices, and what we moderns would call sloppy, let alone tardy, record-keeping. It would take more than a decade after initial patent filings for all of the Becknell and Morrison land certificates to arrive in Missouri.

By 1819, when the Morrisons could finally file a pre-emption claim on the Boone's Lick real estate, it was clear what had transpired regarding the ownership of the site. The transfer of colonial Louisiana to the United States legally clouded the title to the saline property. Gov. James Wilkinson, in 1805, brought the authority of Thomas Jefferson and the Americans to the Missouri River Valley. Wilkinson's administrative policy gave legal authority to the Chouteaus and Morrisons to trade with the Osage and others on Indian lands. Wilkinson and Pierre Chouteau's diplomacy with the Indians led to an agreement among them to allow a manufacturing

salt works built on contested Indian lands that fulfilled military preparation to move west and follow salt production in the nation's expansion, as happened in the Ohio River Valley. Moreover, Wilkinson and William Morrison coveted the step closer to Santa Fe. The Morrisons financed the costly industrial initiative and made Morgan and Nathan Boone party to an agreement in the manufacturing and marketing of salt to the Osage, other Indians, the military, and to the encroaching settlements moving up the Missouri River Valley. No one, but James Mackay and his ineffectual rhetoric, ever contested the improvement rights of the Morrisons, and after the formation

of Howard County in 1816, the future ownership of the Morrisons was never in doubt. The support of Missouri's territorial government to allow salt production on disputed Indian lands from 1805-1815 represents a unique chapter in the birth of Missouri.

Walter Schroeder penned a classic Howard County settlement article in 1968; he, too, observed the lack of an original land record for Boone's Lick. "It is noteworthy," he said, "that Boone's salt lick, the original salt-producing spring in the county, was still not patented land at the time of statehood and was never reserved from sale as part of the saline lands." An answer to the

former issue lays in the chaotic local land administration of the Government Land Office described by renowned historian, Malcolm Rohrbough. "The registers and the receivers of the district land officers [at Franklin, Thomas A. Smith and Charles Carroll] were among the most powerful instruments of the government on the frontier," he wrote. They maintained "variations in the interpretation of legislation," and "controlled the distribution of the public lands.... Pre-emption laws were interpreted in a variety of ways in different land districts." In October 1818, at Franklin, register Carroll began a three-month-long correspondence asking for clarifications from the GLO office and the Department of the Treasury in Washington D.C. Rohrbough concluded that "confusion and endless difficulties" reigned in "the Treasury building to the Missouri River." Land filings for patents often took years for a settler to receive a certificate — meanwhile land transactions among Booneslick settlers continued and were recorded in county government offices.

Federal wrangling continued until recording of pre-emption for Howard County began in early 1819, but a saline reservation issue for government leases to settlers stalled until summer 1819, when the GLO gave Missouri territory

"Some families came in the spring of 1815: but in the winter, spring, summer, and autumn of 1816, they came like an avalanche. It seemed as though Kentucky and Tennessee were breaking up and moving to the 'Far West.' Caravan after caravan passed over the prairies of Illinois . . . all bound to Boone's Lick."

—John Mason Peck, Baptist Missionary

Following the War of 1812 and the establishment of a lands claims office by the territorial government, settlers rushed into the Booneslick area of central Missouri in large numbers. *Quotation courtesy Missouri State Parks*

permission to plan for the reservation of salines and their adjacent timberlands for furnace fuel — the new Missouri general assembly enacted the leasing legislation after statehood. Remarkably, neither Boone’s nor Burckhartt’s Lick were reserved. Why did territorial government exempt them? We do not know, unless it’s simply that the Morrisons and Burckhartts had the ear of government, while other investors did not. As Schroeder concluded, Boone’s Lick continued production without any federal filing in *The Patent Claims Book for Howard County*. The paper trail from Smith and Carroll’s office to Morrisons’ ownership until James Morrison

An optimistic Becknell spent several years at the edge of bankruptcy. And, stiff competition for the salt market spiked. Becknell-and-Morrison-competitor, Nicholas Burckhartt, reaped salt profits near Franklin in 1819, selling at \$3.00 per bushel, and kept money buried in boxes under the floor of his house, according to his son James. Nicholas built a grand, two-story log house and furnished a Negro woman “to wait on his parents,” while hiring black men to work at his salt works. Competitor, Colonel Phillip Trammell, with experience at the US Saline near Shawneetown, and George Craig, hoped to capitalize on Booneslick population growth. They opened a



The Nicholas Burckhartt Federalist-style house, c. 1832, north of New Franklin. The house was demolished during the Depression, but the parlor was saved, transported and displayed at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, but is now in storage. Several members of the Burckhartt family are buried in Mt. Pleasant Cemetery in New Franklin. Courtesy Historic American Buildings Survey

finally sold out is not crystal clear, is confused by missing deed records in county government, but is mitigated by record entries of several property transactions in the Howard County recorder of deeds office in Fayette.

James and Jesse Morrison and William Becknell generated several transactions involving Boone’s Lick. The Morrisons claimed the saline under commonly understood frontier pre-emption rights, but the Morrisons and Becknell had business agreements that are unknown to us. Nevertheless, in April 1819, Becknell acquired 70 acres, and in May 1819, he bought 153 more for a total of 223 acres of the “Morrison’s pre-emption” to the historic 340-acre Boone’s Lick property. In June, Becknell advertised in Franklin for labor to cut 300-500 cords of wood from the receding forest for the Boone’s Lick furnaces and Becknell offered to board the hands at the lick. But, surprisingly, the optimistic Becknell, commonly short of money or in a quid pro quo agreement with the Morrisons, sold most of his mineral property three months later back to the Morrisons. Significantly, this August 1819 Becknell-Morrison deal that involved five parcels of land resulted in a division of one-third interests in over 400 acres surrounding the lick – one-third belonged to Becknell and one-third to each Morrison brother (James and Jesse), whose residences were listed as St. Charles. The Morrisons obviously trusted 32-year-old Becknell to represent their interests at the lick. Justice of the peace, Benjamin Cooper, witnessed this county land document filing.

salt works at Buffalo Lick, on the upper Bonne Femme, with two furnaces, fifty kettles each, that fostered the founding of future Fayette. And like all managers at Boone’s Lick, Becknell suffered the loss of horses for which he offered a reward. By now, Becknell, N. S. Burckhartt, and others purchased salt kettles at Franklin, hauled upriver by steamboats.

The Panic of 1819 gradually impacted the region, the worst days not coming until after statehood. In April 1820, the Morrisons and Becknell reorganized and formalized their ownership with patent filings. They entered applications by cash sale for federal certificates to over 660 acres of land surrounding Boone’s Lick. Becknell patented the saline proper and over 500 acres and James selected an adjacent 160 (Jesse was not party to these filings). In the following year, Becknell fought difficult economic trends at Boone’s Lick, while he searched for a new way to generate income. By June 1821, Becknell advertised for his famous trek to Santa Fe, and did so with a newspaper byline from “Boon’s Lick.” He had to hurry that summer, as he was out of Howard County debtor’s prison on bond. With four slaves hired from Thomas A. Smith, one slave secured by James Morrison, and local men willing to take a chance in a long-distance trade adventure, Becknell stalled his appearance in circuit court and left for Santa Fe on September 1st.

Upon Becknell’s return in 1822, he faced several lawsuits, but his profits quelled some and he lost others. His salt lick partnership helped. In May 1822, after two-year’s ownership,

Becknell sold his interests in the salt works, “buildings, improvements, etc.” to James and Jesse Morrison of St. Charles for \$1,000, an amount that suggests Becknell was desperate for money in the depths of the depression. Left without a resident manager at the salt industry, the Morrisons rented housing in Franklin, but James and his family were the frequent residents. Both Morrisons continued to maintain their St. Charles properties.

Becknell engaged a more financially successful Santa Fe trip that quieted most claimants for his assets in 1823 and positioned him on a more stable economic foundation. However, in the same year, a Becknell debt demanded another adjustment in the Becknell-Morrison business relationship. Morrison had secured Becknell’s 1819 note with a St. Charles slaveholder who sold a Negro man to Becknell. Becknell defaulted and James Morrison paid the \$360 judgment “in land office money” in St. Charles County circuit court, and the two salt-boilers adjusted their own accounts in Howard County. The Morrisons continued manufacturing and exporting enough salt for James to keep his Franklin house occupied.

By 1825, Becknell, and others, became mercantile suppliers of mules, mail, intelligence, and supplies to the surveyors of the Santa Fe Trail, bringing scarce

resources to the traveling crew located far to the southwest. With several Booneslick salt works in operation to export the mineral overland and on the Missouri River, frontier merchants advertised salt in the list of desired articles for barter. Even slaves at the salt works stole and negotiated the sale of salt on the black market. Elijah Mock, a master carpenter at his cabinet warehouse on the Fayette town square, announced in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon’s Lick Advertiser in 1827 that “besides cash, he will receive salt & whiskey in exchange for his work.”

The same year, James and Jesse Morrison officially dissolved their own Boone’s Lick agreement on March 27, 1827, leaving sixty-year-old James Morrison as the first sole claimant of the salt works since James Mackay’s claim more than two decades earlier. James retained six slaves and all industrial, agricultural, and domestic property in Howard County. Jesse, age forty-one, eased the transition for his older brother James by stipulating that the “negro man Charles shall work ... at the Boon’s Lick Salt works without charge for his ser-

vices,” from June 1 to December 1 in both 1827 and 1828. The younger Jesse and his nephews then followed another Morrison family venture in a lead mining speculation at Fever River, IL. Two years later, in March 1829, Jesse sold Charles and five other slaves to James, and Jesse spent the rest of his career in Galena.

In 1828, William Becknell received the last of his federal certificates for his original land claims to real estate surrounding the saline. In May 1829, in order to quiet the title of land locally, Becknell executed a deed to James Morrison of St. Charles that rehearsed their land agreements over the previous decade. James Morrison finally possessed both federal and state documents for his fee simple ownership of Boone’s Lick. Although Becknell lived across the river in Arrow Rock, he and James Morrison continued commercial promotion of the lick. In Saline County, Becknell became a justice of the peace, state representative (1828-1832), a small slaveholder, militia

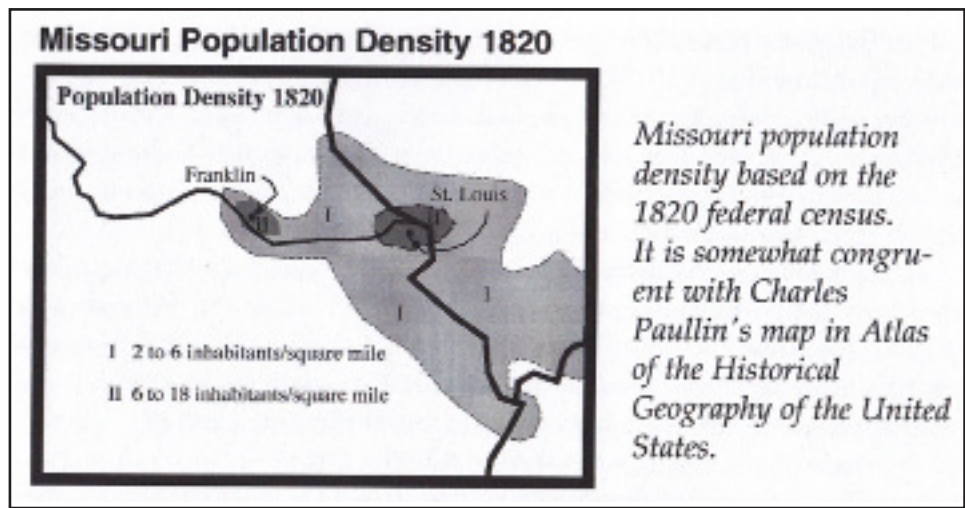
officer, and prominent agriculturalist. In 1834, the 48-year-old trader gambled again. He liquidated his real estate in Howard and Saline Counties, and led his family and neighbors to Texas in 1835.

Conclusion

Times were changing. In Missouri and at Kaskaskia, the

heyday of the Morrison trading empire in the West had ended. By war’s end, Bryan and Morrison sued Pierre Chouteau to balance accounts, and the miffed Frenchman ended his mutual trading agreement with them; in turn, Pierre Chouteau sued for trespass on the Cooper County salines, but Morrison trade with Americans continued. The partnership back home with Guy Bryan in Philadelphia ended, as did Morrison’s US postal contracts. His western military contracts shrank, but Morrison family commerce represented significant business compared to most frontier mercantile houses. In August 1816 James Morrison advertised in the Missouri Gazette that prospective buyers for “5 large keelboats, 20-25 tons, with complete rigging, or cattle and hogs at Belle Fontaine” could contact his agent in St. Louis. The explosive emigration of talented entrepreneurs to the trans-Mississippi simply buried the Morrisons in cascading competition. More eastern firms, too, were willing to offer lines of credit to the West.

James and Jesse administered continuing business at Fort Osage, supplying Boone’s Lick salt, salted meat, beef, whis-



Missouri Population Density 1820 map shows population concentrations highest in the St. Louis and St. Charles area on the east side of the state and in Old Franklin in Howard County, which was a busy port on the Missouri River. Illustration courtesy Hal Jackson, author, and Charlotte Plantz, Boone's Lick Road, published in 2012

key, flour, and rations. However, the Panic of 1819 eventually damaged everyone's business. The Morrisons still did their accounting – after all, James had counted merchant inventories, money, and men for twenty years as St. Charles District treasurer, census taker, town trustee, and militia officer. Business was business. In July 1819, James sued the administrators of the late James Callaway's estate for unsettled militia accounts at the time of his death. Military contractor Morrison had supplied provisions to Captain Callaway and the rangers at Fort Johnson, destroyed in October 1814. At war's end, Congress had denied many St. Charles area land claims sought by James Morrison, but wartime profits by the Morrison brothers allowed them to purchase prime commercial and residential properties along Main Street in St. Charles – they owned most of the two blocks on either side of the market house square, between Madison and Jefferson streets, and other city properties. Moreover, the Morrisons foreclosed on many French surnames in St. Charles for their debts or "acquired their land at tax sales so that by 1839 few original French families retained land in St. Charles."

During the early 1820s, reeling from steamboat commercial competition, the Morrisons reorganized their interests. All Morrison brothers in Missouri and Illinois maintained and thrived in careers of their own sustained, in part, by the early sponsorship of Bryan and Morrison's enterprises. Missouri's other famed salt works, the Ste. Genevieve Saline, closed commercial production in 1825. In Howard County, Buffalo Lick, and other regional salines were leased on reserved lands, and contractors carved out their own market niche. Missouri salines, in general, continued a greatly varied localized production in their county settings. By the end of the decade in 1829, Booneslick merchants purchased bushels of barreled salt by the thousands at 37 ½ cents per bushel, but retail prices were higher.

William remained in Kaskaskia, James and Jesse in St. Charles, and William pulled out of his brothers' Missouri business interests. James chose to financially back his old friend Morgan Boone in commercial lumbering. Morgan left agricultural work on the Missouri River and by 1819 rafted yellow pine plank from Little Piney Creek to St. Charles and St. Louis. But, in 1822, James Morrison backed Morgan in his move to larger pine stands in the upper Big Piney Riv-

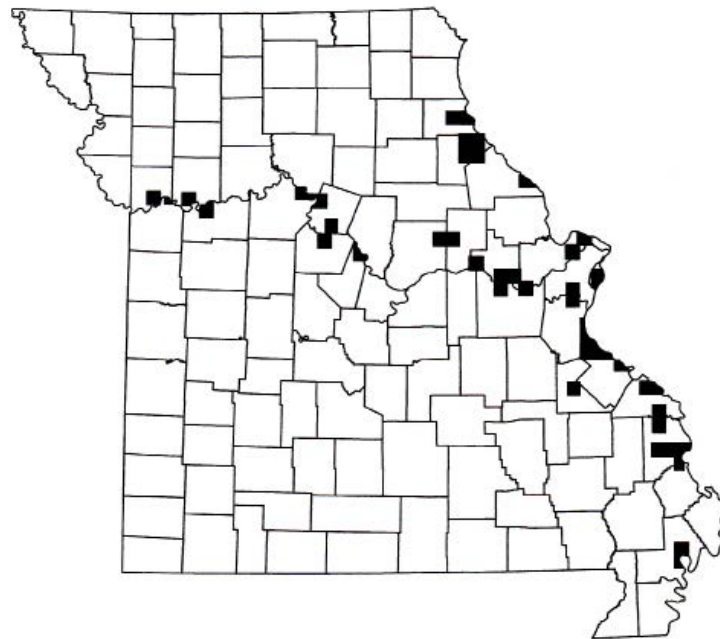
er valley, where the former salt-boilers, Morgan Boone and James Morrison, exploited more natural resources until selling out in 1825.

For a generation, the Morrisons had litigated primarily as plaintiffs, but in Missouri during the 1820s, William, James, and Jesse became frequent defendants in the aftermath of the national depression and commercial competition. Nathan Boone's son, John, indicated that his father had cash flow problems, too. John Boone told Lyman Draper that Nathan borrowed \$10,000 at 10% interest from St. Charles merchant and James Morrison's son-in-law, George Collier (1796-1852), a transaction that involved security on several slaves. In 1824, Nathan sold slave, Harry, the young man who shaved Daniel Boone on his deathbed, for \$372.00 to Collier, a figure sug-

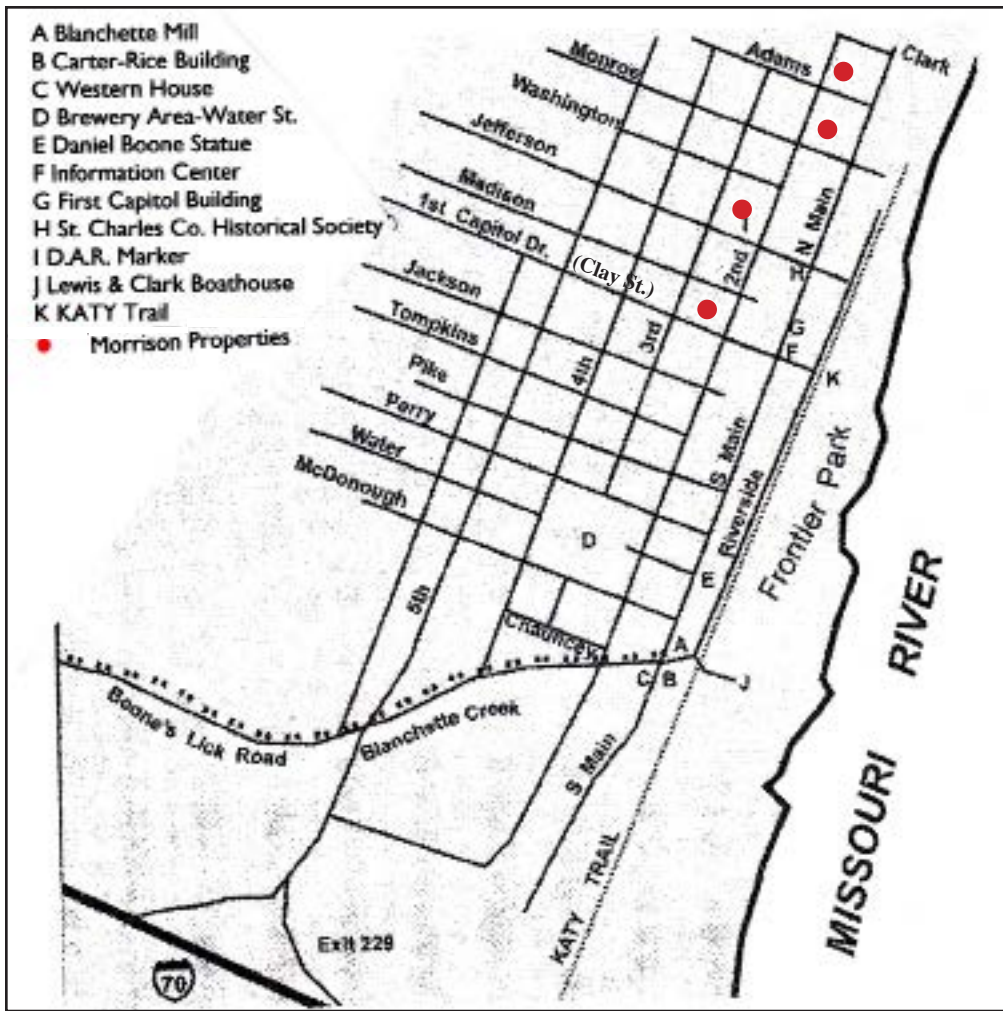
gesting a promissory note and interest. Nathan, the St. Charles County surveyor, needed more cash and accepted mid-1820s GLO contracts in south central Missouri and northeast Arkansas. He worked in Arkansas in the summer and fall of 1825 and the fall and winter of 1826-1827 out-of-state and away from home (he continued working long distances away from his farm for much of the time until moving to Greene County in 1837). In July 1826, George Collier sued his father-in-law, James Morrison, and Jesse Morrison, for \$1730 in a business deal that the Morrisons failed to complete on time. Judicial record books suggest there are other incomplete Boone and Morrison obligations,

thus, the post-war business dealings among the Boones, Morrisons, and Collier merit further inquiry.

Morrisons' Boone's Lick partner, William Becknell, received his land patents in 1823 and 1828, and in November 1830, James Morrison finally received his official patent to 160 acres, all part of the Becknell & Morrison federal filings of April 1820. Westerners and Missouri land speculators, tired of the federal backlog in processing land claims, bitterly complained to their congressmen about the inefficiencies of the land system. In December 1831, James Morrison's name headed the list of Missourians who petitioned Congress to finalize the old colonial land claims "an expense incurred by the petitioners to the amount of several thousand dollars, for fees, paid by them to the United States district attorney, clerk, and marshal." Signers included several of James Mackay's former alliances.



Map of 1823 postal codes, just two years after Missouri became a state, shows pockets of concentrated populations and the expansion of settlements west from the Mississippi River up the Missouri River to the Westport-Kansas City area as Americans moved west. Illustration courtesy Jim Denny, based on original map by James Shortridge



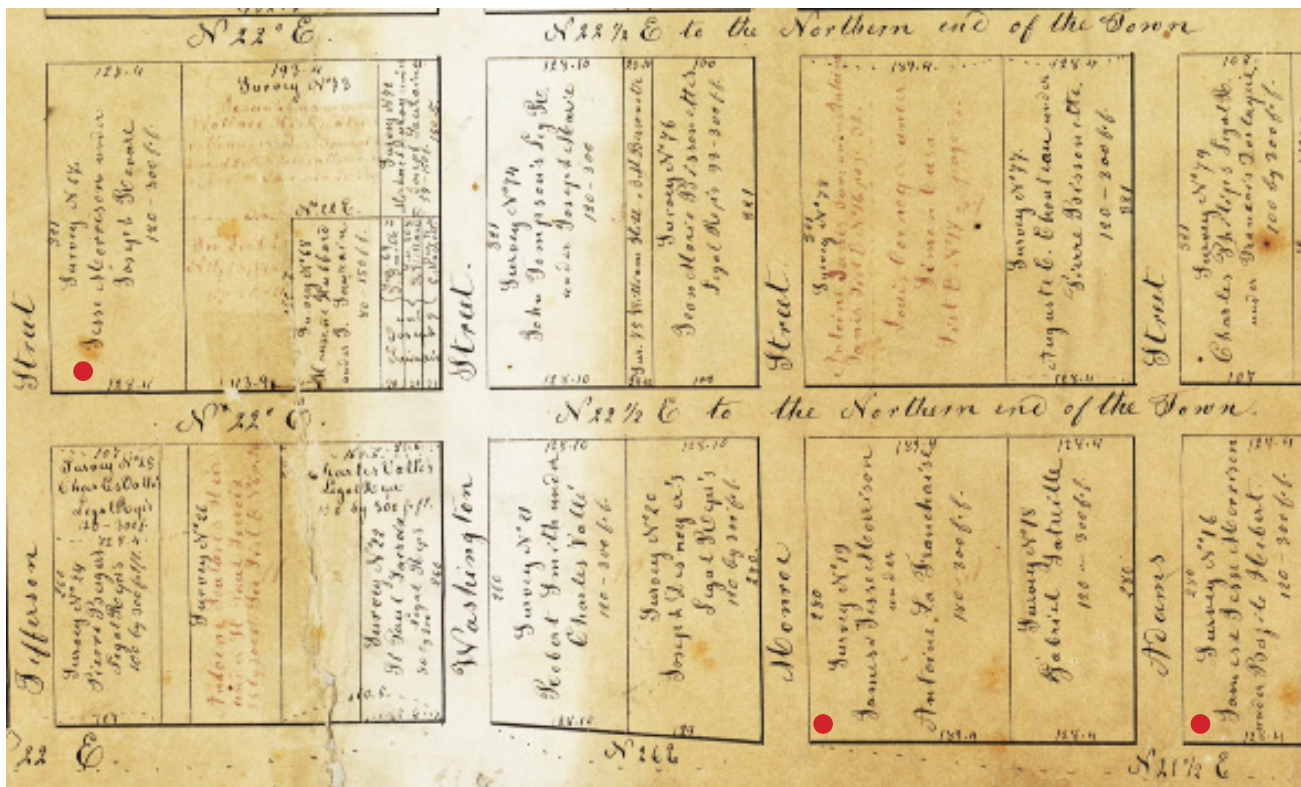
St. Charles Historic District map shows sites in the current riverfront area (see map key at left). The red dots indicate selected properties owned by the Morrison family, in the early 19th century. Some of these properties are noted below on the 1817 property plat of the historic district.

Upper map: courtesy Hal Jackson, author, and Ron Kil, illustrator, Boone's Lick Road.

Lower illustration: copy of Historic District property plats courtesy St. Charles Historical Society



Lewis and Clark Restaurant is site of Jesse Morrison house in St. Charles Historic District.



In the same year of 1831, Morrison advertised the salt works and all its appurtenances for sale and made plans to divest himself of a property known by uncountable Indians, hunters, traders, boatmen, rowers, laborers, travelers, and families in the Booneslick. The Morrisons became more like other pioneer merchants, general wholesalers and retailers to an expanding American population. However, potential buyers for Morrison's diminished Missouri industry were few. Family tragedy, too, was an issue. James lost a son in a fatal accident at the lick, and his wife Emilie surely tired of living in Franklin away from her French relatives in St. Charles. In 1833, as James Morrison's interest in the famous lick eroded, his wealthy son-in-law and merchant George Collier, commissioned a new 295-ton steamboat, the Boone's Lick, built at Pittsburg to reside in her home port of St. Louis. That November, Congress confirmed to the heirs of James Mackay his land claim to the Boone's Lick, permitting his heirs to file on government land at a GLO office of their choosing.

After waiting three years for a buyer, in 1834, James Morrison had one. Lindsay P. Marshall signed \$11,000 of promissory notes at 6% interest for four parcels of land, nearly 590 acres, to Morrison spread over several years. The first payment of \$6,000 was due in May 1835, one thousand dollars the following May for three successive years, and the final \$2,000 in May 1839. The details of Marshall's salt works is another story, but Marshall, an original trustee of New Franklin in 1833, also stayed around to help lay out the new town of neighboring Boonsboro in 1840.

A Howard County map could finally orient a viewer to Boone's Lick, the Booneslick region, Boone's Lick Road, Boone's Lick Township, and Boonsboro. By the time modern Missourians could see such a map the Morrisons' role in lines of credit and security on promissory notes that supported the history of western expansion in Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery, Boone's Lick salt manufacturing and commerce, and Becknell's Santa Fe expeditions had long faded into accountants' entries, business records, and judicial case files.

There is much yet to be learned about Boone's Lick. James Wilkinson and the house of Bryan and Morrison looked beyond the settled American boundaries of governance into Native American lands hopeful to install and shorten a military and commercial supply line to Santa Fe and the Rocky Mountains. Eager frontiersmen, Morgan and Nathan Boone and their allies, saw the challenge as another worthwhile daring exploit. Nathan's lease to others in 1808 and Morgan's exit from the property in 1809 led the brothers toward other endeavors, but they apparently remained in the agricultural economic orbit of James Morrison, and all three of them became senior military leaders during the war. What is unusual and distinctive about Boone's Lick is the three-decade investment and management of James Morrison, a significant, long-lived individual commitment to a frontier industry — his brother Jesse participated at the invitation and direction of James. Moreover, the founding of Franklin, Arrow Rock, and Fayette came in large part as the result of a successful commercial salt industry that brought Americans together at a unique mineral-laden land in the trans-Mississippi West.

References and Readings:

Sources about Boone's Lick Saline are scattered far and wide. More remains to be learned about the lick in the Morrison Business Papers in various Illinois repositories; see especially John Leslie Tevbaugh's dissertation, cited below, a primary benchmark for this essay. Frequent Morrison litigation bestowed dozens and dozens of circuit court cases in virtually every courthouse where family members and their agents did business -- most have not been reviewed for depositions and documents that relate specifically to the commercial salt business in Missouri. There are over 200 cases in St. Charles and St. Louis alone; a few examples used in this essay are cited below.

- Alcorn, James vs. Christopher Burckhardt, (April 1817). Howard County Circuit Court (Richardson and Burckhardt relationship).
American State Papers, Public Lands, Vols. II, III, and VI. Washington D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1834, 1834 and 1860 respectively.
- Beachum, Larry M. *William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trade*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1982.
- Beatty, Joseph vs. Mackey Wherry, (November 1816). St. Louis Circuit Court (accounts for militia fines).
- Board of Land Commissioners Records, Missouri State Archives.
- Boone Family Papers (C995 microfilm), State Historical Society of Missouri.
- Bray, Robert T. "Boone's Lick Salt Works, 1805-1833," *Missouri Archaeologist*, Vol. 48 (December 1987), 1-61. See Bray's article for a discussion of the technology of salt-boiling.
- Bremer, Jeff Robert. *Frontier Capitalism: The Market Revolution in the Antebellum Lower Missouri River Valley, 1803-1860*. PhD. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2006.
- Broadhead, Garland C. *Report of the Geological Survey of the State of Missouri, including field work of 1873-1874*. Jefferson City, MO: Bureau of Geology and Mines. Regan & Carter, State Printers and Binders, 1874.
- Brown, Daniel T. *Westerling River, Westerling Trail, A History of St. Charles County, Missouri to 1849*. St. Charles: St. Charles Historical Society, 2006.
- Bryan and Morrison (Cahokia, IL) Daybook, 1806-1807. State Historical Society of Missouri, Rolla.
- Buckley, Jay H. "Pike as a Forgotten and Misunderstood Explorer," and "Jeffersonian Explorers in the Trans-Mississippi West: Zebulon Pike in Perspective," both in *Zebulon Pike, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West*, eds. Matthew L. Harris and Jay H. Buckley. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012, pp. 21-60 & 101-138 respectively.
- Caldwell, Norman W. "Fort Massac: The American Frontier Post 1778-1805." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. Vol. 43 (Winter 1950), 265-81.
- Clark, William, Papers. Missouri History Museum, St. Louis (Box 12, f. 8, Boone's Lick Road).
- Collier, George vs. James and Jesse Morrison, (July 1826). St. Charles Circuit Court.
- Coons, Rebecca, admin. vs. James and Jesse Morrison, (March 1823). St. Charles Circuit Court. (Morrison's security for Becknell's slave purchase).
- Cooper, Robert vs. Nathan Boone (April 1817), St. Charles Circuit Court. Debt.
- Craig, George vs. State of Missouri (March 1828), Howard County Circuit Court (a Buffalo Lick case); and typescript by William Lay, "Buffaloe Lick," c. 1996.
- Danisi, Thomas, and John Jackson. *Meriwether Lewis*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2009.
- Dickey, Michael. *Arrow Rock, Crossroads of the Missouri Frontier*. Arrow Rock: The Friends of Arrow Rock, 2004.
- Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, edited by Lawrence Christensen, William Foley, Gary Kremer, and Kenneth Winn. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999.
- Foley, William E. *The Genesis of Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989.
- Foley, William E. "James Wilkinson: Pike's Mentor and Jefferson's Capricious Point Man in the West," in *Zebulon Pike, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West*, eds. Matthew L. Harris and Jay H. Buckley. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013.
- Francois Poirier vs. William Christy and Company, (November 1810).

St. Louis Circuit Court. Missouri State Archives, St. Louis (a salt case about Heath's Lick).

History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri. St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883.

Houck, Louis. *The Spanish Regime in Missouri.* Vol. I and II. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1909.

Howard County Recorder's Office, Fayette, Mo. Indexes to grantor and grantee deed books, especially Book D, 61; G, 377; K, 76; M, 201; & O, 175 and consultation with archivist Carolyn Collings, Local Records Program, Missouri State Archives. Researchers should be aware of another major trader when looking at Booneslick land records. James Morrison of Lexington, KY, was a contemporary who speculated in thousands of acres of military land warrants in Booneslick counties and, by his attorney, filed them at Franklin in 1819, later selling many to Senator Henry Clay.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *Nathan Boone and the American Frontier.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998.

James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition. Vol. I. Carlisle, Mass.: Applewood Books, n.d., rpt. of Long's Expedition.

Jennings, Sister Marietta. *A Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis, 1810-1820.* New York: AMS Press (Columbia University Press 1939 rpt.), 1968.

John A. Jakle, "Salt on the Ohio Valley Frontier, 1770-1820," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol 59 (December 1969), 687-709.

Kerr, James, admin. vs. Nathan Boone, (June 1813). St. Charles County Circuit Court.

Kerr, James, admin. vs. Locky Kibby, adm. For Mackey Wherry, (October 1813). St. Charles County Circuit Court.

Laws ... of the District of Louisiana or the Territory of Louisiana of the Territory of Missouri up to the Year 1824, Chapter 371, Salt Springs. Jefferson City, Mo.: Lusk & Son, 1842.

Lay, William. *Indian Trade Factories and Forts in the Boonslick 1812-1815.* Typescript, 1995.

Lay, William. *The Story of the Boone's Lick State Historic Site.* Typescript, c. 1994.

Lyman Draper Manuscripts, Series C, vol. 16, 30 & 31; Series S, vol. 6, microfilm in State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

McKnight, Robert and Thomas McKnight vs. James and Jesse Morrison, (June 1814). Missouri Supreme Court. (Santa Fe adventure).

Maddox, D. T. *Late Account of the Missouri Territory....* Paris, KY: John Lyle, 1817.

My Father, Daniel Boone, edited by Neal Hammon. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999.

Morrison Family Papers. Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.

Morrison, James vs. John B. Callaway and Newton Howell, (July 1819). St. Charles Circuit Court (Fort Johnson account).

Morrison, William, *Kaskaskia Ledgerd.* Chester Public Library, Chester, IL. (online)

Morrow, Lynn. "Daniel Morgan Boone's Missing Years: Sending Ozarks Pine to St. Louis," *Big Muddy, A Journal of the Mississippi River Valley*, Vol. 11.1 (Spring 2011) or "Piney Sawmillers at Gasconade Mills," *Old Settlers Gazette* (July 2008), both online.

Palmer, John. *Journal of Travels in the United States of North America in 1817.* London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1818.

Parker-Russell Papers, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis (reward for slave).

Primm, James Neal. *Lion of the Valley, St. Louis, Missouri.* Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1981.

Prough, Yvonne Castens. *Darst Bottom: A History of Darst Bottom in the Femme Osage Region of St. Charles County, Missouri.* Defiance, MO: Lindenwood University Press, 2001.

Richardson, Christopher, vs. William Robertson, (July 1839). Howard County Chancery Court. (estate partition concerning Richardson's and Burckhart's Lick.)

Richardson, Lemont K. "Private Land Claims in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* (January, April, and July 1956).

Rohrbough, Malcolm. *The Land Business, The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1837.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

St. Charles County territorial tax assessments, 1815-1818 and 1823-1826.

Schroeder, Walter. "Spread of Settlement in Howard County, Missouri, 1810-1859." *Missouri Historical Review* Vol. 63 (October 1968), 1-37.

Seeking a Newer World: The Fort Osage Journals and Letters of George Sibley 1808-1811, introduction and edited by Jeffrey E. Smith. St. Charles: Lindenwood University Press, 2003.

Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory Louisiana and Missouri 1803-1806 Clarence Edwin Carter, editor. Vol. 13, Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1948; *ibid.*, 1806-1814. Vol. 14. 1949; and *ibid.*, 1815-1821. Vol. 15. 1951.

Tevebaugh, John Leslie. *Merchant on the Western Frontier: William Morrison of Kaskaskia, 1790-1837.* PhD. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1962.

Thorne, Tanis C. *The Many Hands of My Relations, French and Indians on the Lower Missouri.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996.

Todd, Elisha vs. Christopher Burckhartt, (April 1817). Howard County Circuit Court (Richardson salt business).

The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, edited by Donald Jackson, Vol. 1 and II. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

Trimble, Michael K., Teresita Majewski, Michael J. O'Brien, and Anna L. Price, "Frontier Colonization of the Saline Creek Valley," in *The Illinois Country and the Western Great Lakes,* ed. by J. A. Walthall. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991, 165-188.

Westward with Dragoons, the Journal of William Clark, On His Expedition to Establish Fort Osage, August 25 to September 22, 1808, ed. Kate Gregg. Fulton, MO: Ovid Bell Press, 1937.

Wood, Raymond. *Prologue to Lewis and Clark, The Mackay and Evans Expedition.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

US Recorder of Land Titles. RG 951, Vol. A (1805-1843). Missouri State Archives. US Supreme Court Cases. Mackay v. Dillon, 45 U.S. 421 (1846) and Les Bois v. Brammel, 45 U.S. 449 (1846) (final James Mackay heirs' litigation).

US Surveyor General, Private Land Surveys, 1817-1852. Volume D. Missouri State Archives.



Pickling meat in a salt brine, one of the many 19th-century uses of Boone's Lick salt. Illustration courtesy Missouri State Parks



Above: The Borromeo Catholic Parish Cemetery, St. Charles, and family plot where James Morrison Sr. (1767 - 1848) was buried – tall obelisk marker.



Lower left: Garrison Hill Cemetery where remains of William Morrison (1763 – 1837) were moved to Fort Kaskaskia (erected in 1734) from Old Kaskaskia, the latter now west of the main Mississippi River channel. Slab in the foreground is Morrison's damaged grave marker.

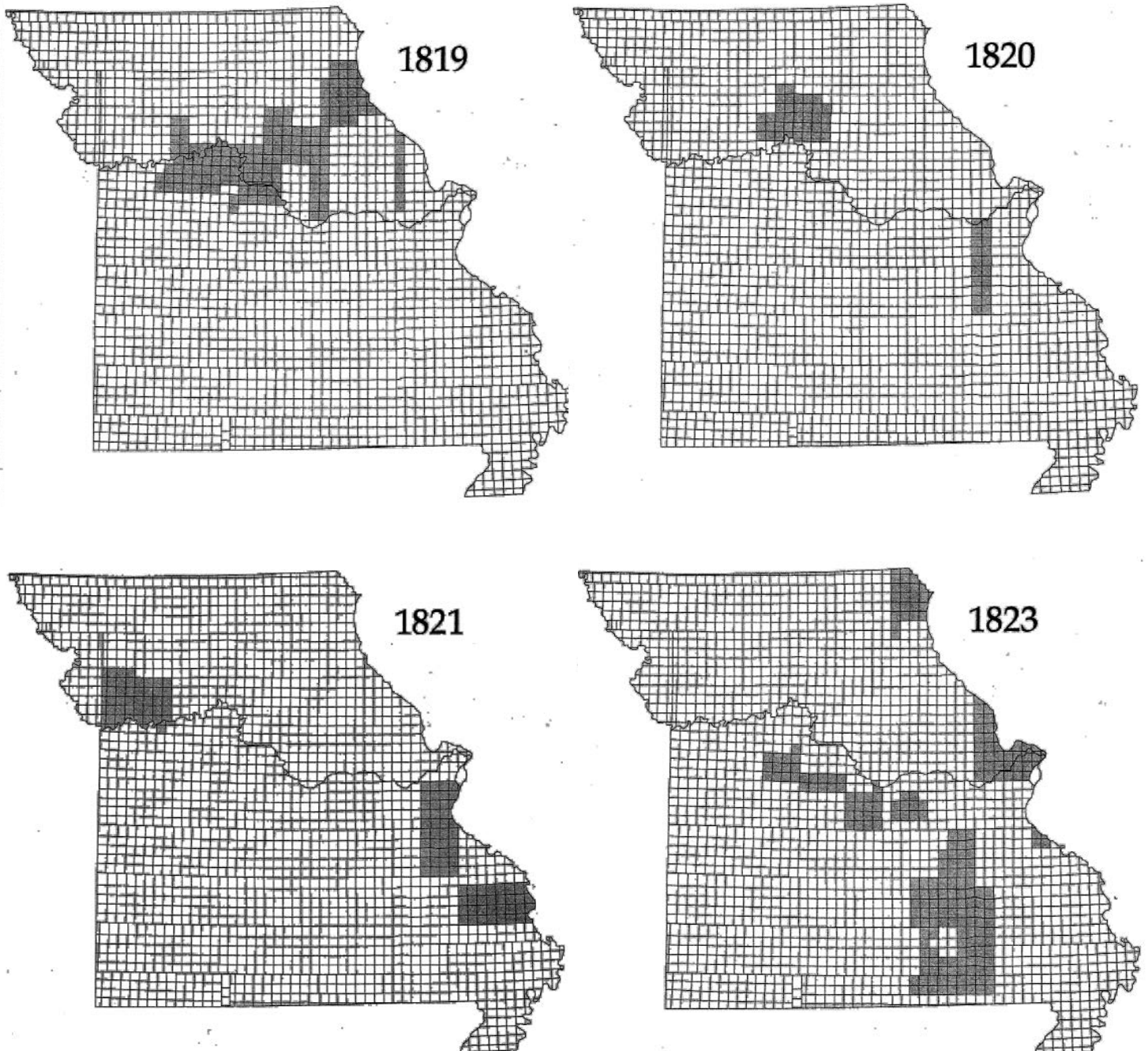


Right: Nicholas Burckhartt (1792 – 1834) grave marker in Mt. Pleasant Cemetery just north of New Franklin.

Photos by Don Cullimore, Lynn Morrow, and Jim Denny

Americans on the Move and Land for Sale

The 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1823 maps show Congressional townships where the General Land Office (GLO) in St. Louis had received the sub-contracted surveys and notes and had approved them for sale. The GLO would announce each year in area newspapers that upon a certain date in 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1823 those townships shaded on the map would be offered for sale at GLO offices. Collectively the maps show settlement patterns along the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers occurring after the War of 1812 and the end of American-Indian hostilities. Migrations into southern Missouri reflect, in part, the development of lead mining activities. *Map data compiled by Water Schroeder, cartography by James Harlan.*



Historian Lynn Morrow Guest Speaker at BHS Fall Meeting

November 8 at Historic J. Huston Tavern in Arrow Rock

Missouri historian Lynn Morrow will be the featured speaker November 8 at the Boonslick Historical Society (BHS) fall meeting. Members of the Boone's Lick Road Association (BLRA) will join the Society in a joint dinner at the J. Huston Tavern (1836) in historic Arrow Rock in Saline County.

The BHS/BLRA fall meeting begins at 5:30 p.m. with a social hour, followed by the dinner at 6:30 p.m. and then the program. The general public is invited to attend the meeting. Cost of the dinner is \$20 per person. For meal reservations (due by November 1), contact Cindy Bowen at 660-273-2374 or by email at gbowen@socket.net or return the reservation form below.

The title of Morrow's presentation is "Boone's Lick in Western Expansion: James Mackay, the Boones, and the Morrisons." As Morrow notes, "The synergism of Eastern wealth, the Louisiana Purchase, the Thomas Jefferson administration, the Missouri Indian trade, commercial visions for Santa Fe, and initiatives of bold adventurers spawned the famed Boone's Lick in 1805."

Morrow will discuss these unfolding events that brought Morgan and Nathan Boone into a commercial salt industry with Philadelphia's Bryan and Morrison trading company, the most influential American firm in Missouri's trans-Mississippi West. Of the six Morrison brothers who came West, William, the eldest, administered the family business from Kaskaskia, assigning James, Jesse, nephews, and others to implement their strategic economic reach. Boone's Lick salt became crucial in the Osage Indian trade, Missouri River commerce, and for support of federal and Missouri militia troops in the War of 1812.

Morrow's presentation will be drawn from his essay in this issue of Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly, where readers can peruse his longer essay that surveys the topic from the mid-1790s to the mid-1830s. This special edition includes previously unpublished documents and information regarding this period of Missouri Territory and statehood history.

Morrow recently retired as the long-time director of local records preservation for Missouri State Archives. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in history from Southwest Missouri State University (now Missouri State University) in Springfield. He is the author of several books and numerous articles on Missouri history.

Morrow was the principal contributor to the *Dictionary of Missouri Biography* and is general editor of a new anthology, *The Ozarks in Missouri History: Discoveries in an American Region*, recently published by University of Missouri Press.

He has published numerous articles set in the Boonslick Region of Saline County that concern Dr. John Sappington, the development of Marshall, the county seat, and the freedmen's community of Pennytown.

Two other important events are occurring November 8 that may be of interest to BHS members and the general public. There will be a formal dedication and placement of a historical marker noting the 19th-century Boone's Lick

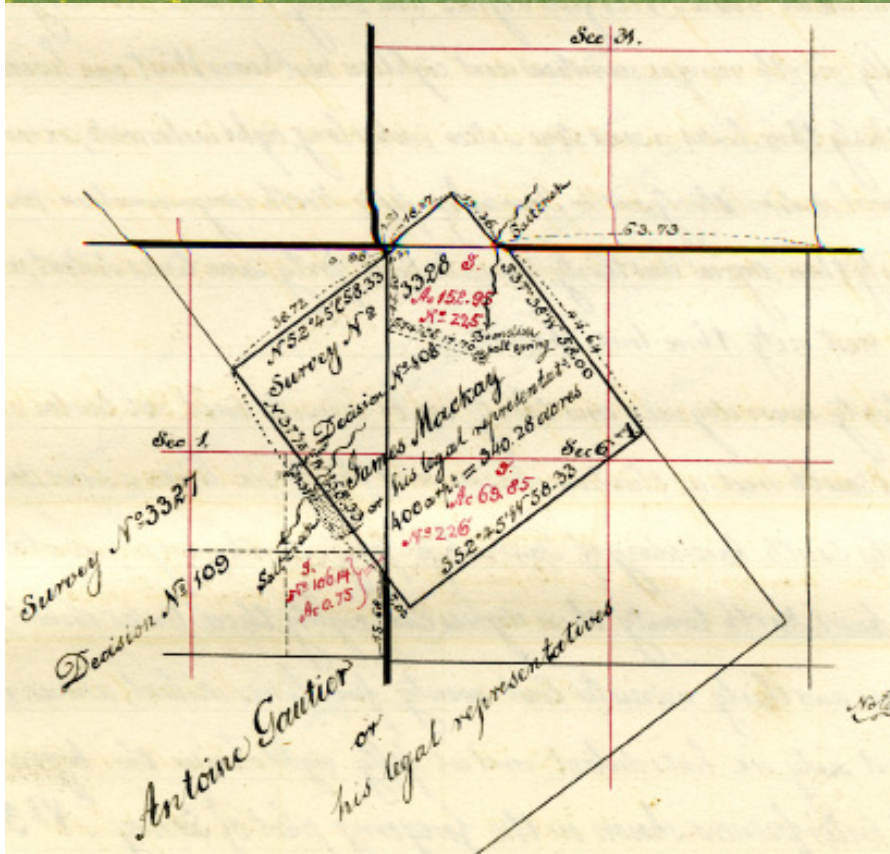
Road/Trail that went from St. Charles to Old Franklin, beginning about 1816. It later connected with the historic Santa Fe Trail, which began at Old Franklin in 1821. It will take place at 11 a.m. at the Katy Trail State Park site 3-tenths of a mile west of Highway 5 (at the north end of the Boonville Missouri River Bridge) on Highway 87.

A reception noting the 50th Anniversary of the recognition of Arrow Rock as a National Historic Landmark will take place there at 1:30 p.m., hosted by Mike Dickey, administrator of the Arrow Rock State Historic Site. Gary Kremer, executive director of the State of Missouri Historical Society, will be present to make special comments.



Dating to 1836, the J. Huston Tavern in the historic community of Arrow Rock in Saline County will be the location for a joint meeting of the Boonslick Historical Society and Boone's Lick Road Association, November 9. Photo by Don Cullimore

www.boonslickhistoricalsociety.org



Above: Boone's Lick State Historic Site near Boonsboro in Howard County, location of the salt lick first located by James Mackay and later operated by Daniel Morgan Boone and his brother Nathan in connection with the Bryan and Morrison trading company.

Left: This survey drawing represents land claimed by heirs of James Mackay, who successfully appealed their land claims case in the 1830s. This was land that Mackay originally claimed in 1797 in what became Howard County and included what is now known as Boone's Salt Lick. It was part of a Spanish land grant of 340 acres to Mackay prior to the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803. *Courtesy of Missouri State Archives.*

Right: grave stone of Joseph Morrison, 11-year-old son of Maj. James Morrison. Young James died after being scalded in a kettle of boiling salt water he accidentally fell into at the salt lick. *Photos by Don Cullimore*