Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly

Berenice Morrison-Fuller

Essay on the Morrison Family, Part II

BHS Fall Meeting November 6 in Fayette
at Emmet's on Historic Courthouse Square

Vol. 15 No. 3 — Fall 2016
Boonslick Historical Society Periodical

Editor's Page

The Morrison Chronicles: the Power of Feminine Side …

As we present the unfolding story of Berenice Morrison-Fuller and the extended Morrison family several significant elements come to the forefront—the strength of character and intellect and the concomitant power of persuasion of the feminine side of the clan.

This is the second part of a major essay, a chronological account, by historian Lynn Morrow about the Morrison family et al of Missouri and Howard County. By any measuring, especially those of the Victorian Era, women's place in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society was defined by social attitudes that precluded their involvement in politics, business, property ownership and the largely male professional workplace.

Berenice Morrison, however, proved to be an admirable exception to these restrictions. Well educated, well traveled, culturally sophisticated, a suffragette, she demonstrated throughout her life a remarkable ability to make sound and independent decisions about all facets of her life, from personal relations to business propositions to managing finances and her considerable estate. And she wasn't alone, especially among the numerous well-educated and strong-willed women in her close family.

The strength of character is obvious in the portrait of Mrs. John P. (Willie Anna) Fuller, Berenice Morrison's intellectual and social mentor and future mother-in-law. *Image courtesy of The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art, Central Methodist University. Artist unknown*

The three-part essay is titled "From Salt-boiling to Star-gazing: Marriage, Merchants, and Money." This 52,000-word treatise on nineteenth-century heiress Berenice Morrison-Fuller, her antecedents, contemporaries and descendents, is a continuation of a multi-year effort by Morrow to research and write about the history of the Boonslick Country and the cast of interesting and ambitious people who were part of its history from the dawn of the nineteenth century into the twentieth. Few families have had an impact on that history – socially and economically – equal to the Morrison clan and those families to whom they were connected by marriage and business.

The first installment in the essay was titled "The Traders: Keelboats to Steamboats."

This Fall issue of the *Quarterly* sets the stage for the final chapter of the Morrisons, Part III, titled "The Morrison-Fullers in Glasgow, which will appear in the Winter 2016 issue of the *Quarterly*.

As historian Morrow writes in the opening chapter of the final segment:

"The Morrison-Fullers arrived in Glasgow in late October 1899. They occupied Eglantine Castle and wrote to Berenice S. Royster, a new mother, who, in June 1898, had given birth to Berenice A. Royster. 'The process of getting settled goes on slowly, but surely. We already have two rooms fairly comfortable.' The great house had stood for years as a sentinel in the midst of the former tobacco, agricultural, and stock farms of the Swinneys."

It's a fascinating conclusion to the story of a remarkable woman and her remarkable family. We are sure our readers will not want to miss it.

—Don B. Cullimore

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 B. 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 on loan to The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art at Central Methodist University, Fayette.

Membership dues are $15-Individual, $25-Family, $50-Sponsor, $250-Patron, $500-Life. The dues year is January through December. Receive our publication, *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly*, 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.

Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly

Boonslick Historical Society Vol. 15, No. 3 • Fall 2016

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Berenice Morrison-Fuller, Glasgow Heiress

This issue features Part II of a major essay on the Morrison Family being serialized over three issues of the *Quarterly.* Below is the title of the last installment.

BHS members will gather at Emmet's on the Historic Courthouse Square in Fayette Nov. 6 for the annual fall meeting. Historian Dorris Keeven-Franke will be the speaker.

Coming in the Winter issue, Morrison essay, Part III – The Morrison-Fullers in Glasgow

Cover photo of Berenice Morrison-Fuller and her daughter, Berenice. [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]. Key: SHSMO = State Historical Society of Missouri.

Special Three-part Essay

Salt-boiling to Star-gazing: Marriage, Merchants, and Money

By Lynn Morrow

Part II: Oswald and Berenice

Living in a mansion on Lucas Place in St. Louis, Berenice lost her mother at age five and her father at age nine. Nancy Lyons, Berenice's "black mammy," had served the daughters of William Morrison of Kaskaskia, and became William M. Morrison's primary family servant; she tended to Berenice's domestic needs, while Berenice's father managed his business and public life. Berenice had warm memories of her privileged childhood. She recalled that the devout Nancy sang French songs and introduced the Catholic religion to her, took her on walks around the neighborhood, and calmed her fears at night. In the spring and autumn, "a paid seamstress came for the big sewing" at the Morrisons' house, as they were regular customers. But, the family also bought fashionable dresses from local Irish women. A "hairdresser (usually colored) came once a week for shampooing and treatment." Berenice's female relatives did her nails, so that she "never had a file or buffer until I was nearly grown." She socialized with her Collier kin down the street, remaining life-long friends with an older cousin, Mary Collier Hitchcock (1832-1928). Occasionally, her maternal Swinney family in Howard County visited. Grandfather Swinney purchased speculative real estate in St. Louis that ultimately paid handsome dividends to Berenice in her adulthood; some of his outstate land speculation was with her father. It's clear from the family papers that relatives in St. Charles also were not strangers. Young Berenice traveled, too. She wrote that "In my childhood, I frequently took trips from Glasgow to St. Louis by boat."

The Swinneys moved Berenice to Glasgow, where her uncle James Oswald Swinney helped his mother Lucy Ann care for the child. Uncle Oswald converted to the Methodists in 1855 and was involved in church activities. Oswald preached his first sermon in February 1863 at Sweet Springs. Unknown to Berenice was that her late grandfather, Capt. William D. Swinney, in June 1863, bequeathed one-half of his large estate to her -- his only granddaughter -- while his widow Lucy Ann and son Oswald administered the extensive Swinney properties. A result of the Captain's multi-year probate settlement and Berenice's future dealings with Oswald was that she became the largest landowner along "tobacco road" east of Glasgow, earning rents from those farms and in neighboring counties.

This is the second installment of a major essay on nineteenth-century heiress Berenice Morrison-Fuller (1856-1947) that is being serialized over three issues of the *Quarterly* this year. It was written by Missouri historian and BHS member Lynn Morrow and is based on his intensive research over several years. Part I was "The Traders: Keelboats to Steamboats." Part II, in this issue, is "Oswald and Berenice: Berenice Morrison's Education and Oswald's Visions." Part III, in the Winter issue, will be "The Morrison-Fullers in Glasgow."

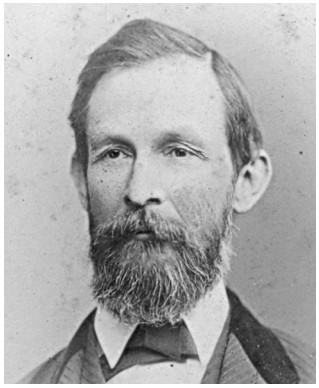
In 1862, Maria Swinney wrote that Unionists occupied the Swinney *Sylvan Villa* and *Hazel Ridge* properties and "Oswald was compelled to go into the militia or leave home." Swinney served as a junior officer under Gen. Thomas J. Bartholow. His Unionist connection allowed him to deal with a government inspector for branding of tobacco hogsheads at Glasgow Landing and to continue shipping them to St. Louis. Oswald resigned from the Enrolled Missouri Militia on March 26, 1863, and a year later, on April 30, 1864, the military declared Oswald exempt from service. His active duty and his absences from home while preaching resulted in him being something less than a full-time agriculturalist. As a part of the U.S. internal revenue taxes for supporting the war, he did pay the federal government tax as a "produce dealer" and for keeping a jack and three stallions at the farm. Lucy Ann remained amidst the Sylvan Villa plantation with eighteen house servants and six field hands, ornaments of the Swinney's privileged slaveholding. After W. D.'s death in June 1863, William M. Morrison took widow Lucy Ann and Berenice east for a couple of months.

At the end of summer, they returned home. In September 1863, an uncommon announcement about emancipation of slaves occurred at Sylvan Villa. Lucy Ann and Oswald Swinney, and William M. Morrison, as trustee for Berenice, agreed to emancipate some two dozen slaves "under certain conditions" on January 1, 1864. Basically, the slaves could emigrate from the state of Missouri with Oswald paying their expenses, or remain as servants to Oswald to earn wages (which they would forfeit if they subsequently ran away). Maria Swinney remembered that only one male took the offer, but after newspapers reported the offer, Swinney's neighbors complained bitterly about the agreement. In October

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.

1863, W. D. Swinney's executors (Oswald and William M. Morrison) transferred more than $39,000 in land and cash [$758,000] into Berenice's estate.

Oswald, too, was a primary legatee for his father William Swinney's estate, while he served as co-executor with Morrison (until Morrison died in July 1865). Berenice's grandfather's estate, comparable to her father's assets in modern valuations, distributed over $3,000,000 to family members. The liquidation of Capt. Swinney's real properties went primarily to his son Oswald and granddaughter Berenice; Berenice's inheritance would loom large in Oswald's future in Glasgow. During the war, the W. D. Swinney and William Morrison commercial interests were tied to Northern Unionist concerns that resulted in financial stability, even growth, for the wealth that the child stood to inherit. On January 1, 1864, in the partition of the Captain's estate, trustee William M. Morrison, received his Fayette properties north of the square, including the tobacco stemmery and over twelve acres of land that would ultimately become campus acreage for Central Methodist College.



James Oswald Swinney and his mother, Lucy Ann Swinney, became guardians of Berenice Morrison after the death of her father when she was nine years old. Her mother had passed away four years earlier. *Images courtesy of Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC*

Oswald Swinney returned from Brooklyn to Glasgow in fall 1865 and mused that, "old social landmarks were completely destroyed." Several months later, in 1866, he accepted a pastor's role as a Methodist Episcopal South minister in Glasgow, while taking stock of the new post-war social and commercial environment. A generation earlier, a thirteen-year-old Oswald and twenty-year-old Carr W. Pritchett (1823-1910) had met as students at St. Charles College in 1843-44, a Methodist secondary institution owned by George Collier. Pritchett did not graduate, but taught school and preached until licensed as a Methodist minister. Pritchett, in fact, taught in Fayette during the 1850s, left for a year to study at Harvard, and returned in 1859 to teach again at Central College, with Oswald's father, Capt. Swinney, making the guarantee for his salary. The war closed the school and Pritchett journeyed east again landing employment in Washington, D.C., but his family remained near Fayette. While Pritchett was living in D.C., wrote historian Lawrence Christensen, he received a visit from Oswald after he left Brooklyn on his way back to Missouri. The younger Methodist minister recruited the older to come back to Glasgow the following year, 1866, to administer a new school that Swinney intended to establish. Glasgow's Pritchett School Institute opened in September 1866 with Carr Pritchett as president, a role he served for seven years.

Swinney, conscious of his personal forward planning, hired Thomas Shackelford to pen his will, handle his legal real estate deeds, administer his insurance, establish local probate accounts for Berenice Morrison, and to author the articles of association to incorporate Pritchett Institute in 1868. Shackelford served as an important ally and promoter for the school over the next four decades. Oswald examined the inventory of his estate performed on August 1, 1866, that showed his property valuation at $192,620 [$3,147,000], including nearly $12,000 in his downtown Glasgow Pritchett Institute, $20,000 in Glasgow lots and buildings, $20,000 for his Estill farm and residence, and over $36,000 [$588,000] in promissory notes from his friends and relatives. He had several acreages beyond Howard County, including a house and lots in Brooklyn, New York, valued at $15,000 [$245,000], appreciated from an $8,000 investment in 1864.

Berenice Morrison's Education & Oswald's Visions

After Berenice began her residence In Glasgow, James O. Swinney began allocating significant personal funding to support the school. Its immediate success in enrollments led Oswald and supporters to plan an expansion "from the heart of Glasgow to a more commodious suburban location." They moved into a larger three-story, sixteen-room brick building and pleasant campus on the eastern edge of Glasgow for 1868-69. Workers constructed a three-fourth mile plank sidewalk that led from town to the school. Swinney enlisted more financial help from his acquaintances, but donors were a small group. Only eight other Glasgow men provided any personal funds until 1881; the majority came from Thomas Shackleford, Thomas Erskine Birch, II, and Mrs. B. W. Lewis. Professor T. Berry Smith stated it well when he wrote that the school "had no constituencies save those of kinship and friendship."

Oswald envisioned more than a school -- he wanted a great country seat, too. The construction estimate for the college building with 400,000 bricks, 64 windows, 21 doors, stone foundation, interior finish, and a furnace was $17,605 [$316,400]. At the same time, the estimate for his and Maria's new seventeen-room Italianate-style house, named *Eglantine Castle*, included over 300,000 bricks, bay and basement windows, attic windows in a tower, three flights of stairs, six mantles, interior finish and water tank, stone foundation, and a cistern came to $17,675 [$317,600]. The Swinney couple moved into the great, unfinished mansion on the last day of August 1869.

It took several years to complete the interior furnishings and acquire accessories for one of the most pretentious houses in Howard County, located east of the Lewis Cemetery. Oswald used local merchants, but purchased fixtures and manufactured items in Boston, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. At the time, his mother lived in Philadelphia with Berenice, so it's likely that Lucy Ann was a mediator for the interior decor. Finally, in April 1873, Oswald acquired the finishing touches. He paid steamboat freight for house furniture, wall paper, a new mower, and a horse and riding carriage, all handled by Glasgow's Tatum and Morrison firm. The freight and carriage cost of $145 [$2,900] was as much as working folks paid for a two-room house.

In Glasgow, the Rev. Oswald Swinney initiated arrangements to build an astronomical observatory, a dream his friend, the Rev.

Pritchett School Institute in Glasgow. Established in 1866, it became Pritchett College after 1897 and closed in 1922. *Image courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survery.*

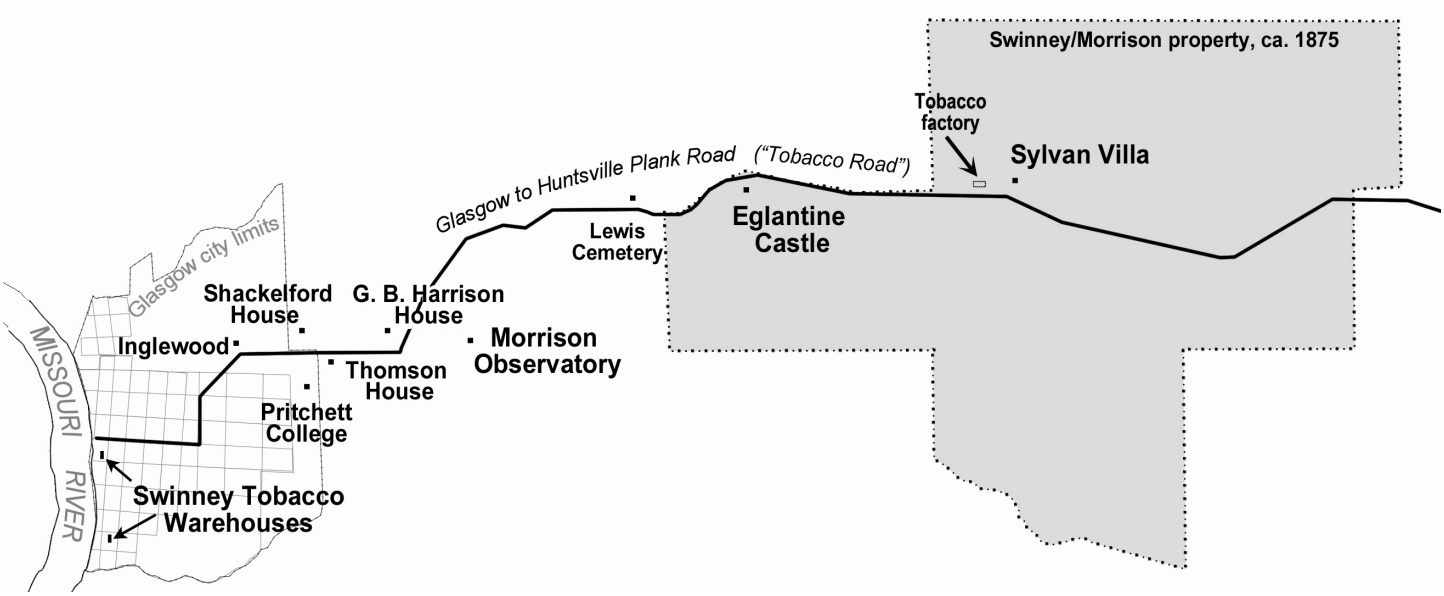
C. W. Pritchett, had had since he returned from Harvard in 1859 to Central College. After the war, the two friends renewed the visionary goal. Although Oswald and Lucy Ann Swinney had dedicated $20,000 [$378,000] to the new Pritchett Institute, Oswald placed orders for equipment, even ordered bricks for construction that were piled upon the Pritchett school lawn. Concomitantly, at a Swinney-brokered project, workers completed the 1868 A.M.E. Glasgow church. However, Carr Pritchett wrote that Swinney had exhausted his liquid funds and defaulted on the observatory equipment order. One has to question Oswald's lack of financial management during the late 1860s. He no doubt became embarrassed at his inability to follow through for his friend Pritchett. Not to waste the order, he "carted the bricks to his home for a sidewalk." Swinney and Pritchett, however, did not give up on the idea of an observatory.

Berenice Morrison had lived at Sylvan Villa with Lucy Ann, 1865-69, where the Swinney's hired governesses to tutor Berenice. In 1868-69, Berenice and her cousin, Anne Swinney, attended the third grade together at Pritchett. Oswald, himself, had exposure to a good education in his youth. He attended St. Charles College briefly, but also studied at Yale and the University of Virginia, 1849-1851. And, just as Oswald's sister, Kate – Berenice's mother -- had learned French, the Swinneys hired a recent immigrant , Mlld. Adele Baudy, to teach French to Berenice. Capt. Willliam and Lucy Ann Swinney had sent Kate to Philadelphia, the center of American education for females during the early 1850s, to spend her late teens in study and to become an accomplished woman at Madame Gardelle's French School, an institution that Mary Collier attended earlier. Kate became accomplished on the piano and on an English harp. When Berenice reached her early teens, Oswald and Maria Swinney determined that it was time that Kate's daughter, and their own, Anne, should benefit from a similar upper-class education. The family chose the esteemed Chestnut Street Seminary and a nearby music academy. Expense was no problem. In 1868, Berenice earned $21,155 [$380,000] from her father's estate, as R. J. Lackland liquidated assets, collected rents and interest on loans, and moved them into her bank account.

By fall 1868, while Berenice attended classes at the new Pritchett school, Eglantine Castle rose on the skyline. Lucy Ann and Oswald decided that it was time to plan for Berenice to attend school in the east. The following summer 1869, Lucy Ann and Berenice moved to Philadelphia. It was perhaps this trip that Berenice recalled her personal audience with President U. S. Grant at the White House, likely arranged by Henry Hitchcock and Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, family friends in St. Louis. On September 19, 1869, Berenice wrote cousin Anne Swinney that she was newly arrived in Philadelphia and "grandma has already written fully to Mr. Lackland." R. J. Lackland, as Berenice's trustee for her father's estate, began directing checks to Lucy Ann for Berenice's "education, maintenance, and support."

During fall 1869, R. J. Lackland wrote to Lucy Ann about thirteen-year-old Berenice "wishing to own the old homestead, Sylvan Villa," jointly owned by Lucy Ann and Oswald. The

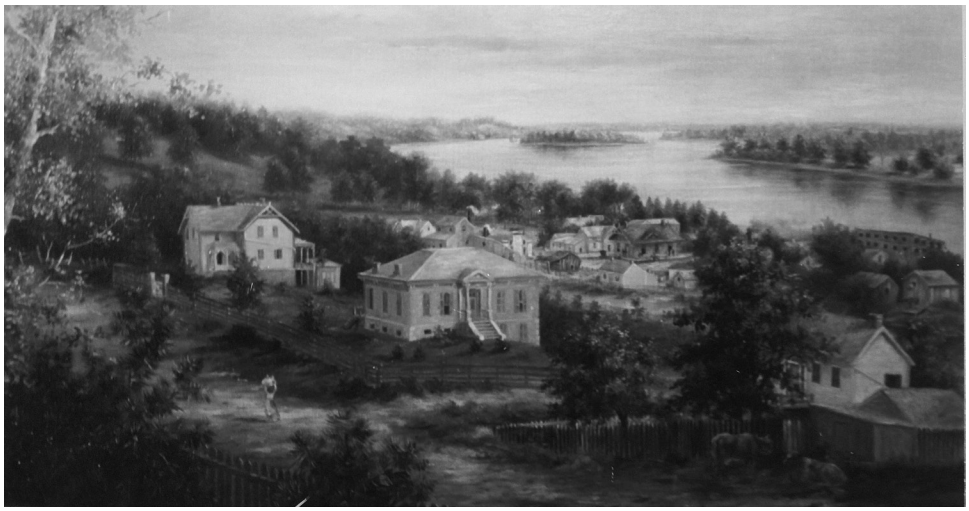
Eglantine Castle, an Italianate-style house built by Oswald Swinney, became the family home in 1869. Bernice and her husband, John P. Fuller, lived there during their Glasgow years. *Photo by E. P. Puckett*



Map of Glasgow area in the latter half of the nineteenth century notes the Swinney-Morrison properties and other important stuctures located on what was the road between Glasgow and Fayette. *Map created by James M. Denny*

Boatmen's executive said that Oswald came to see him to say that "you [Lucy Ann] and Berenice are anxious for it and that you have agreed upon the price – about 1000 acres at $80 an acre. I will yield to your wishes and Berenice's. I must say that it is a poor investment and not likely to pay any dividend very soon." On November 26, 1869, Lackland responded to Lucy Ann. "I have a letter from Oswald saying there are 1039.73 acres in the old home tract which at $80 an acre amounts to $83,178.40 [$1,495,000]. The one-half which I am to pay him cash for Berenice and he will send you the deed for your signature. Of course if you, Berenice, and Oswald agree to this I shall with pleasure carry out your wishes. Berenice has ample funds to gratify her desire and wish to own the old homestead. You are aware of course as an investment for income or profit that it cannot be rented for more than enough to pay wear and tear and pay taxes, but this need not enter into the consideration for Berenice has income enough from her Father's estate to more than support her." In Glasgow, Oswald's investment in Pritchett Institute, now near $40,000 [$719,000], had exhausted his ability for hefty contributions. But, Oswald received $41,589.20 [$747,000] cash from Berenice's estate and resumed development of Eglantine Castle, Pritchett Institute, and speculation in real estate and distant mineral lands. Meanwhile, the Swinneys' nephew and niece, Rector (1837-1907) and Sallie (1837-1910) Barton, who moved back to Kentucky after Brooklyn, had gone bankrupt, owing Oswald several thousand dollars. Oswald brought them to Sylvan Villa as tenants to manage the family's assets in tobacco, grain, and stock. A Swinney tobacco factory was on the farm and their brick warehouse still stood at the docks in Glasgow.

Berenice's Chestnut school was actually the Bonney and Dillaye Academy, named for its distinguished educators. Mary Bonney matriculated at the prestigious Troy Female Seminary in New York completing a "curriculum similar to that offered in men's colleges," and according to historian Anne Firor Scott, "the seminary was an important source of feminism" and influenced "ideas about women's capacities." A brilliant student and former teacher at Troy, Harriette Dillaye, joined Bonney in 1850 to found the Chestnut Street school, a boarding and day school. A women's publication in 1859 advertised, "A Few Teachers of Celebrity," acclaiming the reputation of the Mss. Bonney and Hillaye. The educators offered a liberal arts education to young women, aged thirteen to

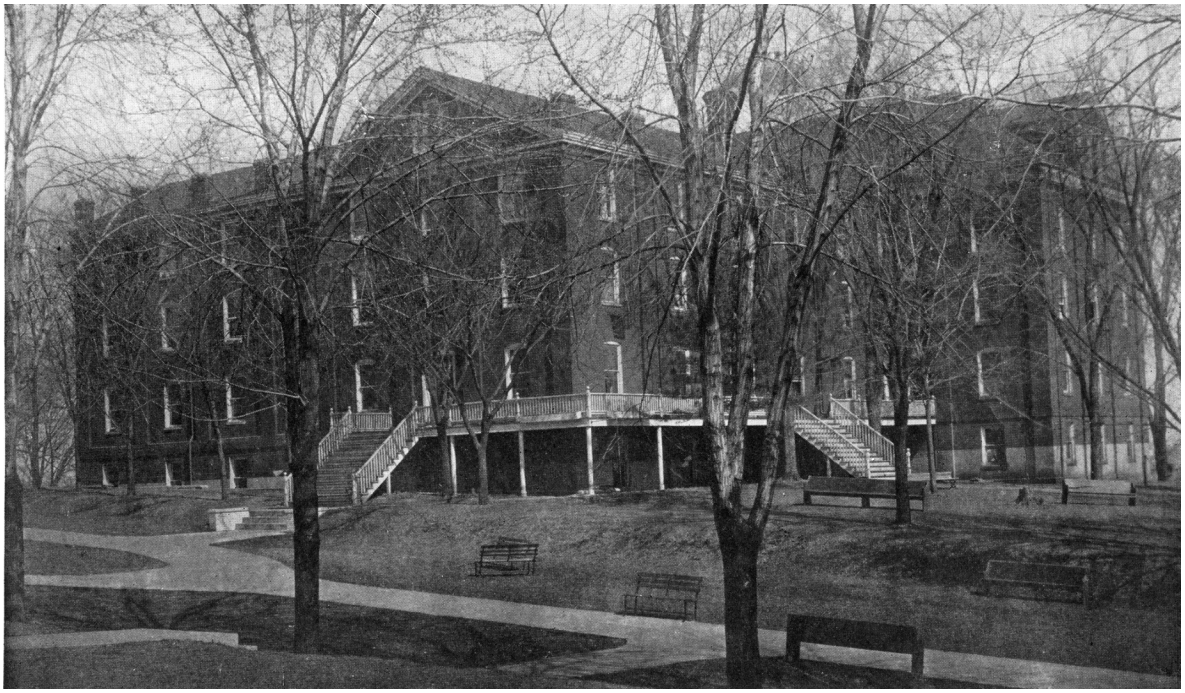


Artist's representation of Glasgow, circa 1860, by Glasgow artist Cornelia Kuemmel (1863-1938), shows north side of community overlooking the Missouri River. *Original painting owned by State Historical Society of Missouri. Photo image courtesy of James Denny*

eighteen. The curriculum emphasized training in piano, violin, and the organ. The volume, *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary* praised the school for its "clear and vigorous thinking and devotion to principle."

During Berenice's time at Chestnut Street, Oswald became acquainted with Mrs. John P. Fuller, who also had close ties with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mrs. Fuller's father-in-law, William A. Smith D.D. (1802-70), orphaned at an early age, was an acclaimed author, clergyman, and served as a two-decade president of the Methodists' Randolph-Macon College, when it was located at Boydton, Virginia, near the North Carolina border. Smith was a professor of moral and intellectual philosophy, a "brilliant and popular" preacher.

An 1833 severe carriage accident badly lamed Smith for the rest of his life. Nevertheless, he played a historic role in the national Methodist Conference of 1844 that led to the institutional split in the church. He was a founding member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at the 1845 Louisville convention. He is remembered as an effective sponsor of great revivals and had national repute for his "deliberative and forensic eloquence and for rare powers of argument and debate." In November 1846 he accepted the presidency of Randolph-Macon College and coordinated a $100,000 drive for an endowment.



Turn-of-the-century photo of Howard-Payne Hall, formerly Howard Female College, which dates to the early 1850s. It became part of Central College in the 1920s. *Image courtesy of Central Methodist University archives*

Smith was a very public personality. He wrote regularly in Methodist publications, especially the *Richmond Christian Advocate*. He was not without foes. Dr. Charles Deems accused Smith of defamation that led to a nationally-covered trial at the 1855 Virginia Methodist Conference. The church fathers concluded almost unanimously that Smith was innocent.

In 1856 Dr. Smith published his popular lecture series on "The Philosophy and Practice of Slavery as Exhibited in the Institution of Domestic Slavery in the United States, with the Duties of Masters to Slaves," where he "asserted that Scripture, philosophy and natural rights all serve to prove that the system of slavery is necessary and will continue into perpetuity." Southern colleges used his work and he achieved a national reputation when it was published in Nashville, Tennessee. Randolph-Macon closed during the Civil War and the Confederacy gave a Colonel's commission to Smith. During the last year of the war, Smith rode the circuit amidst battles in Virginia lecturing on a Christian interpretation for the continuance of slavery. Historian Harriet Frazier and others since have recognized that "churches played a role in convincing slaves that they were or certainly ought to be contented." M.E. South ministers claimed that abolitionists tragically misread scripture. Dr. Smith was a leading advocate of this position, a factor in his future calling to St. Louis, Missouri. Fully 86% of Missouri's Methodist churches affiliated with the M.E. South.

John Powell Fuller, Sr. (1834-68), graduated from Randolph-Macon in 1856, and in 1858, married President Smith's educated daughter, Willie Anna (1837-90). Willie's mother, Ellice Miller Smith (1805-37) probably died as a result of complications after childbirth, as she had a long history of illness. John Fuller practiced law in Lumberton, North Carolina, was a delegate to the North Carolina secession convention in May 1861, and served in the treasury department of the Confederacy. In 1866, when Randolph-Macon College moved north to Ashland, Virginia, William Smith accepted a new position in the St. Louis Methodist Conference, as pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church in the Lucas Place neighborhood. Smith's son-in-law, John P. Fuller, Sr., his daughter Willie Anna, and grandchild, John P. Fuller, Jr. (1862-1910), came with him.

In February 1868, in the tenth-anniversary year of his marriage, John P. Fuller, Sr., died while in New Orleans. Tragically, the Fuller couple had already lost a couple of small children, too. However, the surviving three-generation Smiths, that included the lone Fuller son, John, continued life in St. Louis for several months. Dr. Smith socialized with urban and rural Methodist leaders who were discussing ways and means for moving their institution into the future.

Fayette, the county seat, had been overshadowed in population and commerce by the river port, Glasgow, and in 1868, was 500 residents shy of its county rival. Wealthy Methodists at Glasgow had already sponsored and built Methodist North- and Method-

ist South-financed schools, Lewis College and Pritchett. In Fayette, in 1868, Brannock Hall at the college in Fayette still suffered from Civil War property damages. In June 1868, a Missouri M. E. South convention determined to raise an endowment for a newly-constituted Central College in Fayette and promoted an energized "Classical Seminary." Oswald Swinney, emboldened with his inheritance, became the first donor with $5,000 [$90,000] and unsuccessfully challenged two dozen Missouri Methodists publicly in the Missouri press to do the same. Influential Methodists, after considerable wooing, hired Dr. William A. Smith as the new president of Central with the mission of raising a $100,000 endowment. Later in the year, Smith relocated to Fayette and "brought several of his faculty from Randolph-Macon with him." President Smith spearheaded fund raising and planned to re-open a new Central College in 1870. However, Smith never saw the anticipated event, as he took ill in summer 1869, returned to Richmond, Virginia, to rebuild his health, but passed away in March 1870 after serving the Methodists for forty years.

When all the Smiths lived in St. Louis, Mrs. John P. Fuller, Jr. (Willie Anna) socialized with urban women at the Mercantile Library. In May 1867, aspiring suffragettes formed the Woman Suffrage Association of Missouri at the Mercantile. Mrs. Francis Minor became president and Mrs. J. P. Fuller signed on as a charter member. Once in Fayette, Mrs. Fuller continued with fellow Methodists in an institutional leadership role, 1870-73, as "mistress of music and assistant governess" of the Howard Female College. A generation earlier, in 1846, Berenice's grandfather, William D. Swinney, had supported the construction of the Glasgow Methodist Church, and in 1847, he sold the old Howard College property to the Methodist Episcopal Church in Fayette, served as president on the Central College board of trustees, and in 1859, the Howard Female College incorporated.

In Fayette, Mrs. J. P. Fuller's son, John, entered preparatory school in 1869. Most records of his local schooling are unknown, but he attended Pritchett Institute in 1872-73, where he was a classmate of Oswald S. Barton, destined to become one of John Fuller's few close friends in Glasgow. Berenice Morrison and John Fuller, six years younger than her, knew something of each other's youthful personalities upon Berenice's return from Philadelphia in spring 1873, when Uncle Oswald hired Mrs. Fuller as governess for Bernice at Eglantine Castle.

In summer 1870, R. J. Lackland submitted the annual expense statement to Lucy Ann Swinney in Philadelphia for funds spent from Berenice's estate. The traveling expenses "of B.M. & party" was $3,343, board for three persons [Lucy Ann, Berenice and Anne] at the La Pierre House hotel amounted to $2,600, various entries for carriages and street car tickets, clothing, French teacher and companion, music lessons, tickets and lectures, tuition, and Lucy's guardian stipend for $1,000 totaled $9,800 [$185,400]. The hotel provided baths, washing of clothes, and a coach for transportation. The hotel on Broad Street became the ladies' only housing in Philadelphia, only three blocks from school. Berenice and Anne reveled in being classmates, and based on family letters, Berenice and Anne bonded tightly as young girls during this experience. Berenice and Anne took literature and elocution classes together. Anne became quite accomplished in piano and organ at the Philadelphia Music Academy, "should she ever have to make her living," wrote her mother, and Berenice performed at the Elegant Piano Rooms Company on Chestnut Street. The three women lived very well and frequented the urban amenities offered in America's cultural center.

1899 photo of Brannock Hall, built between 1854-56, with T. Berry Smith Hall in the background and Centenary Chapel tower and the original Stephens Science Building on the left. *Image courtesy of Central Methodist University archives*

Berenice, of course, paid for all of it. In addition to her father's patrimony, she had an inheritance from her grandfather, W. D. Swinney, which was also managed at Boatmen's Bank. William M. Morrison in 1859 had purchased 100 shares in Boatmen's Bank for Berenice, making Oswald the trustee, should William die before her majority age; additionally, merchant Morrison gave 500 shares of Boatmen's stock to W. D. Swinney as trustee for his wife and W. D.'s daughter, Kate Morrison. Dividend payments from the W. D. Swinney and W. M. Morrison estates for Berenice were

sent to the Western Bank in Glasgow to pay for the guardianship managed first by Lucy Ann, and then by Oswald after his mother's death in April 1873. Bankers generated a July 1873 accounting for a transfer of guardianship from the late Lucy Ann to Oswald. The report indicated $36,240 [$724,000] available for Berenice's care "under the will of William D. Swinney" at the Glasgow bank. Boatmen's Bank managed her larger amounts in St. Louis. In fact, Boatmen's Bank, from its co-founding by William M. Morrison, in 1847, served the Swinneys and Morrisons into the mid-twentieth century.

R. J. Lackland brought his son, Edgar C. Lackland, educated at St. Charles College, into the banking business and assigned E. C. to manage the Berenice Morrison estate. When it came time for the second annual probate court review on December 18, 1871, Edgar gently wrote Lucy Ann that her quarterly statements should be rendered "more business like to make things easier for future reference." Lackland said that the new probate judge was more circumspect than the two previous ones and that one "cannot be too particular." Three days later, Edgar followed with another missive after meeting with the judge to relay his sentiments that "I must have proper vouchers for all expenditures of money." Lackland rehearsed his "heavy [financial] bond" with the court and listed expenditures that he did not "exactly understand" and asked for clarification "for myself and bondsman." This would not be the only time that questions arose in the guardian and curator's management of Berenice's estate. Boatmen's statement on March 26, 1872, to Lucy Ann Swinney reported that the grandmother had spent, in less than two years, a handsome $24,545 [$490,000] for Berenice's "education, maintenance, and support."

While in Philadelphia, Berenice met a cousin of her father's, Joseph Cowell; he was a grandson of John Morrison, the first of the Morrisons to emigrate from Ireland. Berenice's French governess and companion accompanied her to the childless Cowell home in West Philadelphia for extended stays. While there, Berenice's relatives transmitted stories of the Morrisons to the young lady, who always had an appetite for family history.

The management of Berenice's estate was undergoing change. As Eglantine Castle was finished, in March 1873, Oswald hired Henry Hitchcock's law firm to enable Swinney to become legal curator and to possess power of attorney for Berenice's estate at Boatmen's Bank. The new arrangement paid $2,500 [$50,000] annually to Oswald as his compensation for "management and disposition" and established a dividends account locally with the Glasgow Savings Bank. Oswald mortgaged Eglantine Castle and all of his real estate to Berenice's account and received $180,797 [$3,611,000]. Beyond that, the estate earned 10% interest on promissory notes and Boatmen's Bank stock for an annual income of $26,850 [$536,000] and another $25,000 [$499,000] in annual rents from St. Louis properties. In the mix was an $8,000 brick house in Glasgow that Lucy Ann's sister, Aunt Lizzie, and husband James S. Thomson, rented from the Swinneys (this house burned in 1875).

After Oswald signed the new legal agreement, on March 17, 1873, Oswald and Maria, who was much disgruntled over the mortgage to Berenice, traveled to Philadelphia to visit Lucy Ann, daughter Anne, and Berenice. While there, Lucy Ann had the Philadelphia Music Academy select a piano and an organ and shipped them to R. J. Lackland in St. Louis for transfer to Glasgow. Later, Lackland shipped a new horse on the steamer *Alice*, and prepaid the feeding and watering. Anne gleefully reported great satisfaction to her parents for her music accomplishments in Philadelphia. At the end of the month, the Swinneys returned to Glasgow, arriving on a Saturday.

Sunday, April 1, Anne Swinney telegraphed her parents that Lucy Ann had fallen down the stairs, was seriously hurt, and asked her father to return to Philadelphia immediately. Monday morning, both Oswald and Maria began the return trip. A doctor met them at the train station with news that Mrs. Swinney was dead. The sad business began. Lucy Ann had made many friends in her years at La Pierre Hotel and they all gathered in sympathy with the family. A local undertaker prepared Lucy Ann for shipment to Glasgow, doctor and hotel bills needed to be paid, and Berenice and Anne were distraught. The adults and teenage girls packed up and journeyed to St. Louis, then Glasgow. Lucy Ann's lax bookkeeping followed them to Glasgow in May when her Philadelphia confidant wrote Oswald that "I used to make out your Mother's statement and she always found it impossible to remember for what all the money had been spent and I had to put certain amounts as Sundries." The correspondents resolved the accounts.

Gravesite of Lucy Ann Swinney, wife of Capt. William D. Swinney, Berenice Morrison's maternal grandparents. Washington Cemetery in Glasgow. *Photo by Don Cullimore*

Lucy Ann Swinney's death unleased conflict among the Morrison-Swinney relatives. William M. Morrison had clearly left Berenice under the guardianship of Lucy Ann, but wrote that should she not be able to serve that Berenice's older cousin, Eliza Pettus (1835-87), and then William's sister, Caroline Pettus (1809-89), assume the care of his daughter. Upon Berenice's arrival in St. Louis in April 1873 at R. J. Lackland's Lucas Place house, and then at Eglantine Castle, the heiress heard talk about who might be taking care of her. She told Uncle Oswald that Lackland, and her Aunt Mary Hitchcock, both wanted her, an assertion that Lackland declared "a downright falsehood." Rather, he wrote Oswald, that

were "Berenice's parents alive they would not a moment sanction it, you are the nearest of kin to her and it is proper that she should make her home with you." R. J. said that his wife will write Berenice and travel to Glasgow to visit her. The banker and friend said that his wife "could exert a powerful influence for good upon her ... that my wife is a thoroughly accomplished and cultivated lady … devout Christian of the Episcopalian faith and possesses a magnetic influence on young girls."

Lackland then visited Mrs. Henry Hitchcock. Berenice's older cousin Mary said she would write to Berenice, but was "cautious lest trouble come between her and the Pettuses." Mrs. Hitchcock was willing to follow Lackland and Swinney's lead and "could tell you much more than she is willing to put on paper." Lackland then went to the heart of the matter with Oswald. "You have to come to an open rupture with Ms. Eliza Pettus. It is simply an issue whether Berenice is to be given over body, soul & property to the Catholics or remain as her parents intended a Protestant with freedom of soul, body & property. This is the issue you have to fight and you had just as well buckle on your armor for the fight. I am with you and will do what I can."

"I have chosen uncle Oswald as my guardian and I know if Papa was here he would sanction my choice …. I want to visit you frequently, but I could not be happy if my home were in St. Louis."

Berenice ended the debate. On April 15, 1873, writing from Eglantine Castle, the seventeen-year-old wrote a polite and plain letter to "Dear Cousin." Berenice explained that she did not want to leave her uncle's home "for it has been mine for so many years, and his family are nearer and dearer to me than anyone else. I have chosen uncle Oswald as my guardian and I know if Papa was here he would sanction my choice …. I want to visit you frequently, but I could not be happy if my home were in St. Louis. I love you just as dearly as if with you. No one has influenced me in my decision; it is of my own free will, which I have a right to exercise."

By July 1873, the March financial agreement between Oswald and Boatmen's Bank regarding the management of Berenice's estate matured. Lackland wrote Swinney that "under the new organization, Berenice will own 1,090 Boatmen shares, worth $109,000 [$2,178,000]. The 10 percent tax free interest will give $10,900 [$217,800] annually, a very handsome little thing of its self." He then outlined how Oswald would receive his cash under the March agreement to sell Sylvan Villa to Berenice. Lackland explained that "sometime this fall you will get $40,000 cash," half of the old homestead property price. The bank executive concluded with satisfaction that "this distribution has been a grand success." Days later, Lackland informed Oswald that the income balance on W. D. Swinney's trust for Berenice was down to $2,264 and would continue to be light in the aftermath of the national depression. By October, the Swinney trust collections rebounded to $3,000 and the Morrison trust to $3,500 [$70,000], as revenues from real estate rents varied.

When Berenice returned from Philadelphia in spring 1873, her new curator, Uncle Oswald, pondered his ward's future. One decision resulted in a profound life-long influence on the young heiress. A talented Methodist, Mrs. John P. Fuller had completed her third year as an administrator and educator at the Howard Female College in Fayette. Oswald then employed her as a tutor for Berenice, so Mrs. Fuller and her son John moved to Glasgow, apparently into the Swinney household at Eglantine Castle. Mrs. Fuller obtained cash for her salary at Glasgow's Tatum and Morrison's store, guaranteed by Oswald. The employer-governess-student dynamic at Eglantine served as the forum for the Swinneys and Fullers to become well acquainted. Eventually, the Swinneys asked thirty-seven-year-old Mrs. Fuller, a lady educated in the fine arts, if she would accompany Berenice to Europe for his niece's education and travel. Mrs. Fuller recognized the opportunity for her own son, John – this was the only chance for him to attend fine schools in Europe. Oswald contracted with Mrs. Fuller to be the European governess and arranged financing through Berenice's estate with R. J. Lackland at Boatmen's Bank.

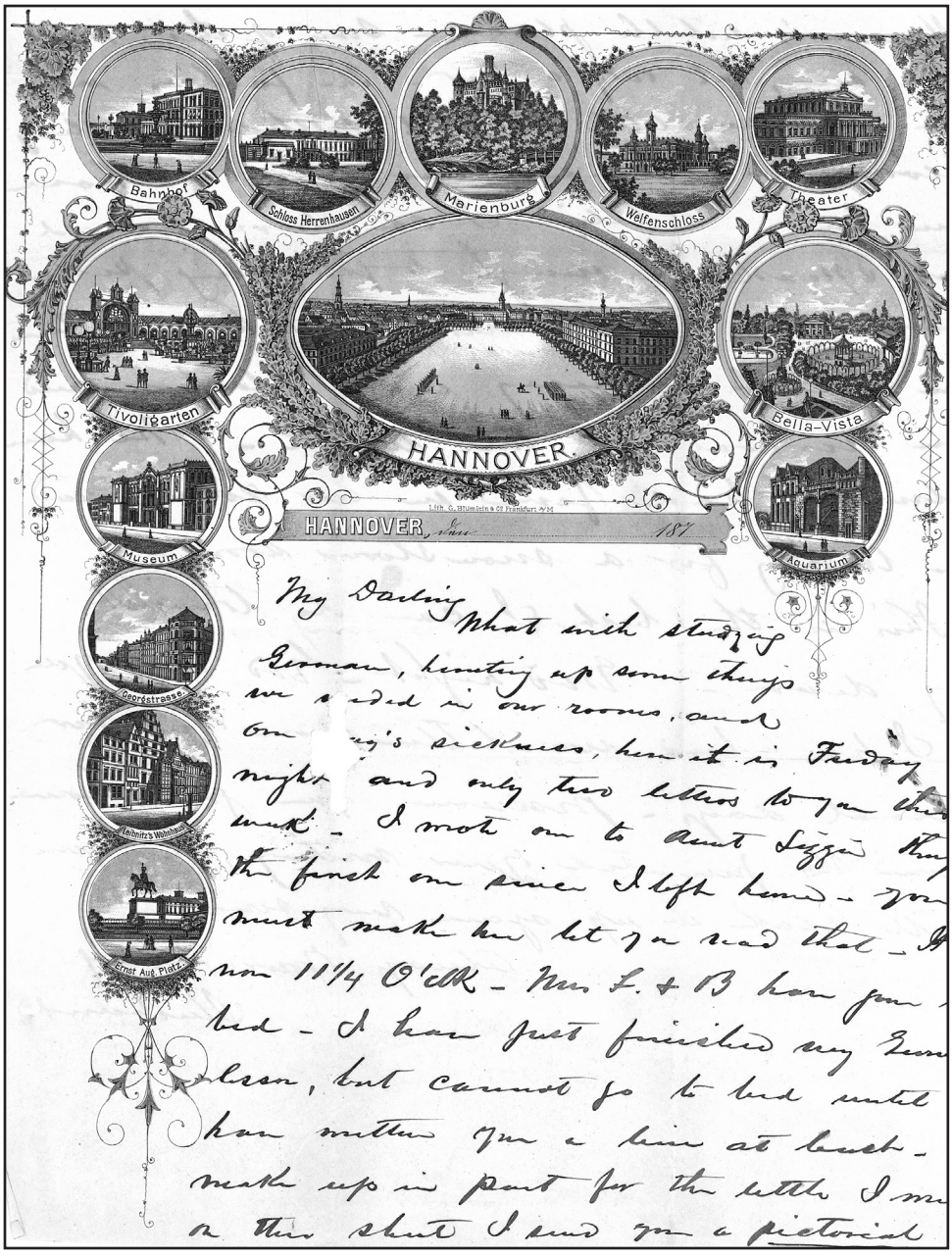
That same spring, Anne Swinney prepared to come home from her final year at the Philadelphia Music Academy. She was engaged to Edward L. Scarritt (1853-1933) who had been attending Harvard law school and whom she had met earlier at Pritchett Institute. Anne purchased new clothes on Chestnut Street and packed her trunks. Before she arrived in Glasgow, Mrs. J. P. Fuller and John had already left in May for Virginia and North Carolina to visit relatives and to meet up with Oswald and Berenice later. The Eglantine household discussed the upcoming trip to Europe, especially since Oswald intended to study German there and to remain abroad for several months. Then, there was the expected Scarritt-Swinney marriage to discuss. Since Oswald wanted to participate in the ceremony, he encouraged the young couple to wed before he left.

Rev. Carr W. Pritchett married the couple at the M.E. Church, South, Glasgow, on July 8, 1874. Berenice was Anne's bridesmaid. Oswald built a one-room frame addition to Eglantine Castle where the Swinneys hosted the wedding reception and dance. Afterwards, the new Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Scarritt, and Berenice, went to Kansas City, where others joined them, and all went to St. Joseph for a few days. Maria Swinney recalled that Berenice invited the Scarritt couple, and herself, at the heiress's expense, to join her, Oswald, and the Fullers in Europe. The Scarritts declined, as did Maria.

Just prior to the marriage, Oswald consulted with R. J. Lackland at Boatmen's about his tobacco business, and about Berenice's estate, as she would turn eighteen in November. Lackland praised Oswald for "progressing well in the purchase of tobacco," and the rents from the homeplace [Sylvan Villa] had come in regularly. Lackland said, "If you need money, make your note to Glasgow Savings Bank and this Bank [Boatmen's] will discount it at 8%," giving pre-approval for substantial credit. R. J. also told Oswald that Berenice at eighteen "can make a will and dispose of all the Curator fund [the negotiable cash] … and that portion of the property under the will of her Father which she will own in her own right when she marries or becomes 21 years of age." An earlier accounting in March 1874, showed that Berenice had over $261,000 [$5,522,500] in negotiable funds and her income from rents and notes were more than paying all of her expenses, allowing her principal to grow. Lackland advised Oswald to take a "proper will" with him to Europe and when Berenice turned eigh-

teen that "no harm can be done by making a will." However, "as regards your Father's will [Capt. W. D.], she only has a life interest and of course cannot will any part of this [real esate]." He recommended that Oswald and Berenice keep a copy of the will and when she returned to America, she could change any part of it at any time. Oswald left Rector Barton in charge of the tobacco business, and he and Berenice packed up for Europe leaving on August 1, 1874.

They went to London, where Oswald purchased a "fancy mixed milled Angola Riding Coat" with trousers. After other sartorial acquisitions, the party journeyed to Brunswick, Germany, then traveled to and lived in Hannover for months. The ladies later took up residence in Geneva, Switzerland, and Oswald took his own "Grand Tour" of Europe until April 1875. Oswald claimed he needed the travel partly "for his health." While living at the Hannover Inn, Oswald did study the German language in fall 1874, and Berenice joined "a musical company of singers." By January 1875, Oswald wrote Maria that Berenice "speaks German quite fluently and very prettily." Berenice and the Fullers spent four years in Europe, traveling, shopping, and choosing curriculum with teachers and schools under Mrs. Fuller's watchful supervision. Early on, Oswald traveled with the ladies, but did his own sightseeing in Rome, Florence, Toulouse, Vienna and Hamburg, business in London with John Oxley and Company and with a manufacturer for astronomical equipment, and returned to Howard County alone in April 1875.



Stationery from Hannover, Germany, bearing letter Oswald Swinney wrote in the fall of 1874 to his wife, Maria, updating her on his schooling and travels in Europe. *Image courtesy of Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC*

Carr Prittchett's "Memorabilia" relates that prior to the European trip, on a warm summer night in 1874, Berenice "was spending the night with my family at our new home" that he built in east Glasgow in 1868-69. They gazed into the dark heavens observing a comet and listened to Rev. Pritchett talk about astronomy and "wish that I had instruments suitable for observing the comet. Berenice quietly said that she had thoughts of affording money for such a purpose." The Swinney family papers add much to this account.

After Oswald reached Germany, in September 1874, Rev. Pritchett wrote to Rev. Swinney, chair of the board of trustees for Pritchett Institute. "Brother Swinney, As I promised and as you authorized me to do, I have written an outline of what I have so long and ardently desired to see accomplished and have addressed it to Berenice. I have asked for something larger than that originally contemplated, because I knew her ability, and since I believe most sincerely that she will feel the most satisfaction in doing something so noble and destined to be so enduring. With much solicitude, and many earnest prayers, I commit this last effort of my life to accomplish this work for you."

Howard County history has long lauded its benefactor, Bernice Morrison, for her $100,000 [$2,180,000] gift to endow the Morrison Observatory and the Pritchett School Institute. Half that amount went to the astronomical observatory including salary for the "Professorship of Applied Mathematics," and the rest funded a tuition reservation for male and female students. By today's standards, such a transfer of money from a young ward's estate would raise eyebrows, to say the least. Berenice, Pritchett, Swinney, and R. J. Lackland finalized the details by trans-Atlantic mail

for this landmark munificence.

Pritchett institutional records make clear that Berenice initiated the monetary gift through her guardian, James O. Swinney, and he made it clear to his colleagues that all was above board and legal. Everyone knew that Berenice and her relatives had a close association with the Methodist faithful. William D. Swinney had enabled the Glasgow Methodist church, and sold the Fayette Howard College property and several lots to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for $1,250. By 1857, the emerging Central College stood on one acre of ground in Fayette. Capt. W. D. Swinney operated his Fayette tobacco stemmery north of the Fayette square and had over twelve acres that he used as pasture for his oxen. Capt. Swinney's estate partitioned that property to Berenice on January 1, 1864, and after the war, Oswald Swinney purchased it, and other lands, on August 1, 1867, for $7,300. Central College later acquired the Fayette land for its expanding campus. Oswald had already gifted tens of thousands to the Pritchett Institute in Glasgow, and like Berenice's late uncle George Collier in St. Charles County, was establishing himself in Methodist-affiliated institutional history in Missouri. Berenice's benevolent pledge in November 1874 came not only from her extraordinary inheritance, but from family tradition, and her worldview introduced to her by Philadelphia mentors and her ongoing European liberal education. But, Berenice's later letters attest that she was mostly interested in pleasing her uncle Oswald in his request to lend financial support for "his school."

Berenice's charitable gift represented more than one budgetary line item. In educational reports of 1874 the modest endowment at Pritchett Institute was comparable to William Jewell, Westminster, and Central College, but competitive schools in the East were already attracting more students with enhanced facilities. The Morrison Observatory gave the Glasgow school a national class attraction. Berenice's investment pledge, monitored by R. J. Lackland, earned considerable expense money in an interest account for the school. While this phase of Pritchett institutional expansion matured (Berenice's gift came in multiple payments until 1880), the school's 1875-76 financial report indicated that Berenice's observatory donation earned $6,000 [$135,000], nearly one-half of that year's annual expenses; the telescope itself cost $6,000. As construction on the observatory came to fruition, the following year's interest fell to $3,000, but still represented one-half of the annual campus operating expenses.

In February 1875, during Oswald's travel in France, he wrote to Berenice, "Don't neglect your arithmetic, you'll want to know enough mathematics to appreciate that Observatory after awhile." The same month, Pritchett wrote Oswald with details on procuring the telescope in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from Alvan Clark and Sons, who was producing lenses for the largest refracting telescopes in the world, and he owed $3,000 to Clark upon signing a contract. Pritchett directed Oswald to Hamburg to make monetary arrangements for "shipping, packing, labeling" and "minute description of the instrument and drawing of it, also directions for mounting." More details followed and Pritchett added that he had the "drawing of the one they made in 1873 for the Naval Academy, Annapolis," that Clark and Sons had recently installed. Pritchett directed Oswald to acquire additional items in London before he returned stateside.

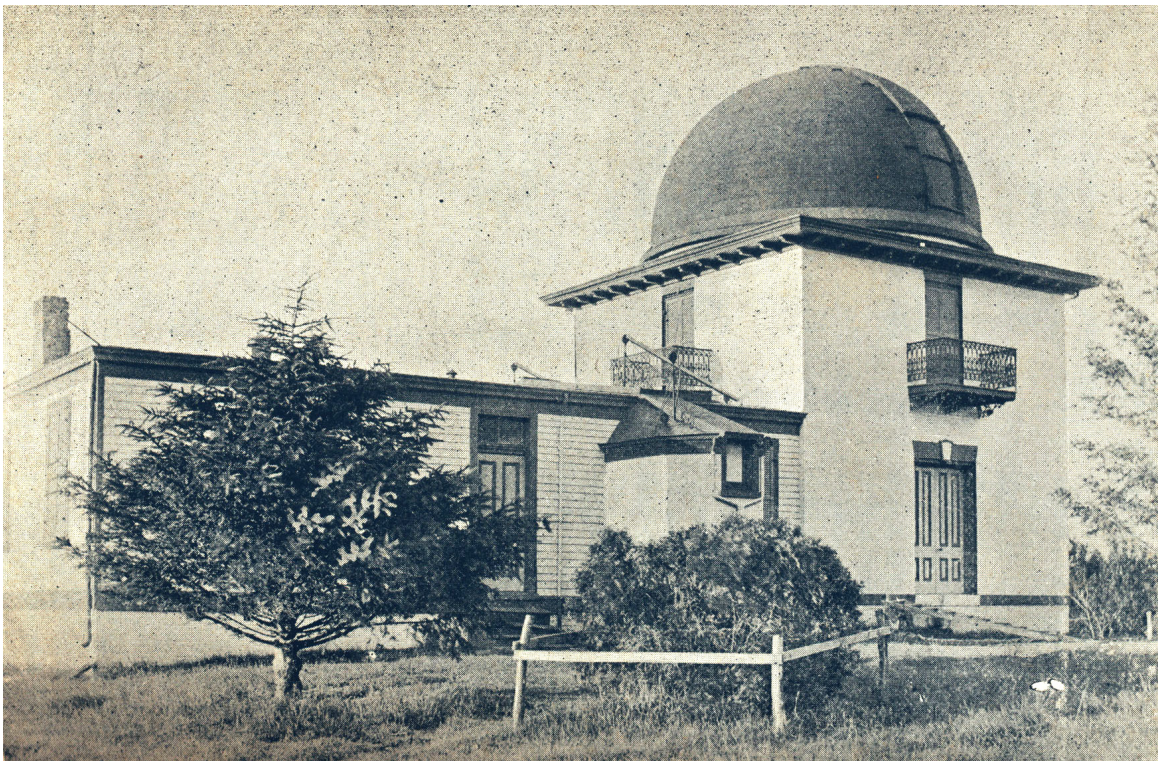


Photo of Morrison Observatory, originally built in Glasgow in 1875. Endowed by Berenice Morrison, the Observatory was linked to Pritchett School Institute. It was later acquired by Central College (now CMU) and moved to Fayette in 1935. It's still being used for astronomy courses and is open to the public for night viewing of the skies during the fall and spring.
Courtesy of Central Methodist University archives

In March 1875, the Rev. R. B. Caples wrote Oswald that the "friends of the Pritchett Institute are greatly elated over the generous donation to the Institute by Miss Berenice … it is reported that the astronomical observatory will be finished this summer & we may do as much star gazing as any body." Caples complained of the "great demi God [Ulysses S. Grant] of the great majority in the north and the Republican party" and "his unprincipled friends" in scandalous activities to express fear that Grant would seek a third term as president. Caples concluded as much of the country had already done that Reconstruction policy of the Radicals "is now an

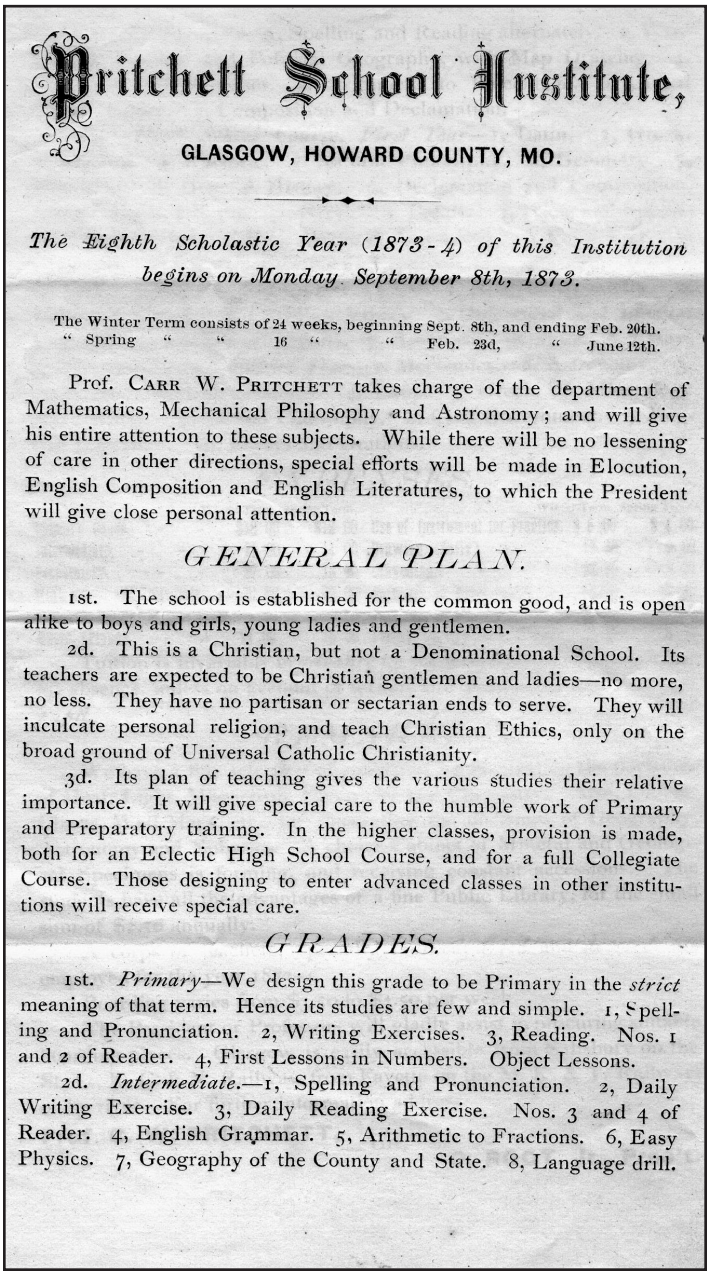
acknowledged failure." But, the optimism of his letter focused on the great success of silver mines in Nevada that may pay off the national debt and how "men are making fortunes in a few months." The lure of mining wealth had interested Oswald for a long time, as it did others with whom he engaged the tobacco business. In 1865, he began investing in the La Alba Silver Mine in Mexico with Gen. Thos. J. Bartholow and others from Howard County, and, in 1867, he invested $5,000 with tobacco associate Charles McNair in Catlin Coal Mines, in Danville, Illinois. Oswald completed his tour and European business. In London, John Oxley outlined the steamers of the Cunard Line available for his trip home and "strongly advised the *Russia*."

Berenice passed her eighteenth birthday in November 1874, and Oswald arrived in Glasgow with her will and power of attorney in spring 1875. The will, executed in Hannover and witnessed by Mrs. J. P. Fuller on April 9, 1875, insured the financial pledge to Pritchett Institute and the Observatory. Berenice's letter directed Oswald to begin paying out $4,000 of her income for salaries of professors from a $50,000 general endowment that would become permanent for the school in 1878. She authorized an advancement of $25,000 to build the Observatory and a three-year salary for the Professor of Applied Mathematics of $2,000 annually. The balance of the $50,000 endowment for the Observatory would also come later. After the introductory material in her seven-page will, the first clause must have immensely satisfied Oswald. Capt. W. D. Swinney had given $30,000 [$654,000] in property to his daughter Kate that had become the property of William M. Morrison on the demise of Kate in 1861, and hence to Berenice. The compliant heiress gave this sum -- with interest -- from the date of her grandfather's death, "to Uncle James O. Swinney." She then outlined eight more clauses that included material culture and cash for her relatives, teachers in Philadelphia, friends, and Mrs. Willie S. Fuller, using her governess' given name, rather than Mrs. John P. Fuller. A long tenth clause outlined her $100,000 gift to Pritchett Institute and the Observatory. The gift required that C. W. Pritchett fill the first Professorship of Mathematics and be the manager of the facility.

The invested general endowment funds included $10,000 for "tuition of male and female students who are unable to meet the expense of an education;" $20,000 to support a Professorship of Modern Languages, preference given to German and French; and $20,000 to maintain a Professorship of the Natural Sciences. The implementation of the gift took several years, while the campus matured and Berenice completed her European education. In the meantime, she "intended to pay semi-annually seven per cent annually on all the endowments specified" until she released the entire $100,000 principal to the school. This generous latter clause afforded significant funding for the school's ongoing expenses. The administration of her gift required the oversight of three executors: Oswald, Thomas E. Birch at Glasgow Savings Bank, and R. J. Lackland.

Oswald returned to Eglantine Castle at the end of April 1875, holding legal authority and resources to impact educational opportunities in Glasgow. His son-in-law, Edward L. Scarritt had continued to work at Eglantine Castle Farm managing cattle, hogs, horses, mules, and sheep, while a responsible Rector Barton supervised the tobacco properties. The family still purchased tobacco from Brunswick, Dalton, Huntsville, and at Glasgow they shipped 1200-1400 pound hogsheads via New York to John Oxley and Company in London and Liverpool. In the midst of this vibrant agriculture, Scarritt's wife, Anne, delivered a baby girl on May 20, 1875, named Berenice for Anne's first cousin in Europe. Oswald had a new granddaughter, money and commitments from Berenice Morrison, and as chair of the Pritchett Institute board of trustees, it was time for a glowing educational announcement.

Oswald and Pritchett's supporters printed an August 10, 1875, circular "To the Friends of Christian Education in the State of Missouri—Greeting:" The document outlined Pritchett's institutional progress, its $100,000 endowment, an Observatory, ten-acre campus, chemical lab, mineral collection, etc., outlined a curriculum, and that "Pritchett School Institute is free from debt." Then, the board invited readers to consider "higher and larger results" with their non-sectarian, but Christian education. They concluded that any Christian Denomination that contributed $25,000 to the endowment fund would have a representative on the Board of



Pritchett School Institute,

GLASGOW, HOWARD COUNTY, MO.

The Eighth Scholastic Year (1873-4) of this Institution begins on Monday September 8th, 1873.

The Winter Term consists of 24 weeks, beginning Sept. 8th, and ending Feb. 20th.
" Spring " " 16 " " Feb. 23d, " June 12th.

Prof. CARR W. PRITCHETT takes charge of the department of Mathematics, Mechanical Philosophy and Astronomy; and will give his entire attention to these subjects. While there will be no lessening of care in other directions, special efforts will be made in Elocution, English Composition and English Literatures, to which the President will give close personal attention.

GENERAL PLAN.

1st. The school is established for the common good, and is open alike to boys and girls, young ladies and gentlemen.

2d. This is a Christian, but not a Denominational School. Its teachers are expected to be Christian gentlemen and ladies—no more, no less. They have no partisan or sectarian ends to serve. They will inculcate personal religion, and teach Christian Ethics, only on the broad ground of Universal Catholic Christianity.

3d. Its plan of teaching gives the various studies their relative importance. It will give special care to the humble work of Primary and Preparatory training. In the higher classes, provision is made, both for an Eclectic High School Course, and for a full Collegiate Course. Those designing to enter advanced classes in other institutions will receive special care.

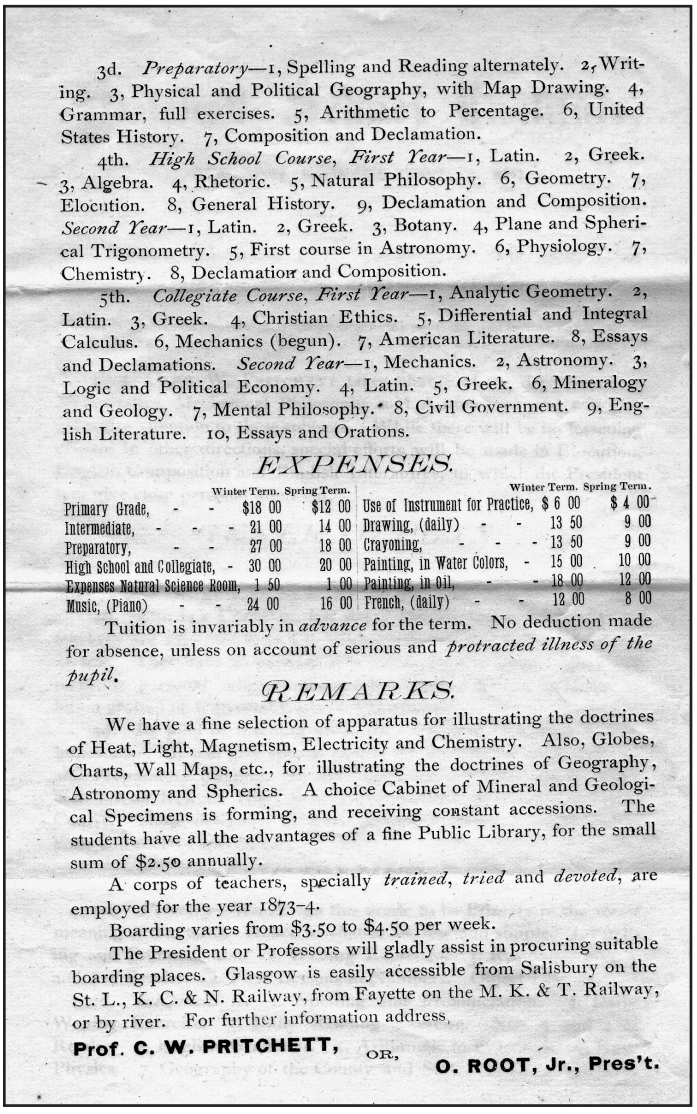
GRADES.

1st. *Primary*—We design this grade to be Primary in the *strict* meaning of that term. Hence its studies are few and simple. 1, Spelling and Pronunciation. 2, Writing Exercises. 3, Reading. Nos. 1 and 2 of Reader. 4, First Lessons in Numbers. Object Lessons.

2d. *Intermediate*.—1, Spelling and Pronunciation. 2, Daily Writing Exercise. 3, Daily Reading Exercise. Nos. 3 and 4 of Reader. 4, English Grammar. 5, Arithmetic to Fractions. 6, Easy Physics. 7, Geography of the County and State. 8, Language drill.

Trustees. The proposed merger of educational interests for what Swinney called a "Pan-Protestant University," drew the attention of Glasgow's Lewis College and Fayette's Central College. By February 1878, verbal and written proposals circulated among the various board members, but participants did not reach any agreement.

Oswald and Berenice exchanged correspondence and her executors kept track of her money. By all accounts, Berenice's first full year in Europe met her expectations. As a nineteen-year-old young lady, already educated beyond most Victorians, she had curiosity and enthusiasm for seeing the great cities of Europe. By June 1875, she and the Fullers began a summer tour. They visited Berlin and Dresden, then headed for Moscow. They traveled by sleeping car on the railroads and enjoyed St. Petersburg. This experience caused her to remark that "Hannover is a horrid place, dirty … too much like Poland." In July, she was at Antwerp and Brussels enjoying "carriage riding," said "the Rhine River is splendid," and used French money in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, while Mrs. Fuller tallied her accounts and supervised "Johnny." The glacier Matterhorn interested her, but she longed for American news and told Oswald to send *Scribner's Magazine* and the St. Louis newspapers to her via John Oxley and Company in London.



3d. *Preparatory*—1, Spelling and Reading alternately. 2, Writing. 3, Physical and Political Geography, with Map Drawing. 4, Grammar, full exercises. 5, Arithmetic to Percentage. 6, United States History. 7, Composition and Declamation.

4th. *High School Course*, *First Year*—1, Latin. 2, Greek. 3, Algebra. 4, Rhetoric. 5, Natural Philosophy. 6, Geometry. 7, Elocution. 8, General History. 9, Declamation and Composition. *Second Year*—1, Latin. 2, Greek. 3, Botany. 4, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. 5, First course in Astronomy. 6, Physiology. 7, Chemistry. 8, Declamation and Composition.

5th. *Collegiate Course*, *First Year*—1, Analytic Geometry. 2, Latin. 3, Greek. 4, Christian Ethics. 5, Differential and Integral Calculus. 6, Mechanics (begun). 7, American Literature. 8, Essays and Declamations. *Second Year*—1, Mechanics. 2, Astronomy. 3, Logic and Political Economy. 4, Latin. 5, Greek. 6, Mineralogy and Geology. 7, Mental Philosophy. 8, Civil Government. 9, English Literature. 10, Essays and Orations.

EXPENSES.

	Winter Term.	Spring Term.		Winter Term.	Spring Term.
Primary Grade,	$18 00	$12 00	Use of Instrument for Practice,	$ 6 00	$ 4 00
Intermediate,	21 00	14 00	Drawing, (daily)	13 50	9 00
Preparatory,	27 00	18 00	Crayoning,	13 50	9 00
High School and Collegiate,	30 00	20 00	Painting, in Water Colors,	15 00	10 00
Expenses Natural Science Room,	1 50	1 00	Painting, in Oil,	18 00	12 00
Music, (Piano)	24 00	16 00	French, (daily)	12 00	8 00

Tuition is invariably in *advance* for the term. No deduction made for absence, unless on account of serious and *protracted illness of the pupil*.

REMARKS.

We have a fine selection of apparatus for illustrating the doctrines of Heat, Light, Magnetism, Electricity and Chemistry. Also, Globes, Charts, Wall Maps, etc., for illustrating the doctrines of Geography, Astronomy and Spherics. A choice Cabinet of Mineral and Geological Specimens is forming, and receiving constant accessions. The students have all the advantages of a fine Public Library, for the small sum of $2.50 annually.

A corps of teachers, specially *trained*, *tried* and *devoted*, are employed for the year 1873–4.

Boarding varies from $3.50 to $4.50 per week.

The President or Professors will gladly assist in procuring suitable boarding places. Glasgow is easily accessible from Salisbury on the St. L., K. C. & N. Railway, from Fayette on the M. K. & T. Railway, or by river. For further information address,

Prof. C. W. PRITCHETT, OR, **O. ROOT, Jr., Pres't.**

Pritchett School Institute catalog for 1873-74 school year spells out courses of study, general operations, grades for primary and secondary study and expenses. Carr Pritchett served as president and also taught courses.

Courtesy of Central Methodist University archives

By September 1875, St. Louis population boomed driving up real estate values. Even with European travel and school, Berenice's estate totaled over $300,000 [$6,537,000] as Lackland directed her investments in the city's growth. In October 1875, she replied to Oswald from Stuttgardt that her German and music continued to improve and that she had met lady friends from St. Louis while in Vienna. She picked up her mail in Budapest, Hungary, and was pleased "to hear all the good news about our College."

In Stuttgardt, Berenice lived with one family, and the Fullers with a different one – "this is the best way to learn German," she wrote. Moreover, Berenice said she was "crazy for Mutual Philosophy," as she eagerly learned of independent European women, whose identity included their "free and equal status" in society. This was considered a radical position in a male-dominated society; however, Berenice was one of the wealthy women who could afford to espouse equality. Her youthful correspondence displays a love for literature, language, music, and theater. More immediate for her governess, Berenice agreed with Oswald that Mrs. Fuller deserved a raise. She told Aunt Ria, (Berenice's common address to Maria Swinney) that "Mrs. Fuller is so nice, I love her better and better … I owe her more than I could tell, my respect and admiration for her increases every day." Berenice proposed $2,000 [$44,000] "not at all too much" and asked Oswald "to pay it all at once" rather than in increments.

Berenice was not above scolding Oswald when he was late with her stipends for travel and shopping. In December 1875, she wrote, "I need money now," as she had borrowed funds from Mrs. Fuller that had to be repaid out of her next installment. She requested the newspapers from New York, St. Louis, and Glasgow, so she could follow the developments at Pritchett Institute and the observatory. Oswald was probably glad to hear that Berenice attended local Wesleyan Chapels, where she claimed that "people here don't know what preaching is," a reference to a more somber European style. But, critical thinking engaged her; she closed 1875 "studying hard at Philosophy now." In addition to her formal schooling, she began to learn to sew, using needles and thread for the first time.

Berenice and Mrs. Fuller spent the cooler months in warmer Italy. In January 1876, she wrote Oswald from Florence after touring Rome. She had studied the Italian language, but was more taken with the artists and sculptors. In a tradition of those on the Grand Tour, Oswald perhaps encouraged Berenice's interest when he was in Rome and commissioned marble busts of himself and "Eve" that he shipped to Eglantine Castle. In the future, family members fondly recalled the distinctive ambiance of Eglantine Castle graced by Italian sculptures. Berenice increased the amount of her monetary requests for there were "a good many things I want to purchase in Italy in the way of art and to do this I must have extra money." But, "enough of business, we will talk of things nearer our hearts." After inquiring about the Howard County relatives, she proclaimed that "Sometimes I feel that you surely will come and live with me & let me be your daughter." Berenice also wanted her uncle to know that "I am ambitious [even] if I am a girl."

On January 31, 1876, Berenice sent a letter to cousin Anne acknowledging her 21st birthday. She wished Anne and her daughter Berenice the "greatest blessings," and looked to the future. "May she grow up to be a working, living, useful woman in this world, & not a mere idler, but use her talents & means to higher & better existence." Berenice recounted some of her activities and what a pleasure it was to have "a nice German fraulein to walk with me every day at twelve o'clock. It is a good thing she comes for me." In fact, she wrote Aunt Ria that in Italy "one can afford more than 15 & 20 servants here when one could have 5 at home." Other business that occupied Berenice was directing Edgar C. Lackland to sell St. Louis properties that she did not want; cousin Mary's husband, Henry Hitchcock, administered the legal details. At home, Oswald looked after the work of having fences repaired and replaced on her tenants' acreages in Howard, Chariton, and St. Louis Counties.

The ladies remained in Florence until April before going to Rome, Paris, Heidelburg and back to Stuttgardt. Berenice saw a cousin of hers in Paris and frequently noted that she encountered St. Louisans in the great cities. Berenice, of course, wrote for more money "for things to take home." She assured her uncle that "Mrs. Fuller and I keep strict accounts and have regular settlements. I am sure you would be delighted to think how particular we are." She reminded Oswald that her shopping was part of "being a woman, and this letter is all full of love for you, as much as business."

While traveling in Europe in 1877, Berenice Morrison commissioned a sculptor in Florence, Italy, to create a marble bust from photographs of her mother, Kate Swinney Morrison, who died when Berenice was five. The bust now is located in Lewis Library in Glasgow.
Photo by Don Cullimore

She studied German literature in Stuttgardt and a teacher accompanied her to a book store where she purchased thirty books. Mrs. Fuller and Berenice hired a German maid for their quarters and they sent birthday presents to John Fuller, who remained in school at Hannover. The heiress continued philosophy, studied rhetoric, took French and practiced German, and did "valuable reading." After the New Year in 1877, she wrote her uncle that she had commissioned a sculptor in Florence to produce a bust of her mother for an estimated $500 [$11,200]. Berenice had taken old photographs of Kate with her to Europe for an artist to use. Many years later, Berenice gave the bust to Lewis Library.

In Howard County, Oswald and Maria assumed the role of caretakers for their granddaughter Berenice Scarritt – their only daughter Anne had died on August 28, 1876. Although Edward Scarritt worked in the family business with Rector Barton and practiced law in Glasgow under Russell Caples, he and the Swinneys decided to go West. The entourage included Oswald, Maria, baby Berenice, Edward, the Swinneys' adopted son Frank Caples and his wife Mattie, and Lizzie and Maria Barton. Oswald spent a lot of time in Elko, Nevada, looking after his investments at Juniper and Centennial Mines on Spruce Mountain. Glasgow neighbor, John F. Lewis, was his agent and co-investor to help explore the mines for further development. During the trip, Edward signed a letter to Oswald and Maria that "gave his daughter" to them to rear until she reached the age of ten. Anne Swinney, on her death bed, had asked her mother Maria to raise her. Maria Swinney later wrote that "in our trip West, Oswald entered into some mining speculations and lost all he had – borrowed money from Berenice Morrison, who was still in Europe."

The winter passed. In March 1877, Berenice was back in Florence and Vienna to spend time at the National Museum, and she "purchased things" for her future home in the U.S. "to be stored at Boatmen's Bank, c/o Mr. Lackland." In Florence, she reported to Oswald that "I think the bust of mama is coming along quite nicely … I do not remember her and so can only follow the pictures." But, by spring 1877, Oswald's failing financial speculations with funds from Berenice's estate became known to Boatmen's Bank and Berenice. The heiress, still in Florence, promptly appointed Lackland as her attorney at law in May and dismissed Uncle Oswald from that duty. Central to Lackland's charge from Berenice was to "especially settle with and receive from my curator, James O. Swinney of Howard County, all money, and other property of every name or kind which he may have in charge, of which may be due & owing to me, from him …." Oswald's violation of trust exposed his failed mineral speculations in the United States and Mexico. Relations between Oswald and Berenice would never be the same.

Berenice wrote that she would appoint Glasgow attorney, Russell Caples, to assess her Booneslick real estate, telling Oswald that "whether it pays the debt in full or not, it entirely cancels it so far as I am concerned. Of course I wish this little matter [settled] as quietly as you do, it would neither do me good or give me pleasure to make it public." She told Oswald that she had no intention of withdrawing her donation to Pritchett Institute. Instead, "Pritchett Inst. is dear to me in all her interests. I have never regretted anything I did for the school. I have only said that you influenced me to do it, & they have my gift to them just as much to you as to me…. You have been unfortunate & reckless with your own means as well as with mine & I hope to God you will never be in such a fix again." Berenice told Oswald that she "would not make any account of interest, the principal is quite enough."

Aunt Ria took offense at Berenice's actions and called for more

explanation. Berenice responded. "In the first place I am Uncle Oswald's largest creditor & it is as natural that I should want to be paid as anyone else & as I do not get the money, I desire its equivalent which is the property…. it seems a great deal better [to] remain in the family than go out of it … if it comes into my hands a home is always secured to you." Berenice reminded Maria that she and Oswald had agreed to this property mortgage several years earlier when Oswald wanted cash to pursue his interests. "There is no use Aunt Ria in talking about want of affection… .I have already borne much and forgiven much…. In this matter I am acting according to my conscience and the approval of my Mother & Father were they living. It is not only the best thing for me but the best thing for you…. If Uncle Oswald sells the property the way he wants, the home place goes with the rest right to the hands of entire strangers." She concluded that she could not release Uncle from his obligation to her.

Maria "Aunt Ria" Savage Swinney. *Image courtesy of Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC*

Berenice went back to Geneva. In September 1877, she sent Oswald a long update saying "I love you Uncle, you are my nearest relation in the world…. You & Aunt Ria & the Baby & I will make a little home together when I get back." Berenice reported a swelling on her neck, but the Doctor thought if she pierced her ears, it would subside. She remembered that Oswald "never liked ear rings," but she already had plans for the piercing. John Fuller had entered college in Geneva, so Berenice and the Fullers planned an extended stay there. She regaled Oswald with the cultural delights of excellent French spoken in the streets, fine public lectures to attend, a conservatory of music available, and a good library. Berenice was about to "make a plan of study for the winter," because she knew Oswald wanted her to grow intellectually and physically. Berenice told her uncle that when she returned home "we must have some good times reading together" and that she would bring French books with her. "You don't think I am dreadfully extravagant do you dear Uncle?" she wrote on September 19. Socially, she had seen more St. Louisans in town, purchased pearls and diamonds for her public outings, and hoped "your stay in the mountains" benefited him physically.

Oswald, in fall 1877, crossed the Atlantic to see Berenice in Geneva. He owned up to having major debts and hoped Berenice would help him out, but he did not give her all the details. He departed for London to do tobacco business. When he left for the U.S., he mailed a letter to Berenice that revealed more of the depth of his economic plight. She responded on November 12 that she "was surprised very much" about his mention of another $30,000 [$674,000] he owed and from "the tone of your letter" she resented the implication that she was acquainted, even approved of the loans for one of his investments. She said her money was for paying debts only, not investing and "I can in no wise consent to aid in your investments, which I think ruinous to you and the worst thing for me." She referred him to her instructions that she had given to R. J. Lackland.

The next month, Lackland wrote Swinney that he would find R. J.'s power of attorney recorded in the Fayette courthouse. He then outlined a number of financial obligations that he had attended to including paying $40,000 [$899,000] of Oswald's debt, saying "I am sorry to hear that the $40,000 will not pay you out." He gave Oswald specific directions for the payment of $34,000 in notes and interest at the Glasgow Savings Bank, paying the road tax that Berenice owed to Howard County, and to report the complete financial status about Berenice's gift to Pritchett Institute so he could make an accounting to see if Berenice owed interest on her pledge.

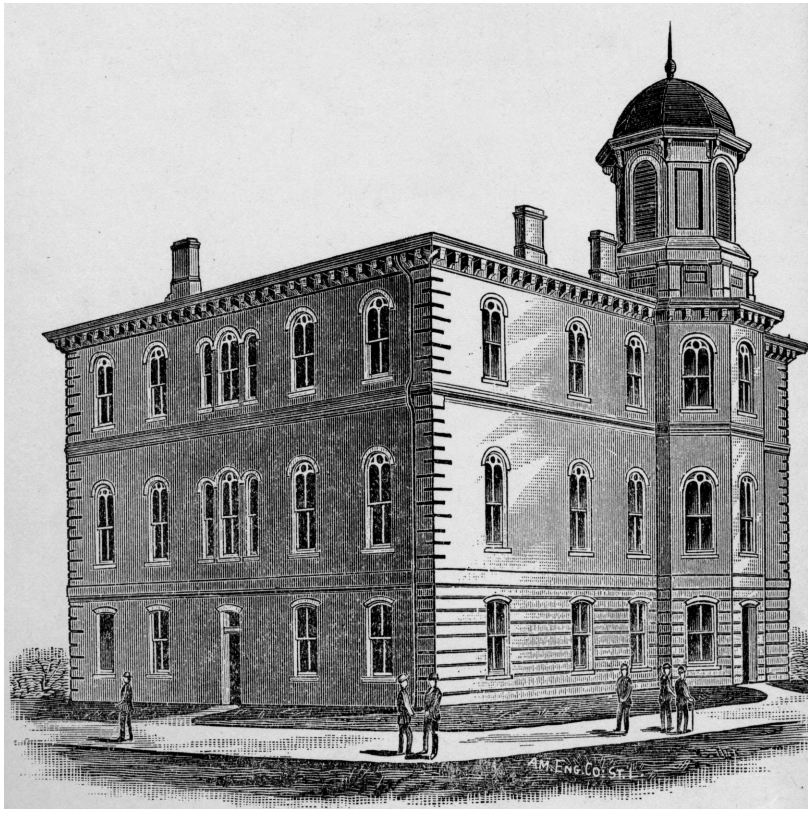
Berenice wrote again to Oswald. In December 1877, she entreated with him to write to her, "dearest Uncle, I have tried to do all for the best, you know I love you and want only your love & welfare." She turned his attention to a recent biography on Madame de Stael, an eloquent Swiss intellectual, author, and opponent of Napoleon. "I think it will greatly please every thinking person & instruct more careless readers," she wrote. Berenice said that her health had improved, and that she had her portrait "taken expressly for him." John Fuller was headed for college classes in January, but Berenice was sorry that he was "slow to make acquaintances & has few here." Regardless, while John studied, Berenice and Mrs. Fuller scheduled a winter trip to Nice, France and Genoa, Italy. She assured Oswald that Christmas cards for everyone in Howard County were on the way, signing off "I am ever lovingly your niece, Berenice."

While Christmas cards traveled to Missouri, Lackland continued instructing Oswald through December. "Of course have the deed made in Berenice's name and when recorded send to me, I mean for the Kirtley farm. By the way, is there any chance of selling this farm & how far from Glasgow is it? You say something about Berenice's farm in Chariton County. I know nothing of it, please send me the deed. I rec'd the bank book. I don't think you have paid the curator's tax for this year. Your amended curator's account is not exactly right, the account would barely pass muster before a probate court." Oswald balked at recording the deed of trust for Eglantine Castle to Berenice. Lackland replied that "would be a violation of a sacred agreement on your part …. It is to the interest of Berenice, she has been very kind in coming to your rescue. Therefore I say if it is the last act of your life, have the deed of trust perfected and duly recorded." Oswald knew that locals in Fayette would talk about his financial reverses. Lackland said that he was working with Thomas E. Birch at the Glasgow Savings Bank, who "is lending his kind assistance in collecting the principal and interest on the notes for Berenice." Thomas Shackelford executed the legal work for Lackland. When Oswald asked if he should go ahead to complete a subscription for the proposed Chi-

cago and Alton Railroad, Lackland declined, saying "My own idea is the railroad will be built, even if they do not get one dollar of subscription along the line." Birch and Lackland's summaries in December 1877 for Oswald's curatorship for Berenice's expanding estate totaled over $363,600 [$8,168,000] in assets.

Lackland corresponded with Berenice to determine what exactly she promised to Pritchett Institute. Berenice dated her pledge to November 2, 1874, in her response to Oswald and Pritchett. However, "I never promised to pay $500 or any salary of any professor," except for C. W. Pritchett's. She committed to seven per cent interest on the $100,000 from the pledge date to January 1, 1878, amounting to $22,147 [$498,000], another welcome dividend to the school. Oswald had already moved $25,000 into the Observatory account, over $12,000 into the general endowment, and paid Pritchett's salary, all totaling $43,455. So, Lackland began to make plans for how Berenice should complete her philanthropy to the school.

Aunt Ria, in spring 1878, still complained to Berenice about the Swinneys losing all of their real estate. Berenice responded from Paris, where she and Mrs. Fuller had gone to see the French Exposition; the two ladies expected to be in France until late June. Berenice told Maria concerning her husband's speculation that "I did not think Uncle Oswald would pledge himself to a thing which was not in his power to fulfill." She then thanked her aunt for signing the deed [for Eglantine Castle] to her. "The property will not go out of the family & it will be yours and Uncle's as long as either of you live & on your death go to the baby [Berenice Scarritt]. Is not this what you would like?" She acknowledged that Mrs. Fuller had written Maria that "the place on my neck had burst" and her health was much better for it.



AM Engineering Company, St.Louis, architectural sketch for Pritchett Institute in Glasgow. *Images courtesy of Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC*

Berenice's agent, R. J. Lackland, discussed ongoing expenses with Oswald and released her funds in increments to satisfy obligations. Finally, in May 1878, Lackland turned over the balance of the observatory endowment to Pritchett treasurer, George B. Harrison. That account of around $27,000, plus interest, remained stable, and barely budged for decades. Former school president, C. W. Pritchett, now the endowed faculty member, had all of his equipment in operation and the observatory endowment issue at Glasgow was settled.

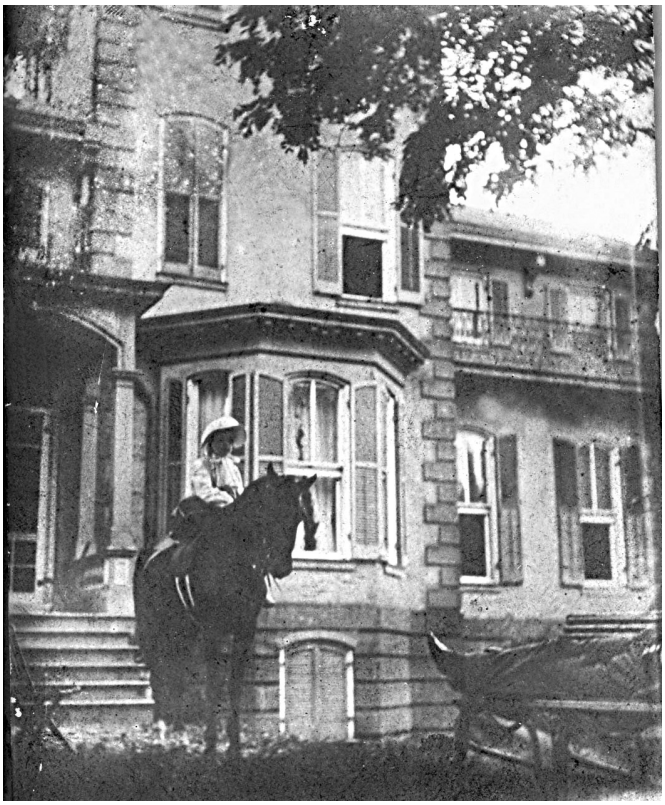
On June 13, 1878, R. J. Lackland proudly announced to Mr. J. O. Swinney that "I have Berenice's affairs all in good shape. Her bonds, stocks, notes, and deeds are all in a tin box with her name printed thereon & said box deposited in the vault of the Boatmen's Bank. All the Cash is deposited to her credit in the Bank … in case anything should happen to me, all she would have to do would be to step into the Bank & claim her own." In August 1878, he transferred her check of $20,000 for the general endowment. Few other transactions took place until Berenice arrived home in St. Louis late that month. Over the years, Lackland's astute administration increased Berenice's worth several times over.

Berenice returned to her father's old mansion at 1628 Lucas Place, where she rented it for herself and the Fullers. She promptly wrote uncle Oswald. Berenice ruminated over her past conversations with him and changed her mind about the sale of the Eglantine Castle property. Rather than accepting Oswald's deed of trust for it, she said, "I want to buy the property out and out since the property is to be sold anyway." Berenice reminded him how in Geneva he had "pledged his property for the money [$50,000] which you assured me could alone save you from ruin & disgrace. I let you have the money." The perturbed lady continued, "by your influence & management my property has been reduced more than $200,000 [the Pritchett gift and Oswald's debts] & yet you claim that your obligation to pay other debts are greater than to me?!" Oswald had her note to pay the Glasgow Savings Bank debt, but he did not have assets to pay both his bond of $10,000 to Pritchett Institute and satisfy Berenice's loans. Berenice's ire claimed "you owe me more than fifty times as much as you do to Pritchett Inst. You say you are honor bound to pay them & that as far as paying me is concerned I can take what is left, if there is anything. Now I must say Uncle Oswald I do think you might guard my interests with some degree of consideration. The property is to be sold anyhow, I choose to be the buyer."

Oswald imagined what his personal state of affairs would be should he reside in Eglantine Castle as a tenant and remain in debt. He responded at the end of January. "This house place [Eglantine Castle] would do for a rich man to live on, but would bring a poor man in debt every year – and it would be a wasteful gift to little Berenice [Scarritt] since from natural wear and tear, it would be nearly worn out before she could come into the use of it…. we

cannot use it, as the treasury now stands." Oswald pushed Berenice to try to find a buyer who could afford to pay its worth, as "We cannot afford to stay on it." The only way he could pay Berenice's debt was to realize a handsome sale of Eglantine. Oswald told her that "I see a very serious rupture is inevitable between you and your Aunt." Maria was adamant about staying put. Oswald reminded Berenice what his future life would be. "I shall have no other business than preach the Gospel of Christ to my dying day – nothing but sin and sorrow has come to me since I ceased to do that work … all I have is yours to the last farthing." He closed, "I shall therefore get Russell [Caples] to make a deed of all my right and title to real estate of every kind, directly to you at once. May God guide you and your Aunt to a proper understanding of what is best and right. Affectionally yours, Jas. O. Swinney."

In December 1878, Oswald formalized a contract for the agreement that he and Berenice had discussed regarding the sale of his properties. Except for Eglantine Castle, R. B. Caples had authority to take charge of rents, pay taxes, conduct repairs, and pay for all expenses. By then, Oswald still owed a $10,000 note to Pritchett Institute; a $3,443 note to Glasgow Savings Bank; and "my indebtedness to Berenice Morrison." An Eglantine Castle sale to Berenice would produce proceeds to substantially pay the above requirements and to satisfy the La Abra Mining Company in Mexico. Also for sale were his mines and leases in Nevada, Utah, and an Illinois coal mine. The Swinney sale included inherited farms in Chariton, Howard, Randolph, and Saline counties. In St. Louis, Lackland wrote to Swinney on January 15, 1879, that "Lady Berenice now holds the purse strings."



1873 photo of Anne Swinney Scarritt, 18, on a pony at Eglantine Castle. She married Edward L. Scarritt in 1874 and died in 1876, leaving behind a daughter, Berenice, named for Berenice Morrison. *Images courtesy of Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC*

In spring 1879, Oswald, Maria, and granddaughter Berenice Scarritt moved out of Eglantine Castle. Aunt Ria recorded her extreme unhappiness with Berenice Morrison in her memoirs and blamed her for not allowing the Swinneys to live at their country home. Maria's bitterness even influenced her granddaughter, Berenice S. Royster, to pen a fictional account of the trauma, "Leaving Eglantine," in Royster's memoirs. Unlike Oswald, Maria did not comment for how the Swinneys could afford to maintain the great house; did Maria expect Berenice to pay for the maintenance? She signed the deed with Oswald, and Berenice provided $6,000 for them to acquire the former Thomas C. Cockerill house, *Inglewood*, and gave it to them for a place to live in Glasgow; moreover, she gave the Swinneys an annual $1,000 for expenses. Berenice was willing to pay these expenses, but Oswald's betrayal rested deep within Berenice. Maria wrote her niece that Oswald "tried to live the life of a Christian minister and of course it is a great trial to him." He preached at Chillicothe, Macon, and Montgomery City, but mostly in or near Glasgow, where he continued in the pulpit episodically the rest of his life. The Swinneys had willed Eglantine Castle to their daughter Anne Scarritt with her husband, Edward Scarritt, as Anne's curator. Legal questions arose whether or not Oswald could deed the property to Berenice Morrison, and questions about ownership lingered.

Oswald went to preaching and Berenice traveled to New Hampshire and the White Mountains. In August 1879, on her return to St. Louis, she mailed $80,000 in cancelled notes back to Oswald for money her estate had loaned him in 1877. Meantime, Oswald occupied himself in reflection and writing a treatise. In 1879, the Methodist Advocate Publishing House, St. Louis, released his book, *The Second Adam*, a theological tract about "Nature and Man, Sin and Fall, Salvation, Forgiveness," and more about the spiritual life.

Swinney still had to resolve the issue of his $10,000 promissory note to his fellow board of trustees at Pritchett Institute. As Berenice's money buoyed the school's general endowment, Oswald officially asked the board of trustees to return his $10,000 note, for which he had never made one payment to the school. In January 1880, they willingly surrendered it. Oswald could not financially propel Pritchett Institute into the future (as Berenice's uncle George Collier did for St. Charles College), but Berenice could. In May 1880, Lackland sent her $30,000 check to school treasurer, George B. Harrison, completing Berenice's $50,000 pledge (with interest) for the general endowment. The money did not come too soon. Treasurer Harrison in May 1881 reported to the board that their investments in Howard and Lafayette County bonds had defaulted, thus, no income came from those securities to the school, but the Berenice Morrison cash gifts were solid.

In the same month, on May 18, 1881, James O. Swinney summarized the charity of Berenice to the board and promoted a Declaration of Trust "conveyed to the trustees, not to the corporation" by Berenice Morrison that secured the endowments for implementation at Pritchett Institute into the future. Moreover, the trust directed the board "to appoint competent women at the observatory in preference to men," all other things being equal. Additionally, the

trust provided that the general endowment for the school, should it ever fail, "be transferred to that of the observatory." Swinney, with Berenice well past majority age, did not consult R. J. Lackland about the details of this trust. The legal issues relevant to the trust eventually became a source of contention among school officials and Berenice. The observatory endowment was a trust, while the general endowment funded the Pritchett School Institute Corporation. Debates about the two unique budgetary endowments continued for decades.

Berenice Morrison's guidelines for the management of the general endowment stressed modern languages and physical science, e.g., chemistry and geology. She later gifted an "articulated anatomical outfit," a model of a human skeleton to the laboratory and "a group of plaster moulds showing in an enlarged form the different parts of the human body, as the brain, eye, lungs, heart, etc.," frequently photographed and reproduced in the school's printed public relations, reported at $150 [$3,990] in an 1887 report. Berenice's trust had stipulated that she would nominate ten students annually to receive a Berenice Morrison Scholarship for tuition expense that became the Morrison-Fuller Scholarships after her 1886 marriage; James O. Swinney funded two of the remaining six scholarships. School administrators proudly listed the students who received the awards in the school's annual reports.

Carr Waller Pritchett, president of the Pritchett Institute and director of the Morrison Observatory, which were supported by Berenice Morrison. *Image courtesy of Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC*

Meanwhile, Carr Pritchett asked Swinney and the trustees for more money to upgrade the observatory's technical equipment, as research for new discoveries in celestial observations had surpassed the capacities of the mid-1870s technology in Glasgow. Pritchett wrote, "Though the work of this Observatory has been much crippled, through lack of means, yet the privation is borne by those who planned it, in patient expectation of a better day." The meager income from selling time from calculations of the meridian circle to towns and businesses and the interest received from the observatory's endowment fell short of Pritchett's vision for accomplishing perpetual cutting-edge research.

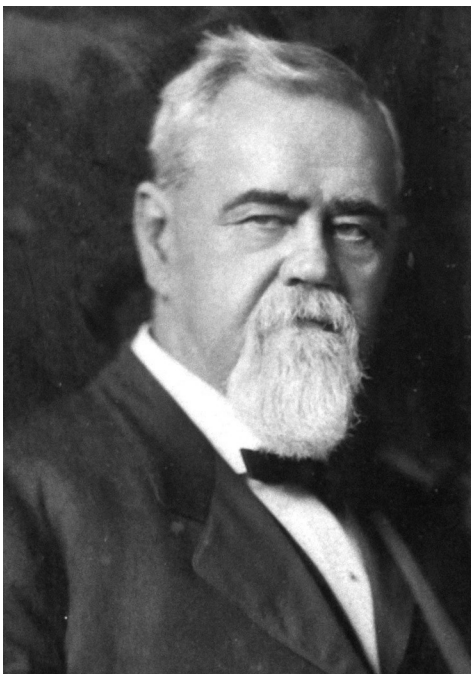
A disgruntled Pritchett initiated an institutional debate off campus about the needs and function of the Morrison Observatory. The astronomer traveled to Kansas City. Since June 1880, Pritchett's son Henry had sent notice over the telegraph lines to Union Station for a time ball to the benefit of the Chicago and Alton Railroad. Notice came at 4 p.m. daily and in January 1881 Henry Pritchett installed another time ball dropped from a building downtown. The local Academy of Science took great interest in the Glasgow-based institution. Pritchett talked with a *Kansas City Times* reporter about the history of the observatory, science being conducted there, and that he was open to moving the observatory to Kansas City. The *Times* thought this was a splendid idea as the city had "been often considered sadly deficient in culture and institutions of art and science." The article heralded the liberal gift of Miss Morrison who founded the observatory "primarily for the promotion of independent scientific investigation and research." The Glasgow *Central Missourian* reprinted the long article on March 17, 1881. The news touted the observatory's view of Jupiter, Saturn, the stars, and its capacity to educate users and the world in general. The *Times* suggested that business may come forward with pledges to finance such a move, but the proposal only garnered discussion in Kansas City and Glasgow. Pritchett's observatory also provided time service to downtown St. Louis for little more than a year. By August 1882, the observatory ceased sending signals to urban Missouri, even though other towns and businesses "made some money for us, but the telegraph wire rates entirely closed the door to us."

Edward Scarritt, who had returned to Kansas City to pursue a legal career was doing well. He married a second time in March 1880 to Margaret Morris, a school teacher and daughter of a local physician. Regarding her husband's child currently residing at Inglewood, the new Mrs. Scarritt "choose to regard Berenice as her own child, a decision which had all the elements of an obsession," according to a *Kansas City Star* reporter in 1950. The Swinneys could not have been more opposed to her opinion and would not yield Berenice to her father and step-mother. After all, the Swinneys had a written agreement with Edward Scarritt that they would tend to Berenice's education and religious instruction until she was ten years old. Scarritt filed a petition with the Supreme Court in January 1882 to end the "detention and imprisonment" of Berenice and gain possession of his daughter under a writ of habeas corpus.

Both sides differed on how much, to how little, Edward's visitation with Berenice had been. In April 1878, the Howard County probate court had appointed Scarritt as "guardian of the person and curator of the estate of the said Berenice Swinney Scarritt." Oswald signed the $16,000 bond. In the Supreme Court, however, the Swinneys argued that Scarritt had no standing "by the authority of the dying mother [Anne] of the infant" and that Edward had signed a September 1876 contract that gave parental control to the Swinneys until she was ten. Besides, said the Swinneys, on the day of Edward and Anne's marriage in 1874, Oswald gave a $7,000 farm to them and subsequently $2,500 for maintenance while Scarritt launched his law career with R. B. Caples in Glasgow. At Eglantine Castle and then at Ingelwood, the grandparents tended to the "health and education and moral and religious training" of Berenice Scarritt. Family relations among the adults deteriorated, so that by February 1881, the Swinneys refused to allow Edward Scarritt to visit his daughter.

While the Supreme Court reviewed its cases in summer 1882, Oswald took Maria to Alleghany Springs, Virginia, for a vacation

from legal discussions and Missouri's heat and humidity. Maria wrote a long letter to Berenice Morrison about her trials with Edward Scarritt, how troubling Berenice herself had been to her, and how "in the last year I have passed through the bitterest trials of my life." Scarritt's Supreme Court petition made gossipy news in the urban papers and both Mrs. Fuller and Berenice Morrison saw it when the St. Louis ladies had visited Glasgow. Maria lauded Mrs. Fuller for her feminist position, who "has expressed herself very decidedly on the right – and I most certainly honor her for it…. Mrs. Fuller knows there can be but one opinion and has the frankness to say it." Maria vented about "the struggle against unjust laws and oppressive social discriminations," and interpreted her own role as a proper mother to little Berenice Scarritt. Maria told Ms. Morrison that "I have never troubled myself to woman's rights until this great wrong has been brought upon me and Anne, I see now where the law as it stands is so oppressive. I want to propose to you and Mrs. Fuller that we lay aside all differences on other subjects and whatever I can do call upon me to aid in having some of these oppressive laws changed …. a man may consider a contract made with a married woman of no force at all… Where is the justice, Anne's poor little girl…." The emotional Maria then asked Berenice Morrison "to give evidence for us – that you never explained yours and your Uncle's business to Ed, that we are not supported by your charity, and that my management of Berenice was good." Understandably, Maria was embarrassed that legal proceedings reported in the press exposed financial details between Oswald and Berenice.



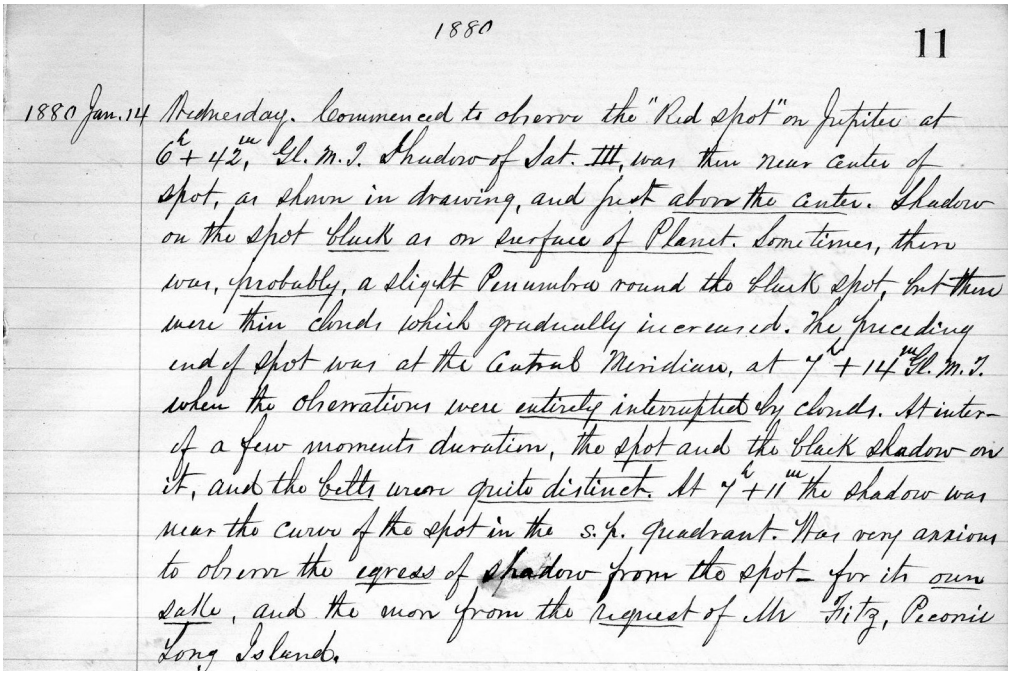
Glasgow banker George B. Harrison oversaw Howard County investments for Oswald Swinney. *Image courtesy of James Denny*

Judges on the court, save one, decided custody of Berenice Scarritt in favor of the father. Common law that a father "cannot irrevocably divest himself of his right and duty to have the custody and charge of his child" was a major consideration. But, the court rehearsed the many admirable qualities and genuine care the Swinneys had rendered their granddaughter. The "grandparents, noble specimens of our race, distinguished alike for amiability, culture, and deeds of labor and love …" but that could not overshadow that they were "in the decline of life, with health, never robust, much shattered and broken by unutterable sorrow for an only daughter …. It appears they have only the remnant of a once princely fortune, much is held by a precarious tenure…." The court was also concerned about the "nervous, excitable temperament of Mrs. Swinney" and that she gave testimony that "she never intends to give up the child as long as she can possibly avoid it." Drs. Vaughn and Collins, who had attended little Berenice Scarritt in her illnesses at Glasgow, testified that removing the child to Kansas City "would probably endanger her life." Glasgow citizens, during the calendar of the litigation, announced they would burn Edward Scarritt in effigy, but Oswald prevented it. Finally, Edward Scarritt and an officer of the court came on the train to Glasgow and took Berenice to Kansas City. It would be many years before the Swinneys would see their granddaughter again.

Before the court announced its decision, Oswald, who still did business with R. J. Lackland, brought up the subject of selling Eglantine Castle. In July 1882, the banker answered, "I have only to repeat … if you sell, it will be to Berenice and nobody else…. the first question is will you sell, the next is how much will you take." Likely, Oswald and Maria both saw the handwriting on the wall that the Swinneys would lose in court and need considerable money if he and Maria were to live in the vacant Eglantine Castle in the country. In addition to losing their granddaughter's guardianship to Edward Scarritt and the prospect of never living again at Eglantine Castle, more heartache came. In spring 1883, the beloved Aunt Lizzie, wife of James S. Thomson, died of "cancer in the neck." The younger generation had all sat at her feet to hear Lizzie tell stories of the Civil War and Glasgow local history. Lizzie summoned Berenice Morrison, Oswald and Maria Swinney "to meet and kiss each other at her bedside and promise to be friends." Berenice later summarized a tale of Aunt Lizzie's published by the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. Maria, emotionally taxed, wrote in her journal about seeing visions of her late daughter, Anne, and how she lived for years in a state of punishing unhappiness in not seeing her granddaughter Berenice.

Oswald, publicly embarrassed by his failure in mineral speculations, still sought commercial success. And, as before, he required help from Berenice. Oswald wanted to resurrect his dormant English tobacco business with Rector Barton, who lived at Sylvan Villa. R. B. Caples, attorney and agent for Berenice, executed an agreement with Oswald on July 24, 1885; Oswald would use Berenice's frame tobacco factory building in Glasgow that she inherited from W. D. Swinney. The details are many, but it is clear that Berenice wanted her uncle to have a place to work. She agreed to enclose the factory with siding, repair the roof where defective, paint the sides and roof, repair the foundation walls, lay a new floor in the basement, level up another floor, secure the basement and office windows with "good stout shutters and fastenings," install "six good hogshead presses and screws," dig and drain around the building, install scales at the main entrance capable of weighing at least 5,000 pounds at a time, "shed the scales with a good roof," and "repair injuries occasioned by wind storms," and more. Oswald became responsible for annual upkeep on the property and received permission to add a tobacco drying room. Oswald's rent was $300 annually [$8,000].

In October 1885, George B. Harrison of the Glasgow Savings Bank sent a letter of introduction for Swinney to London. Harrison explained that Swinney, "a gentleman of unquestioned integrity," had traditionally shipped tobacco, but dropped out of the business for a year and wanted to engage the English market again.



1880 11

1880 Jan. 14 Wednesday. Commenced to observe the "Red Spot" on Jupiter at 6h + 42m Gl. M. T. Shadow of Sat. III, was then near center of spot, as shown in drawing, and just above the center. Shadow on the spot black as on surface of Planet. Sometimes, there was, probably, a slight Penumbra round the black spot, but there were thin clouds which gradually increased. The preceding end of spot was at the Central Meridian, at 7h + 14m Gl. M. T. when the observations were entirely interrupted by clouds. At intervals of a few moments duration, the spot and the black shadow on it, and the belts were quite distinct. At 7h + 11m the shadow was near the curve of the spot in the S. P. quadrant. Was very anxious to observe the egress of shadow from the spot – for its own sake, and the more from the request of Mr Fitz, Peconic Long Island.

A paragraph from a page of a Morrison Observatory journal maintained by Carr Pritchett. The manuscript described his available technology, the origins of the observatory, its numerous mathematical observations of planets, stars, comets, and his famous commentary on Jupiter's red spot. *Journal text courtesy Central Methodist University archives.*

Before long, Walter Bird & Company accounted for hogsheads of Swinney and Barton tobacco on East India Avenue, London, and at their facility in Liverpool. Barton managed the old Swinney factory three miles east of Glasgow and hauled the crop to Steinmetz, the freight depot of the Chicago and Alton Railroad. Familiar neighborhood growers appear in Oswald's Swinney Tobacco Book – Burckhartt, Cockerill, Gilliam, Lewis, Shackelford, etc. The large Peper Tobacco Warehouse, Leaf Tobacco Commission Merchants, and Evans Bros. Leaf Tobacco Company, in St. Louis, shipped to England. Frank Caples, reared by the Swinneys, moved back from Kansas City to join Oswald and Rector at the rural and town tobacco factories. The tobacco business prospered for a couple of years only. Few would remember that Oswald, in 1888, still banking on elusive strategies to financially succeed, homesteaded a quarter section of Colorado land. Maria thought she would join him, but never did, and Oswald returned to Glasgow.

Subsequent to Oswald and Maria's travail with Berenice and Ed Scarritt, the research and writing of Swinney's longtime associate at Pritchett Institute, C. W. Pritchett, had become admired in academic communities. The astronomer summed up the scientific work in hard cover *Publications of the Morrison Observatory, Glasgow, Missouri, No. 1*, published in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1887, and underwritten by Berenice Morrison. The manuscript described his available technology, the origins of the observatory, its numerous mathematical observations of planets, stars, comets, and his famous commentary on Jupiter's red spot, the observatory's precise time service briefly used by railroads crossing the state, and included an impressive bibliography of observatory-inspired, published papers from 1876-85. Pritchett designed his book to attract attention from the scholarly profession and to augment his appeals for more funds, or to begin a conversation for the removal of the observatory to an institution that could implement technical upgrades for research. In the long run, the volume contributed to this "on-off again" discussion and sometimes fueled volatile argument in Glasgow over the use and future of the Morrison Observatory.

Prior to the release of *Publications of the Morrison Observatory*, Pritchett and Swinney exchanged correspondence in April 1886 about the observatory's future. Pritchett, "as a trustee of Morrison Observatory," complained that the current income of the observatory (from selling accurate time tables to towns and businesses) and his "own severely economical habits" were inadequate to keep up repairs and "make changes in the instruments to bring them up to the most recent working standard." Pritchett's solution was to move the observatory and Berenice Morrison's Declaration of Trust to Washington University, where his son, Henry S. Pritchett (1857-1939), was professor of mathematics and astronomy and director of the university observatory. Pritchett proclaimed that failure to transfer the scientific work "will decide the fate of the Observatory, for life or death, and will be known in every scientific observatory throughout the world as fully in Glasgow or St. Louis."

James O. Swinney did not take Pritchett's proposal lightly. He reminded Pritchett that Berenice Morrison's gift to the school was for research and for the "practical instruction of our students." He wrote to Pritchett that he had been given "almost carte blanche in the purchase of instruments and construction of the building … and succeeded beyond either your or my most sanguine expectations." Swinney observed how Pritchett had manuvered over the years to isolate the observatory from the Institute rather than expand student experience. Moreover, said Swinney, "doubtless through your influence Miss Morrison is threatening the Trustees" to withdraw her observatory endowment and "further to provide that under certain contingencies, it should be removed from Glasgow! This was a most flagrant and radical perversion of the original Trust" that was "chiefly for your benefit," scowled Swinney.

Trustee Swinney chided Pritchett for his lack of loyalty "that surpasses my poor comprehension" in the face of numerous family concessions to him over time, including "defraying your expenses for a term at the Cambridge Observatory" at Harvard. Swinney pledged his institutional support, whatever may come, but concluded that "individually, I cannot serve you any longer." Pritchett was now "in possession of new friends, more able than I ever was, to meet the enlarging view of your noble ambition. I am informed that Miss Morrison, is at least one, and perhaps the chief one, among those who are moving to effect this transfer of the Observatory. I am told that she desires to take it to St. Louis, in order to make a memorial of her Father." Swinney admired Berenice's ambition, but "I can but pity the poverty of her invention" as the observatory "is already located where it is a fitting memorial

of her mother." Swinney felt betrayed and continued to censure Pritchett. "Since you and Berenice both forget old pledges, and pay no respect to my feelings, or to the interests of P.S.I. and of Glasgow, you are to me already gone. The pleasant relations of the past remain alone in memory and can be cherished only as the dead." For a while, the recurring issue of moving the observatory remained mute.

Berenice Morrison and Mrs. John P. Fuller

We don't know what Berenice's fellow traveler and confidant, Mrs. J. P. Fuller, thought about the Morrison Observatory or activities at Pritchett Institute. In fact, details of Mrs. Fuller's (Willie Anna Smith's) education in Virginia is unknown. Like Kate Swinney and Berenice Morrison, her youthful access to higher education was exceptional for her generation. Mrs. J. P. Fuller found work quickly. When in Paris, France, Mrs. Fuller had returned a contract in April 1878 to teach languages in fall 1878 as "Chair of Modern Languages, and assistant in the English branches" at the University of Missouri in Columbia for $1,200 annually. Methodist connections likely played a role. The Chair of English Literature was David Russell McAnally, son of David Rice McAnally, co-founder of Central College during the 1850s, and distinguished Methodist clergyman, author, editor, and former family friend in St. Louis. Mrs. Fuller, however, resented extra teaching and student oversight assignments and resigned after one year. She returned to Berenice's residence on Lucas Place.

Berenice Morrison, left, and her mentor and future mother-in-law Mrs. John P. (Willie Anna Smith) Fuller. *Images courtesy of Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC and Ashby Hodge Gallery of American Art, Central Methodist University.*

Berenice adored living in her father's house, where she felt "steeped in the precious atmosphere of the past." Mrs. Fuller and Berenice Morrison entertained often with women from business and professional circles. Some gatherings discussed feminist issues. Since 1867, in various years, Fuller had been an officer and national delegate to suffrage organizations where she met Julia Ward Howe and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, both of whom had come to St. Louis for assemblies. Berenice had a lifestyle model in her governess and companion, Mrs. Fuller. Mrs. Fuller's leadership role encouraged Berenice, who joined her and became one of the women remembered "actively working" among feminist promoters during the 1880s. In St. Louis City, Jesse Arnot's livery stable provided urban transportation. Arnot had operated the first livery stable in the new town of Glasgow for a decade, where he knew Berenice's older generation of friends and relatives. Arnot supplied "a fine carriage, upholstered in tufted sapphire blue satin, including an excellent coachman to guide a pair of spirited bays. It was beautifully kept and was never used except by me," wrote Berenice.

The two single women advanced their interests. Berenice reacquainted herself with neighbor and financial agent, R. J. Lackland, her institutional business at Pritchett Institute, and leisure activities in St. Louis society. Mrs. Fuller engaged feminist work and may have worked in town as an educator. Given Mrs. Fuller's crusading with suffragettes that required rail travel, Berenice likely was her patron for some level of financial support. In 1881, as a member of the St. Louis organization, Mrs. Fuller attended a convention in Louisville, Kentucky, with other women's rights advocates. Her appearance caught the eye of a Louisville *Courier Journal* reporter. The newspaper said that one attendee is "Mrs. J. P. Fuller, a magnificent looking brunette of St. Louis, Missouri, was attired in an elegantly fitting street dress of black brocaded satin trimmed with beads of passementerie [decorative trimmings originating in France], diamond ornaments …." etc. The widowed Mrs. Fuller was forty-four years old. In fall, November 1881, Fuller read a letter that endorsed suffrage at a Nebraska meeting. In December 1882, the Woman's Suffrage Association of Missouri elected Mrs. Fuller president and Berenice Morrison as secretary.

Mrs. Fuller worked for legislation. Draft bills reached the Missouri legislature three years in a row. In February 1883 Mrs. Fuller led a delegation that took the train to Jefferson City with a Missouri Woman's Suffrage Association petition asking for the women's vote that Senator Thomas G. Allen presented to his elected colleagues. Mrs. Fuller's document included a "draft resolution for an amendment to the [Missouri] Constitution." The following year, she attended a national convention of the American Woman Suffrage Association in Cleveland, Ohio, where she was one of two officers from the state of Missouri, and was elected a vice-president at-large, and Julia Ward Howe duly recorded association business. Two years later, the Missouri suffrage association ceased meetings in 1886 and connected itself with the WCTU.

Berenice's letters confirm that the greatest influence in her young womanhood was Mrs. J. P. Fuller, her closest female companion, and Victorian feminist model. Her correspondence suggests that Mrs. Fuller served also as a surrogate mother. The heiress fondly remembered her time in Europe with her writing that "I became devoted to Mrs. Fuller and she to me ... as far as my education is concerned, I owe everything to her, her deep progressive thought, her sense of justice and her profound ethical and religious convictions." Berenice treasured the tutorship of her governess as

she also did for her Classical education in European schools.

Mrs. Fuller's son, John Powell Fuller, Jr., had grown to manhood by the time all three took up residence in St. Louis. John's academic prowess had flowered in Switzerland, so, in Missouri, his mother enrolled him at Washington University, located nearby where Berenice spent her childhood years on Lucas Place. The required discipline at school was too much for John to tolerate, so the university expelled him.

John, like Berenice before him, traveled East for more education. He enrolled at Harvard University in October 1881, but did not complete his sophomore year for the "Class of 1885." His peers said that "in breadth of culture and intellectual capacity, John Fuller had no superiors in his freshman class …. he was a master of German and French, skilled in mathematics, science and philosophy …. only one thing hindered his standing … his antipathy to rules." After his formal classes ceased, he briefly managed Harvard's new Cooperative Society in Cambridge that supplied books, supplies, wood and coal to the university community. He left Cambridge and taught at the Military Academy in North Granville, New York, where students enjoyed a non-sectarian commercial and classical curriculum. He then tackled "scientific investigation in biology and sociology," reading and championing the voluminous works of controversial, but wildly popular philosopher, Herbert Spencer. Young Fuller occasionally reported on his activities to Harvard, as alums normally did.

It's unclear when, but John and Berenice developed a growing romantic relationship, apparently during John's travels east and his returns to Lucas Place. In February 1886, he and Berenice announced their engagement. The Fayette *Howard County Advertiser* heralded the event as, "Miss Berenice Morrison, the Millionairess, Chooses a Life Companion," noting that her education was completed under the supervision of Mrs. J. P. Fuller, "with whom Miss Morrison spent several years in Europe, and who has been her constant companion and friend." Moreover, the newspaper noted that John and Berenice had been acquaintances "since they were children together," and they had traveled the Atlantic Ocean and Europe with John's mother. The reporter rehearsed Berenice's benevolence to Pritchett Institute from "her vast estate … now generally supposed to be largely augmented;" the public knew that Berenice's agent was Boatmen's Bank, a premier financial institution in Missouri. The newspaper noted that Berenice quietly sent many small sums to the Glasgow school earmarked for specific purposes, concluding that "hardly a week since that her check for $250 [$6,650]" was received at the Institute."

The Morrison-Fullers

In the warm spring, twenty-four-year-old John Fuller and thirty-year-old Berenice left by rail for San Francisco, where they married on May 20, 1886. The couple had friendly faces at the wedding. Mrs. J. P. Fuller traveled with them, and returned to Oakland later, where she died in 1890. Berenice's Morrison cousins, descended from her grandfather's twin brother Robert in Illinois, attended the nuptials. Among them was Robert F. Morrison, a sitting California Supreme Court judge. The young couple remained in California for nearly a year and a half, renting a house on a hill to view San Francisco Bay. Their daughter, Berenice Morrison-Fuller, arrived in Oakland on February 17, 1887 (d. 1975). Before leaving Missouri for California, Berenice and John agreed to have the same hyphenated surname. So, John legally changed his so that both of them became Morrison-Fuller, a public pronouncement that this couple was different from most. Given John's philosophic obsession with individual liberties, Berenice likely did not have to persuade him to adopt her name, or perhaps, did John suggest it? Their future was wide open. The wealthy Berenice could support most anything the couple wished to do.

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We might imagine that Berenice's fertile mind and liberal leanings acquired in Philadelphia and Geneva, and encouraged by Mrs. Fuller, were stimulated even greater by her romantic partner, John. During Fuller's formative years in St. Louis and Cambridge, he was one among many Victorian American scholars largely influenced by Herbert Spencer, the leading American philosopher of his age. Spencer's voluminous writings attracted the restless, iconoclastic temperament of Fuller and thousands like him.

Spencer, considered by many a modern libertarian political forefather, was a liberal, social theorist who championed the progressive development of society. Spencer directed his writings to the repudiation of traditional religion, promotion of evolution, and sponsorship of radical politics, inflexible positions of personal liberty, experimental economics, and even new literary styles, all of which appealed mightily to Fuller. Given the apparent tight relationship of the couple, Berenice, too, held strong opinions in these areas. Her husband was not part of the male-dominated world that Berenice rejected in principle. A decade earlier, Berenice was "crazy for moral philosophy" in Europe, a liberal world view far from traditional rural Americans of the Midwest. When the Morrison-Fuller family left California, they visited the Edward Scarritts in Kansas City, then settled in the Boston area in 1887. John was once again close to Harvard and his former classmates. Berenice bankrolled him in his scholarly and commercial efforts to influence a readership with Spencerian periodicals published in downtown Boston. John's publishing included narrations about mutual philosophy that Berenice loved. His passion as a free thinker erupted in periods of extraordinary energy.

The spirited Fuller eventually owned a series of journals. He began at 3 Beacon Street, but later moved into 3 Somerset Street for several years. He rode the new West End Railway from their fashionable home in Brookline, down Beacon Street to Boston's city center. For a decade, he styled himself, J. Morrison-Fuller, editor and publisher, in a succession of publications. They included illustrated magazines and socio-political commentary in the *Waterman's Journal, To-Day,* the *Newsman, Weekly Bulletin*, and *Weekly Review*. J. Morrison-Fuller covered political science, contemporary literature, public events, reviewed articles and books, penned satire against those who criticized women for working out of traditional roles, and debated authors in print. He sought

subscriptions at ten cents for his *Weekly Review*, advertising it as "strikingly unique." His *To-day* said, "Devoted to the record of the facts and considerations which show that Individual Liberty is good for the people … and that Legislative Regulation is injurious for them." He told readers that he would apply their subscription cost to any work of Herbert Spencer, as his office marketed books, too.

Modern commentators include Morrison-Fuller's work in historical discussions of individual liberty, free markets, and anarchism. Political cartoons graced the covers of his magazines, a form of critique that he later introduced to readers in Glasgow. Fuller became a strident political wonk of his day in Boston, and later, in Howard County. In 1897, he ended his New England editorial career. His kindred spirit from Harvard, John P. Miner, was Morrison-Fuller's faithful business manager. Much later, on news of John Morrison-Fuller's death in 1910, Miner was "overwhelmed with grief," and in his despondency, died four days later.

Berenice chose to live in Brookline, an early enclave of the affluent and well-connected known first as Cottage Farm along the St. Charles River. She leased a large French Second Empire mansion at 23 Prescott, in the Longwood neighborhood of Brookline, which was just south of Boston University that bordered the Charles River. Contrary to her childhood residence on Lucas Place, Brookline residents kept the urban sprawl from enveloping its streetcar neighborhood. It began, and still is, a consciously-designed landscape with gardens, ornamental trees, architect-designed mansions and cottages, and private schools. North across the river some distance is picturesque Mount Auburn Cemetery, burial site of her cousin, Louis Morrison (1818-77), son of Jesse (Jesse died in Boston while visiting Louis). Berenice socialized with Jesse Morrison's grandchildren and made new urban friends. Brookline was their home for a dozen years.

Berenice might have chosen Brookline, in part, for its role as a hotbed of women's suffrage from the early 1880s. But probably more influential was Brookline's larger ambience. Frederick Law Olmstead's design office in Brookline directed the suburban development. In practical terms, the water service, sidewalks, gas street lamps, public transportation, and public amenities were remarkable for the time and the affluent professionals who moved in knew it. Furthermore, the veritable horticultural delight in local aesthetics, continually cultivated by the Olmstead firm, surely stimulated her sensibilities and encouraged her efforts to write "Missouri Plantation Life" during the Depression, a reminiscence that fondly recalled the flora of her grandparents' Sylvan Villa country seat in Howard County.

R. J. Lackland still served as Berenice's banker and agent. Remnants of real estate that W. D. Swinney purchased antebellum were part of W. D. Swinney's trust at Boatmen's. He occasionally needed Oswald's signature, as Berenice's curator for W.D.'s estate, on a St. Louis deed. In October 1890, Lackland reported to Swinney that he had sold ground adjacent to the Terminal Railroad and Union Station for $50,000 ($1,330,000). About 1870, Lackland built ten houses on the property and generated rents from them for Berenice. This sale for commercial purposes "enabled me to get a tall price for it," said Lackland. "It will give Berenice $3,000 ($80,000) annual income, besides laying a snug nest egg for little Berenice."

Little Berenice's mother enrolled her daughter in a female seminary in Exeter, New Hampshire. The Morrison-Fuller parents socialized in the Boston area and tempted the heiress's namesake cousin and her parents in Kansas City, to join them during summer travels. In June 1894, Mrs. Morrison-Fuller wrote Berenice Scarritt that July would be the best time for Jamestown or Newport. "John has a little yacht and we can spend a great part of the time on board. It is quite comfortable, John keeps two men and is a third man himself to sail it. It would do Ed [Scarritt] good to pull on the ropes, too, there is nothing like it for brain workers." Following the sailing vacation, Berenice recommended the Adirondacks and asked her cousin, "any special seaside or mountain resorts that you would like to visit?" The Brookline resident assured her relatives there would be "good servants" available.

The Scarritts did not join the Morrison-Fullers on that trip, much to the regret of Berenice. She took her daughter on the railroad to Rhode Island to join John, who sailed the yacht *Hypatia* to Jamestown. Berenice named the vessel for an ancient female Greek mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher at Alexandria, Egypt. The couple prepared to watch the yacht races at Newport. Berenice reminded her Kansas City relative that "sailing would be the very thing for the Judge [her father]" and offered the Scarritts a warm welcome and long stay in their mansion, any time they could come. "Your cousin John [Morrison-Fuller]" would love to see them.

J. Morrison-Fuller closed his Boston office in 1897, and the Morrison-Fullers toured the western world with daughter Berenice. Reports indicate they visited great resorts and prominent hotels for extensive periods. Berenice Morrison-Fuller wrote that her "earliest recollections in childhood were of Niagara Falls, Saratoga, and the White Mountains" and she gave similar memories to her daughter. The Morrison-Fullers added York Harbor, Newport, Jamestown, and other fashionable resorts while living in Brookline.

While the Morrison-Fullers lived in the east and toured Europe, Maria Swinney had penned a journal of memories. She never got over losing Berenice Scarritt to her father. In 1893, for the first time in forty years, she and Oswald did not have a child in their house. They, of course, had had their deceased two children, William and Anne, but the couple was known locally for their orphan adoptions. In a combination of young people related to them and some not, they had provided a domestic environment for six children, and for awhile, Berenice Morrison. Maria Swinney taught the primary class in Sunday School for thirty-six years, an achievement memorialized on her tombstone. In summer 1896, after a fourteen-year-separation, Edward Scarritt finally brought his daughter, Berenice, to see the Swinneys. Maria wrote that she looked "more like Berenice Morrison" than her mother Anne. In the overnight stay, Maria and Berenice Scarritt slept together so Maria could "talk of her mother and I showed her all the things I had kept for her all these years of her mother's."

The younger Berenice had an immediate affection for her grandparents. The following year, Berenice Scarritt rode the rails again to visit in Glasgow. By then she was Boston-educated and romantically involved with William Royster (1863-1936), a Kansas City businessman more than a decade older than she; her father, Edward Scarritt, however, was much opposed to any Royster match. Nevertheless, Berenice and William planned to elope to Glasgow. But, first, Oswald wrote to the prospective groom's

employer at the Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company in Kansas City to inquire about William E. Royster's background. The response included, "you will run no risk in introducing him anywhere, is a courteous gentleman, and [possesses] "moral standing." Satisfied, on August 21, 1897, the Rev. James O. Swinney married them at Inglewood and Rev. C. W. Pritchett assisted.

The Morrison-Fullers had been abroad in Europe since June and heard of the Royster wedding while at the Lord Warden Hotel in Dover, England. Berenice wrote the newly-wed a long, affectionate letter saying, "You are my dear & treasured namesake … my thoughts go so vividly to your own sweet mother … she had a rare nobility of soul. I hope to soon know you." Berenice claimed their European sojourn was "especially for health" and that the three of them would only stay another month before returning to Brookline.

Earlier in Glasgow, within six months after the death of Aunt Lizzie in 1883, Uncle James S. Thomson (1815-98) wed Elizabeth Towles (1855-1915), a lady nearly forty years his junior, and a descendant of the family physician, Dr. Isaac P. Vaughn. Maria wrote that she "was a nice good looking healthy young lady," who gave two daughters, Jane (Jennie) and Elizabeth (Bessie), to James by 1887. Thomson, a former banker and county politician, had lost his great town mansion to debt, and in his poverty, had moved into Inglewood with the Swinneys. The Thomsons and Swinneys signed a written agreement in May 1898 that reserved two rooms for Oswald and Maria, but obligated the four-member Thomson family to pay for board, fuel and lights, care for the house, but to pay no rent. By October 1899, James, Maria, and Oswald had died, leaving Mrs. Thomson and her two daughters who attended Pritchett College at Inglewood. Oswald's will gave occupancy of the house, "rent free," to Elizabeth Thomson for as long as she chose to live there in appreciation for the care she gave to Maria and him. But eventually the title transferred to his granddaughter, Berenice Scarritt Royster. Mrs. Royster was responsible for paying the taxes and for repairs, or risk losing the property title to Mrs. Thomson. Oswald also picked Mrs. Thomson as his probate executor. Elizabeth Thomson and their two daughters and Berenice Morrison-Fuller would form long-lasting bonds of friendship. Berenice Morrison-Fuller and Berenice Scarritt Royster were the sole surviving direct kin of Oswald and Maria Swinney.

Oswald received a posthumous life summary from the Rev. C. W. Pritchett. Few knew that only the year before Oswald had initiated correspondence trying to raise funds for the Pritchett College endowment, newly-named "college" in summer 1897. He wrote John D. Rockefeller in New York explaining that the Glasgow school was founded "to meet the demands of the busy growing West." But, after three decades, the "progressive demands" now included a need for "science hall, a gymnasium, student dormitory, and college equipment." Oswald appealed to Adolphus Busch in St. Louis. Busch replied with a kind letter, "your institution is known to me by reputation." However, the beer baron concluded that he was "now officially identified with Washington University" as a statewide educational effort.

The aging Swinney, in a move that probably surprised Berenice, enlisted the help of Henry S. Pritchett at the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey in Washington, D. C., about the practicality of moving the Morrison Observatory to St. Louis. Henry Pritchett made an exacting financial analysis. He summarized that the observatory needed a $100,000 endowment, not its current $27,000, and that it would take another $75,000 to move it to Washington University. The talented scientist communicated with Berenice Morrison-Fuller, who approved of a potential move of the observatory and trust to St. Louis, but "she did not find herself in a situation to contribute" financially. Henry talked to Robert Brookings, president of Washington University, for Oswald. The president wrote to Swinney that if a successful fund raising occurred to move the observatory that a new donor's name would have to be attached to it; perhaps "the woman's name to the telescope only if Mrs. Fuller agreed." Brookings said he would "endeavor to interest some one of our friends." Regardless of the observatory outcome, Oswald considered Pritchett College his most important legacy.

The Rev. C. W. Pritchett's obituary made it clear that Oswald was a man of many parts. He gave Oswald and Lucy Ann Swinney praise and complete credit for establishing the local school that all of them loved. "From his own generous nature originally flowed this stream of benevolence … on to irrigate the intellectual and moral wastes of our land," preached Pritchett. "He embarked on several commercial enterprises, hoping to secure more ample endowment for the school. While these enterprises proved disappointing, and served alike to shatter both his hopes and his fortune, still the nobility of his purpose must ever command our sympathy and admiration…. That he was sometimes willful and impetuous is but saying he shared the common traits of humanity." The Pritchett Board of Trustees publicly lauded Swinney, too, as the school founder was held in high esteem throughout Glasgow.

By 1900, the Secretary's Report for the Harvard Class of 1885 noted that John Fuller had not submitted a communication for his recent activities, only that the Morrison-Fullers claimed a home in Brookline, a nurtured, suburban retreat that Berenice returned to well into her senior years in the twentieth century. But, first, the Morrison-Fullers decided to set up housekeeping in Howard County. Berenice decided she wanted to return to her Booneslick roots.

END NOTES

1) Extensive bibliographic references will be included at the end of Part III of the Morrison story, which will be published in the Winter 2016-17 issue.

2) Modern financial evaluations noted in brackets are from an inflation calculator used by the author.

Coming in the Winter issue, Morrison essay Part III – The Morrison-Fullers in Glasgow

Historian Dorris Keeven-Franke to Speak at BHS Fall Meeting
November 6 at Emmet's on Fayette's Historic Courthouse Square

Missouri historian Dorris Keeven-Franke will be the featured speaker at the Boonslick Historical Society (BHS) fall meeting, November 6, at Emmet's Kitchen and Tap on the historic Fayette Courthouse Square.

The BHS fall meeting begins at 5:30 p.m. with a social hour, followed by dinner at 6:30 p.m. and the program. Dinner reservations and pre-payment are due by October 29. The dinner is open to the public. Reservations and payment should be mailed to the Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233. Cost of the dinner is $25 per person.

For more information, contact Sam Jewett at 660-882-7167 or by email at *samjewett@sbcglobal.net*.

Keeven-Franke, of St. Charles, is executive director of Missouri Germans Consortium and on the board of the Boone's Lick Road Association. She has spent more than 30 years studying Germany's migration to Missouri in the 19th Century. She is currently working on a book to be titled "Exploring Missouri's German Heritage," which will be published by Missouri Life magazine in Boonville.

Keeven-Franke says she "passionately loves to share the immigration stories" which will be the subject of her presentation to the Boonslick Historical Society.

She will explain what that huge wave of 19th-century immigration meant to Missouri and to the Boone's Lick region and its relationship to the historic Boone's Lick Road.

In the early 20th century, Missouri's first modern highway (Highway 40) followed close to the old wagon route. The Boone's Lick Road crossed six counties that all lay inside the German Heritage Corridor on the north side of the Missouri River: St. Charles, Warren, Montgomery, Callaway, Boone and Howard.

The Boone's Lick Road's western terminus joined the eastern end of the Santa Fe Trail in Old Franklin in Howard County.

The Fayette Courthouse Square Historic District is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The District contains forty-two buildings, including the historic building housing Emmet's Kitchen and Tap on the east side of the square.

The German Heritage Corridor Project

Recently, the Missouri Humanities Council launched an extensive heritage program commemorating Missouri's German history –the German Heritage Corridor. The Missouri General Assembly passed legislation officially designating sixteen contiguous counties bordering the Missouri River (Boone, Callaway, Chariton, Cole, Cooper, Franklin, Gasconade, Howard, Lafayette, Moniteau, Montgomery, Osage, St. Charles, St. Louis, Saline, and Warren) as Missouri's German Heritage Corridor.

Dorris Keeven-Franke

The Missouri Humanities Council is currently submitting a National Endowment for the Humanities Planning Grant to begin the process of defining, interpreting, and publicly exhibiting the Corridor. The Council is soliciting help with the project from all of the communities within the corridor. The Council seeks to preserve the cultural heritage through Oral History Collection and protecting the tangible sites through the German Heritage Corridor. Various projects are currently in the planning stages.

Historical associations and other organizations seeking to be involved with the project should contact Dr. William S. Belko, executive director, Missouri Humanities Council, Grand Central Building at Union Station, 415 S. 18th St., Suite 100, St. Louis, MO 63103, phone 314-781-9660, or by email at *sbelko@mohumanities.org*. You can learn more at *www.mohumanities.org*.

The Howard County Courthouse, built in 1887, is part of the Historic Courthouse District listed on The National Register of Historic Places. *Photo by Jim Steele*

Boonslick Historical Society
P. O. Box 426
Boonville, MO 65233

First Methodist Church, Glasgow, became Methodist Episcopal, South in 1845. Present building was begun in 1849, the adjacent parsonage in 1865. Berenice Morrison's grandfther, Capt. William D. Swinney, financially supported building of the church. Her uncle, Oswald Swinney,5 served as pastor of the church for a period. *Photo by Don Cullimore*